

Promoting Sustainability Through Enhanced Capacities

A study of the role of a non-governmental development organization in promoting sustainable local development, through an enhancement of local community capabilities.

The case of Joint Aid Management (JAM) International's Operations in Machengue community, Inhambane, Mozambique

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This master's thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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Abstract

During the last two decades of the twentieth century, there emerged an increased interest within the development field in how to promote sustainable local development. By responding to the danger of inducing aid dependency, it can be argued that the understanding of sustainable local development should involve enhancement of local communities' abilities to successfully manage their own affairs as a way out of poverty. Such empowerment has been referred to as strengthening of capacities and freedom. This has been argued to lead to transformation and long-lasting improvement of people's lives, enhancing their well-being by breaking vicious circles of poverty traps. Several factors have received attention with regard to *how* to promote sustainable local development. Among these is the relevance of enhancing individual and social capabilities of the poor. Similarly, the importance of improving structures and institutions being positive to development has been strongly argued in recent times. Building on the question on *how* sustainable local development can be achieved through enhanced capacities, one may ask what role and function a non-governmental development organization (NGO) can play in promoting such development. Although they are far from new, 'non-governmental', 'third sector' or 'not-for profit' organizations have in recent years become high profile actors within public policy landscapes at local, national and global levels". Based on this, the objective of this thesis was "*To study and analyse the role and function of a non-governmental development organization (NGO) in promoting sustainable local development, through enhancement of local community development capabilities, structures and institutions*". The case of Joint Aid Management (JAM) International's development operations in Machengue community, rural Mozambique, is applied as a case.

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List of Abbreviations

CCDA	Complete Community Development Approach
CDF	Comprehensive Development Framework
CDO	Community Development Officer
COO	Chief Operating Officer
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FDA	Fundo de Desenvolvimento Agrário
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIK	Gifts in Kind
GPA	General Peace Accord
HDI	Human Development Index
HGSF	Home-Grown School Feeding
INGC	Mozambique National Institute of Disaster Management
INGO	International non-governmental organizations
JAM	Joint Aid Management
LOLE-law	Lei dos Órgãos Locais do Estado
MT	Metical
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD-DAC	The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC).
PAA Africa	Purchase from Africans for Africa
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association
RENAMO	Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USDA	United States Agricultural Department
SETSAN	Mozambique's Technical Secretariat for Food Security and Nutrition
United Nations	UN
WASH	Water, sanitation and hygiene
WFP	World Food Programme

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background

During the last two decades of the twentieth century, there emerged an increased interest within the development field in how to promote sustainable local development (Adams, 2001, pp. 334-337). While being a highly contested concept, sustainable development can be defined as a “development process that is long-lasting and environmentally sound and secures an improved livelihood for the general public, with a special concern to vulnerable groups/communities” (Øyhus, n.d., p. 1). Further, by responding to the danger of inducing aid dependency, it can be argued that the understanding of sustainable local development should involve enhancement of local communities’ abilities to successfully manage their own affairs as a way out of poverty. Such empowerment has been referred to as strengthening of capacities and freedom (Sen, 1999; Taylor & Clarke, 2008, p. 10). This has been argued to lead to transformation and long-lasting improvement of people’s lives, enhancing their well-being by breaking vicious circles of poverty traps (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, p. 483; Sen, 1999; Todaro & Smith, 2011, pp. 58, 781).

Several factors have received attention with regard to *how* to promote sustainable local development as described above; as development that enhances capacities of local communities and are long-term socially, economically and environmentally sound (Adams, 2001, pp. 334-337). Among these is the relevance of enhancing individual and social capabilities of the poor, e.g. through involving local communities as participants, partners and active agents in their own development. Similarly, the importance of improving structures and institutions being positive to development has been strongly argued in recent times (Adam & Dercon, 2009, p. 174; Hanna & Agarwala, 2002; Kleemeier, 2000; Mansuri & Rao, 2004, pp. 2, 8; Marsden, 1991; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003; Morgan, 2006; Sen, 1999; Taylor & Clarke, 2008, p. 3). In many ways these aspects are highly interlinked, and taking a holistic, integrated and long-term approach to development has been heavily emphasized (Hanna & Agarwala, 2002; Lopes & Theisohn, 2013, p. 3; Sen, 1999). Among all these, specific attention has been given to local communities, being seen as cornerstones in sustainable, people-centred, development (Adams, 2001, pp. 334-337).

Building on the question on *how* sustainable local development can be achieved through enhanced capacities, one may ask what role and function a non-governmental development organization (NGO) can play in promoting such development. As Lewis argues: “Although they are far from new, ‘non-governmental’, ‘third sector’ or ‘not-for profit’ organizations have in recent years become high profile actors within public policy landscapes at local, national and global levels” (2003, p. 326). Based on this, the objective of this thesis is:

To study and analyse the role and function of a non-governmental development organization (NGO) in promoting sustainable local development, through enhancement of local community development capabilities, structures and institutions.

In this regard, local community development capabilities, structures and institutions are highly related to the community capacity development field.

The South African founded non-governmental humanitarian relief and development organization Joint Aid Management (JAM) International is applied as a case for this study. Based on its vision of “Helping Africa help itself”, and mission to “empower Africans to create better lives for themselves”, this development NGO states that it has adopted a Complete Community Development Approach (CCDA) to ensure that it operates sustainable programmes that “not only meet individuals’ immediate needs, but also change the landscape of the community, leaving permanent and sustainable transformation” (JAM International, 2014b, n.p.). As part of the study, fieldwork was conducted in Machengue, a rural community in Inhambane province, southern Mozambique, in which JAM had operated for over 20 years. A qualitative research approach was applied in the study.

After the civil war came to an end in Mozambique in 1992, leaving the country’s social and economic conditions among the worst in the world, the country has experienced strong economic growth over the last couple of decades. However, despite Mozambique’s economic progress being among “Africa’s best performances” (CIA, 2016), this is described to have had only moderate impact on poverty reduction (World Bank, 2016, n.p.). Particularly in rural areas, poverty is high and livelihoods remain highly vulnerable, as the geographical distribution of poverty to a high extent remains unaltered (Devereux, 2001; World Bank, 2016, n.p.). The Mozambican state has during the last decades been a main recipient of foreign aid, receiving significant amounts of Official Development Assistance (ODA). Further, the country has had

strong presence of humanitarian and development NGOs working throughout Mozambican communities. Aid dependence in Mozambique has been described as high even by African standards (Heltberg & Tarp, 2002, p. 105). However, due to increased incomes from natural resources, combined with reduced aid budgets, arguments have been made that Mozambique has rapidly reduced its aid dependency (Bruschi, 2012). Still, a key question relates to how the growth in national Gross Domestic Product can be translated into real changes in the lives of the country's rural population. While the Mozambican government should be a key actor in this, a central question also relates to what role and function development NGOs can play in this process, e.g. in rural communities. As opposed to inducing aid dependency mentality, this illustrates the need of studying and analysing how development NGO's can operate to empower local communities in sustainable ways, assisting them to become increasingly self-sustaining in the long term.

2.2. Research Objective and Research Questions

2.2.2. Research objective

The objective of this thesis is to study and analyse the role and function of a development NGO in promoting sustainable local development, through enhancement of local community's development capabilities, structures and institutions.

In this regard, studying the development initiatives of JAM in Machengue community, located in Inhambane province, southern Mozambique, was applied as a case. In this thesis, local community capabilities, structures and institutions are regarded as important aspects and concretizations of, as well as contributors to, local community capacities and capacity development.

2.2.3. Research questions

Based on the research objective, and the case of JAM's development initiatives in Machengue, Inhambane province Mozambique, the following research questions have been identified:

1. What, concretely, has JAM done to enhance the local community's development capabilities, structures and institutions, and promote sustainable local development? What type of projects have JAM planned and implemented? How were they planned and implemented?

2. What have been the impacts of JAM's initiatives when it comes to enhancing the local community's development capabilities, structures and institutions?
 - a. According to local community members having taken part in the projects.
 - b. According to local leaders and relevant societal institutions/organizations.
 - c. According to JAM.
3. How, and to what degree, have enhanced local community development capabilities, structures and institutions, or lack of enhancement of such, affected the successfulness and sustainability of JAM's projects within the community?
4. What have been the key reasons for the success or failure of JAM to enhance the local community's development capabilities, structures and institutions, and promote sustainable local development?
5. What are the prospects for the local community to become increasingly self-sustaining in the long term as a result of JAM's development projects?

What I practically wanted to do in the field, was to study and analyse the practical role and function of JAM in enhancing the local community's development capabilities, structures and institutions. This included what type of projects JAM had implemented, how these were planned and implemented, and what the concrete impacts of JAM's projects had been. It further involved the question of to what degree and potentially how JAM's development initiatives is likely to lead to sustainable local development, understood as development that is long-term socially, economically and environmentally sound.

Throughout the study, there was a focus on the *process* through which potential change had occurred, in terms of reasons for success or failure in bringing about positive and sustainable change. A central question concerned to what degree, and in what ways, JAM's involvement had empowered the local community to be increasingly self-sustaining in the long term. This can be identified in terms of increased and inclusive social, economic, political and psychological empowerment and agency within these communities. While this involves tangible aspects, it was also relevant to study less tangible aspects, e.g. changes in people's views of

themselves and their circumstances (Evans, 1996a, p. 1129; Kaplan, 2000, pp. 519-521).

As such, this thesis includes a study and analysis of how enhanced local community development capabilities, structures and institutions, or lack of such enhancement, has affected the successfulness and sustainability of JAM's initiatives in the community. However, it further includes the question if potentially enhanced community development capabilities, structures and institutions bear potential to promote holistic and integrated community development. This can be regarded as central if the initiatives are to promote "transforming" and sustainable local development through enhanced capacities.

2.3. Clarification of Terminology

The focus of this study on local community development capabilities, structures and institutions is connected, and can be regarded as a contribution, to the field of *community capacity development*. Although being claimed to constitute vital parts in many international development initiatives, the fields of capacity and capacity development have been described as vague, even vacuous in international development contexts, in lack of clear and practical contents (Lopes & Theisohn, 2013, p. 1; Morgan, 2006, pp. 3-4; Taylor & Clarke, 2008, pp. 6, 10). Based on existing definitions and literature (see chapter 3), this study connects community capacity development to capabilities, structures and institutions (Lopes & Theisohn, 2013, pp. 1, 19; Morgan, 2006, pp. 6-8; Taylor & Clarke, 2008, pp. 10, 20). The study applies the following understandings of the terms capabilities, structures and institutions:

Capabilities: Amartya Sen (1999, p. 75) has defined capabilities as the freedoms, in terms of real opportunities, that people have to lead lives they value, given their personal attributes and command over commodities (Todaro & Smith, 2011, pp. 16, 773). This involves a view of people as agents that actively can shape their lives and circumstances, given the opportunity in terms of capabilities (Sen, 1999, p. xiii). Capabilities can refer both to individual and collective capabilities, and thus also involve social relationships. Enhancement of capabilities can take place at the individual, organizational and community level (Chambers & Conway, 1991, p. 25; Evans, 2002, pp. 56-59; O'Hearn, 2009; Sen, 1999, p. 75).

Local community structures refer, in this study, to compositions and systems of foundational societal features of a local community. These can be social, economical, political, legal and physical (Morgan, 2006, p. 7; Perkins, Radelet, Lindauer, & Block, 2013, p. 587; Settersten Jr., 2001, p. 2368). Examples include levels of trust and cohesion within a community and norms, traditions and values (social); operation of and access of the poor to markets and share and productivity of the agricultural sector in the economy (economic); opportunities and levels of political participation (political); legal framework and its enforcement (legal), and; infrastructure e.g. in terms of roads, electricity, telecommunications and water facilities (physical) (Evans, 1996a, pp. 1129-1130; Perkins et al., 2013, p. 205; Sen, 1999; Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 68). Such features potentially frame, affect and form individual and collective capabilities, behaviours and actions (Lin, 2001, p. xi; Settersten Jr., 2001), and thus have bearing on individuals', organizations' and communities' abilities "to create development value" (Morgan, 2006, p. 8). On the other hand it has been argued that e.g. social structures also are shaped and reshaped by people's actions (Evans, 1996a, pp. 1129-1130; Giddens & Sutton, 2013, p. 1072). While community structures are foundational features of a community, these can also be highly related to, and affected by, e.g. regional or national structures, such as government legal frameworks and policies.

Institutions refer to the "humanly devised constraints that structure human interaction" (North, cited in Perkins et al., 2013, p. 653). These constraints can be formal, such as rules, laws and regulations, or informal, consisting of norms of behaviour and conduct, values, customs, and "generally accepted ways of doing things" (Perkins et al., 2013, p. 653; Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 84). Institutions define "the rules of the game" by which individuals in society interact with each other, and organize social, political and economic relations relations (Carter, 2014, p. 6; Perkins et al., 2013, p. 653). The term institution is, however, often applied covering both "the rules" and "the players", that is, organizations that operate within these rules and constraints (Perkins et al., 2013, p. 80).

Local community capabilities, structures and institutions are highly interlinked, and in some cases overlapping, highly contributing to the overall *capacity* of communities. *Capacities* are in this thesis defined in accordance with the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) definition of the term, although also informed by other

definitions (see chapter 3). OECD-DAC's define capacity as "the ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully" (cited in Taylor & Clarke, 2008, p. 10). Based on this, *capacity development* is understood as "the process whereby people, organisations and society as a whole unleash, strengthen, create, adapt and maintain capacity over time" (OECD-DAC cited in Taylor & Clarke, 2008, p. 10). OECD-DAC thus applies a three-level approach by focusing on the individual, organizational and society as a whole level (Taylor & Clarke, 2008), which also is adopted in this study. Also Peter Morgan's definition is applied as a foundation, understanding capacity as "that emergent combination of attributes that enables a human system to create development value" (2006, p. 8).

Sustainable local development: While being a highly contested concept, this study applies, as a point of departure, an understanding sustainable development as a "development process that is long-lasting and environmentally sound and secures an improved livelihood for the general public, with a special concern to vulnerable groups/communities" (Øyhus, n.d., p. 1). Further, by responding to the danger of inducing aid dependency, it can be argued that the understanding of sustainable local development should involve enhancement of local communities' abilities to successfully manage their own affairs as a way out of poverty.

Portuguese and local vocabulary:

Secretário: Community political leader.

Régulo: Community traditional leader.

Machamba: Fields used for agricultural production or livestock.

Metical (MT): Mozambican currency. Per May 2016, 1 US\$ equaled 56,6 MTs.

Xitswa: Local language spoken in Machengue community.

Chapter 2: Study Area and Contextual Overview

2.1. Mozambique

In studying and analysing the role and function of JAM International in promoting sustainable local development, through enhancing local communities capabilities, structures and institutions, fieldwork was carried out in the rural community of Machengue, located in Inhambane Province in southern Mozambique. Serving as the context for JAM's operations in Machengue, deeper insight of Mozambique as a country will be provided in the following sections, followed by an introduction to community characteristics of Machengue.

Country facts

Location: Southeastern Africa

Total size: 799 380 sq km

Boarder: Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Population: 25,303,113

Population growth: 2.3%

Land use: agricultural land 56.3% (arable land 6.4%; permanent crops 0.3%; permanent pasture 49.6%), forest 43.7%, other 0%

Provinces: Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Nampula, Tete, Zambezia, Sofala, Manica, Inhambane, Gaza, Maputo.

Religion: Roman Catholic 28.4%, Muslim 17.9%, Zionist Christian 15.5%, Protestant 12.2% (includes Pentecostal 10.9% and Anglican 1.3%), other 6.7%, none 18.7%, unspecified 0.7%

(CIA, 2016)

2.2. Mozambique's History

2.2.1. The Post-Colonial Era: Civil War and Political and Legal Relations

Along with Mozambique's independence in 1975, almost five centuries of Portuguese colonization of the country came to an end. Mozambique became a one-party state,



under rule of the national liberation front *Frente de Libertação de Mocambique*, whose party name is *Partido FRELIMO*. The colonization ended after FRELIMO fought its guerrilla campaign against the Portuguese from 1964 to 1974 (Braathen & Orre, 2001, pp. 199-200; CIA, 2016). In 1975, however, the oppositional party of RENAMO was established, which confrontation with FRELIMO led to the outbreak of the country's civil war in 1977. The armed struggle, being termed the "16 years war" lasted until 1992.

During colonial rule, the Portuguese regime had recognized and utilized local community chiefs, or traditional authorities, as administrative intermediaries in rural areas. As part of its break with the Portuguese colonial rule, FRELIMO's first president Eduardo Mondlane argued that the colonial administrative posts were divided into chiefdoms, termed *regulados*. While being grounded on traditional kinship structures, Mondlane argued that within the *regulados*, "a chief, usually deriving power rather from appointment by the Portuguese than from the original tribal structure, simply carried out the instructions of the *administradores*" (cited in West & Kloeck-Jenson, 1999, p. 456). As part of the liberation process, FRELIMO therefore "took action that it hoped would bring about "total transformation" of rural Mozambican society when it abolished the chieftaincy", replacing these with local state officials (West & Kloeck-Jenson, 1999, p. 456). However, as Lars Buur and Helene Maria Kyed argue, "institutions based on kinship and hereditary succession continued to exist, and many post-colonial local state officials relied unofficially on day-to-day collaboration with chiefs" (Buur & Kyed, 2005). These practices co-existed with the highly centralized state administration during FRELIMO's rule. Arguments have been made that FRELIMO's loss of legitimacy in rural areas was a result of "the oppressive character of its one-party hierarchy, unpopular villagization programmes and failure to provide improved life opportunities due to its urban bias" (Buur & Kyed, 2005, p. 8). According to Buur and Kyed (2005, p. 8), this was largely reproduced after the General Peace Accord (GPA) was signed in 1992.

The Mozambican debate on the role of traditional authorities in local government has been divided in two perspectives: the modernist and the communitarian. In this regard, Lars Buur and Helene Maria Kyed argue:

One side argues that the pre-colonial chieftainship system was corrupted by the colonial system of despotic, indirect rule, and what was "real tradition" has withered away. The other argues that traditional authority

still exists, is inherently democratic and is legitimized through customs and belief practices from long ago.

(2005, p. 7)

A post-war political concern in Mozambique has been how to continue the decentralization process in rural areas. As argued by Bruun and Kyed:

In accordance with post-war constitutional commitments to democratic decentralization, a system of elected local governments in the form of municipalities was improved in 1997 and instated in local elections in 1998. The municipal Law 2/1997 for the urban and semi-urban areas provided for democratic elections in thirty-three municipalities...and not in any rural areas. Since 2002 when Decree 15/2000 was implemented more than two thousand leaders from the categories of “traditional leaders” and “secretaries of suburban quarters or villages” have been recognized as “community authorities” in semi-urban and rural areas of Mozambique...

(2005, p. 5)

As such, the argument has been made that “the two decentralization initiatives- Decree 15/2000 for rural areas and Municipal Law 2/1997 for the urban areas- establish an important break in legal terms with previous colonial and post-independence local governance” (Buur & Kyed, 2005, p. 5), bearing important implications for the management rural Mozambican communities.

The 2003 *Lei dos Órgãos Locais do Estado* (LOLE-law), which regulates local state structures below the district level, legally encompassed state structures that previously had operated in practice, but without official recognition. As such, the Decree 15/2000 and the LOLE-law legally institutionalized the interaction between local state organs and, what Buur and Kyed term “forms of civil society groups” (2005, p. 5) in rural and semi-urban areas, based on interaction between traditional and political community leadership . As such, traditional authorities were officially recognized as community authorities (Buur & Kyed, 2005).

FRELIMO formally abandoned Marxism in 1989. The new constitution in 1990 provided for multiparty elections, of which the first was held in 1994. The government also turned towards a free market economy. Based on the United Nations (UN) negotiated peace agreement, RENAMO ended the fighting in 1992 (CIA, 2016).

2.2.2. Economic and Social Situation During the Civil War

The civil war in Mozambique had major impacts on development in the country, both in economic terms, but also related to social issues of hunger and education. Already

at independence in 1975, Mozambique ranked among the poorest countries in the world. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (2016) argues that the following and prolonged civil war, along with socialist policies, economic mismanagement, large-scale emigration, economic dependence on South Africa, and a severe drought, hindered Mozambique's development until the mid-1990s. During the 1980-ies, thousands of Mozambicans migrated to neighbouring countries or moved into relief camps run by the government. Only in 1985, 300 000 displaced persons abandoned their homes and moved into government-protected camps to flee the civil war.

The combination of the above mentioned factors resulted in a humanitarian crisis and severe famine affecting six of Mozambique's 10 provinces, including Inhambane, as well as Tete, Manica, Sofala, Gaza and Maputo. The drought, which started in 1981, resulted in 80 percent reduction of domestic food production. Floods in the central and southern provinces in 1984 and 1985 further destroyed crops and livestock. USAID has argued that "[t]o further aggravate the situation, anti-government guerrillas harassed the rural population, destroyed road and railway links, and attacked relief convoys delivering emergency food aid" (n.d.-a). Discussions exist whether the famine mainly was caused by drought, or if it was a result also of political factors. In January 1985, the estimated affected population of the famine was 2, 466, 000 people, with 1, 662, 000 people being severely affected (USAID, n.d.-a).

Regarding food security and production at the time, USAID describes:

Mozambique experienced a near normal rainy season in 1985, but rural insurgency and a shortage of seeds and other agricultural inputs severely inhibited food production. Marketed production from state farms, cooperatives, and private commercial farmers was estimated at only 60,000 MTs of maize, rice, and sorghum, 42 percent less than the previous year.

(n.d.-a, p. 2)

In 1987 the Mozambican government took on a series of macroeconomic reforms in order to stabilize the economy. Following the civil war, Mozambique had a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of US\$ 4 billion in 1993. It has been argued that the steps made by the government "combined with donor assistance and with political stability since the multi-party elections in 1994, propelled the country's GDP" (CIA, 2016). In 2015, Mozambique's GDP had increased to US\$ 34 billion, with an average annual growth rate of six to eight percent, being among Africa's strongest economic performances (CIA, 2016). FRELIMO remains the dominant political party, although

the oppositional party RENAMO doubled its seats in the national parliament after the 2014 election (World Bank, 2016).

2.3. Current Socio-Economic Status of Mozambique

Despite the above-described development of Mozambique's economy after the end of the civil war, which is described as a success story, the country remains among the poorest in the world. With a GDP per capita of US\$ 1300, when adjusted to purchasing power parity (PPP), the country ranked 219 of 230 in the world in 2015. According to 2009 estimates, 52 percent of the population lived below the poverty line¹. The Gini-coefficient, giving insight into inequality in the country based on family incomes, was 45.6 in Mozambique in 2008, where 100 is total inequality and 0 complete equality (CIA, 2016).

Substantial trade imbalance persists in Mozambique, with the country being a heavy importer, also of food. However, aluminium production from the Mozal aluminium smelter has significantly increased export earnings in recent years. Main export commodities include aluminium, prawns, cashews, cotton, sugar, citrus, timber, and bulk electricity. Main importing commodities, on the other hand, include machinery and equipment, vehicles, fuel, chemicals, metal products, food articles and textiles. In recent years, significant gas and oil fields have been discovered on the Mozambique coastline. Based on Mozambique's ability to attract large investment projects in natural resources, sustained high growth rates were expected in coming years. However, reduced global demand for commodities has weakened revenues from vast resources, which includes natural gas, coal, titanium and hydroelectric capacity. Taxes and other revenues in Mozambique constitute 27 percent of GDP, based on 2015 estimates (CIA, 2016).

Despite the economic progress of the country, Mozambique's past decades of rapid economic growth is described to have had "only a moderate impact on poverty reduction" (World Bank, 2016, n.p.). Further, the geographical distribution of poverty remains, to a high extent, unaltered. Agriculture contributes to more than a quarter of the country's GDP, and engages 80 percent of the labour force. However, an overwhelming majority of agricultural producers are small-scale, subsistence farmers, who struggle with chronic food insecurity (USAID, 2016).

¹ The CIA World Factbook does not clearly state which measure it applies as "the poverty line", but a common measure is 1.25 or 2 US\$).

In the most recent Human Development Index (HDI), which includes life expectancy at birth, education, and income per capita, Mozambique ranked 178 of 187 countries. Life expectancy at birth is 50.3 years in Mozambique, and adult literacy rate 56 percent. The latter has also impacts, among others, on parents' abilities to assist in their children's education. While school net enrolment rates in Mozambique were 87.6 percent in 2014, attendance rates are at about 77 percent (Education Policy and Data Center, n.d.; Unicef, n.d.), although lower in rural areas. According to the World Bank, the country faces challenges related to increased malnutrition and stunting. Malaria is the most common cause of death, being responsible for 35 percent of child mortality and 29 percent of general population mortality (World Bank, 2016). However, it has been argued that with substantial assistance from international donors, Mozambique has worked to rebuild "its war-damaged and neglected infrastructure, investing in health and education and laying the policy and institutional foundation for continued economic growth" (USAID, n.d.-b).

According to R. Heltberg and F. Tarp, the large peasant population in Mozambique is poorly integrated into food markets, as agricultural production is characterized by "traditional labour-intensive and low-productive farming methods" (2002, p. 105). The authors argue that sustained output growth is needed. Further, they argue, the only sustainable way the many small-holder farmers can take part in the country's growth process, is "through increased participation in output markets". They argue: "The key policy implication is to focus on targeted efforts to build up farm capital, improve market access and diffuse new crop technologies, while also paying attention to smallholder investment incentives" (Heltberg & Tarp, 2002, p. 105). Variations in climatic conditions, including drought, floods and cyclones significantly impact the vulnerability of small-holder farmers in Mozambique.

2.4. The Case of Machengue, Inhambane Province, Mozambique

For this study, the rural community of Machengue, located in Inhambane province in southern Mozambique, was applied as a case. Inhambane province had an estimated population of 1 499 479 people in 2015, covering an area of 68 775 square kilometers (GeoHIVE, n.d.). Machengue is located in Vilanculos district, approximately 37 kilometres from the small coastal town of Vilankulo. Vilankulo locates, among others, the Vilanculos district government offices, an agricultural department of the

Eduardo Mondlane University, as well as markets, shops, an international airport, and hotels for tourism. According to the Vilanculos Department of Agriculture representative, agriculture in the district was significantly characterized by subsistence farming, with 64 000 subsistence family farmers, and 24 farmers practicing private commercial agriculture in a medium scale.

In October 2015, 220 families lived in Machengue, constituting 1040 inhabitants. According to the community political leader, Machengue as a community was established in 1984. As the government provided protection and safety during the civil war, people arrived from different locations to settle in the area, after having left their homes. The argument was made that “from this year, [the community] lived in great sacrifice because of the war”, among others suffering from severe hunger. According to the community political leader, *secretário*, the community started “to live in harmony” in 1994, settling down and taking on agricultural activities. However, as the people settled relatively close, their agricultural activities were characterized by homegardens, being relatively small pieces of land by their house, to produce a small amount for self-consumption. As such, JAM staff argued that a culture of large-scale agricultural production did not develop in Machengue.

The main livelihoods of community members in Machengue are agriculture, livestock and vegetal coal production. Most production, e.g. of chickens and at their fields, called *machambas*, is mainly for self-consumption, according to community leadership and members. Agricultural activities rely heavily on rainfall, although the area is semi-arid. In times of “good harvest”, depending on the climate conditions, a small surplus is left for sale within the community, “because they demand for other articles, such as soap, and taking their children to hospital and to school. But it’s not regular”. Community members and the political community leader described the socio-economic development of Machengue over the past decades and years, as “progressing...but slow”. According to the *secretário*, a few community members have “higher incomes”, the significant share are “very poor”. Community members houses are based on local materials, and is not connected to electricity or water facilities.

The food security and agricultural production in Machengue in October 2015 were reported by community members to be heavily reduced by the drought affecting Inhambane province, and Southern Africa in general, argued to be caused by El Niño. Community members faced challenges in their agricultural production, as “we depend

on rainfall, but there is no rain”. According to the political leader of Machengue, it had not rained from February until the end of October 2015, while a “normal” rain season was described to last from October to May. He stated that “other years it rains from December to March”. Also 2014 was a year of reduced rainfall. For the first of two seasons in 2015, “the rain stopped when the plants were still growing”, he argued, thus severely reducing production in the community due to failed crops. According to JAM staff, Inhambane “is a tough place, because its hot, it doesn’t rain a great deal, and the land...it’s not incredible arable land. So...food insecurity is going to be a challenge in Inhambane”. 2013, however, was reported by local farmers to be a year of “good rainfall” and harvest.

The situation in Machengue reflects the general situation in Inhambane province. According to the United Nations (UN), the drought has led to reduced crop yields and crop failure in Inhambane, and significant water shortages for human and livestock use. This should be seen in relation to Mozambique already being among the countries in the world with lowest human water usage. These shocks, combined with the slow start of the season, have worsened food insecurity for poor households in Inhambane, among other provinces, which have reached status of Crisis according to the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC). IPC is a set of standardized tools aiming to provide a "common standard" for classifying the severity and magnitude of food insecurity (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification, 2016; United Nations Office of the Resident Coordinator in Mozambique, 2016). An assessment by Mozambique's Technical Secretariat for Food Security and Nutrition (SETSAN) in November 2015, found:

from May to October 2015 the proportion of household with difficulties in accessing food increased. Another indicator monitored during the assessment was the source of food consumed and it was found that the main source of cereals except in Tete and Manica is the market instead of own production, which means low agricultural production in most of the provinces especially in Gaza, Maputo, Inhambane and Sofala provinces.

(United Nations Office of the Resident Coordinator in Mozambique, 2016, p. 2)

The report further estimated that in December 2015, 75,565 people in Inhambane lived in worrying and acute food insecurity. The report found that these people struggled to meet their minimal food requirements, with prospects that the number of

people could increase significantly if rainfall continued to be scarce. This has also had significant impact on community members' livelihood in Machengue.

The socio-political and socio-cultural structure of Machengue is highly related to the previous described relationship between political and traditional leadership at community level in Mozambique. Machengue has a political leader, *secretário*, having been in position since 1986, as well as a traditional leader, *régulo*. During the fieldwork, it was, however, argued that the relationship between the *secretário* and *régulo* is based on lack of cooperation and “friendship”, and “they do not interact well together. The community structure is further based on “sub-communities”, consisting of 10 households in each group. Each “sub-community” has its leader, to which the community members can raise or discuss issues of concern. The sub-community leader would forward these issues to the community leadership. It can be noted that the community leadership of the *secretário* and the *régulo* is regarded as “the linkage” between the people and the government, who would bring community requests forward to government agencies. It was clearly argued in the community that any external actor that wanted “to do something” in the community, “first has to contact the local leader”, to inform him and gain acceptance. Also JAM staff argued that “it’s how things work” and “Nothing in the community happens without the knowledge of the leader”. In terms of economic relationships in Machengue, the political leader argued: “Its based on hierarchy. Those who have more power in terms of economical power and influence, is more valued and has more respect than others that don’t have for example money”. While a few community members know Portuguese, the local language widely spoken in the community is Xitswa.

The property right system in Machengue, as in Mozambique, is based on a system where anyone who wishes to utilize land contacts the political community leader. After he has given authorization and written a document to the government, the person would go to the relevant government department in Vilanculos to get the official documentation and legal authorization to utilize the land. People are not allowed to buy and sell land, as this belongs to the government, but can sell the infrastructure on the land.

While community members argued that their relationships were based on cohesion, although the houses are fragmented in terms of distances, further conversation indicated that norms of trust, helping each other and cooperation to achieve common goals were largely absent in the community, although improved

over the years. People were described as working individually in their livelihoods. Community members often stated that if they were to help each other, they needed to be paid in terms of money.

EPC Machengue, the community school, had 251 pupils enrolled in 2015, and eight teachers employed at the school. The school got status as an independent school in 1994, after it initially was established as an annex to a school in a neighbouring community, due to the long walking distance for children in the community. The school initially taught grade 1-4, although upgrading to teach grade 1-5 in 1997 (being EP1 Machengue). In 2014 the school became “EPC Machengue”, with authorisation to teach grade 1-7. The school teaches two sessions every day, however, the school’s three classrooms were insufficient, and as such teaching also took place under the shadow of a tree.

At EPC Machengue, there is a PTA, consisting of 15 members. This is part of the government initiated structure in Mozambique, and is intended to serve as a link between the school and the community. The PTA was argued to serve important functions in terms of keeping the school and school principal to account. Both the current principal at the school and PTA had entered into position during the last year.

The community also had a church, and Environmental Club working to prevent malaria based on a government initiative, and a community committee working towards disaster risk reduction. There is also a lake in the community and an open water well, in addition to a water pump rehabilitated by JAM. A WASH-committee is responsible for the maintenance and repair of the pump, promoting sound WASH-practices and management, e.g. accounting and treasuring.

A river, Rio Govuro, is passing through about seven kilometres from the market in Machengue. The far distance to the nearest hospital was a concern among community members. The political leader argued: “In terms of health, we are living with big problems. It’s difficult, because the hospital is far from here”.

The community is located along the national main road connecting the North and South of Mozambique. Recently the community established a market next to the road, consisting of a few small “shops” selling basic domestic products, and “cafés”/bars. Community members also sold vegetables at the market, as well as vegetal coal along the main road. The community had constructed a toilet based on local materials and cleared land surrounding the market, hoping to attract commercial activities and government investments in infrastructure at the market. This, they

hoped, would result in more people stopping at the community market to buy coal and other necessities, when passing through the community on the main road. A main argued challenge to further develop economic activity at the local market in Machengue was, however, related to the community's proximity to the bigger location of Pambarra, which offers a more extensive market and facilities. According to community members, "everyone has already bought what they need when they pass here", along the national main road, resulting in a low customer base. As such, the community members struggled to increasingly commercialize their production, e.g. of vegetal coal.

In addition to JAM, different international NGOs (INGO) and development actors, as well as Mozambican government organizations such as the Mozambique National Institute of Disaster Management (INGC), have worked in Machengue over the years. Among these are the Red Cross, working towards natural calamities. The World Food Programme in cooperation with a German NGO was argued by the *secretário* to previously having been involved e.g. in a Food for Work programme, drilling the water well at EPC Machengue², running a farm, and building a classroom at the school. However, the political leader in Machengue argued that when these actors pulled out, also the projects, such as the farm, stopped. "The community wasn't able to continue, because the project was working with a high sum of money. It took big cost to us. So it wasn't possible financially".

² The water pump had a breakage, and as such the was rehabilitated by JAM in 2008.

Chapter 3: Literature Review and Analytical Framework

In highlighting the role and function of JAM as development NGO in promoting sustainable local development, through enhancing a local community's capacities, in terms of capabilities, structures and institutions, key literature on the field will be reviewed. This firstly includes literature on how sustainability and local community development can be seen as related aspects, being key to promote bottom-up approaches towards long-term development. This is followed by a presentation of the capacity development field. While capacity and capacity development is widely applied by development agencies, the concept can be described as vague. Arguments have been that the concept implies "everything and thus nothing", and questions have been made regarding the academic value of the concept.

This study found it valuable to concretize the concept by relating it to relevant literature on capabilities, which includes a view of promoting communities abilities to act and function as agents of change in their lives and circumstances. Further, this thesis discusses literature regarding to which degree and how people's real capabilities, and agency to improve their own and others living conditions, are affected by the social, economic and political context, that is structures and institutions, in which a person is situated. In a rural, sub-Saharan African context, local communities should be seen as a key setting in which persons exercise agency, which may facilitate or restrict sustainable community development. Literature regarding how development NGOs can act in such circumstances is included in parts of the literature review. Finally, the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) is presented and discussed, as this highlights key discussions in current literature and practice on how to promote sustainable local development.

3.1. Sustainability and Local Community Development

During the two last decades of the twentieth century, the question of how to promote sustainable local development emerged strongly on the development agenda. This was based on an acknowledgement that development needs to be long-term socially, economically and environmentally sound in order to be sustained (Adams, 2001, p. 334; Hanna & Agarwala, 2002, p. 10). The World Commission of Environment and Development's definition of sustainable development as "development that meets the need of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Adams, 2009, p. 5) is the most commonly cited. This definition has,

however, been criticized for its vagueness. “Development that meets the needs” can, for example, be understood as merely meeting people’s minimum needs (Adams, 2009, pp. 5-6; Perkins et al., 2013, p. 761). Understanding sustainable development as a “development process that is long-lasting and environmentally sound and secures an improved livelihood for the general public, with a special concern to vulnerable groups/communities” (Øyhus, n.d., p. 1), is regarded more practically applicable as a point of departure in this study. With regard to sustainable development, W.M. Adams (2009, p. 7) argues that the term “development” at its most basic can be understood as production of social change that allows people to achieve their human potential. One may however ask how such processes are to be generated, and specifically who are to be the actors of generating such a process.

The field of sustainable local development emerged as part of a broader “academic and policy reassessment of conventional [development] thinking” (Adams, 2001, p. 334). As noted by Adams: ““Top-down”, “technocratic”, “blueprint” approaches to development came under increased scrutiny as they failed to deliver the economic growth and social benefits that had been promised” (2001, p. 334). Community development and participatory approaches received attention for their potential to bring about sustainable and transformative development from the bottom-up, by empowering local communities. It was argued that development could “put people first” by working systematically at the local level (Cernea, cited in Adams, 2001, p. 335; Mansuri & Rao, 2004, pp. 1-6, 27). In this regard, empowerment has been understood in social, economic, political and psychological terms (Friedmann, cited in Gotlieb, 1994, p. 417). While emerging through unconventional thinking in the 1970s, local community empowerment and related concepts of participation, ownership, agency and bottom-up planning have become integral in the common sustainable development debate and in mainstream development frameworks.

3.2. Mainstream Sustainable Development Framework: The Comprehensive Development Framework

3.2.1. The CDF and Sustainable Local Development

A current mainstream sustainable development framework is the World Bank’s CDF, which emphasizes local community empowerment and development as cornerstones in providing sustainable and inclusive development as a result of development

initiatives (Hanna & Agarwala, 2002; Mansuri & Rao, 2004, p. 2). Along with its focus on holistic and integrated approaches, the CDF points to human and social dimensions of development as essential. It is argued that a “development strategy should set forth a vision for the transformation of institutions and the nurturing of new social capital and capabilities. It should also identify the barriers and catalysts for change” (Hanna & Agarwala, 2002, p. 9).

The related Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) Sourcebook points to community-based and -driven development as a mechanism for enhancing sustainability and making development more inclusive. This is argued to be achieved by empowering poor people, building social capital, strengthening governance, and complementing market and public-sector activities. Community participation is argued to be at the heart of community-based and -driven development approaches, by including communities in, or letting them have direct control over, the design and management of projects (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, p. 2).

The CDF argues that partnerships, ownership and capacity development are essential to successful and sustainable local development (Hanna & Agarwala, 2002, pp. 4-6, 15). Different World Bank evaluation studies have repeatedly emphasized lack of ownership as a weakness that has severely compromised the effectiveness of development operations. As argued by Nagy Hanna and Ramgopal Agarwala:

Complex projects have performed poorly, mainly because they were prepared by outsiders, failed to engage stakeholders, exceeded local implementation capacity, and thus did not engender borrower commitment. Evaluation lessons indicate that borrower ownership is not a given; it must be earned. Development as transformation affects both what we do and how we do it. It argues for openness, partnership, and participation. A change in mindset is central to development, but the change cannot be forced from outside or ordered by a small elite group. Transformation must come from within.

(2000, p. 12)

Also Todaro and Smith (2011, p. 549) argue that only when governments and civil societies take ownership of development projects, through genuine participation, reforms are undertaken in serious and sustainable ways. It is further claimed that participatory processes, as part of development programmes, ensure that concerns within communities not only are heard, but also addressed (Hanna & Agarwala, 2000, p. 12). This is regarded important to dissipate resistance to change. Finally, it has

been argued that a “long-term vision is the key to consistency and coherence in the development effort” (Hanna & Agarwala, 2002, p. 9).

Hanna and Agarwala (2002, pp. 15-16) argue that the CDF calls for a new role of development experts, which challenges traditional norms and assumptions of technocratic expertise and of professional effectiveness. This involves professional competencies that are less defined by technique and more characterized by capacity building and action learning with target groups. Holistic development approaches that go beyond economic issues and includes political, sociological and cultural aspects are emphasized. Rather than providing blueprints to development, it is argued that development initiatives should rely on a set of tools, skills and processes adapted to the specific contexts in which the projects are implemented.

3.2.2. Criticism of the CDF in Sustainable Local Development

Mainstream frameworks such as the CDF are not without its critics. Basic assumptions have been questioned or lack clear, research-based evidence. Challenges in implementing such projects have been highlighted. Several scholars question what happens when complex and contextual concepts, such as community, empowerment and capacity for collective action are applied to large development projects on tight timelines. This may, according to Mansuri and Rao, lead project implementers to gloss over differences within target groups that underscore local power structures and “to short-change the more difficult task of institution building in favour of more easily deliverable and measurable outcomes” (2004, p. 2).

Less tangible processes and results, such as enhanced development capabilities, structures and institutions, are argued to be of profound importance in promoting sustainable, long-term community development. Still, Todaro and Smith (2011, p. 550) argue that as administrative competence of communities is a less tangible outcome than the percentage of farmers who get linked up to irrigation canals, project staff may regard genuine participation as a distraction. This is despite that genuine community participation in development projects is widely claimed to be essential in promoting socially transformative benefits. For development NGOs, such challenges may be underscored by the strong donor emphasis on quick and evident results (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, pp. 2, 24-25, 31). Mansuri and Rao (2004, pp. 2-3) call for research on how NGOs and project facilitators affect development outcomes of projects. Also Julien Labonne and Robert Chase argue that effort should be devoted to

understand “the role facilitators play in ensuring broad representation within communities and significant benefits from the project” (2011, p. 357).

The idealised transformative impacts of participation in development projects depend on a range of factors (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, p. 6). Todaro and Smith (2011, p. 550) argue that the poor may perceive expectations that they participate in development projects as unremunerated labour. Participation may involve “real or imputed financial losses due to time commitments required for adequate participation” (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, p. 6). Further, participation in development projects may cause psychological and physical distress for those who are socially and economically disadvantaged within local communities. This is the case as genuine participation may require that people take positions that are contrary to interests of powerful groups. Although the premise is that benefits outweigh such costs, local people may be unwilling to take such risks (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, p. 7).

According to Todaro and Smith (2011, p. 550), superficiality of what passes for participation during implementation is central part in the problem of ensuring transformative benefits of participatory projects. Mansuri and Rao state that “mainstreaming participation has made it an instrument for promoting...cost-effective delivery or low-cost maintenance, rather than a vehicle for radical social transformation” (2004, p. 7). Similarly, Todaro and Smith (2011, p. 550) argue that implementing staff may be motivated to encourage participation as long as it enhances project efficiency, but not necessarily beyond that point. This may bring benefits, but normally not the socially transformative benefits of genuine participation (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 550). Mathie and Cunningham therefore claim that the results of so-called “participatory” initiatives have been mixed (2003, p. 482). Based on the work of a development NGO in Burkina Faso, which theoretically was committed to genuine participation, Victoria Michener (cited in Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 551) argues that even though villagers often benefit from assistance, they lack resources to continue the project on their own.

Mansuri and Rao (2004, pp. 1, 31) further argue in terms of the importance of acknowledgement of context in community development initiatives, as success is crucially conditioned by local cultural and social systems. Based on case study evidences of community participatory projects, they argue that naive application of complex contextual concepts such as empowerment, participation and social capital “is endemic among project implementers and contributes to poor design and

implementation” (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, p. 1). This may lead to outcomes that are at odds with the stated intentions and objective

3.3. Capacity Development

As part of the above mentioned shift in development thinking, focus has been directed towards capacity development in the effort to promote sustainable local development (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 13; Morgan, 2006, p. 4). This has been a response to the need to avoid inducing aid dependency within local communities, thus marginalizing the poor. It has been based on the need of making local communities increasingly self-sustaining in the long term (Bhattacharyya, 2004, pp. 12-13; Green, n.d., p. 4; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, p. 482). Jnanabrata Bhattacharyya (2004) claims that many development organizations wittingly or unwittingly create chronic dependency in what he terms “clients”, that is, target groups and local communities. This is the case, he argues, as there is established a relationship as “between givers and abject recipients”. According to Bhattacharyya, the latter rarely gain capability to break out of the relationship (2004, p. 13). As such, he argues that development projects should be set up *with* communities, not merely *for* them. Martin Godfrey et al. (2002, p. 355) similarly argue that most projects in aid dependent economies are donor-driven in their identification, design and implementation, thus actually being detrimental to capacity development. Mansuri and Rao, on the other hand, argue that in the latter years development projects have increasingly focused their assistance on holistic attempts to induce participation “through institutions that organize the poor and build their capabilities to act collectively in their own interest” (2004, pp. 5-6).

This can be related to Alison Mathie and Gord Cunningham’s (2003) claim that local people should function as citizens rather than clients in community development projects. As Elinor Ostrom (1996, p. 1073) argues, “[the] term “client” is a passive term. Clients are acted upon”. The concept of citizenship, on the other hand, has traditionally been territorial grounded, applied to citizens’ contractual relationship with government, but is also associated with citizen-to-citizen ties and active participation (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, p. 475). In this regard, the term “co-production” is relevant, implying that citizens can “play an active role in producing public goods and services of consequence to them” (1996, p. 1073). Ostrom further argues that co-production involves “the process through which inputs used to produce a good or service are contributed by individuals who are not “in” the

same organization” (1996, p. 1073). While Ostrom’s (1996, p. 1073) argument is mainly related to co-production between government and communities/civil society, these arguments are also of central relevance in NGO-community relationships, in contexts where NGOs serves as major deliverers of services or goods.

3.3.1. Clarifying Capacity and Capacity Development

Development agencies often claim capacity development to be at the heart of their development initiatives (Morgan, 2006, p. 3; Taylor & Clarke, 2008, p. 6). Yet there exists lack of clarity regarding what capacity and capacity development implies in practical terms, especially when applied at the local community level (Chaskin, 2001, p. 291). Many organizations apply the definitions provided by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development’s (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC). OECD-DAC has defined capacity as “the ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully” (cited in Taylor & Clarke, 2008, p. 10). Based on this, capacity development is understood as “the process whereby people, organisations and society as a whole unleash, strengthen, create, adapt and maintain capacity over time” (OECD-DAC, cited in Taylor & Clarke, 2008, p. 10). OECD-DAC thus applies a three-level approach by focusing on the individual, organizational and society as a whole level (Taylor & Clarke, 2008).

Peter Morgan has defined capacity as “that emergent combination of attributes [individual competencies, collective capabilities, assets and relationships] that enables a human system to create development value” (Baser & Morgan, 2008, p. 3; Morgan, 2006, p. 8). Others have applied understandings related to as the potential for using resources effectively and maintaining gains in performance, with gradually reduced levels of external support (LaFond and Brown, cited in Ubels, Acquaye-Baddoo, & Fowler, 2010, p. 3). This can be related to the view of capacity development as a process of transforming choices and means into real progress. It is argued that “grounded in ownership, guided by leadership, and informed by confidence and self-esteem, capacity development is the capacity [development of abilities] of people, institutions and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives”, individually and collectively (Godfrey et al., 2002, p. 356; Lopes & Theisohn, 2013, p. 1).

Given the enormous variety of capacity development efforts that are undertaken in the international development field, the question has, however, been made if capacities involve everything, and thus nothing. Some claim that the concepts of capacity and capacity development add little conceptual and operational contribution to the development field (Morgan, 2006, p. 5). Other scholars, on the other hand, suggest increasing the operational value by connecting capacities to the narrower field of capabilities (Morgan, 2006, pp. 6-8, 18; Taylor & Clarke, 2008, pp. 10, 20).

However, Mark Malloch Brown (2002, p. vii) has argued that traditionally, ignorance of the importance of local knowledge, institutions and social capital in social and economic development has hampered successful and sustainable capacity development. This can also be related to the concern within the “sustainable livelihoods approach” that promoting income-generating activities not necessarily are synonymous with enhancing the livelihoods of the poor. Also other factors need to be taken into account, including the larger structures and processes that shape people’s livelihoods (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, p. 477). Such views, it can be argued, depart significantly from a common focus on pure technical approaches, based on training, to community capacity development.

Thus, local community capacity and capacity development can be seen in light of capabilities, structures and institutions, thus adding to its operational value (Brown, 2002, p. vii; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, p. 477; Morgan, 2006, p. 18). This can inform one’s view on, and practical approaches to, sustainable local development. This is further relevant in studying interlinkages between capacity development at the individual, organizational and wider community level (Baser & Morgan, 2008, p. 18; Taylor & Clarke, 2008, p. 7).

While increased capacities at the individual level, through training, often are assumed to be directly transferred to the organizational level, it has been argued that this is not necessarily the case (Taylor & Clarke, 2008, p. 19). Allan Kaplan argues that there are too few NGOs, donors and development practitioners who take time to read specific situations in order to design appropriate and necessarily transitory, due to the effectiveness of the intervention, capacity development interventions based on “intelligent reading” (2000, p. 523). Individuals’ and organizations’ capacities take place within, and are influenced by, larger societal structures and systems, they argue (Baser & Morgan, 2008, p. 18). While training often constitutes a central part of

capacity development initiatives, a growing body of evidence shows that individual and collective, that is human and social, aspects, including psychological, and larger societal structures and institutions need to be taken in account for capacity development to lead to sustainable development.

3.3.2. Current Guidelines on Capacity and Capacity Development

Despite the capacity and capacity development fields being riddled with uncertainties, some guidelines have been suggested. Firstly, it is argued to not rush: “Building and developing sustainable capacities is a long endeavour, whether that involves educating individuals, establishing viable organizations or fomenting major societal changes” (Lopes & Theisohn, 2013, p. 3). Secondly, it is argued that capacity is as much about less tangible, or intangible, as the easily tangible aspects of development (Kaplan, 2000, pp. 519-521). It is claimed that to understand capacity one “must go beyond the instrumental, the technical and the functional, and encompass the human, the emotional, the political, the cultural and the psychological” (Morgan, 2006, p. 18). In the following sections, this will be discussed by seeing capacities in light of capabilities, structures and institutions, and connecting this to sustainable and holistic local development.

3.4. Taking A Holistic Approach to Development

3.4.1. Understanding Development as Freedom and Capabilities

“What is the meaning of growth if it is not translated into the lives of people?”

(UNDP, cited in Todaro & Smith, 2009, p. 2)

As a response to the traditional view of development in pure economic terms, the argument has increasingly been made that development needs to be measured at the bottom line, as real changes in people’s lives are the central measurement of true development. Amartya Sen (1999, pp. 10, 36-37), being central in this paradigm shift, argues for understanding development as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy, by giving people opportunity to lead lives they have reason to value. Freedom is seen in terms of capabilities, which Sen (1999, p. 75) defines as the alternative combinations of “functionings” that are possible for a person to achieve, given its personal features and command over commodities. The concept of functionings refers to what a person value doing or being, such as being healthy and

literate and able to take part in social, economic and political activities. In short, capability is the freedom, in terms of real opportunities, to live and achieve according to what one values, given one's personal attributes and command over commodities (Sen, 1999, p. 75; Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 773). Sen thus argues that economic growth "cannot be sensibly treated as an end in itself" (1999, p. 14). It constitutes a means for achieving higher goals. Development is essentially about enhancing the lives we lead and the freedoms we enjoy.

Michael Todaro and Stephen Smith (2011, p. 18) argue that Sen's capabilities approach to development helps explain why health and education, and more lately social inclusion and empowerment, have received so much emphasis in recent times. This is also the reason why development economists have referred to countries with high levels of income, but poor health and education standards, as cases of "growth without development" (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 18). Regarding the means of promoting development, it is thus argued that without ignoring the importance of economic growth, one must look well beyond it, taking into account the multidimensional aspect of poverty. Sen states:

Sometimes, the lack of substantive freedoms relates directly to economic poverty, which robs people of the freedom to satisfy hunger, or to achieve sufficient nutrition, or to obtain remedies for treatable illnesses, or the opportunity to be adequately clothed or sheltered, or to enjoy clean water or sanitary facilities. In other cases, the unfreedom links closely to the lack of public facilities and social care, such as the absence of epidemiological programs, or of effective institutions for the maintenance of local peace and order. In still other cases, the violation of freedom results directly from a denial of political and civil liberties by authoritarian regimes and from imposed restrictions on the freedom to participate in the social, political and economic life of the community.

(1999, p. 4)

As such, life expectancy and health not only depend on a person's economic situation, but also on social arrangements and community relations. Lack of freedom to participate effectively in the market mechanism and in political activities, may root in illiteracy or innumeracy, or lack of specific skills being increasingly necessary e.g. in globalized economies, which again are affected by educational facilities and societal structures and institutions of inclusion or exclusion (Sen, 1999, pp. 22-23, 39).

Sen (1999, p. 38) defines five distinct, but interrelated, complementary and often mutually reinforcing, freedoms. These consist of political freedoms, economic

facilities, social opportunities (e.g. health care, education, social security), transparency guarantees, and protective security. It is argued that each of these rights and opportunities helps to advance the general capability of a person (Sen, 1999, p. 10). Sen (1999, pp. 36-40) argues that these freedoms both constitute *primary ends* in development, as they directly contribute to enrich the quality of human life, and are *principal means* for further expanding freedoms. These freedoms can supplement and mutually reinforce each other. They thus play *constitutive* roles in development, as well as being *instrumentally* central in further promoting the development process as a whole.

3.4.2. The Agency Aspect of Development as Freedom and Capabilities

Central in Sen's capabilities approach to development is an "agent-oriented" view. It is argued that individuals need not be regarded as passive recipients of the benefits of "cunning development programs" (Sen, 1999, p. 11). On the contrary, Sen (1999, pp. 11, 39) states that individuals should be regarded as agents that, with adequate social opportunities, effectively can shape their own circumstances and future and help each other. The concept of functionings is held as the central measure of development:

...“functionings”...reflects the various things a person may value doing or being. The valued functionings may vary from elementary ones, such as being adequately nourished and being free from avoidable disease, to very complex activities or personal states, such as being able to take part in the life of the community and having self-respect”.

(Sen, cited in Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 16)

In Sen's view, development can be regarded as the removal of different types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and opportunity of “exercising their reasoned agency”, thus enhancing people's abilities to help themselves and to influence the world (Sen, 1999, pp. xii, 18). As such, it is central to give simultaneous recognition to the role of individual freedom in development and to the impact of social influences on individual freedom (Sen, 1999, p. xii). As argued by Sen, the view of development as freedom involves “both the *processes* that allow freedom of actions and decisions, and the actual *opportunities* that people have, given their personal and social circumstances” (1999, p. 17). With regard to local development it can thus, based on Sen's (1999) arguments, be argued that attention should be given to individual capabilities and to societal structures and institutions affecting these.

This view of development as freedom provides a complementation, rather than alternative, to the human capital field, which emphasizes health, education and skills as essential means for promoting development, in terms of enhancing people's productive abilities (Sen, 1999, pp. 293-295). The difference lies in that the yardstick of assessment focuses on different achievements in the "means and end" perspective. While the capabilities approach focuses on both aspects, the human capital approach often gives primary attention to the means perspective.

Sen's view of development as freedom is reflected in the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI), which aims to take on a holistic measure of living conditions by including longevity (life expectancy at birth), knowledge (adult literacy and mean years of schooling) and standard of living (per capita GDP). As stated in the UNDP Human Development Report 1997: In the light of the capability perspective poverty does not merely lie in the impoverished state in which a person lives, but also in lack of opportunity, due to social constraints and personal circumstances, to lead valuable and valued lives (UNDP, 1997, p. 16).

Deepa Naryan argues that assets in terms of physical and financial means, such as land, housing, livestock and savings, enable people to withstand shocks and expand their choices. Capabilities are inherent in individuals and their relationships, and enable them to use their assets to increase their well-being, that is, to act as agents for positive change (Narayan, 2005, p. 10). However, a person's capabilities again depend on commodities, such as adequate food (Sen, 1999, p. 75). Narayan distinguishes between different categories of capabilities:

Human capabilities include good health, education, and productive or other life-enhancing skills. Social capabilities include social belonging, leadership, relations of trust, a sense of identity, values that give meaning to life, and the capacity to organize. Psychological capabilities include self-esteem, self-confidence, and an ability to imagine and aspire to a better future...Political capabilities include the capacity to represent oneself or others, access information, form associations, and participate in the political life of a community or country.

(2005, p. 10)

As such, capabilities can be human, social, psychological or political. According to Narayan (2005, p. 10) the psychological aspect has been generally overlooked, although being central to people's agency.

3.4.3. Criticism of Sen's Capabilities Approach to Development

Although Sen's work has had profound impact upon today's development thinking, it has also faced criticism. Peter Evans (2002) argues for the importance not only of individual's capabilities in promoting development as freedom, but also of collective capabilities, seen as exceeding a mere sum of individual capabilities (O'Hearn, 2009). Evans argues that organized collectivities are fundamental to "people's capabilities to choose the lives they have reason to value" (Sen, cited in Evans, 2002, p. 56). According to Evans (2002, p. 56), this is the case as organized collectivities provide an arena for formulating shared values and preferences, and instruments for pursuing them. This criticism is made, although Sen argues that "it is not unreasonable for human beings- the social creatures that we are- to value unrestrained participation in political and social activities" (1999, p. 152).

Denis O'Hearn (2009) argues that Sen's view of development as freedom and capabilities comes short in taking full account of the relevance of societal structures and institutions in the process of promoting sustainable local development. It is stated that Sen's development approach is "profoundly neutral" with respect to underlying social relations and historical specificity of unequal entitlements (Fine, cited in O'Hearn, 2009, p. 12). Further, while Sen gives attention micro economic factors at the local level, macro economic dimensions direct the functioning of markets in important ways and set central rules of the game, it is argued. O'Hearn (2009, p. 12) points to unequal terms of trade, tariff policies and the behaviour of International Financial Institutions (IFIs). Macroeconomic factors may thus have profound impact upon local economic and social development, hampering communities actual capabilities to improve their livelihoods.

O'Hearn (2009, p. 14) claims that market liberalization, and globalization breaks down the capacities and capabilities of local communities. However, ideological divisions on the merits of markets pervade this debate. On the other hand, it has been argued in terms of including the poor in the merits of markets and the "global community", by increasing their access to and opportunities through market exchanges at national, regional and international levels. Poor people's economic agency, well-being and living conditions can thus be enhanced. Narayan states that poverty and vulnerability "will not be reduced without broad-based economic growth fuelled by markets that poor people can access at fair terms" (2005, pp. 12-13). As

such, without rejecting potential merits of markets, it can be argued that structural and institutional changes, both at micro and macro levels, often are necessary for markets to be inclusive, so that poor people in the developing world are given opportunities to act as effective economic agents.

3.5. Community Development Structures and Institutions

While Sen's development framework focuses on the freedom of individuals to lead lives they have reason to value, this includes focus on how the extent and reach of individual opportunities rely on societal structures; social, economic, political, legal and physical. While positive structures may promote individual well-being and agency, reversely negative structures or lack of positive structures may inhibit a person's capabilities and agency (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, p. 478). On the other hand, it has been argued that individual agency and other innovations can affect and change such structures (Evans, 2002, p. 1030; Giddens & Sutton, 2013, p. 90).

A central element in societal structure that has been increasingly argued to highly affect sustainable development, is the presence of institutions in the social, economic and political spheres, often being affected by historical legacy (Todaro & Smith, 2011, pp. 77, 503). Douglass North has defined institutions as the "humanly devised constraints that structure human interaction" (cited in Perkins et al., 2013, p. 653). As such, institutions include the formal rules of a society, such as constitutions, laws and regulations, as well as informal constraints through conventions, norms, traditions and "generally accepted ways of doing things" (Perkins et al., 2013, p. 80; Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 84). North thus distinguishes between "the rules of the game" and the players/organizations that operate within these constraints. However, often the term institutions is also applied to organizations to which the rules apply (Perkins et al., 2013, p. 80).

Alison Mathie and Gord Cunningham (2003) argue in terms of the need for successful community development initiatives to draw on existing resources within communities. They argue that by mobilising informal networks, formal institutional resources, such as local government and private enterprise, can be activated.

The field of community development has been criticized for giving insufficient attention to unequal and destructive power structures within local communities. In practice, lack of attention to local power structures e.g. from development NGOs intervening in such communities, may result in unintended

maintenance and, at worst, reinforcement and worsening of destructive and authoritarian power structures. Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan, on the other hand, highlight that “not all local elites and power relations are inherently exclusive and subordinating” (2004, p. 15). The latter acknowledgement does, however, not underplay the importance of “being cognisant of local socio-political structures and practices” (Hickey and Mohan, 2004, p. 15).

In the upcoming section, three foundational aspects of local community structure and institutions will be reviewed: Social, economic and political. Todaro and Smith argue that attaining successful economic development that is balanced, shared and sustainable requires improved functioning of the public, private and citizen sectors, which complement each other (Todaro and Smith, 2011, p. 551).

3.5.1. Social Structures and Institutions: Social Capital, Networks and Economic Agency

Social structures or systems can be defined as the organizational and institutional structure of a society, including its norms, values, attitudes, customs, traditions and power relations (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 783). It can further be understood as how social relations affect behaviour and institutions (Granovetter, 1985, p. 481), and thus capabilities of individuals and societal groups.

While sociology traditionally has strongly emphasised social constraints on human action, arguments have increasingly been made with regard to how individual behaviour also can change social circumstances. Mark Granovetter has argued that a sophisticated account of economic action must consider its embeddedness in such structures. As argued by Dennis Wrong argued the case can be made against an “over-socialized conception of man in modern sociology” (cited in Granovetter, 1985, p. 483). A balance needs to be made, it has been argued, by neither focusing solely on an atomized, under-socialized nor an over-socialized conception of individual behaviour. Granovetter (1985, p. 487) argues that individuals not behave as atoms outside a social context. However, nor are they steered slavishly by the intersection of social categories that they occupy. “Their attempts at purposive action are instead embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations”, Granovetter (1985, p. 487) argues. This argument contrasts with the traditional sociological view of human behaviour and action as being purely shaped by social structures of society (Coleman, 1988)

The argument has, as such, been made that while social relations and structures indeed may affect behaviour, these structures are not immutable. Individual agency and innovations from internal or external actors may, while their effects may depend on context, also change the contexts in which they are introduced, including people's perceptions of themselves and their neighbours (Evans, 1996a, p. 1130). The argument has thus been made in terms of an existing interplay between structure and action (Lin, 2001, p. 18). This view has important implications for the potential role and function of external actors, such as development NGOs, in enhancing local community development capabilities, structures and institutions. It also breaks strongly with the common focus of sociologists on individual behaviour as merely being shaped by social structure (Coleman, 1988).

The field of social capital and networks has emerged as a field within social structure theory, being increasingly applied in sustainable development theories. Robert Putnam et al. have defined social capital as “features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (cited in Huber, 2009, p. 162). Mutual obligations can be included. Social capital has thus been understood as the social knowledge and connections, gained from organizational and network membership, that enable people to achieve their goals and extend influence (Giddens & Sutton, 2013, pp. 508, 778, 855).

Being introduced by James Coleman in 1988, the concept of social capital emerged as a parallel to financial, physical and human capital, although embodied in relationships among persons. It was a way to merge sociologists' and economists' conceptions of individual action. Most sociologists see actors as socialized, and actions as being governed by social norms, rules and regulations, thus being shaped, constrained and redirected by social structures and institutions. Economists, on the other hand, conventionally see actors as having goals independently arrived at, acting independently and in own interest. By connecting these fields, social capital refer to the value of social structure, in terms of functions, as a resource that actors can use to achieve their interests. Such value is e.g. inherent in trust and trustworthiness, which serve to ease cooperative action (Coleman, 1988, pp. 95-96, 101).

As Evans states: “By labelling such norms and networks “social capital” contemporary theorists such as Robert Putnam project primary ties as potentially valuable economic assets” (1996b, p. 1033). Evans argues that informal ties not

necessarily promote improvement in material well-being, if they are not applied for this purpose. However, if people cannot trust each other or work together, “improving the material conditions of life is an uphill battle” (1996b, p. 1034). In development economics, social capital has been defined as the “productive value of a set of social institutions and norms, including group trust, expected cooperative behaviors with predictable punishments for deviations, and a shared history of successful collective action, that raises expectations for participation in future cooperative behavior” (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 783). As such, it has been argued that social capital depends on trust between individuals and groups, the evolution of norms, rules and sanctions, and the development process of reciprocity, exchange and connectedness (Martin & Lemon, 2001, p. 586). Others, however, refer to social capital as the value of the resources that flow through a network, such as information, tips, reputations and credit (Bebbington, Guggenheim, & Woolcock, 2006, p. 4). Lenore Newman and Ann Dale have argued that networks, in terms of social capital can be a powerful tool to distribute knowledge and reconcile previously competing interests (2005, p. 478).

Evans argues that development strategies often focus on macroeconomic results, although without significant contribution to the understanding of the “microinstitutional foundations” on which these results depend. He states: “Too often development theory has operated, *de facto*, on the premise that the only institutions that mattered were those directly facilitating market transactions. Narrowly focused theories fail to incorporate the importance of informal norms and networks that make people collectively productive” (1996b, p. 1033). In this regard, social capital is essential.

A distinction has been made between strong, “bonding” ties and weak, “bridging” ties of social capital. Bonding ties relate to networks within a closely connected core group, such as a local community. These are centrally affecting people’s collective capabilities, e.g. in terms of trust and cohesion. Bridging ties, on the other hand, provide an actor with access to groups beyond the local group, both horizontally, e.g. to other communities, and vertically, e.g. to governmental agencies or markets higher up in the system. As such, bridging ties connect a local community to the outside world and to resources and information that are otherwise unavailable to the local community (Newman & Dale, 2005, pp. 478, 484).

Newman and Dale argue that communities can “achieve agency through a dynamic mix of bonding and bridging ties” (2005, p. 477). Also Michael Woolcock

and Deepa Narayan (2006, p. 39) have stated that as the diversity of social networks of poor people expands, so do their welfare. It is argued that bridging social capital is “essential to the change process and more critically to the ability of a local community to diversify its income base” (Newman & Dale, 2005, p. 481).

Social structures in the form of bonding ties might, however, not only have positive implications for development. Strong social bonds within a community, based on cohesion, may operate in such a way that they stifle or hamper individual or group initiative, agency and freedom to promote positive change (Newman & Dale, 2005, p. 484). Arguments have also been made in terms of the centrality of contextual power relations as parts of the social structure of local communities. These may hamper individual and collective agency, and thus positive developmental change. This is, however, as discussed below, also the case with regard to divisions and social fragmentation within societies (Edwards, 2006, p. 98). Further, Francis Fukuyama argues that social capital in terms of bonding ties might lead to negative externalities to the society outside a group, in terms of “hostility to out-group members” (2000, p. 4). Whether that actually is the case, he argues, can be seen in terms of whether the “radius of trust” extends beyond the group.

Arguments has been made that in sustainable community development literature, local communities often have been treated as homogenous units. However, this can create an illusion that people within what is defined as a local community, e.g. a village or neighbourhood, necessarily are cooperative, caring and inclusive. As Adams (2001, p. 337) and Mathie and Cunningham (2003, p. 475) argue, this may not be the reality. Political conflicts, divisions, social fragmentation and lack of trust may reduce the apparent cohesiveness of the community. Socially fragmented communities, in terms of lack of social integration, provide less stable social institutions and social bonds (Stafford, Gimeno, & Marmot, 2008, p. 605). It has been argued that a romanticized view of communities as “natural” organic social entities invites naive, simplistic and idealistic analyses of society and the political economy of development (Adams, 2001, p. 336). Although social integration and cohesiveness can be key characteristics of a local community, this is not given. Adams (2001, p. 337) argues that while mainstream sustainable development approaches often have failed to take this into account, this does not invalidate the potential of “development from below”, based on community development initiatives. It does, however,

underscore the importance of being cognisant of socio-political and other local contextual factors (Hickey & Mohan, 2004, p. 15; Mansuri & Rao, 2004, pp. 1, 31).

The above arguments suggest that while social lines of divisions, uneven power relations and social fragmentation may hamper the abilities of local communities to manage their affairs successfully to enhance their well-being and promote sustainable local development, this may also be the case in communities characterized with cohesion based on strong and stable social ties, structures and institutions. This suggests that social capital in terms of bonding ties can take varying forms in different contexts, thus resulting in different outcomes (e.g. socially, culturally, politically and economically). This points to the very context-specificity of social capital, as its nature might be highly dependent on local socio-cultural conditions (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, p. 31). According to Mansuri and Rao (2004, pp. 1, 31) naive application of contextual concepts such as participation, social capital and empowerment is a significant problem among project implementers of community development initiatives, contributing to poor design and implementation of community development projects. This may lead to outcomes that are at odds with the stated intentions of projects (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, p. 31).

Based on this, the argument can be made in terms of the importance of communities characterized with trust, cooperation and caring, co-existing with individual freedom and individual and collective capabilities to act as agents for positive change. This can have impact on community development approaches. As noted, also strong social bonds, while they may serve as positive contributors to sustainable growth, may also lead to exclusions from a larger society, as well as stifling positive agency within communities. Bonding ties may thus potentially hamper positive endogenous developmental initiatives, emerging from within the community, and communities' expansion of resource bases through bridging ties. While endogenous processes appear from within a community, exogenous processes are largely promoted by external actors.

3.5.2. Economic Structures and Institutions: Impacts on Sustainable Local Development

In the discussion above, arguments that social capital might serve as a potentially valuable economic asset were reviewed. Simultaneously, social structures may encourage or hamper individual and collective economic agency to promote positive

change. The upcoming sections discuss economic structures, including economic relationships, linkages and networks, and informal and formal institutions, reviewing literature on argued preconditions for sustainable local economic development. This starts with reviewing literature on the role of agriculture in sustainable development. Agricultural activities constitute a backbone in the economic structure and livelihood of many local communities in developing country contexts. As such, it is argued that changes in agriculture may play a central role giving people opportunities to act as effective economic agents and in improving their living conditions. Thereafter, necessary structural and institutional conditions, as well as factors relating to people's capabilities, for local communities to benefit from potential benefits of markets are elaborated on. Without covering these issues in full, as that is beyond the scope of this thesis, some central factors affecting sustainable local economic development in developing country contexts will be discussed.

Agriculture and Development: From Passive to Active Role

In developing countries, particularly in rural areas, agricultural activities frequently constitute the major livelihood for local people, either directly for subsistence or indirectly for selling at local markets, or a combination (Perkins et al., 2013, p. 205; Todaro & Smith, 2011, pp. 418, 438). This is particularly the case in many sub-Saharan African countries. However, for many people such traditional subsistence and mixed agriculture barely serve as “hand-to-mouth activities”, as they struggle for survival (Todaro & Smith, 2011, pp. 416-418). Little surplus is left for savings and investment. However, as argued by Dwight Perkins, Steven Radelet, David Lindauer and Steven Block: “Sustaining economic growth requires both generating new investment and ensuring that the new investment is productive” (2013, p. 74). Vicious circles of poverty traps are maintained, as people not are able to significantly break out of the conditions in which they are living (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 423).

Traditional economic “structural change models”, originating through the work of development economists in the 1950s and 1960s (Tiffen, 2003, p. 1343), promoted the view that structural economic change implies systematic changes in sector proportions as economies grow, with the proportion of agriculture in GDP and share of employment decreasing, being replaced by industry and services (Perkins et al., 2013, p. 588). As argued by Mary Tiffens: “Many development economists... therefore urged the need to shift labor into higher productivity sectors,

by a structural transformation leading to industrialization of their economies” (2003, p. 1343).

Still, traditional structural models treat agriculture to play a passive and supportive role in economic development. These imply that through increased agricultural productivity and output, resources such as cheap food and surplus labour can be transferred to the expanding industrial economy. The latter is, in structural change models, regarded as the dynamic, leading sector in any strategy of economic development (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 417). Perkins et al. argue that this process of resource transfer is “facilitated by the increasing integration of agricultural and non-agricultural factors and product market linkages” (2013, p. 589). Albert Hirschman has distinguished between backward linkages, in which the growth of one industry stimulates domestic production of “an upstream input”, and forward linkages, in which expanded production of primary products may make these lower-cost primary goods available as inputs in other industries (Perkins et al., 2013, p. 686; Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 173). As such, in advanced economies, agriculture and non-agriculture essentially operate in the same labour and capital markets (Perkins et al., 2013, pp. 589, 686, 827).

Despite the strong empirical evidence of structural change, development economists today share consensus that far from playing passive and supportive roles, the agricultural sector needs to play “an indispensable part in any overall strategy of economic progress”, particularly in low-income developing countries (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 417). Todaro and Smith (2011, p. 417) argue that if development is to take place and become self-sustaining, it has to include the rural areas in general, and particularly the agricultural sector. However, in developing countries governments have often failed to give attention to the importance of the agricultural sector. This is also due to the theoretical emphasis of structural change models that has been laid on industrialization at the expense of agriculture. It has also been argued that policies previously introduced through structural adjustment programmes have led to sharp decline in state budgets, and thus also in research, extension services and infrastructure. These factors are regarded essential to productive agriculture (Poulton, Kydd, & Dorward, 2006). Todaro and Smith (2011, p. 418) argue that with successful development, countries tend to move towards commercialized agriculture, although with different trajectories and varying economic, social, and technical problems that need to be solved along the way. This, it is argued, involves integrated rural

development, which refers to the broad spectrum of rural development activities, including small-farmer agricultural progress, provision of physical and social infrastructure, development of rural non-farm industries, and the capacity of the rural sector to sustain and accelerate these improvements over time (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 417). Further, as argued by Colin Poulton, Jonathan Kydd and Andrew Dorward:

These conditions normally co-exist with poor roads and telecommunications, poor information (particularly in agriculture, on prices, on new technologies, and on potential contracting partners), difficulties in enforcing impersonal contracts and widespread rent-seeking behaviour... Such conditions pose particular problems for the supply-chain development needed for agricultural intensification, and these are exacerbated by the fact that such development may require significant simultaneous and complementary investment by a number of market participants.

(2006, p. 245)

The question has been posed how total agricultural output and productivity per capita can be substantially increased in such a way that it directly benefits the average small-farmer, while providing sufficient food surplus to promote food security and support a growing urbanized sector. It has also been questioned through which processes traditional, low-productivity peasant farms are transformed into high-productivity, sustainable commercial enterprises (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 418).

According to Todaro and Smith (2011, p. 418), small-farm modernization not only depends on economic, but also social, institutional and structural, requirements. They claim that agricultural modernization in mixed-market developing economies can be described in terms of gradual, but sustained, transition from subsistence to diversified and specialized production. Such a transition involves much more than reorganizing the structure of the farm economy or applying new agricultural technologies. Transforming traditional agriculture often requires, “in addition to adapting the farm structure to meet the demand for increased production”, significant changes that affect the entire social, political, and institutional structure of rural societies. Without such changes, lack of economic growth or inequality may persist or worsen, they argue. In this regard, Todaro and Smith point to “rigid social institutions in which many peasants, but particularly women, are locked”, as well as relationships between large landowners and peasants) (2011, pp. 438-439).

The argument has also been made that as subsistence farmers not can afford to purchase improved seeds, fertilizers and other essentials of modern agriculture, this can result in poverty traps in which poor farmers need to work harder and harder just to stay in place. This is relevant in an African context, which is severely lagging behind in agricultural output compared to population increases and the rest of the world (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 420). Kofi Annan, former first chairman of the Alliance of a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) and former secretary general of the United Nations, has stated that “Africa is the only region where overall food security and livelihoods are deteriorating” (cited in Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 416). Increased agricultural output is seen as relevant both to improve production, thus increasing economic growth and development, as well as important to enhance food security. Thus agriculture can serve a dual developmental purpose. Some have called for promoting a green revolution in Africa, similar to the one that significantly increased food output in Asia and Latin America through modern farming techniques, as a response to how incomes, livelihoods and food security can be increased. However, others have heavily criticized green revolution agricultural approaches, arguing that such approaches not are environmentally sustainable in the long-term. Soil degradation and loss of biodiversity are some of the concerns. On the other side, such approaches are argued to have been central in increasing food security and livelihood resilience.

Todaro and Smith (2011, p. 422) argue that a key reason for the relatively poor performance of agriculture in low-income regions has been neglect of this sector in the development priorities of their governments. As such, Mary Tiffen (2003, p. 1344) argues that policies need to be varied according to the stage at which the country finds itself, rather than applied universally. Tiffen (2003, p. 1344) does, opposite to traditional structural change models of economic development, emphasize changes in markets rather than labour transfer. According to Todaro and Smith, there is not a large global market for food in relation to total demand, and most countries strive for food self-sufficiency, among others due to security reasons (Todaro & Smith, 2011, pp. 420-422). However, regarding sub-Saharan Africa, authors such as Tiffen (2003, p. 1343) argue in terms of growing home markets, which can be central both in enhancing food security and economic growth. Institutional markets, as well as combinations of social and economic institutional structures, have received increased attention in recent years as a way to provide

markets for small-scale farmers, promote rural economic growth and reduce food insecurity (Zanella, n.d.).

Economic Agency and Access of the Poor to Markets: Capabilities, Structures and Institutions

The argument can be made that the capacities of the poor to take part in successful economic activities, as well as increasing output and productivity, are directly influenced by their capabilities, as well as structural and institutional factors. Education, skills and health are upheld as essential in enhancing people's abilities to take part in market activities and function effectively as economic agents (Sen, 1999, pp. 142-143). As Sen argues: Illiteracy and innumeracy, diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria, and hunger and undernourishment prevent those affected from engaging effectively in work and "seizing new opportunities", thus affecting household, local and national income (Perkins et al., 2013, p. 205). However, Perkins et al. (2013, p. 205) argue that in a bad economic environment, education and skills may yield low return. The poor often struggle to access national, regional and international markets. As such, it can be argued that increasing the incomes of the poor in sustainable ways often requires comprehensive structural and institutional changes (see e.g. Todaro and Smith 2011 p. 418 and 438).

Economic institutions shape the rights, regulatory framework, and degree of rent-seeking and corruption in land, housing, labour and credit markets (Carter, 2014, p. 11). On the macroeconomic level, poor and deteriorating terms of trade for goods produced in the developing world, as well as tariff barriers in rich countries, have been highlighted as negative structures and institutions that hamper opportunities of the poor to improve their living conditions. Further, underdeveloped and imperfect markets within developing or emerging economies are often riddled with market failures. As noted by Todaro and Smith (2011, p. 68), in many developing countries, legal and institutional foundations for markets are extremely weak. They point to lack of 1) a legal system that enforces contracts and validates property rights; 2) a stable and trustworthy currency; 3) infrastructure of roads and utilities that results in low transport and communication costs, to facilitate interregional trade; 4) a well-developed system of banking and insurance that is efficiently regulated, with formal credit markets that select projects and allocate loanable funds on a basis of relative economic profitability and enforce rules of repayment; 5) substantial market

information for consumers and producers regarding prices, quantities and qualities of products and resources, and the creditworthiness of potential borrowers, and; 6) social norms that facilitate successful long-term business relationships.

As such, the theoretical assumptions of perfect competition are violated by different barriers to entry, such as high licenses to start formal enterprise, as well as incomplete information for producers and consumers about prices and quantities and qualities of products and resources (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 68). Markets are often constrained by poor infrastructure, such as roads and telecommunications, which constrains people's opportunities to market crops and obtain such information. It has also been pointed to the importance of effective property and benefit rights. However, governments have often neglected agriculture in their development priorities, and it has been argued that getting the role of governments right is one of the most important challenges for agriculture in development, e.g. to provide necessary formal institutions and infrastructure, as well as agricultural research and development (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 422).

Todaro and Smith (2011, pp. 422-423) argue that poverty itself prevents farmers from taking advantages of market opportunities that could pull them out of poverty. They argue that without collateral, the poor cannot get credit. Without credit, they may have to take their children out of school to work, so poverty is transmitted across generations. Poor health and nutrition may hinder the poor from working well enough to afford better health and nutrition. Due to insufficient information and missing markets, they cannot get insurance. Again, this reduces their possibilities to take what might seem favourable risks, as they may fall below subsistence. Without middlemen, they cannot specialize, and without specialization, middlemen lack incentives to enter. Finally, social exclusion, based on ethnicity, caste, language or gender, denies people economic opportunities and keeps them excluded. As such, in some countries agricultural growth has occurred without the poor receiving proportional benefits, e.g. due to unequal access to resources and opportunities. However, by including the poor, human and natural resources of a developing nation are better utilized, and can result in increased growth and poverty reduction. While development NGOs may intervene to break such poverty traps, it has been argued that governments at least need to play a facilitating role.

While the role of government in facilitating and increasing access of the poor to markets (through institutional arrangements) is argued to play essential roles in

promoting sustainable economic development, it has further been pointed to lack of social norms that facilitate successful long-term business relationships (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 68). As noted by Sen:

Successful markets operate the way they do not just on the basis of exchanges being “allowed”, but also on the solid foundation of institutions (such as effective legal structures that support the rights ensuing from contracts) and behavioural ethics (which makes the negotiated contracts viable without the need for constant litigation to achieve compliance). The development and use of trust in one another’s words and promises can be a very important ingredient of market success.

(1999, p. 262)

Sen thus pays attention to “the rather underrecognized- and often unnoticed- role of certain behavioral rules”, such as basic business ethics, and argues that “when these values are not yet developed, their general presence or absence can make a crucial difference” (1999, pp. 112-113). These arguments are strongly related to the discussion of social capital, in terms of bonding and bridging ties, as a potentially valuable economic asset. Trust is essential in modern economic relationships, as well as in other coordinated or cooperative actions (Evans, 1996b, pp. 1033-1034; Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 173). By contributing to reduced transaction costs, trust provides increased incentives for market exchanges (Den Butter & Mosch, 2003, p. 1). In the above citation, Sen (1999, p. 262) also points to the essential role of well-functioning formal economic institutions for markets to operate successfully, such as effective legal systems “to support the rights ensuing from contracts” (1999, p. 262).

Legal frameworks affect access of the poor to the formal economic sector, e.g. in terms of licences to start business. It has been argued that such licences often are high in developing countries. Poulton, Kydd and Dorward (2006, pp. 243-244) argue that with high transaction costs and risks in agricultural marketing for input suppliers, producers, processors and buyers, there is a specific need for policy attention to improve coordination of market activities. This is relevant to overcome traps of low-level equilibrium, which requires appropriate policy responses to continuing market failures in smallholder agriculture.

As such, a range of factors related to people’s capabilities, structures and institutions affect the opportunities of local communities to take part in the benefits that markets can provide, and thus their capacities to improve their lives and circumstances through enhanced economic agency (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 423).

As stated by Narayan (2005, p. 13), not only on macro economic issues are important to enhance opportunities of the poor, but also micro economic aspects. Macro economic factors relate to an overall investment climate that fosters entrepreneurship, job creation, competition, and security of property or benefit rights. Narayan states the following regarding micro economic factors:

Poor people are often excluded from equal access to economic opportunity because of regulations and because they lack information, connections, skills, credit, and organization. Elements of empowering approaches can help to overcome many of these barriers that prevent poor people's entry into markets or limit their returns.

(2005, p. 13)

Narayan (2005, p. 13) argues that because poor people are both producers and consumers, connecting small-scale rural farmers to markets can be profitable for private firms, as well as benefiting the poor. This, as argued, is important for farmers' potential to specialize and get connected to national, regional and international markets (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 423). Middlemen might serve as guarantors of quality for buyers, which is important to save their own reputation (Biglaiser & Friedman, 1994). On the other hand, the view is widely held that middlemen exploit local farmers, giving small-scale farmers little in return for their investment and production, through monopsony purchases (monopolistic prices) and usury (Enete, 2009, p. 40).

Case studies of cassava production in Africa, indicate that middlemen not necessarily serve exploiting roles (Enete, 2009, p. 40). As Heike Höeffler (2006, pp. 517-518) argues, value, supply chain development that is based on contract farming involving producers, traders and processors, is viewed by many development agencies as an effective way of fostering rural agricultural development. However, the share of developing country smallholder producers in global supply chains is small, particularly in Africa.

The argument can be made that without increased demand for agricultural products and/or more efficient markets to distribute them, growth in agricultural production may result in declining prices. This counteracts producers' benefits of productivity growth and discourages investment. This argument underscores the importance of efficient access to and functioning of markets, through updated information on prices, new technologies and potential contracting partners through connections/linkages (Poulton et al., 2006, p. 244). It

also involves organizing market activities (Narayan, 2005, p. 13). Poulton et al. (2006, p. 247) argue, a common situation in Africa consists of individual choices around a stable low-level equilibrium in small-holder farming areas, with an atomistic market consisting of many small players although without non-market coordination or significant efforts towards collective action. It is not uncommon that these players produce and sell equivalent products, however each player in small quantities. This is clearly not positive to increase their incomes and livelihoods (Poulton et al., 2006, p. 245). Some kind of organizing may be necessary to avoid these low equilibrium, market co-ordination failures. As noted by Sen (Sen, 1999), it is people's entitlements to food that increases demands in markets, not merely their needs.

As such, a range of factors related to people's capabilities, structures and institutions, are hampering the poor's and local communities' opportunities to take part in the benefits that markets can provide, and thus their capacities to improve their own lives and circumstances.

3.5.3. Political Structures and Institutions: Democracy, Civil Society and Synergies

While social and economic structures and institutions affect the inclusiveness and sustainability of economic growth, also political structures and institutions constitute a central element in this. Becky Carter (2014, p. 12) argues that exclusive economic and political institutions are not supporting sustainable growth in the long term. Political settlements often establish the formal rules for managing political and economic relations, such as political participatory processes and market regulations, as well as informal division of power and resources, and thus (people's) opportunities.

Sen (1999) has claimed that democratic institutions and vibrant civil societies constitute central elements in ensuring political accountability, responsibility and legitimacy. This, it can be argued, is central to the commitment of rulers and governments to function and deliver effectively according to people's needs, wants and expectations. This relates to the heart of democracy as rule *by* and *for* the people (Birch, 2007, p. 109; Heywood, 2004, p. 225). In this regard, civil society refers to organized activities taking place "in the social zone between the family and the state" (Hadenius, 2001, p. 19).

Democracy has been described as an essentially contested concept, as controversy around this concept runs so deep that no neutral or settled definition can

ever be developed (Heywood, 2004, pp. 5, 225-226). A range of democratic models, often competing, exists. Still, the concept is frequently seen in relation to political freedoms and entitlements, in terms of democratic institutional arrangements, particularly when related to liberal democracy. These include civil rights, people's opportunities to determine who should govern and on what principles, and "the possibility to scrutinize and criticize authorities, to have freedom of political expression and an uncensored press, to enjoy the freedom to choose between different political parties" (Sen, 1999, p. 38). However, as noted by Sen (1999) the functioning of democracies does not only rely on *formal* entitlements and institutional arrangements, but also on the ways citizens use the opportunities. It depends on vibrant civil societies and civic culture (Hadenius, 2001; Sen, 1999).

A range of factors at the individual and collective level affects the existence of vibrant civil societies. At the individual level, Eva Sørensen and Jacob Torfing focus on the concept of political capital, understood in terms of "individual powers to act politically" (2003, p. 610). The concept includes three factors: 1) endowment, which refers to level of access that people have to decision-making processes, given entitlements and resources; 2) empowerment, referring to people's capabilities to make a difference in these processes, and; 3) political identity, understood as people's identity of themselves as political actors (Sørensen & Torfing, 2003, p. 610). For effective political agency, all three are necessary. Similarly, Hadenius (2001, pp. 17-18) points to the role of attitudes associated with active citizenship, such as a developed political interest and desire to become involved and exert influence, as well as faith in one's ability to make one's voice heard. It also involves a deliberate aspect, in that one should be interested in seeking out facts and be respectful of rational analysis. It has further been directed attention to the importance of resources, including time and money, and civic skills. The latter involves being well-informed on political and other questions and being able to take initiatives, such as contacting a politician (Hadenius, 2001, p. 18).

On the collective side, civic virtue takes place through coordinated and collective action; it takes place in relationships between people. Such civic virtue has been argued to be connected to trust-building through social interaction in civil society (Sørensen & Torfing, 2003, p. 610). Collective civic virtue depends on social capital, and such initiatives have been argued to build on a common interest to the collective with which one identifies. Based on this, Hadenius argues that "the

question turns on what real possibilities exist for coordinated and collective action” (2001, p. 19). It has been argued that the means for such action lie in organization, termed by Coleman as “investments in social capital” (cited in Hadenius, 2001, p. 19), through fixed and routinized forms for cooperation between people. While Hadenius argues that “joining drives trusting more than the trusting drives joining” (2001, p. 20), Putnam, on the other hand, argues that this is a two-way relationship, in which trusting fosters joining in political organization, and joining fosters trusting (Hadenius, 2001, p. 19).

The importance of political and social capital and networks for sustainable development can be connected to theories of coproduction. Elinor Ostrom (1996) and Evans (1996a, 1996b) are among those arguing that state-civil society coproduction can yield positive results for sustainable development, in terms of synergy. Synergy is based on the concepts of complementarity and embeddedness. The concept of complementarity implies that while certain kinds of collective goods are best delivered by governmental agencies, these can be complemented with inputs that are more effectively delivered by private actors, including the citizen sector, e.g. in terms of local knowledge. Thus, the size or value of the output exceeds what the public or private sector could achieve separately. Embeddedness, on the other hand, refers to the ties that connect citizens and public institutions across the public-private divide. While complementarity creates potential for coproduction and synergy, it does not provide the organizational foundation for realizing this potential. For the latter, embeddedness in the form of networks of mutual trust and cooperation, that is social capital, is essential (Evans, 1996a, pp. 1120-1123, 1130; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, p. 484).

Thus, empowerment both within the private and public spheres can create improved foundations for cooperation and coproduction between governmental institutions and the civil society, which has been argued to be central to sustainable development (Wang, 1999, pp. 231-234). In the article “Crowding out Citizenship”, Ostrom argues:

The penchant for neat, orderly hierarchical systems needs to be replaced with a recognition that complex, polycentric systems are needed to cope effectively with complex problems of modern life and to give all citizens a more effective role in the governance of democratic societies

(2000, p. 3).

This statement can be seen in light of recent emphasis on governance versus government, of which governance is linked to the importance of several actors and networks in affecting outcomes and decisions, rather than purely focusing on the role of governments.

Arne Olav Øyhus argues that to create a state-civil society synergy is largely the same as “creating a democratic and just development process” (2011, p. 2). He claims:

The government needs to understand the local communities and their problems, it must see the local communities as the basic elements in a long term, environmentally conducive development process, it must support local initiatives, it must establish institutions and make laws and regulations that will build trust among the citizens and have a positive influence on the social and economic activities of the people, and it must take a lead role in planning and implementing over-all development policies and practices.

(Øyhus, 2011, p. 2)

It can be argued that while state-civil society synergy demands citizen participation and strengthening of civil society, it also demands democratic, accountable, responsible and effective government institutions that are responsive to people’s needs. It requires openness from governmental agencies to participation and agency of civil societies and the poor. The form of political regime and character of bureaucratic agencies, as well as social structures, including fragmentation, within communities, might seriously ease or hamper synergetic relations (Evans, 1996a, pp. 1124, 1129-1130). Thus, working on both these aspects can be essential in enhancing local communities development capabilities, structures and institutions.

This is in accordance with Carter’s (2014, p. 1) argument that effective aid works with broad-based coalitions of state and non-state actors. It also builds on the argument that rather than seeing state-civil society relationships as zero-sum, in terms of “state-versus-society” rather than “state-in-society”, these can be mutually reinforcing and positively affecting each other (Evans, 1996a, p. 1119; Wang, 1999, p. 232). As argued by Xu Wang: "Under certain circumstances, the development of the social infrastructure of civil associations and institutions that can link social demands to state power may...enhance the institutional capacity of the state to define and realize its goals and to promote larger social purposes” (1999, p. 234). As such, it is argued that civil societies are essential in ensuring government accountability and

effectiveness in delivering services and function well. Such state-civil society linkages have been regarded as particularly valuable in developing country contexts (Wang, 1999, p. 232).

What Elinor Ostrom (Ostrom, 2000) refers to as polycentric political systems may, however, result in unequal access to political influence and priorities, particularly in developing country contexts, as resources of the poor and most vulnerable are severely scarce. This may lead to further neglect and degeneration of their concerns and living conditions, thus upholding vicious circles of poverty traps. Sørensen and Torfing (2003, p. 609) argue that in a narrow perspective of democracy, networks are clearly negative. However, from a broad perspective the answer is more complex. A broad perspective not only focuses on the preservation of representative democracy, but also on the promotion of organizational democracy in civil society and on the enhancement of citizen's political capital. Vibrant civil societies among wide sections of the people are, as noted above, argued to be central to keep/hold governments to account and ensure effective service delivery that corresponds to people's real needs, expectations and wishes

Questions may, however, be asked how well "democratic anchorage" of network politics can be ensured in what often at best is young and flawed democracies in developing country contexts, e.g. in many sub-Saharan African countries. Problems of corruption, the nature of local power structures, and client-patron relationships and systems of patronage need to be taken in account. Further, communities' specific socio-cultural context, which highly affects the nature of civil society in African communities, requires that specific approaches in adapted to local context.

Evans (1996a, p. 1124) has posed the question if synergistic relations between state and civil society actors, based on social capital, can be constructed over relatively short periods of time, or if these depend on socio-cultural endowments that must be taken as givens. Seeing synergy as based on endowment implies that its existence depends on historical rooted social and cultural patterns, e.g. in terms of social capital and bureaucratic government structures. An endowment perspective leaves little room for agency of external actors, such as development NGOs, to affect social capital within communities and other determinants of synergistic relationships, such as features of government institutions and bureaucratic agencies. Seeing synergy

in a constructability perspective, however, leaves more room for agency e.g. of development NGOs in this regard.

5.6. Analytical Framework

The analytical framework of this thesis is based on the concepts, ideas and theoretical frameworks that were identified and discussed in the literature review, which relates both to the sustainable development field and the understanding of capacities in light of capabilities, structures and institutions. An integrated approach to development is applied, focusing on whether the projects bear potential to have long-term positive and transformative impacts on local development, as opposed to ad-hoc, short-term projects. Empowerment and agency of local people and communities are regarded as essential, focusing on the role of social, economic and political capabilities, structures and institutions in affecting people's capacities, and thus promoting or inhibiting shared and sustainable growth.

The theoretical framework of this research is illustrated in Figure 1:

Figure 1.1: Potential role and function of a development NGO in sustainable local development

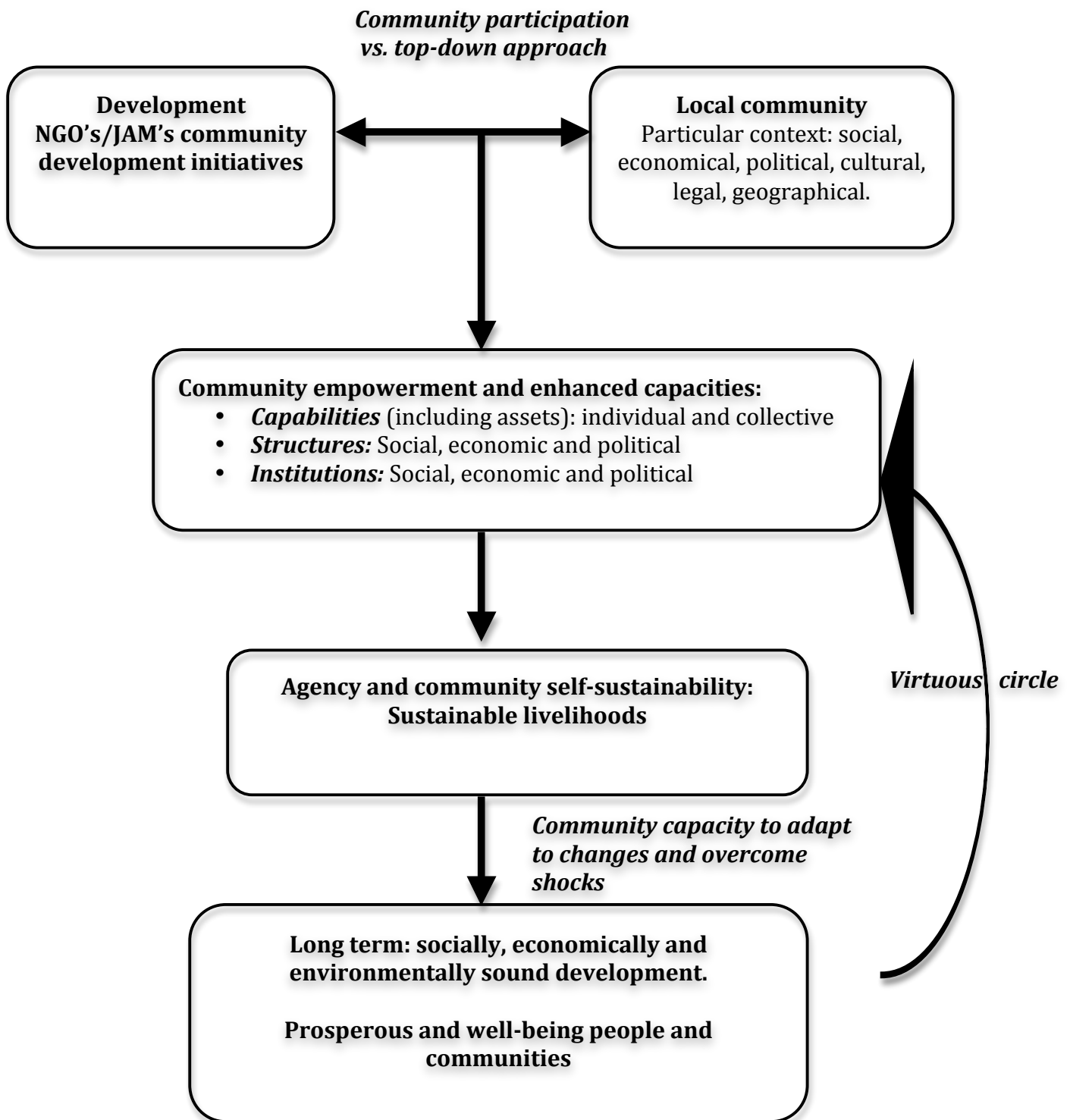


Figure 1 illustrates the analytical framework of this study in terms of how a development NGO may play a role and function in promoting sustainable local development, through enhancement of local community development capabilities,

structures and institutions. This framework firstly indicate that truly and actively involving local communities from the start, through genuine participation and local decision-making, is key both to generate a feeling of ownership and responsibility within the community for their own development and the projects, as well as empowering these communities through enhancing their capacities. This is central both for the long-term sustainability of the projects, as well as the potential of the NGO's interventions to lead to sustainable change in the long term. Also specific aspects of the development NGO's projects may serve to enhance individual and collective capabilities, as well as social, economical and political structures and institutions being positive to development. This may be directly intended by the development NGO, e.g. technical training for enhanced agricultural production, but also indirect effects that have occurred through activities related to the projects, such as enhancement of social capital in terms of trust and abilities to cooperate effectively within the local community.

Again, increased capabilities and favourable social, economical and political structural and institutional changes may empower people and enhance their agency and potential to be increasingly self-sustaining in the long term. This may lead to sustainable livelihoods. In this thesis, this is defined as a livelihood that “can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation” (Chambers & Conway, 1991, p. 26). In the long term, this can potentially lead to socially, economically and environmentally sound development, which creates prosperous and well-being communities. Such improvement bear potential to again feed into capacity development of the local communities, in terms of enhanced capabilities, structures and institutions being positive to development, thus creating virtuous circles and breaking poverty traps.

However, as argued in the literature review, development NGOs that not focus on true local community participation and empowerment through enhanced capacities, but merely on meeting immediate needs or being to focused on “tangible results”, run the risk of poor project sustainability and of inducing negative change in the long term. The history of the “aid industry” clearly illustrates a need of avoiding inducing aid dependency, which is highly characterizing many communities today. Lack of local ownership and responsibility, combined with limited community capacity to successfully run the projects themselves, have been argued to cause the

failure of many local development projects (Hanna & Agarwala, 2002, p. 12). Further, insufficient attention to and knowledge of specific social, economic and political context makes it unlikely that the development NGO will induce changes in structural and institutional root causes of poverty (Mansuri & Rao, 2004). In the long term there will thus be minimal substantial change in the capabilities of vulnerable groups, which will be in constant need of external assistance. As such, this thesis is based on the foundation that such projects are unlikely to significantly break vicious circles of local communities' poverty, and unlikely to being about sustainable local development.

Morgan (2006, p. 6) argues that capacity is about empowerment and identity, properties that allow a system or an organization to survive, grow, diversify and become more complex. However, while Morgan (2006) focuses on organizations and systems (off which individuals indeed are central actors/agents), it can, based on Sen's (1999) capabilities approach be argued that individual capabilities are of central value in themselves. This study adopts OECD-DAC's approach, complemented by Sen's (1999) work, that capacity development at all three levels, individual, organizational and society as whole, are central as constitutive parts of development, as well as instrumentally important in further promoting the process of development. Studying interlinkages between these levels, whether and how they affect and possibly reinforce each other is, however, of central value in the capacity field as well as with regard to sustainable development.

A key feature of the analytical framework of this thesis is based on the distinction between *endogenous* and *exogenous* development. Endogenous development can be regarded as development mainly emerging from within the community, and as such community members become key actors. As such, endogenous development focus on local economic and socio-cultural factors that interact to influence the development process. In exogenous development, on the other hand, main actors in the process are external to the community, e.g. outside experts or investment of large-scale companies. As such, exogenous development is mainly promoted from outside (Diochon, 2003).

This thesis will study and analyse these mechanisms and theoretical assumptions based on the practical case of JAM's community development initiatives in Machengue community, Inhambane province, Mozambique.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In the upcoming sections, the methodology that was applied in this study to explore and gain knowledge about the research objective will be elaborated.

4.1. Case-Study Research Design with Qualitative Research Approach

This research is based on case study as research design. The research objective of “Studying a development NGO’s role and function in promoting sustainable local development, through enhancing local community development capabilities, structures and institutions”, suits well with case studies as entailing a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case (Bryman, 2008, p. 52). As such, the case of JAM International is applied, particularly focusing on its development interventions in Machengue, a rural community located in Inhambane province, southern Mozambique. Comprehensive insight into the design, implementation and impacts of JAM’s projects within the community was of interest, seeing this as a related both to JAM’s development approach, as well as particular local community characteristics.

Qualitative research approach was applied, which often suits well with case study as research design (Grønmo, 2004, p. 91). This choice was first and foremost based on the virtue of this approach in providing holistic understanding of specific circumstances (Grønmo, 2004, pp. 90, 263). Qualitative research is engaged with details of the context in which the issue of study takes place, gaining rich and deep data (Bryman, 2008, p. 293). Such an approach is suitable in gaining comprehensive and deep insight in how JAM’s specific community development approach has affected this development NGO’s role and function in promoting sustainable local development. It was equally relevant in studying and analysing how specific contextual factors within Machengue community have affected the role and function of JAM in promoting sustainable local development, through potentially enhancement of local community development capabilities, structures and institutions. This also allowed for deeper insight into key reasons for success or failure of JAM in enhancing capabilities, structures and institutions, and promoting sustainable local development.

A qualitative approach allowed me to see the impacts and key reasons for success or failure of JAM’s development initiatives through the eyes of the people and local communities that have been directly affected by the projects (Bryman, 2008, p. 386). This increased the opportunity for my study to take into account possible reasons for success or failure and impacts of the development initiatives that not are

thought of in advance. Further, enhancement of local community development capacities may be measured through certain tangible aspects, but also involve processes inside and among human people that are less tangible. The latter may, however, be revealed when taking part in a local community and talking with local people over longer periods of time. Purposive sampling was applied in the qualitative data collection. This was also based on snowball sampling, as I may was informed about relevant informants during the data collection.

As noted by Alan Bryman, qualitative research “embodies a view of social reality as a constantly shifting emergent property of individual’s actions”, it focuses on processes (2008, pp. 22, 394). Such a view suits well with the focus of this study on development as a change process and the role and function of JAM in promoting sustainable development, through empowering and enhancing capacities of local communities. Finally, a qualitative approach may serve to generate and generalize theory (Bryman, 2008, p. 393; Grønmo, 2004, p. 91), and also points to directions of causality which is relevant in the research field of capacity development. The choice of using qualitative method, can also be related to the argument made by Inge Tvedten, Margarida Paulo, Barnabé José and Beatriz Putile, related to their studies of poverty reduction in Mozambique:

by their quantitative nature...surveys do not capture all the dimensions of poverty that are relevant to the design of policies and programmes. While quantitative data yield valuable information about the mapping and profile of poverty over space and time, qualitative data are necessary in order to better understand the dynamics of poverty and the coping strategies of the poor.

(Tvedten, Paulo, José, & Putile, 2014, n.p.)

Similarly, a qualitative approach in this research was helpful in better understanding the dynamics and impacts of JAM’s involvement in the community of Machengue, pointing to important interactions between the development NGO and the community. Applying a qualitative approach was also key to get a deeper understanding into how this interaction affected a potential contribution of JAM’s initiatives to sustainable local development in the community.

However, complementing the research with a quantitative approach, which main concern is statistical generalization, would have be fruitful. In such a mixed approach, the contextual insight gained from the qualitative research approach could have informed and complemented the quantitative approach, while the quantitative

approach could reveal a broader picture, which allows some of the data to be more generalized. However, due to limitations of time during fieldwork, such a mixed approach was not conducted in this study.

The units of particular interest for this study, constituting the sampling frame, were initially representatives from JAM, firstly JAM International staff, which could provide a deeper insight into JAM's development approach and philosophy, but particularly JAM field staff working in Machengue. Community members of Machengue, both those having directly participated in JAM's projects and the wider community, were key to get a deeper insight into how JAM's approach interacted with and impacted on community capabilities, structures and institutions. Further, based on JAM's approach of working "targeted" in the community, through cooperating with local leadership and social institutions and organizations, particularly the school (EPC Machengue), the PTA and WASH-committee, it was central to receive their views. Both the *secretário* (political community leader) and the *régulo* (traditional community leader) were interviewed. Finally, representatives from the Vilanculos Department of Education and Vilanculos Department of Agriculture were interviewed, as these were JAM's main governmental partners in Vilanculos.

4.2. Data Collection Methods

To collect data for the research questions, a combination of methods were applied; document review, qualitative semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions (FGD) within the local communities, and participant observation. Such triangulation allowed for the use of more than one method or source of data, so that data could be cross-checked (Bryman, 2008, p. 700).

4.2.1. Document Review

Documents as a data source was collected from JAM itself, e.g. regarding their community development approach and intended impacts. Further, statistics and reports on social conditions and contextual factors of the local community, e.g. from local leadership and the school, were collected. Particularly data from EPC Machengue regarding students' enrolment, attendance and performance rates at the school were relevant. However, challenges emerged in actually receiving agreed upon documents, e.g. from the Vilanculos Department of Education (who initially was very

willing, although I never received response) and JAM Inhambane's office. The representative of the Vilanculos Department of Agriculture argued that there were no relevant documents existing to be shared regarding agricultural development in the district.

4.2.2. Qualitative Semi-Structured Interviews

In this research, qualitative, semi-structured interviews were widely applied to collect data. These were most often one-to-one interviews, although in some cases all the adults of a household would show up and participate. Initially, representatives from JAM were interviewed regarding JAM's community development approach, both its general model (design, implementation and impacts) and its interventions in the specific local community, Machengue. Further on, people within the local communities who had taken part in the projects, as well as representatives from relevant organizations and institutions, that is school principal and sub-principal, teachers, *secretário* and *régulo* was interviewed.

The flexibility, as well as possibility to gain rich and detailed answers, is a central advantage of qualitative, semi-structured interviews (Bryman, 2008, pp. 437-438). Such interviews thus allows me to “glean the ways in which research participants view their social world” (Bryman, 2008, p. 442), and to produce data that emphasize the interviewees' lived experiences (Suzuki, Ahluwalia, Arora, & Mattis, 2007, p. 308). Qualitative, semi-structured interviews bears the advantage that they can bring insight into what the researcher wants to know more about, but is not revealed through observation alone (Bryman, 2008). However, to reveal biases it was essential to provide the perspectives of a range of different actors. The interviews was recorded and then transcribed before analysis.

4.2.3. Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

In my communication with local community citizens, regarding their perception of the JAM's development initiatives and the impacts of these, it is further relevant to apply FGDs. Focus groups allow me to see how individuals discuss and reflect on issues as members of groups and in collaboration, and how they respond to each other's views (Bryman, 2008, p. 473). FGDs were conducted with the PTA and the WASH-committee.

4.2.4. Observation/Participant Observation

Participant observation is relevant to provide contextual understanding, especially with regard to observing the actual impacts of JAM's local community initiatives, reasons for success or failure, and prospects for sustainability. It allows for more informal and unstructured conversations with people in the local communities that are taking part in the projects. As stated by Alan Bryman (2008, pp. 402-403), participant observation allows me to get immersed in the social setting; make regular observations of people's behaviour; listen to and engage in conversations; and develop a more holistic and deep understanding of the social, political and cultural setting within the local community. It can improve my understanding of the specific development challenges and opportunities of the local community(-ies) (Bryman, 2008, p. 465). Further, research "that relies on interviewing alone is likely to entail much more fleeting contacts" (Bryman, 2008, p. 465). I found that spending time with community members and in the community seemed to enhance trust. I took on an overt role, was open about the research within the local community.

4.3. Data Analysis

In interpreting and analysing the qualitative data that is collected, a combination of inductive and deductive approaches was applied. Inductive approaches connected to grounded theory approaches was most extensively applied. Coding constituted a process in the data analysis. As collected data emerged, the material was broken down into component parts, and given names. This was largely based on my interpretation of the data material. By investigating what different codes have in common, these could be combined into higher-order and more abstract codes. Relationships between concepts will again produce categories, which, through their relationship, could form a theoretical framework explaining the social phenomenon that I studied. This approach could lead to substantive theory (Bryman, 2008, p. 544), as it is linked to the specific case of JAM's role and function in promoting sustainable local development.

The analysis of the qualitative data did, however, also have an deductive aspect, as the findings of my study later in the process was be related to and analysed in light of existing theories, concepts and literature on the field. In this way, the findings and analysis of my research could get broader applicability beyond the specific case of JAM's role and function in promoting sustainable local development. Matrices are useful tools to structure the data, as in thematic analysis (Bryman, 2008,

p. 555). Different subthemes in a matrix could stem from former theories, concepts and literature on the field, or from earlier stages in my own research (Grønmo, 2004, pp. 255-256). Further, my ideas and thoughts when taking on the study is likely to have influenced by existing literature and theories (Bryman, 2008, pp. 548-549) when I prepare interview guides and focus group discussions, and in initially analysing the data. I did, however, also aim to keep an open mind.

Analysing the qualitative data was be an iterative process, which was conducted during and after the data collection process (Grønmo, 2004, p. 245).

4.4. Ethical Considerations

I aim to have a high ethical standard in my relationship to the research participants. Firstly, the principle of informed consent by research participants was implemented. I applied an overt role when conducting participant observation. Further, when conducting the qualitative interviews and focus group discussions the participants was be given as much information about the nature of the research as is needed to make an informed decision whether they want to participate or not. Linked to the principle of informed consent is the ethical concern of invasion of privacy, which not should be transgressed without consent.

One of the most important concerns within this study is to not cause harm to participants. I needed to evaluate whether my research in any way can negatively impact my informants. My best effort will be put into keeping participants' identity confidential.

Chapter 5: The Case of JAM

5.1. Introducing JAM

For this thesis, the humanitarian and development NGO JAM International is applied as a case to study the identified research objective and questions. JAM describes itself as “an African founded and headquartered, Christian, global humanitarian relief and development organisation”, further arguing that it operates “sustainable aid programmes targeting the most vulnerable people throughout the African continent” (JAM International, n.d.-b). Being established in 1984, the NGO originated as a response to famine in Mozambique during the country’s civil war. As such, according to JAM, the NGO initially focused on providing humanitarian assistance, mainly in terms of food delivery, “saving lives in an emergency situation” (JAM International, n.d.-b). JAM states that emergency feeding of children over time grew into provisioning of basic needs, such as nutritional feeding, education, water, and small-scale food production (JAM International, n.d.-b). Currently, JAM operates in five sub-Saharan African countries, including Mozambique, South Africa, Angola, South Sudan and Rwanda.

According to JAM International, the organization adopted a Complete Community Development Approach (CCDA) in 2008. This, it is argued, laid the foundation for the current vision of JAM of “Helping Africa Help Itself”, and its mission “to empower Africans to create better lives for themselves”. In this regard, JAM argues that it made the transition to become a “development agency”, applying a holistic approach to community development. In JAM International’s 2015-2019 Strategy, it is argued that JAM has more recently begun to address issues of longer terms sustainable development (JAM International, n.d.-b). The strategy argues: “JAM realizes that while sustaining the provision of basic needs is essential, this is not enough if Africa is to lift itself from the chains of poverty” (JAM International, n.d.-b). As part of its 2015-2019 strategic directions, JAM argues that it is “imperative that Africans transform the fundamentals of their household and community economic system and practice if they are to truly improve their standard of living and enjoy the opportunities and fruits of today’s world” (JAM International, n.d.-b).

Currently, JAM International’s programmes include Nutritional Feeding, Water and Sanitation, Agricultural Development (small- and large-scale), and

Vulnerable Child Care. JAM International's defined 2015-2019 operational goals include:

- Improve child nutrition
- Promote child protection, early childhood care and primary school education and development via a preferred [Homegrown School-Feeding (HGSF)] approach
- Development of commercial farming through small commercial farmers
- Development of agricultural offtake market linkages
- Provide agricultural extension & training capacity
- Improve water, sanitation & hygiene services
- Foster small enterprise development
- Respond to emergency feeding needs and other situations in existing operational areas

(JAM International, n.d.-b)

5.2. How JAM Works to Promote Sustainable Development

The core activity of JAM's current development work consists of school feeding programmes. This is, according to JAM, based on the view of nutrition as essential to children's future development and physical and psychological abilities, combined with a view that "without education, there can be no development" (JAM International, n.d.-c). In this regard, JAM highlights the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) and the African Union's (AU) "Cost of Hunger in Africa Study", which finds that "Undernourished children face additional barriers in health, education and school performance". One JAM staff argued: "we know that an education is paramount to a person's ability to access the economy in the future", seeing school feeding as contributing to students' school enrolment, attendance and attentiveness/learning abilities. This can be related to the argument made by Perkins et al. that "[f]ew economic outcomes are as robust as the relationship between earnings and schooling" (2013, p. 267). In this regard, however, the further argument of Perkins et al. (2013, p. 205) should be noted, that in a bad economic environment improved levels of education may yield low return. As such, based on the argument of Perkins et al., the value of investments and improvement in educational levels in actually improving opportunities of the poor, should be enhanced through parallel

improvements in the wider economic environment, particularly in rural areas. In cases of lack of such, the knowledge and skills of a person may have been enhanced, although without the real opportunity of a person to fully exercise its agency and break the cycle of poverty. In this regard, Perkins et al. argue that complementing areas are in need of attention:

More attention needs to be paid to rural infrastructure, including better roads and telecommunications, so that poor farmers can more easily market their crops and obtain information about prices. Tube wells for safe drinking water, improved irrigation, agriculture extension services...and expanded access to credit are other interventions that can contribute to the improved performance of the rural economy and a decline in rural poverty.

(2013, p. 205)

JAM regards school feeding as an entry point into communities, from which other programs evolve. The need for water and sanitation is connected to preparation of school meals and the necessity of safe water and WASH-practices for the school feeding to contribute its potential nutritional value. Agriculture is argued to constitute a supplement to increase the long-term sustainability of school feeding, by increasing schools' and communities' abilities to "feed their own children", among other through school gardens. It is argued that sound gardening activities depend on continuous access to water. This, again, is argued to have led JAM to introducing small- and large scale agricultural programmes, based on the argument that sustainable agriculture constitutes "the best answer to Africa's poverty". The agricultural aspect is also regarded as a contributor towards altering the "fundamentals of their household and community economic system and practice", which JAM regards as necessary "if they are to truly improve their standard of living and enjoy the opportunities and fruits of today's world" (JAM International, n.d.-b).

5.2.1. The CCDA: JAM's Stated Approach Towards Sustainability

As noted in the above, JAM's adoption of the CCDA resulted in the argued transition of the NGO to become a development agency, on which its vision and mission is based. According to JAM, the CCDA was adopted to ensure that it operates sustainable programmes that "not only meet individuals' immediate needs, but also change the landscape of the community, leaving permanent and sustainable transformation" (JAM International, 2014b, n.p.). As such, JAM argues, the CCDA

has served as the foundation on which its programs are built. It should be noted that the persisting actual role of the CCDA in JAM remained somewhat unclear throughout the fieldwork for this study. However, as the CCDA were valid during the implementation of most of the projects studied during the fieldwork of this study, a presentation and analysis is needed.

According to JAM, the CCDA are based on the following goals:

- Save lives through the provision of nutritional food, water and sanitation.
- Sustain lives through health and social programmes such as HIV/Aids training, small holder farmer assistance, basic skills development, nutrition and health education.
- Improve lives through education, technical training and transitional finance.
- Create better lives by providing linkages to sustainable commercial business.

(JAM International, 2014c)

JAM argues regarding the CCDA that “with a focus on long-term outcomes, the model equips each programme with the inherent capability to become sustainable by the community in which it is implemented”. JAM further states that: “The result not only meets the immediate needs of individuals and the wider community, but also creates feasible opportunities for long-term and permanent transformation” (JAM International, 2011). JAM argues that “[t]his model is a sustainable business approach to development, treating the beneficiary community not just as the recipient of aid, but as a partner in developing change”. According to JAM, the CCDA involves four steps, based on 1) Meeting immediate needs; 2) Building capacity for community ownership and management; 3) Transition of ownership, and; 4) Oversight and advocacy. Based on this, JAM argues that the CCDA allows the NGO to:

- Identify the most urgent needs within a community, and meet them immediately
- Create projects while building capacity of local leaders and stakeholders to manage programmes and linkages with partners
- Assist with the transition of these programmes
- Provide oversight and support

6.2.3. Discussing the CCDA

The stated “principle” of the CCDA of not treating communities just as recipients of aid, but as partners, bears similarities to Sen’s notion that “individuals need not be

regarded as passive recipients of the benefits of “cunning development programs” (Sen, 1999, p. 11). On the contrary, according to Sen (1999, pp. 11, 39), individuals should be regarded as agents that, with adequate social opportunities, effectively can shape their circumstances and future and help each other. Meeting needs, in terms of nutrition, education and access to potable water, combined with sound WASH-practices, can be essential in enhancing people’s capabilities and “real opportunities”, in Sen’s (1999) terminology, to exercise agency and actively act to promote positive change in their lives and circumstances.

Discussions can, however, be related to the practical application of the CCDA, that is, how it transfers to actual action within communities, and the practical impacts of the approach with regard to promoting sustainable community development through increasing communities agency. The argument can be made that the balance between “meeting needs” while promoting sustainable development through “building capacity” (the two first key features of the CCDA) is highly delicate, due to the danger of inducing aid dependency mentality through initial service delivery. The delivery aspect of JAM’s programs may induce recipient mentality among community members, thus constraining community agency and initiative, as well as community responsibility and ownership of projects. The latter aspects can be seen as essential to long-term sustainable development. However, as Sen (1999) argues, covering basic needs is also essential to enhance a person’s capabilities, which again serves as a foundation for people’s real opportunities to exercise agency. This is related to Sen’s (1999) view e.g. of increased nutrition as an *end* in itself, having inherent value, but also as a *means* to promote further development through increasing people’s agency. This was also argued by community members in Machengue, stating that: “Without food we are not able to do other activities”. However, as Narayan (2005) argues, the mentality aspect of capabilities and agency needs to be given attention, although having largely been overlooked in literature on the field. In this regard, it can be argued that both people’s identities, skills, abilities and resources are central to community agency.

In this regard, the question relates not only to *what* projects are implemented, but depends significantly on *how* the projects are planned and implemented to enhance communities’ capacities. The degree and nature of community participation can take various forms or levels, from information-sharing, consultation, collaboration, joint decision-making to empowerment (Brinkerhoff & Crosby, 2002).

The empowerment aspect involves transfer of control over decision-making, resources, and activities from initiators to other stakeholders, in this regard to the communities. Of particular importance, it can be argued, is the issue of community involvement and genuine participation throughout the different phases of a project, from design, planning and implementation (Udoh, 2004), to enhance project sustainability. Questions can also be related to the broadness and inclusiveness of community participation, particularly inclusion of the wider community in planning and implementation versus working narrowly within communities, e.g. through local leadership and community institutions/organizations. The findings from this study indicates that while working broadly is essential to promote wide community ownership of projects, in practice this may, at least initially, be challenging in an African context, due to prevailing community socio-cultural and socio-political structures and institutions within host communities. An example from the Machengue case, applying to Mozambican structures in general, includes the norm that all external involvement needs approval and acceptance of the local leadership. “If not, you will find noone there” one JAM staff argued, due to the leaderships authoritative position. As such, a combination of working through local leadership and the wider community can be essential.

The issue of how the projects are planned and implemented requires focused attention from top management and programme identification and design, to country and local office management, and project implementers working on the ground in the local communities. It also requires focused attention throughout a project’s different stages, from planning, to implementation, transfer and follow-up. As such, it can be argued, this depends on an organizational awareness and culture throughout the entire NGO of avoiding inducing aid dependency and promoting community ownership and responsibility.

As will be discussed in this thesis, a key aspect further relates to the actual inclusiveness and broadness of the community participatory process. JAM argues in terms of necessities and benefits of working through existing community structures and institutions, particularly local leaders (political and traditional) and schools, in the initial phases, and thereafter Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) and WASH-committees. The argument was e.g. related to local leadership being a key to identify suitable volunteers for the projects (e.g. school-feeding or to take part in WASH-committees), rather than JAM “picking some random persons”. JAM argued in terms

of operating through existing socio-political structures, however, in cases of negative socio-cultural and socio-political structures and institutions, JAM would work to alter such through sensitisation. As such, JAM staff described its process of introducing new projects in the following way:

We generally work through the schools, so obviously through the education channels. Starting with the sort of municipal education head, and then through the schools and the school leaders and the PTA leaders. So we would generally work through the leadership of those schools, rather than completely broadly.

However, the findings of this study indicates that combining this approach with a broader and more inclusive community involvement approach, from the initial stages of the projects, might enhanced the successfulness and sustainability of JAM's projects in Machengue. This is particularly the case in terms of generating broad community ownership and responsibility of the projects, and thus broad community engagement to successfully sustain the projects in the long term. This can, however, also be related to specific community characteristics. In Machengue, findings revealed lack of linkages between key societal organizations/institutions, such as the school and former PTA, with the wider community. This resulted in limited inclusion in, and ownership and engagement of the wider community in some projects, as the school and PTA is responsible for the management and running of the projects. This lack of internal community linkages had negative impact on the prospects for long-term project sustainability and community development.

It should be noted that Machengue was described by teachers at EPC Machengue and JAM field staff as a particularly challenging community with regard to promoting sustainable local development. As such the findings are not necessarily representative for JAM's projects in other communities in Inhambane, Mozambique. However, the findings point to important potential challenges of applying a narrow community involvement approach in project planning and initial phases, particularly in communities characterized by lack of strong internal bonds between key community institutions/organizations and the wider community. This is further discussed in other sections of the thesis.

Meeting needs, in terms of nutrition, education and access to potable water, can be essential in enhancing people's capabilities to such extent that they have the "real opportunities", in Sen's (1999) terminology, to function as they wish and

actively act to promote positive change in their lives and circumstances. However, meeting needs can also induce a recipient or aid dependency mentality” within communities. With regard to the need of assisting communities in “getting started”, although without inducing aid dependency, JAM’s Chief Operating Officer (COO) argued:

Has it been a success, or as soon as you pulled out, then they [the community] just...got worse off... And that’s where we have the whole discussions in humanitarian aid,...where they say: “Do we give people handouts and are we [going to] continue giving them handouts?”... How do we change that mentality? Not only of NGOs, but even of communities that we are serving, to say: “Look, you can have a better life if you do things on your own, than waiting for someone to give you something”.

JAM’s COO described the issue of “meeting needs” without inducing aid dependency as “a very hard balance”. According to JAM leadership and field staff members, the community development process of ownership and responsibility, leading to sustainability, was put in analogy to the growth and development of a child:

when you left that community, what have they done since? That’s what sustainability is. Not while you’re sitting there and handing them out or spoon feeding them. It’s like: “I’ve left you now”. It’s like a baby. We have a baby. It’s got to start walking at some stage. You’re not gonna stop it...to “don’t walk, don’t walk”. You got to try and encourage it to walk. So there, from walking, there are a lot of other things that give it its independence. So what’s their independence? What has happened since you stopped the spoon feeding?

The argument was made that while initially a community or school would be dependent on JAM, the community would become increasingly self-sustaining, through empowerment, and to a reduced extent being in need of assistance, oversight and support. This would, it was argued, be a result of enhanced community capacities.

Although arguing to have made the transition to become a development NGO, the delivery aspect continues to play an important role in JAM’s operations. A JAM staff member argued that “our real niche market is delivery. It’s getting stuff to beneficiaries. It’s finding the right places and the right distribution models and setting up logistic supply chains“ and, “We deliver food, we deliver water”. In contexts outside extreme humanitarian crises, the rationale for this, JAM argues, relates to the need of these aspects for further promoting community development in rural

communities, as discussed in the above with regard to Sen's (1999) notion of capabilities, and the need of "social provisions" to increase people's abilities to function as they wish. In order to enhance the sustainability of these projects, JAM argues that it largely applies an approach of working through local institutions and structures, both district government, community leadership, schools, PTAs and WASH-committees, and through these "channels" reaching out to the wider community. However, this may lead to challenges in wide community ownership, as discussed in findings.

A more recent key aspect also relates to the focus on agricultural development, which is seen as essential to spur the development process, and part of "transforming" African communities. JAM (JAM International, n.d.-b) argues that there is need to complement "service delivery" with initiatives that can, also in the shorter to medium term, promote more favourable economic conditions for a person and community to act independently and take actions to bring themselves out of poverty.

JAM (n.d.-b, n.p.) argues that it works in partnership with communities, government and NGOs, in cooperation with academic/research institutions, and in association with commercial enterprises.

5.2.2. JAM Staff's Understanding of Capacity and Capacity Development

While scholars such as Morgan (2006) argue that capacity beneficially can be seen in light of the more concrete concept of capabilities, JAM staff seemed to vary in their understanding of the term capacities. One JAM staff argued that JAM adopts a pure technical approach towards capacities and capacity development, through skills enhancement and training e.g. of teachers, PTAs and WASH-committees. This was e.g. related to the issue of setting up and training PTAs, which were argued to constitute a basic structure and framework provided by the government in Mozambique. PTAs were argued by both JAM staff and the representative of the Vilanculos Department of Education to be central for the opportunity of community members to keep the school principal to account, by serving as the linkage between the school and the community. However, he further argued: "It's a very targeted capacity building in our niche market there, which is where our niche customer base, which is the school, at the school PTA". Another JAM staff defined capacity

development as the following, relating more directly to wider community development:

I think it's developing a person or growing a person. So you are taking him at a certain level, and you increase their capacity, to learn, or to manage or to understand, and then hopefully from there they can teach and grow other people. So it's really growing a person, or increasing a person's knowledge or abilities...

JAM's concrete approach did, however, seem to be a combination of increasing capacities purely through technical training, but still the main stated focus of the NGO relates to enhancing people's capabilities, e.g. through school feeding, WASH and school gardens. As a cross-cutting issue, JAM also argued that it worked to address socio-cultural structures and institutions, such as gender and child labor, although this should be seen as inherent parts of the projects rather than the direct focus of the projects. E.g. the nutrition, health and education aspect can be argued to be more in accordance with an understanding of capacities in terms of capabilities, also involving a more holistic approach towards capacities and its contribution towards sustainable local development.

5.2.3. Working through Community Structures and Institutions

JAM staff argued in terms of community socio-political and socio-cultural structures and institutions as *assets* which can be built on to promote project success and sustainability. Community or school leadership is widely applied by JAM in identifying suitable community members to take part in the WASH-committee, PTA, and volunteers for school feeding, based on the argument that "we could never do that job well on our own". JAM also approaches the school principal or community leadership if the community manages the projects poorly, so that the issues can be solved internally within the community, e.g. by identifying new volunteers or WASH-committee members. JAM's programme manager in Inhambane, argued: "It's how things work. Nothing in the community happens without the [knowledge] of the community leader". With regard to the question of how JAM works to adapt its programmes to specific local contexts, one JAM staff member argued: "You can not tailor community approaches using a one-size fits all approach, each community has different actors, motivations, values, family structures, leadership structures... We must tailor our approach according to the felt and expressed need of any community that we work with". In order to achieve this, he argued in terms of working "through

community sensitization and the involvement of local leadership structures in the planning process”.

JAM staff argued strongly in terms of respect of the community into which one enters. “We come as guests”, one JAM staff member argued. In cases of negative community structures, the argument was made in terms of working through sensitisation, which among others has been done with regard to altering men’s and women’s traditional relationship within communities. However, JAM staff also argued that “there is only so much you can do. You can communicate and advocate for it, but at the end of the day it is up to the community. They really have to buy into it”.

5.2.4. How Donor Funding May Affect Community Capacity Development

An emerging issue throughout the fieldwork related to how funding of development projects or programmes may affect the actual impacts of the NGO on enhancing communities capacities. This is related to “donor-driven” projects, where recipient communities have limited voice in actually deciding e.g. what types of projects are to be implemented within the community. The result of such highly specific funding, compared to more open funding, is easily “supply-driven” development. According to JAM staff, the process of involving the wider community in decision-making was central in identifying the communities’ needs. However, findings from the Machengue case also revealed that projects in some cases were donor-driven in their identification, due to the specific nature of some grants. This may not only serve to reduce community ownership and responsibility of, and long-term participation in, projects, but also reduce the capacity development aspect of community development projects.

The process of identifying and planning projects can be central to communities’ future abilities to independently discuss and identify community problems or goals, and community members’ abilities to successfully work towards achieving their aims. This is particularly related to collective capabilities. This discussion can be related to Hadenius (2001) argument that social capital emerges through routinized forms of interaction and cooperation between people, or what Coleman term “investments in social capital” (cited in Hadenius, 2001, p. 19). This can be seen as central when understanding capacities as “the ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully” (OECD-

DAC cited in Taylor & Clarke, 2008, p. 10). In accordance with Hadenius argument that “joining drives trusting”, community members in Machengue argued widely that participating in JAM’s projects, through managing and implementing projects, had increased community members mutual trust and abilities to discuss and identify problems and goals and work towards these. However, despite improvements, lack of trust and management abilities continued to characterize the community, as is discussed in deeper detail in other sections.

Chapter 6: Findings and Discussions

6.1. JAM's Development Initiatives in Machengue

JAM's work in Mozambique started in 1984, as the NGO were established as a response to the famine in the country during the civil war. According to JAM Inhambane staff, Machengue is a community that has followed the "cycle", or "history", of the development of JAM as an organization in Mozambique. The political leader in Machengue, being born in the community, argued that JAM started to work in Machengue "before the peace. Even when Mozambique was in civil war, JAM was supporting this area". Others, however, argued that JAM became involved in the community "around 1994", implementing general food distribution and related necessities such as blankets after the civil war ended in 1992. This programme changed into school feeding in 1999. In 2008 a broken water pump, which had initially been drilled by a German NGO, were rehabilitated. In 2013/2014, JAM also implemented a school garden project and an animal creation project. Finally, JAM has conducted training and support to small-holder and semi-scale farmers nearby Machengue, a project starting in 2014. Also other smaller projects have been taken on, such as constructions on the school, although these in themselves were not included as a main focus of this study.

As such, it is of interest to give insight into what projects have been planned and implemented to promote sustainable local development, through enhancing capacities, and *how* the projects were practically planned and implemented. The latter involves an interest in the actual process of project planning and implementation, and the current organization of these, particularly with regard to the level and nature of community involvement throughout the processes. It was of interest to study how JAM's approaches in the planning and implementation had been related to already existing local structures and institutions, particularly social and political. In this regard, the degree and broadness of community inclusion in the planning and implementation of the projects were also issue of attention.

6.1.1. JAM's General Approach in Machengue: Top-Down Versus Bottom-Up

Before presenting and discussing JAM's concrete projects in Machengue, it is of relevance to provide insight into JAM's general approach when entering communities in Mozambique. As previously described, rural communities in Mozambique are

clearly based on hierarchal socio-cultural and socio-political structures, through a combination of the authority of the *secretários* and *régulos*. Also in Machengue, this was a key feature of the community structure. As such, it was stated that all involvement of external agencies within the community demanded approval and acceptance from the local leadership. Also when community members wished to contact external actors, such as district government, the community leadership served as a link. As such, JAM strongly argued in terms of the need, when entering a community, to initially communicate and work with the local leadership. This was regarded as essential to project success. One JAM staff argued that “nothing in the community happens without the knowledge of the local leader”. Further, working through the school board and thereafter PTA’s, WASH-committees and the wider community is applied as a strategy by JAM.

As such, a top-down approach was argued to be applied, to adapt the intervention to the local context. This was, it was argued, not only essential to gain acceptance, but also central in engaging the wider community at later stages, as community participation was highly impacted of leaders “instructions”. However, it should also be seen in relation to Mansuri and Rao’s (2004) argument regarding the need of development agencies to be aware of context-specific power relationships, to avoid maintaining and reinforcing, or even worsening community structures and institutions that can be detrimental to development in the long term. However, as the case of JAM illustrates, NGOs may also depend on operating through existing structures and institutions to at all get acceptance to enter the community. As such, this depends on a positive relationship with, and goodwill of, community leaders. This could put development NGOs in difficult positions with regard to the duality of depending on such structures, while not contributing to reinforce or worsen detrimental structures.

Findings of the study did, however, also reveal how the school principal’s refusal of an irrigation-system for the school garden deeply frustrated the community. In the planning process, the principal was the only community actor involved by JAM, which made this highly vulnerable e.g. to personal interests or views of single community actors. This, it was argued in the community, also led to reduced ownership and responsibility of the wider community towards the school garden, with negative impacts on successfulness and sustainability of the project, and promotion of

sustainable community development in general. This highlights potential weaknesses of this approach, being further discussed in later sections.

This raises key questions regarding what opportunities and room for manoeuvre actually exist for development NGOs to change power relations within communities. JAM argued in terms of the key of acting as an independent actor, and “not taking any sides”, although working through sensitization to promote changes over time. However, the argument can be made, e.g. in accordance with arguments by Mansuri and Rao (2004), of the need of being cognisant of such structures. While further discussions can be related to what room of manoeuvre actually exists for NGOs to proactively change community structures over shorter period of times, it is nevertheless essential that NGOs have insight into socio-cultural and socio-political power aspects, in order to not reinforce or worsen such structures. However, this demands highly skilled community workers. As Mansuri and Rao (2004) argue, working on tight timelines and scaling-up such projects might be further challenges in this regard.

6.1.2. Supply-Driven Versus Demand-Driven Development

A key issue relates to whether the projects implemented by JAM in Machengue has been “supply-driven” or “demand-driven”. That is; Has the community been the main proponent of the projects, or has the projects been largely selected and promoted by JAM. Similarly, a key question relates to whether the actual impacts of the projects are argued by the community itself or JAM.

In the Machengue case, a combination of supply-driven and demand-driven development seems to have been the case, depending on the different projects, as will be elaborated in the following sections. In general, however, JAM’s programmes (school feeding, WASH, and small and large scale agriculture) are quite specific, thus leaving room for the community to prioritise and choose among given choices. According to JAM and the community, in cases of open funds available, the wider community is often consulted regarding what projects they want to prioritise. In cases of more targeted funds, e.g. from donors, the room for community consultation and decision-making was significantly reduced, which can have negative impacts for successfulness and sustainability.

6.1.3. What Types of Projects has JAM Planned and Implemented, and How?

Nutritional Feeding and School Feeding

JAM's initial operations in Machengue involved nutritional relief and provision of basic necessities such as blankets and clothes to the general community, after the civil war in Mozambique had come to an end. However, around 1999 JAM started implementing its nutritional feeding project through school feeding at EPC Machengue. School children attending school receive, at the start of the school session, a 100 gram (when in dry condition) portion of porridge, which, according to JAM, covers 75 percent of a child's daily nutritional needs. The porridge is described as a nutritiously fortified Corn Soya Blend (CSB), currently being produced at JAM's food factory in Beira, Mozambique (JAM International, n.d.-d).

The intentions of JAM's school feeding relate particularly to increasing school attendance and overall health of students at schools (JAM International, n.d.-c). JAM staff argued that while enrolment rates at primary schools in Mozambique are generally rather high, attendance rates needs to be increased, particularly at summer time, being described as "the hunger period" in Inhambane. The school feeding is also intended to increase school children's learning abilities and attentiveness at school, thus improving educational performance. As such, the school feeding intentions relates both to children's educational, physical, and psychological development. According to JAM staff, the capability and sustainability aspect of the school-feeding relates to the contribution of improved children's nutrition towards the real opportunities of children to function in adult life, based on physical and psychological abilities being affected by nutrition. The argument was made that school feeding increases children's ability to take part in the future economy, through promoting children's education. This aspect, JAM staff argued, is related to the argued value of school feeding to increase enrolment, attendance and learning abilities of children. As such, the argument was made, that school feeding enhances both children's quantity and quality of education.

As such, JAM's view on the contribution of school feeding and education towards sustainable development, bears similarity to Sen's (1999) arguments. This relates to the importance of enhancing people's capabilities, e.g. nutrition, health and education, in order to give them real opportunities to function as they wish, and positively influence children's future agency to act for positive change in their own

and others' lives (Sen, 1999). These aspects are argued by JAM as central to the abilities of these children to break circles of poverty in the long term.

In initial years, the porridge was prepared by community members receiving “payment” in terms of 25 kilograms take-home rations of rice. However, JAM later changed its approach to basing the preparation of school meals on community members' volunteer work. JAM's stated rationale for altering its approach is largely based on the need to promote community ownership and responsibility of the school feeding. One JAM staff termed this “fair value exchange”:

If you are getting engaged in school feeding, that they are contributing volunteers and time, preparation and all that kind of stuff, into the school food, so that...it's their programme. I don't think that you can do any successful development without a community having the perception that they've earned what they get. Because it just leads to very negative dependencies in the future.

Identifying “appropriate” volunteers among community members is the responsibility of community leadership. A teacher at EPC Machengue, argued in terms of himself regarding this altered approach towards increased community voluntarism as positive, as “it reduces the charity behaviour”. The volunteers, two women shifting on preparing the food every month, argued that they regarded the volunteer work as their contribution to the community to which they belongs and to the future of their children.

The skills enhancement part of capacities has been related, it was argued by JAM staff, to the actual implementation of the school-feeding project. This relates to the necessary training of community members and teachers to manage the school feeding system and meal preparation from start to end, as well as in preparing the food safely and properly. The teachers are trained by JAM's Community Development Officers (CDOs) in a monitoring system based on “stock cards”, which the teacher fills in “from JAM's truck comes to deliver the porridge, to the product is consumed”. Each school day a teacher counts how many students are attending the session, by girls and boys, and registers this. The teacher is present when the volunteer collects the correct amount of porridge, based on number of students at that session, in the school's storehouse. The volunteer is trained in measuring the correct amount of food, as well as preparing this based on sound WASH-practices. The remaining porridge in the warehouse is, as such, continually registered at the stock card.

In terms of school feeding, the PTA at EPC Machengue argued that it has responsibility to keep an overview of the quality of the food being provided by JAM and served by the community volunteers. According to the PTA, it is their responsibility to solve and discuss “if there are any complaints or problems, and discuss if the food JAM provides them is good or bad to the children’s nutrition”. Further, if there are challenges with regard to the school feeding internally in the community, for example “if the food is not prepared well, we will discuss about how to change it”.

In a capacity development perspective, JAM’s CDO further argued that he trains the teachers how evaluate pedagogical results of pupils. He stated:

When the academic year starts, we take information to know how many students are at school, per sex, female and male. Then, at the end of three months, we see how many students are still studying, or the level of pedagogical results, the level of students who forsake school [drop out rates and those who do not attend every day]. We try to teach teachers in that terms, and to know the motivation of absence. When the absence...is increasing, I meet with the teachers, and the parents, and the local leader, to understand the motivation why the absence index is increasing.

JAM International staff further argued in terms of this transition to school feeding and community voluntarism as being essential to the sustainability of the feeding projects:

in Mozambique, because for at least the last 15 years, it’s all been through school feeding... So it’s not like...it’s just a handout. It’s a conditional contribution: “If you come to school, we will give you food”. And that promotes education and...with the other community initiatives and the PTA, it promotes ownership of their own programmes and they are doing all the work for themselves there.

As such, JAM staff argued in terms of conditionality being essential to the sustainability aspect of the programme, in terms of not inducing aid dependency. Still, questions may be asked if not aid dependency may be created. This is discussed in later sections. The argument was made that parents still would be responsible for feeding their children at home, although freeing more time and resources for them to apply for more “productive activities”. JAM further regards the community responsibility of the daily running of the programme as essential for the programme to function well, and create community ownership and responsibility, as “it cost [them] something” to get the food.

As such, the school feeding has from its start been supply-driven in identification.

Water Well Rehabilitation and WASH-Training

In 2008, JAM rehabilitated a water well at the EPC Machengue school's property. The WASH committee explained that this water well had been drilled by a German NGO as "the community asked for support from the NGO that established the water pump, because children had to go long distances to fetch water". They further explained that "when it had a breakage, the community asked JAM for support to fix the pump, to help the children and the school". As such, this was a demand-driven process. The WASH-committee argued that while the NGO that drilled the well had trained them how to repair the pump, the community were not able to cover the financial costs of a repair. The WASH-committee stated that while the previous break of the water well was caused by "a small breakage", JAM chose to do a more comprehensive rehabilitation, to "renew" the pump.

As such, according to the WASH-committee, the committee approached JAM to request assistance to repair the broken pump. The planning process was described by the WASH-committee as a process where "JAM had a meeting with the WASH-committee", and the latter then informed the local community leader. The local leader thereafter informed the wider community about the project. While the WASH-committee participated during the planning and throughout the implementation process, the wider community were not, it was argued, extensively involved during the planning and actual repair of the water pump. The wider community were involved after the rehabilitation was completed, as "everyone participated in a party" for the official hand-over of the water pump to the community.

The WASH-committee member responsible for technical issues, maintenance and keeping overview of the water well "to keep it in a good and clean condition", stated that JAM provided training to the WASH-committee and "supported them with tools to provide small breakages". According to JAM's CDO responsible for Machengue, the process of water well rehabilitation follows a procedure where firstly, JAM's team opens infrastructure, which then makes part of the training of the WASH-committee. He further stated that during rehabilitation, "JAM starts to explain the role of each component". This is followed by JAM staff and the WASH-committee "[working] together to rehabilitate, to connect the different components of

the water pump”. The CDO argued: “We never rehabilitate the water pump without the members of the committee”. He further stated: “When JAM staff...rehabilitate the water pump...all the members of the water committee...must be there, to see how they manage the water pump”. The argument was made that before the rehabilitation starts, the WASH-committee must be present and involved throughout the process. The CDO stated: “The committee is involved in the process of rehabilitating the water pump, because it’s to show how to maintain the pump. Because when there is a small breakage, the community must be able to fix without JAM support”. As such, JAM argues that the process of project implementation is directed towards promoting project sustainability through skills formation.

Regarding current organization of the WASH-committee, JAM’s CDO argued that “12 members that are divided for three groups, four members per group. One is in maintenance, to keep the water pump in a good condition; other in hygiene, and the third is management... like president, secretar and treasurer/accountant”. However, according to the WASH-committee the committee had four members at the time of the fieldwork, as previous members had passed away. At least two of the four present members are themselves elderly. This raises issues of concern regarding recruitment of new members to the committee over time, which, it could be argued, is essential in knowledge and skills transfer and future successful community management of the water-pump and WASH-training.

The WASH-committee in Machengue was established before JAM rehabilitated the water well. However, the WASH-committee argued that JAM has worked with the committee to enhance its capacities, in terms of enhancing organizational abilities; increasing their knowledge about WASH issues through training, and in increasing their knowledge of how to manage the pump for it to last sustainably over a long period of time. This is in accordance with JAM’s statement that “JAM provides training in usage and maintenance of the water well to ensure long-term use” (JAM International, n.d.-e). JAM has also provided WASH-training to the committee and the community, often based on pictures and illustrations among others involving the importance of washing hands before eating and after having been to the toilet, boiling unsafe water, and keeping it clean around the house. The WASH-committee argued that they received the same training from JAM about WASH-practices as the pupils at school, lastly conducted 5 months before the FGD was conducted.

In terms of the WASH-project's intended impact in promoting sustainable local development, through enhancing communities' capacities, particularly in terms of capabilities, JAM mainly argued in terms of the documented health benefits of access to clean water and sound WASH-practices. Part of the programme objective is "to provide easy access to water points, so that time consumed in collecting water from dams and rivers is preferably used by women for agriculture and development and caring of young children". Further objectives involve "[combating] water-borne diseases such as cholera, typhoid and malaria".

JAM further argued that potable water provision and promotion of sound WASH-practices constitutes key complementary projects within communities to supplement the school feeding and school garden projects. Water is necessary for the communities to be able to prepare the CSB porridge being provided by JAM, which is received by the community in dry condition. Additional sound WASH-practices are regarded essential to reduce diarrhoea, and thus for children to improve their nutritional condition. Further, the dependency on rainfall for the bulk of the agricultural activities of Machengue community members makes their food security highly vulnerable to drought. As such, it was argued, a sustainable school garden would also depend on continuous access to water. The argument was made that "you can't have a garden...without water supply". Also, in a sustainability and capability perspective, the provision of access to water and improved awareness and sound WASH-practices can be seen as complementing each other, being essential to the successes and sustainability of the different projects, and their separate and complementing contribution towards sustainable development. JAM argues that "water affects everything in life", and refers to the United Nations resolution 64/292 that "The right to clean water is essential to the realisation of all other rights" (JAM International, n.d.-e).

In a more technical approach to capacity development, JAM staff argued in terms of the need to develop the WASH-committee's technical skills to maintain and repair the water well, and knowledge about sound WASH-practices. It also involved putting up and encouraging sound organizational and financial/payment systems within the community for effective running and long-term sustainability of the water well. While JAM staff members argued that the payment system functioned well in Machengue, the WASH-committee argued:

In terms of financial issues, as the pump is there, we as a committee had a meeting with the community, to talk with the community about to save money, to maintain the pump. But the community refused to save money for that... Since it was established until now, they are not saving money to maintain the water pump.

As such, the payment system was not functioning. Key reasons for this is discussed in other sections of this thesis.

According to the WASH-committee, JAM had implemented a project of establishing toilets at community members' homes. The process of implementation involved that JAM demonstrated, in a few homes, how to construct toilets based on local materials, building walls and "making it more comfortable and durable", according to community members. "Then the community started to build toilets by themselves. JAM taught us how to join in small groups to help each other". Each group consisted of 10 people, which is in accordance with the number of households in the "sub-villages" in Machengue. One WASH-committee member argued: "For example today, we [the group he belonged to] are working in my home...and another day we go to another home, of the same group...until all have toilet".

A central part of JAM's strategy of promoting wide actual behavioural change in community WASH-practices throughout Machengue community, was argued to involve the aspect of operating through schools, so that the pupils could bring home what they learn and transfer it to their parents, which again can disseminate the information and practices to other community members. JAM staff argued in terms of it being easier to promote behavioural change among children than adults. As such, JAM staff argued that a key aspect in the implementation of JAM's projects to create awareness, enhance knowledge and alter community members' habits and practices, related to building on already existing community structures and institutions, e.g. the school. Also family relationships and active utilization social relationships between community members, were regarded as a way to transfer knowledge and promote sound community WASH-practices throughout the community. As such, while JAM initially trained community members, their approach was to some extent based on an effort of promoting endogenous community process of altering community WASH practices. This was the case, it can be argued, as JAM's approach implied using community members as a "resource" to transfer the knowledge and changed habits. However, JAM's CDO has also conducted WASH-training repeatedly, as mentioned five months in advance of the fieldwork for this thesis, and as such JAM as an

external actor is still involved in follow-up. The “children-parents transfer” approach is argued by Machengue community members to be complemented by the WASH-committee’s and other motivated community members’ engagement to promote awareness and altered WASH practices among community members. However, arguments were made among community members that the WASH-committee mostly worked at the school, and not in the wider community.

School Garden

In the period between 2007-2013, with an extension to 2014, the bulk of JAM’s school feeding programme in Mozambique was financed by the United States Agricultural Department’s (USDA) McGovern-Dole (MGD) grant, in implementing the MGD International Food for Education and Child Nutrition Programme (JAM International, 2014a). Due to reaching the conclusion of the grant, JAM Inhambane programme manager argued: “we select some schools, and we work them, teaching them how to establish gardens...Because we know that McGovern-Dole, after the second term [of the grant], maybe we will not get the extension”.

As such, in 2013, JAM initiated a school garden project at EPC Machengue, in terms of rehabilitating and supporting cultivation and production of a plot at the school’s property. The stated intention was to enhance the sustainability of the school feeding programme, and promote food security in the community. This would happen, it was argued, through teaching the teachers, pupils and parents agricultural techniques to increase production, which again could spread throughout the community. As such, an argued intension of JAM’s school garden programme is “helping rural communities to feed themselves”. Stated intensions of JAM’s school garden programme further involve diversifying pupils’ nutrition base of vegetables and fruits, as well as providing an income to the school through sale of the produce. JAM’s programme manager in Inhambane argued:

Our main responsibility in the communities, because we are based on schools, but the same problems that the school have, is almost the same with the local communities or the neighbours of the schools. And engaging people doing better in schools, we think that they will be enabled to do the same in their homes. Like school gardens, it’s difficult to teach the kids of six, seven years doing a large area. But we can also call the parents to come to schools and to do the garden. The same time they are learning, they can multiply or can replicate it in their homes.

He further argued:

Using school as our base to approach to the communities, using students, using the PTAs, using the teachers, we think that our knowledge...the technology...definitely that will remain in that community. It's more efficient work with kids and then they will take this information for their parents...The kid is easy to learn.

As such, JAM's approach is largely based on promoting a process where the school, pupils and volunteering parents work to disseminate the knowledge throughout the community. Based on the above argument, questions can be related to whether the field staff regarded this approach as the most sustainable approach, or if this approach basically was a result of being cost- and time-effective for the NGO. However, one JAM staff working in Machengue argued that "it is *very* important that children take with them home what they learn". Still, JAM continues to provide training, in collaboration with the teacher being responsible for the school garden at EPC Machengue³ and Farmer 1 (introduced in later section), being a volunteer in the school garden. The responsible teacher for the school garden at the time of the fieldwork, argued:

When I received training from JAM's assistor and the Department of Agriculture, I take this knowledge to spread to the students. Then...the students...take that knowledge to their parents. Then [me and JAM's assistor] have some meetings where we discuss, and we join together and spread the information to the parents.

The school garden is located next to the rehabilitated water pump, in order to ensure easily accessible water. According to the teacher at EPC Machengue "it is a government priority that every school should have a garden". However, according to the teacher, the school did not possess necessary knowledge and resources to run a garden successfully and effectively. Another teacher argued: "It was JAM who sensitized the school to open the garden". JAM's school garden project concretely involved technical advice, resources in terms of equipment (buckets, hoes, spades), seeds, seedlings, organic fertilizers, and training, monitoring and follow-up. JAM

³ Every year, EPC Machengue rotates on who is the responsible teacher for the school garden. As the government transfers teachers between different schools "and you never know when this may happen", the sub-principal argued, rotation in responsible school garden teachers is argued to be of importance for the sustainability of the project, in terms of broadening the number of teachers who possesses the necessary knowledge and technical agricultural skills to manage the garden successfully and self-sustainably.

staff argued: “We are only giving them the capacity, the knowledge, and they can continue. We always following them, assisting if they need”.

Regarding the planning process of the school garden in Machengue, JAM Inhambane’s programme manager argued: “We first met with the school district level and we came to school, and also we discuss with the [community] leader. Because you can do things like that in the community..., come to supply, and we not success. That’s why we involve more the board of the school, the PTAs, the local leaders”. As such, the initial stages of the planning phase were argued by JAM to be characterized by working through the government channel, local community leadership, school board, and the PTA. JAM thereafter held a meeting involving the wider community, to generate community engagement and voluntarism in the garden, as well as participation in the implementation. According to JAM staff: “We also looked for another person, on top of the teachers that were being trained, they...wanted someone from the community to help with the school garden...who could lead that group”. As such, a leader representing the community was elected (Farmer 1), as “he was the only one with some...knowledge about the technical aspect [of agriculture]”.

Farmer 1 describes the process of planning and implementing, as a process where the community, himself and the school discussed the project with JAM. He further argued: “I was responsible to lead with the garden, and JAM supplied in terms of fertilizer, seeds, and then I taught the pupils how to plant, how to cultivate”. With regard to the broadness and inclusiveness of community involvement throughout the process, he argued: “The entire community was involved, all the community members. They accepted the project, but they refused to work in the project. So only me and my wife is working [in the school garden (as volunteers)]”.

Technical training in agrarian techniques is provided through practical sessions, which also were continuing during the time of the fieldwork. The responsible teacher elaborated that “These meetings happen when JAM’s assistor advice the [responsible teacher] of the gardening that he will come to school in a day that they plan, and they join”. The teacher further stated: “When we advice, teachers and parents and students join together, and when [JAM’s] assistor comes, all of us go to the field to see how to make arrangement, as demonstrative teaching. [We] try to teach...the students, parents and teachers”.

The school is responsible for the school garden, with the PTA, responsible teacher, and leader (Farmer 1) of the volunteer group being main actors involved. The school is responsible for financial accounting and how to utilize incomes. Farmer 1, the leader of the volunteer group representing the community, is actively involved in the gardening activities, working in the garden “every Monday”, trains teachers, students and parents, and supports the school e.g. with nurses. However, as JAM is still involved in Machengue, JAM’s CDO continues to follow-up on the garden, as “the technology is developing”, one JAM staff argued.

EPC Machengue rotates every year on one teacher being responsible of the school garden. According to JAM staff and teachers, this is highly important to ensure that the knowledge remains with the school, due to the government system of transferring teachers with irregular intervals, “and you never know when this may happen”, according to JAM staff. As such, JAM argues that it encourages teachers to pass knowledge forward to each other, to ensure sustainability when JAM pulls out. At a minimum, JAM’s CDO should visit the school twice a month.

Animal Creation Project

In accordance with the objectives of the school garden, JAM introduced an animal creation project, in relation to potential end of school feeding due to the closure of the MGD grant. The project was implemented in 2013, in partnership with the Vilanculos Department of Agriculture. According to the PTA at EPC Machengue, JAM asked the community how they could make the school feeding more sustainable, and the community suggested creation of pigs as an alternative. Also JAM’s CDO stated: “The purpose of this project was to have income. Because when this project started, the school feeding was supported by United States government. So it was to make the community sustainable, to enable the community produce and to have income, and then to buy products to feed students”

JAM’s CDO explained the process arguing that “the training wasn’t to all community... The [community] leadership selected some active members of the community, to have theoretical training with JAM and the Agricultural Department at school”. The training is argued to involve how to create and treat animals: “How to keep the animals in good condition”, including nutrition and how to feed different species, such as pigs and chicken; how to prevent and discover diseases and how to treat disease before they contact the livestock doctor, and; in terms of the importance

of animal creation in promoting economic profit. JAM staff argued: “These 15 members [work] to take this information to other members of the community”, for the rest of the community to replicate the training. He stated that JAM encouraged the “selected members” to transfer the knowledge to other community members through meetings, as “normally the community members meet”. As such, also this approach were based on training a few community members, who would then function as “agents” to disseminate the knowledge throughout the community.

JAM initially supported the school with two pigs, one male and one female, as well as initially providing food for the pigs. The community constructed a pigsty at the schools property, based on local materials. The PTA argued:

So when the project was initiated, JAM was supporting with meals to the animals, to feed the animals. But when it started to multiply, JAM stopped and transferred the responsibility to the school. And JAM said: “You have to take care of this animal creation by yourself”.

After the initial training, JAM pulled out of the project, and no follow-up was conducted. This was related to the closure of the MGD grant.

Similarly to the school garden, the management of the animal creation project is the responsibility of EPC Machengue, with teachers and students being responsible to take care of the school’s animals and providing food for these. For holidays, it was argued that pupils were selected to feed the pigs, although this had not functioned well in Machengue (further discussed in following sections). Food for the pigs is, among others, provided as the teacher and pupils go to Farmer 1’s farm to receive vegetables unsuitable for sale, due to damages. The school board and responsible teacher are responsible for financial management in terms of accounting and how to utilize income. Also for this project, the school rotates every year on what teacher is responsible for the animals.

Planned Irrigation System

As a supplement to the school garden, JAM took initiative to implement an irrigation system in the garden at EPC Machengue in 2014. In the planning phase, JAM agricultural staff introduced this suggestion to the former school principal. However, according to JAM staff and the current PTA and teachers at EPC Machengue, the former principal refused to accept and implement the irrigation system. According to the current PTA, JAM only included the principal of EPC Machengue (at that time) in

the planning phase. Other stakeholders, such as community leadership, school board, teachers, the PTA and Farmer 1, being the leader of the volunteer group for the school garden, or the wider community, were not informed or involved in the process, neither by JAM or the former principal, it was argued. These stakeholders were first informed when a new principal entered into position at EPC Machengue in the beginning of 2015, and contacted JAM with an interest of implementing an irrigation system at the school. At that time the irrigation system had been installed at another school. As such, JAM did not have resources to assist with an irrigation system at EPC Machengue.

As such, JAM applied a very narrow approach in the planning phase of this project, which resulted in refusal. This seems to have been a combination of factors. While often JAM's CDOs often interact with the community, in this case an agricultural staff was in charge. JAM programme staff argued: "The former principal didn't understand the philosophy of JAM in terms of irrigation system", because "The people [JAM staff] that went to speak with the former principal, didn't know how to interact well with him, to explain the purpose of that project. If they, the JAM staff, had good interaction with the principal of the school, he would have accepted the project". JAM's programme staff argued:

...in a community development process, you have to be open, and to have new methods how to interact with the community. If someone goes to community, without some aspect, like how to interact with the community, what is the good word to tell the community, the process, that project will fail...Complex.

This indicates that the process was characterized by "supply-driven development", where JAM took initiative and argued in terms of the importance of an irrigation system, while the former principal did not see the value of this. However, the PTA, school board, Farmer 1 and teachers were deeply frustrated with regard to the former principal's refusal of the project, and lack of irrigation system was identified by teachers, Farmer 1 and JAM staff as a key challenge to improve productivity and expand the area of production of the school garden. This was argued strongly by current school and community actors to be severely constraining the successfulness and sustainability of the school garden project. One teacher argued:

It's challenging, because parents, beyond to come to work at the school gardening, they have their activities, like to open their farms [*machambas*], and it's challenging to do that. Another challenge is to have irrigation system. If the school had irrigation system, it will be easy, because we will not demand more effort of the parents.

Farmer 1 argued that JAM, during the planning process of the irrigation system, should have involved the local leader, so he could convince the principal regarding the irrigation system. The PTA, Farmer 1 and teachers argued that the former principal and PTA at school “were not interested in agriculture”.

Large-Scale Agricultural Development: Assisting Small- and Medium Holder Farmers

Since 2014 JAM has worked with local small and medium holder farmers nearby Machengue to promote larger-scale agricultural development along Rio Govuro. Along the river, an area of approximately 500 hectares is divided between farmers from nearby communities, although the area was largely unutilized for agricultural production and cultivation until recently. The training, support and follow-up are based on an approach where JAM assists small- or medium holder farmers, who have initiated farming activities along Rio Govuro, which passes through the area.

Intensions of the agricultural development initiative relates to promoting local food security and sustainable economic development, through development of small-scale farmers. The stated intension is for farmers to improve their crop outputs and commercialize their farming. Long-term development of these farmers are also related to JAM's adoption of the Homegrown School Feeding (HGSF) approach (further discussed in later sections) Depending on the level of production of these farmers, JAM's agricultural development manager in Pambarra argued that these farmers could produce and sell e.g. maize to JAM's CSB factory in the harbour city of Beira, Mozambique, thus producing for school feeding. This would provide a market for them, “based on competitive pricing”, while JAM would assist with transporting the produce to the factory. This can also be related to JAM's operational goals of “Development of commercial farming through small commercial farmers”; “Development of agricultural offtake market linkages”, and; “Provide agricultural extension and training capacity”.

The initial phases of JAM's larger-scale agricultural initiative nearby Machengue was related to the establishment of the school garden at EPC Machengue, as Farmer 1 was elected as a leader of the volunteer group for the garden. This was based on his already establishment of his farm along Rio Govuro and the fact that he had been supplying the school with nurses. As such, Farmer 1 received assistance from JAM to further develop his farm along the river. The support was compromised of training, follow-up and monitoring, clearing land, constructing a shadow net, and providing equipment, seeds, seedlings, and fertilizers.

Farmer 1 was taking on agricultural activities in the area along the river in 2012. However, three more farmers from other communities have arrived the recent years, due to the high soil quality and access to water by the river, and thus the potential for agricultural production. This was regarded as particularly important times of drought, highly reducing production in the drylands. As such, the activities have created spin-off effects, and during the fieldwork in October 2015, four neighbouring farmers ran, or were in the initial phases of running, their farms in this area along Rio Govuro. Farmer 1 has served as a link in bringing the three other farmers in contact with JAM, as well as passing forward the knowledge he has received from JAM to the other farmers. As such, JAM argues in terms of Farmer 1's farm as serving as "a college" within the community, to which other farmers can receive agricultural training and knowledge. Also the government have been increasingly involved in the area, and encourage skilled, although small-holder farmers to move to the area to produce.

The support from JAM involved extension services "at least twice a month", assistance in planning irrigation systems, and support in terms of seeds. However, according to JAM's agricultural coordinator, while he initially visited the farmers every week for teaching, this was reduced. This can be regarded as extension services ran from JAM's "Pambarra Life Centre Farm" (PLC-farm), located in Pambarra, Inhambane⁴. The farmers also visit the PLC-farm to adopt agricultural practices.

The PLC-farm covers 100 hectares of land. In October 2015, 20 hectares were under irrigation, while JAM described it as an aim to reach 60 hectares at the end of the year. The stated objective of the PLC-farm is two fold. Firstly, the farm produces

⁴ In October 2015 JAM were in the process of establishing a Farm 2 in another nearby area, cover 1000 hectares, although with the purpose of large-scale agricultural commercialization. Farm 2, JAM stated, will not have the function as a "demonstration" and extension service farm for nearby community farmers, as Farm 1 is intended to.

raw produce, maize and soya, for the production of JAM's school feeding porridge, which is sold to JAM's CSB factory in Beira, Mozambique⁵. Beira is a harbour city, and often described as a strategic location for shipping and exporting goods, e.g. to South Africa and other countries as well as in terms of connecting to other part of Mozambique. Produce is also sold to members of nearby communities, who then resell at a little higher price at local markets, to increase their incomes and livelihoods. Secondly, JAM argues in terms of the PLC-farm functioning as a "demonstration farm" or "a centre of excellence" towards local farmers living in the area, providing training at the farm, training, advice and follow-up through extension services, and support in terms of clearing land for agricultural production and e.g. installing farmers irrigation systems, based on JAM's available machinery, as well as support e.g. in terms of seeds and fertilizers. This is also intended to function as an inspiration for local farmers to see what it is possible to achieve, "so that they can do the same".

According to JAM and the four farmers, a central part of the project has been to advice the farmers to cooperate. While JAM has worked most extensively with Farmer 1, the intension is for this farmer to transfer the knowledge to other community members, and for his farm to serve as "a college" for the other farmers. The approach is based on the assumption that by working through key actors within communities, people with "an open mind", this can serve to also mobilize the wider community.

6.1.4. Degree and Nature of Community Participation

The relationship between JAM and the community is largely described by both actors as a process where the two parts come together to discuss, and to "find the good solution", as was argued by a community member, for the community. This can be related to Derick Brinkerhoff and Berit Crosby's (2002) distinction of participation between information sharing, consultation, collaboration, joint-decision making and empowerment, where the latter involves that transfer of decisions. JAM's approach seems to be based on a combination of these elements, during the different phases of a

⁵ JAM argued that the aim is for the PLC-farm to cover own costs based on the selling of produce to JAM's school feeding production factory in the harbour city of Beira, Mozambique. This is based on the argument of creating business incentives for effective produce at the farm. While "self-sufficiency" of the PLC-farm, involving no need to be financially supported by JAM's headquarter in Johannesburg, was argued to "require at least 60 hectares under production", JAM had in October 2015 20 hectares under production.

projects life cycle. While the NGO is actively involved in the start phase of projects, although the community consultation and decision making is argued to be central, the responsibility of the projects are increasingly transferred to the school or the community. This has also involved reduced levels of oversight and support from JAM.

The projects differed with regard to whether these should be regarded as supply-driven or demand-driven, as this depends on the specific context and also was impacted by the nature of funding, that is, whether the funding was targeted through specific grants or open, e.g. through private funding. However, in this regard the argument made e.g. by Adams (2001, p. 337) and Mathie and Cunningham (2003, p. 475), that communities cannot be treated as homogenous units, is relevant. Political conflicts, divisions, social fragmentation and lack of trust may reduce the apparent cohesiveness of the community. This was found to be highly characterizing Machengue. As such, while certain actors within the community had requested and valued the projects that had been planned and implemented by JAM, other actors of the community (e.g. the former principal and PTA with regard to the school garden and irrigation system) were less engaged, or did not see the value of the projects. In this case, the fact that JAM had worked rather narrowly, e.g. with regard to the irrigation system and the former principal's refusal of this, was cause of frustration among teachers, Farmer 1 and community members. Heterogeneity and diverging views and interests within the community illustrate the need to involve a broad range of community actors in the planning of projects, to promote broad community ownership and participation.

This, it can be argued, is central to promote positive impacts and sustainability in the long-term. As is argued by Brinkerhoff and Crosby: "There are objectives that are primarily of benefit to the groups newly participating but that ultimately may increase the likelihood of implementation or sustainability of a new policy...Evidence from a variety of development sectors- for example, health, education, infrastructure, and environment- shows that when target groups of policy reform participate in the decisions that affect them and in activities to implement those decisions, then better...outcomes are achieved".

In other projects, however, a broader approach has been applied by JAM. One community member argued that the processes were inclusive, although also "narrow":

When JAM started implementing [the projects in the school], the entire community was involved. But the community, with JAM, chose some members to represent the community. So the community has been involved and the community chose some members to [manage] the projects, to represent the entire community.

With regard to irrigation system for the school garden, the PTA argued that the local leadership and wider community “were not involved when those projects were started [in the planning]. The leader and the community were not involved in those projects”. However, with regard to the school garden, JAM and Farmer 1 argued that also the wider community was involved through a meeting. In general, however, the political leader argued that he and the community had been involved in the processes of decision-making and implementation. He stated: “When JAM comes to this community, JAM doesn’t work without alert us, tell us about what they are developing here. We approve only the projects that we think are good to us. If we think it is not good, we refuse”. He further stated: “It’s through conversation. We analyse which project will help us, because there are projects that will not help us. We choose only the projects that will help us”. JAM staff argued: “The community makes the entire process... It happens with the leadership, local leaders support”.

As such, JAM’s projects seemed to cover the span of information sharing, consultation, collaboration, joint decision-making and empowerment, according to Brinkerhoff and Crosby’s categorization of different types participation. The degree of community stakeholder participation differed significantly between *different* community actors. E.g. the school and local leadership were often directly involved in planning and decision-making, while the wider community were engaged in later stages of the processes. In other cases, the wider community were consulted prior to project implementation. Questions could be asked if involving the wider community in earlier stages could be central to enhance project successfulness and sustainability. This is the case in terms of promoting genuine community ownership and responsibility of the projects, being central to the functioning and community management of the projects, e.g. in terms of maintaining the school garden and paying a regular amount of money for the water well. However, in Machengue community actors being directly involved in the projects argued that higher degree of direct involvement of the wider community could enhanced the successfulness and sustainability of the projects. However, based on JAM’s “narrow” approach, an

endogenous development process seems to have been promoted, as it depends on community members' agency to impact the wider community. As such, this approach could have both strengths and weaknesses. This is further elaborated in other sections.

With regard to the large-scale agricultural project along Rio Govuro, Farmer 1 argued in terms of joint decision-making and empowerment:

[The relationship to JAM] is based on respect and partnership... We are working in the same level. Because I go to JAM to get knowledge, then I train other farmers... I help them, and I think we are working in the same level. Because I receive help, and then I help others.

This indicates that this farmer has been empowered to increasingly exercise agency, in Sen's terms, in improving his own and others' lives. Similar arguments were also made e.g. by teachers at EPC Machengue, and members of the WASH-committee.

6.2. Impacts on Capabilities, Structures and Institutions

As noted, JAM International argues, based on the CCDA, that the NGO strives towards promoting holistic development in the community in which it operates, to promote sustainable and transformative change. The following sections present the findings and discussions regarding the actual impacts of JAM's development initiatives in Machengue, particularly in enhancing the community's capabilities, structures and institutions being positive to sustainable local development. Firstly, impacts of JAM's initiatives implemented at EPC Machengue, the community primary school, are presented and discussed. Thereafter, impacts of the larger-scale agricultural initiative are discussed, specifically for the farmers and their businesses. The last section includes presentation of findings and analysis of to which degree and how JAM's projects at EPC Machengue combined with the larger-scale agricultural initiative have impacted on the wider community of Machengue. To which degree and how have JAM's initiatives contributed to broad and inclusive local development on the wider community, spurring endogenous processes that bear potential to be sustainable in the long term?

6.2.1. JAM's projects at EPC Machengue School: Impacts on Capabilities, Structures and Institutions

JAM's main projects in Machengue over the years have been related to meeting basic needs, particularly providing food and safe water, combined with promoting sound WASH-practices. Improved nutrition, health and education are argued by JAM to be paramount to future sustainable local development, through increasing children's capabilities, agency and real opportunities to access and actively participate and function in the future economy, also through enhancing education through school feeding. Further, safe water and increased nutrition is argued by JAM to be a key to reducing health care expenditures. As previously noted, JAM argues to have adopted a strategy of working rather narrowly when entering a community, mainly implementing its projects at the school, being described as "a focal point" within the community. In the following sections, main attention is directed towards the impacts of JAM's projects implemented at EPC Machengue, particularly with regard to capabilities, structures and institutions, and how this directly affects the school, the PTA and WASH-committee as key societal institutions and organizations, and the pupils and their families.

Views in Machengue regarding the impacts of JAM's projects were very positive, and it was often stated that "we don't think JAM's projects have had any negative impacts". However, in reduced impact due to challenges in the projects were identified, and in one case one project (the small animal creation) were negatively affecting another (the school garden). A main concern in the community, e.g. with regard to WASH-project, was however related to the scale of the impacts. A further presentation follows.

Basic Capabilities: Nutrition and Education

According to Machengue community members, the main argued impact of JAM's involvement in the community was related to the school feeding programme, in terms of nutrition and education. This was widely regarded as the most successful of JAM's projects, although in a capacity development perspective it can be argued that this is the project that bears strongest "delivery" characteristics. As families in Machengue struggled severely in terms of agricultural production and food insecurity at the time, due to the drought in an already semi-arid area, interviewed parents and grandparents

argued that the porridge served at school was key to their decision of sending their children to school at the time. The school principal at EPC Machengue argued that: “JAM’s project is helping this community in terms of food security, because when the children come to this school, they get meal. Then they are in security”. This finding should be seen in relation to the fact that often, in times of drought, families’ coping strategies include keeping children at home to assist in productive activities, e.g, working at their *machambas*, thus being detrimental to their children’s education. In the Machengue case, the sub-principal argued:

The main activity a lot of parents...is doing agrarian activities. This is not a productive area. And if we don’t have meals here at schools, we will find that parents will send their children for other areas, like Maputo, in the capital, in Vilankulo, because they have parents there. To stay there doing small business. But because they have meals here. Some of these kids are very very poor. Some of them are orphans, it’s difficult.... The porridge is definitely one of the reasons [they attend school].

One parent argued: “now we are in drought. My children go to school and have meals”, further stating that the porridge was central to his coping strategy and choice of sending his children to school, rather than keeping them at home. The family was struggling to meet their basic needs, with the father stating that “life is difficult” due to poverty. Similar arguments were broadly made by community members and teachers interviewed, which saw the nutrition and increased levels of education within the community as central to future development. One teacher stated: “The porridge...helps the students to have increased abilities and skills...In terms of nutritional issues, the students are in good [condition to gain] knowledge, and to have more knowledge at school. To have abilities”. Another teacher argued:

When JAM helps the school in terms of providing porridge, it helps to keep students at school. When it helps the students at school, it reduces the level of absence and increases the skills. When I compare this community to other communities, there are many students at school in this community, and they are increasing their knowledge.

As such, Machengue was described as “an educated community” by EPC Machengue teachers. One teacher argued: “If it was not for JAM’s porridge, half of the students would be absent”. The sub-principal argued: “If JAM was not supporting the school, the school would not be in this category”. In terms of category, the sub-principal referred to the fact that the school was teaching grade 1 to 7, thus being “EPC”. As

previously noted, this was a recent development, as the school initially was teaching grade 1 to 4. In 1997, the school reached category of EP1, teaching grade 1 to 5. Further, in 2014, the school was promoted to teach grade 1-7. In Mozambique, examinations start at grade 5 and 7.

Of the 251 students being enrolled at EPC Machengue at the start of 2015, 131 were boys and were 120 girls according to school documents. In October 2015, 131 boys and 112 girls, 243 students in total, were still attending school according to the trimester documentation of the school. This should be seen as related to Machengue being a rural community, where students' attendance often is low particularly at the end of the year, being the summer time.

While teachers and community members' views regarding the impacts of the school feeding were positive, stating that "there is no negative impact", the school principal brought attention to continued challenges for EPC Machengue:

The [school feeding] developed by JAM helps the school because the results, in terms of performance, improved. There is absence, but it is not because of hunger. It is because of pregnancy and early marriage. That is the challenge of this school. We are trying to develop some strategy to overcome this, but it is not easy for now.

As such, the principal's argument contradicts a statement of a teacher that early marriage and pregnancy were no longer a problem within Machengue, due to the porridge served at school. The principal further argued that many students lived far from the school, and reached school late. According to JAM's CDO, the main reason of reduced attendance is parents migrating to cities to improve their livelihoods, although in some cases, the children would then be enrolled at other schools, although "depending on their parents". Also the PTA-president mentioned absence at school as a continuing challenge within the community "because the families of the children are in extreme poverty". Still, the principal at EPC Machengue argued: "Clearly, this school has higher attendance than schools that don't have JAM support", and "almost all children of the community are adhering to this school". Throughout the community, increased attendance rates and performances of the students, as a result of the school feeding, were described as positive. The PTA-president and political leader argued: "[It's] a big impact, it's a positive impact. Because it helps us to educate our children".

Participant observation was conducted during the school breakfast. For the preparation of the porridge, water from the water pump at school was utilized, as well as firewood provided by the community. The students washed hands before eating, and during the preparation WASH-practices and cleaning was conducted by the volunteer. A school teacher did the administrative work.

Increased Sustainability Through Enhanced Capabilities? Impacts of the School Garden and Animal Creation Projects

A potential negative impact related to the school feeding, is, as discussed, the delivery aspect and danger of inducing aid dependency. In this regard, e.g. the animal creation and school garden were argued by community members, community and school leadership and teachers, and the PTA to have contributed to increasing their children's food security in a more sustainable manner. This was largely attributed to increased knowledge and skills in agricultural and small animal creation production.

The animal creation project resulted in two pigs multiplying to 11 pigs, of which some pigs were sold, so that the school could gain an income. Further, while about half of the produce from the school garden was sold, the remaining produce was consumed by the pupils, thus increasing and diversifying the students' nutritional base, according to JAM, teachers and Farmer 1. Also some of the pigs were killed for the pupils to eat. The school argued in terms of the positive impacts and sustainable potential of these projects, for the school, the pupils, their personal livelihoods and wider community development. The PTA argued: "As this school has production, we are not only giving porridge. We give produce from the gardening, and some pigs. For example the children...had meal with swine. We provided pig meat to the children".

While the school initially received one male and one female pig, the responsible teacher argued, as mentioned, that these had multiplied to 11 pigs. However, at the time of the fieldwork, only one pig was left at the school. One teacher argued that there were two pigs left, although the other pig had been moved to a family to help the school to feed it. Another teacher argued: "We are waiting for another pig, a male of better quality". Still, several of the pigs had died. A range of different explanations was given in this regard. One teacher argued that the pigs died of disease, while the PTA-leader argued that "there was no food because of the drought" and due to failures in the feeding system. JAM staff argued that "There was no one to give them food during the summer holiday", lasting between December and

January. As such, the direct impact of the animal creation to the school was severely limited at the time of the fieldwork. It was uncertain at the stage if the community would be able to bring the project on its feet again. Arguments were made by the PTA that they would maintain it, but were not able to further develop the project.

At the end of October 2015, the income from the sold produce from the school garden for 2015 was 875 MTs, although reduced compared to previous years due to the drought, according to the responsible teacher. The teacher argued that the income was used to buy seeds, as “there are not enough seeds...., and pesticides and material to prepare the soil”. However, the teacher further argued: “This income can only maintain, but we need to increase the production”. Previous income from the school garden was argued by teachers to have been spent on building a teachers house, as the government “struggles to provide this”, and buying uniforms and exercise books for orphans and the most vulnerable children in the community. This was regarded to increase the quality of education. However, in the PTA FGD, it was argued: “Now, gardening is not sustainable. Now, it’s...symbolic production... We are still in a theoretical, it is not relevant in practice”. This argument was related to the size of the garden, and level of produce. The theoretical aspect related to the relevance of the garden in increasing pupils’ and the wider community’s knowledge of agricultural practices, thus promoting increased agricultural production and a culture of increased production throughout the community. Another aspect of the “symbolic”, is that the community and school has to work, and as such does not only receive porridge as a hand-out, according to JAM staff. Still, the PTA previously argued in terms of the provision of the school garden to the pupils, in terms of feeding the kids. Teachers argued in time of lacking rainfall that plants were growing poorly, due to high pH value of the water from the water pump. As such, the produce in the school garden was further reduced. According to JAM staff, however, the production in EPC Machengue’s school garden was very good, as the school and Farmer 1 was running the project successfully.

In 2015 the school had, in collaboration with Farmer 1, cleared the land of an additional half-hectare for production at the schools property, using Farmer 1’s cattle to plough. Farmer 1 argued: “We can cultivate tomato, cabbage, cucumber, pepper and beetroot”. However, this initiative remained to have positive impact to the school. Farmer 1 argued: “We prepared the area this year. We sowed crops...., but the pig came to destroy”. This was attributed to the fact that the pigsty construction was no

longer enclosed, and the pig was walking freely on the school's property. He further stated: "Now, the school garden is not producing well. Because the pigs destroy the crops". During the fieldwork, the pig was found both in the school garden, although the vegetables were already harvested for the season, and on its way into the principals office during an interview.

The current drought led to reduced production, and was a key reason why the additional half-hectare plot was not cultivated at the time. Farmer 1 explained: "First [we] must have rain to make the soil easy to prepare. Now the cattle are not able to plough...First it has to rain, and then we will prepare and [cultivate and] use water from the water pump to irrigate". He argued that at the time, the water in the water pump was insufficient to irrigate the field, as the levels of water had reduced due to the drought.

Teachers at EPC Machengue, being among the most directly involved participants in the projects, argued that their skills and knowledge had been enhanced as a result of JAM's school garden and small animal creation project. One teacher argued:

It is a government plan [in Mozambique] to have school gardening in all schools...It was challenging, because at this school, there was no qualified teacher in terms of agrarian issues. So JAM helped this school in terms of technical assistance, to give skills. And we have Farmer 1. Farmer 1 helps this school in terms of technical advice and to give skills to this school.

As previously noted, Farmer 1 is a volunteer in the school garden, intended to be "the leader of the group". In return, this farmer has received support and training from JAM, to further develop his skills and farm, so he can assist in the school garden with skills, training and resources, such as seedlings, improving his farm, and again bring the knowledge and skills further to other community members. The teacher further argued: "JAM taught the school to plan production, and assisted us in terms of technical issues; how to fertilize, how to make arrangements on the fields". He further argued: "The school saw, with the technical support of JAM, that the soil is productive. We are able to produce more". Another teacher argued: "In agriculture, JAM helped this school to improve the techniques, like the space [between plants] and how to put organic matter, to mulch, to produce on this area". Again, this led to incomes to the school and increased nutrition for the pupils.

While the production at EPC Machengue's school garden is argued by JAM staff to be very good, questions can be related to the sustainability of this. While the interviewed teachers showed interested in the project, Farmer 1 and his wife was the only community member participating in the project, in addition to the teachers, students and five PTA members. As such, the impact of this project in enhancing parents' knowledge through their participation was significantly reduced, and it also makes the long-term management of the garden more vulnerable. It should be noted that still, information was disseminated to parents through meetings, teachers and pupils working to transfer knowledge in the community, and Farmer 1 who started to train other community members. However, Farmer 1 found lack of parents' participation to be "frustrating, because the other parents need to be paid to participate in the school garden". As such, while these projects were argued by JAM staff and teachers to "be successful", and is widely reported among interviewed community members to have had positive impacts on the capabilities, particularly in terms of education, health and nutrition, of their children, certain factors still contribute to hamper the successfulness and sustainability of the projects, and the real impacts.

Water and Sanitation: Impacts on Health, Skills and Practices

Similar arguments were made in terms of JAM's impacts on the community regarding the water well rehabilitation and WASH-practices. Interviewed community members regarded access to safe water, being the only water source in the community except from an open well, and the WASH-training as having positive impact on their health and general living conditions, although to a various degree; some argued that there had been high improvement, while others still struggled e.g. with water related diseases, although stating that there had been improvement. Mentioned reduction in diseases included particularly diarrhoea, in addition to malaria and cholera, although it was often stated that "it is difficult to say what diseases is reduced". The leader of sanitation and hygiene in the WASH-committee, argued: "JAM helped us in terms of mentality", regarding "health and hygiene in our homes, and we let it clean. We improved the sanitary condition, and we have toilet now, we wash our hands before we eat". All community members interviewed argued that JAM's projects had positively impacted on their WASH-practices, in issues such as hand-washing after going to toilet and before eating, and the importance of keeping their houses clean.

One woman argued: “I got knowledge in terms of sanitation, now my home is cleaned because of that”. She further stated:

We had knowledge before JAM’s projects, about sanitation, but when JAM started with that project, the community increased the knowledge and improved some aspects; to wash hands before we eat, to wash hands after we use the toilet, it has increased. We had knowledge, but we improved the knowledge.

Still, this woman and her family did not fetch water at the water pump at school, as “the WASH-committee tells us that the pump will break if everyone use it”. As such, diseases were reduced due to changed practices, however she and her family occasionally got diarrhoea and malaria, and as such the positive impact was reduced. Another community member, however, argued: “[The water pump] has helped my family because my children fetch water there when they are thirsty, and I fetch water at school. It helps my family because it has reduced the level of disease in our home”. Also the established toilets were appreciated among interviewed community members, stating that “it is helpful to reduce some disease”.

The WASH-committee at EPC Machengue argued, regarding their work of promoting behavioural change towards sound WASH-practices, that “there is no resistance. It is easy to work in this community in this regard”. However, community members working to disseminate and increase community awareness regarding WASH-practices, argued that “the level of water related diseases is still high in the community”, and “it’s a slow process”, although with progress. Referring to community members who continued fetching water at the open water well, Farmer 1, being actively involved in community health issues, argued that JAM’s WASH-training at school “has impact to the entire community, because children come from the community to school. But, the problem, because the community has this habit, that it resists to change this well to [rather] go to fetch water at school”.

The water pump was argued by JAM staff and community members, as well as the WASH-committee, to be held in very good condition by the community, and had not had a breakage after it was rehabilitated in 2008. The leader of technical issues and maintenance of the water pump argued that he had received sufficient training and skills to maintain and repair the water pump, and was checking the condition of the pump every Monday and Friday. As such, he argued, his technical

skills had increased as a result of the training he received from JAM during the water well rehabilitation. He argued:

We had an experience in another community, Mavansa. The water pump had a breakage, and they were looking for a mechanic, the WASH-committee [in Mavansa] wasn't able to fix the pump. So I was invited to help them, and I went to Mavansa. I helped that committee, and now the problem is solved.

In cases of big breakages, the WASH-committee argued that it would not be able to repair this, due to the high financial costs of such repairs. In such cases the committee argued that if they were not able to fix the pump in cooperation with WASH-committees in other communities, the committee would “ask for JAM support”. Later, however, it was argued: “JAM thought us that “if you have a big breakage, you have to ask [WASH-committees] of other communities for support. If they are not able to help you or to gather to fix that, you have to ask for government support. You have to go to Vilankulo and ask them to help you””. Also other WASH-committees in the district, e.g. Mavansa, have received training and support from JAM, thus creating a potential “network” of WASH-committees that could assist each other. As such, the community relies on bridging ties to external actors and social and political structures and institutions, both horizontally (to other communities) and vertically (e.g. to government agencies). However, government response is often a time-demanding process.

The WASH-committee also argued that JAM had enhanced their organizing and management skills: “JAM helped us in case of functioning”, they argued, pointing to the division of the WASH-committee into commissions of 1) health, sanitation and hygiene, 2) mechanic and technical issues, and 3) management, e.g. economic affairs. However, the economic management of the committee were not functioning, potentially having detrimental impacts on future sustainability of the projects, e.g. in need of repairs. The WASH-committee also seemed to have challenges in terms of new recruitment of members. While the committee initially had 12 members when being established, at the time of the fieldwork the committee only had four members. Recruiting new members and transferring knowledge is central to the long-term sustainability of the WASH-committee, and the management of the water-pump.

The distance between the two water points in the community was approximately one kilometre. As such the time spent for fetching water were not much reduced in Machengue through the rehabilitation of the water well at school.

6.2.2. Impacts of the Large-Scale Agricultural Initiative: Agricultural Development as a Way Out of Poverty?

In the following sections, the impacts of the large-scale agricultural initiative of JAM along Rio Govuro, nearby Machengue, is presented and later discussed. This, it should be noted, follows the development of the four farmers, and the impacts should be seen as a result of a combination of their own initiative, work and previous skills, support from JAM, and received government support. While JAM might have contributed to the total impact, in some cases the impacts should be attributed to a combination of interrelating factors having reinforced each other. However, the farmers argued in terms of attributing specific impacts, e.g. in terms of skills, to assistance received from JAM.

Farmer 1

Farmer 1 had lived in Machengue for 15 years, and took on farming activities at the area by Rio Govuro located near Machengue in 2012. The farmer describes how he previously had been working on the dryland. Further, while being a mechanic, he chose to start farming along the river, as “I saw that this area [has] a potential to produce...the fertility, the quality of the soil, that it will be an opportunity. Now I am producing [not only] in terms of agriculture, but in livestock..., to create animals. So I left Vilankulo to here because of that option. I want to follow my ideas”. Access to water by the river was a key to the choice.

Farmer 1 described: “It was my initiative to start”. While his *machambas* initially covered 1 ½ hectare, he starting cultivating by used a hoe, and a water can for irrigation. Thereafter, he used cattle to plough the land. To further obtain finances to invest in a small water pump, Farmer 1 sold “ a couple of goats and some cattle”. Farmer 1 further describes how, in 2013, government agricultural assistors accidentally arrived at his farm, “as they got lost when they were on their way to other farmers”. The government assistors were impressed by what he had achieved with little resources, and requested him to “write a project and apply for government funding”

through the Fundo de Desenvolvimento Agrário (FDA). The government sponsored Farmer 1 with a water pump of higher capacity and more extensive irrigation system, along with training to manage the irrigation system, extension services to agricultural practices and “business plan”, particularly in terms of connecting to markets.

In 2013 JAM held a meeting at EPC Machengue regarding the establishment of the school garden project, and as previously described, Farmer 1 was elected as leader. In return he received training and support from JAM. As a result, Farmer 1 argued, JAM supported him with knowledge and “took me to the level where I could supply more nurses to the school...That’s why the partnership started”. According to Farmer 1 and JAM, JAM has thereafter assisted the farmer with technical agricultural advice and teaching, through JAM’s agricultural coordinator visiting his farm to teach, monitor and follow-up, and by the farmer visiting JAM’s PLC-farm to learn new agricultural techniques and business management. The business management was, however, very recent. Specific material support received from JAM included a shadow net for nursery, fertilizer and improved seeds, as well as assistance from JAM in clearing more land for agricultural production, using JAM’s machinery, and this also was borrowed by the farmer.

While his fields covered 1 ½ hectare in 2012, seven hectares were cultivated in October 2015, with 27 hectares available to him to further expand. In 2012, he had a profit of 20 000 MTs. In 2013, this increased to 30 000 MTs, however with a reduction in 2014, when the profit reduced to 17 000 MTs. According to Farmer 1 the decrease from 2013 to 2014 was caused by the drought affecting the region, and his farm was also affected by flood. Although the irrigation system covers the cultivated hectares, the farmer argued that “when there is no rainfall, the quality of products is not good”, although depending on the quality and drought-resistance of the seeds.

Regarding the impacts JAM’s training and follow-up, Farmer 1 argued: “It helps in terms of knowledge...how to produce”, he stated, involving “how to cultivate, how to make a compost, make arrangements, how to launch seeds, how to saw”. He further argued: “JAM teaches us how to maximise the production, and that is helpful to reduce pests and to increase the profit”. Farmer 1 also argued that his farm has developed after he received support from JAM, “because per year, I am expanding 1 ½ hectare after I received JAM support”.

Farmer 1’s irrigation system is based on drip-irrigation, and production includes maize, cabbage, pepper, onion, tomatoes, potatoes, fresh beans, bananas,

garlic, cassava and beetroot. Markets he sells to include the local market and district markets such as Vilanculos, Mabote and Massinga.

In terms of impacts on his and his families' lives, Farmer 1 argue that it so far has increased "a middle": "It's improving, because now I am able to feed my family and to take my children to school, to buy some materials, like uniforms,...exercise books...Now we have food security. We don't have problems with nutrition". Farmer 1 lives with his wife and children. Together with his brothers and sisters, the household consists of 21 persons. Farmer 1 has employed four full-time workers, receiving 1500 MTs per month. His brother, however, argued that he received 3500 MTs per month. This is far below minimum wages in the agricultural sector in Mozambique, being about 3200 MTs at the time. However, in this regard it should be noted that this farmer had developed from being a small-holder to becoming medium-scale farmer, being a recent development. Farmer 1, as well as the employees, argued that the wages would increase in accordance with potential increases in income of the farm.

His main challenges to further develop his farm and business relates to lack of a tractor and drought-resistant seeds, and the fact that he does not own a car to transport his production to local and district markets⁶. As such, he depends on his neighbouring farmers for transport. To cover the distance from his home in Machengue to his *machambas*, Farmer 1 utilizes his moped. In the next year, if the climate improved, Farmer 1 expected to have an income of 50 000 MTs, as he would then sell maize production to JAM's CSB factory in Beira, who would assist with transport.

Farmer 2

Farmer 2 established his farming activities along Rio Govuro in 2012. While originally coming from Chimite, a community distanced 50 kilometres from Machengue, he previously worked as a small-holder farmer in the drylands, where he utilized traditional shifting agricultural techniques. "I was poor", he argued. His father was a small-holder farmer producing for self-consumption, although passing forward

⁶ JAM staff argued that while JAM's agricultural development manager advised Farmer 1 to invest in a car in 2013, when his production was good, Farmer 1 chose not to, as he thought the level of profit would continue the following year. However, due to the drought, the level and quality of his agricultural production decreased in 2014. During the fieldwork, lack of own transport to bring his produce to district markets was identified by the farmer as a key challenge.

agricultural techniques and knowledge. Farmer 2 described his process of establishing a farm along Rio Govuro as the following:

I was working in Chimite, and I invited a government assistor to ask for help. Then the government assistor came, and he saw that the land was not in a good condition. So he advised me...to come to Machengue. Because the assistor saw that this area was good. When I came here, the assistor said that...I could apply for government support.

Initially, the government assistor carried out extension services every weak, although “now, in these days, they are not coming”. When establishing his farm, Farmer 2 possessed 30 000 MTs, having saved over many years, which he used to buy fertilizer, pesticides, seeds, paying gasoline and wages for his employees. Further, the government supported him with a water pump and a loan of 150 000 MTs, with favourable interests “compared to the bank”. Farmer 2 invested the money to clean the area and upgrade the irrigation pipelines after a flood in 2014. The irrigation system covers 10 hectares, of which six were cultivated in October 2015. In total, his fields covered 16 hectares, thus leaving additional 10 hectares available for production, although the land was not cleared.

Farmer 2 was connected to JAM in 2014 through Farmer 1, which served as a linkage, or bridge, in establishing this relationship. According to farmer 2, JAM assisted him with machinery and helped him to open the soil to install the upgraded irrigation system. However, Farmer 2 planned and decided how to arrange the irrigation system. Further support from JAM included agricultural training and advice, both through extension services by which JAM’s agricultural coordinator visited Farmer 2’s farm, and as Farmer 2 visited JAM’s PLC-farm every weak. According to Farmer 2, JAM’s coordinator had visited his farm three times since April 2014, according to the farmer.

While the training was in its initial phase, Farmer 2 argued that it would not have been possible for him to reach this stage of farming at the period of time without assistance from the government combined with JAM’s assistance. According to the farmer, his production increased as a result of the knowledge he received from JAM, both directly, through JAM’s agricultural coordinator , and indirectly, through Farmer 1. JAM has worked mostly with Farmer 1, and “[he] come here...to teach what he is learning at JAM”. This was an intended approach of JAM, as they aimed for Farmer 1’s farm to serve as “a college” for the other farmers to increase their knowledge. As

such, Farmer 2 argued that he had gained knowledge e.g. in terms of how to make arrangements on the field. He further noted with regard to sowing practices: “before JAM’s contact, I was using three seeds per hole. But now I am using one seed per hole. It’s increasing the production and the productivity”. Using three seeds per hole resulted in low return, as they compete for nutrition and sunlight. He further argued that he had gained knowledge in terms of distances between plants when sowing, and “JAM’s assistor said that we have to write all information about production;...Income, production in terms of tons or kilograms...I started to do that now”. However, Farmer 2 described the process of working with JAM as: “We are not only receiving advice, we discuss with the JAM staff to know the best solution”. The farmers take final decisions.

From January to Mid-October 2015, Farmer 2 had a profit of 170 000 MTs. This was a significant increase from his profit in 2014 of 120 000 MTs, although lower increase than expected, due to pests “which I don’t know how to handle”. In 2013, his profit reached 70 000 MTs, while 2012 was a year without profit as he started farming along Rio Govuro in August. His main production included tomatoes and cabbage, which gave the best prices (respectively 30 MTs and 14 MTs per kilogram at the time, which he described as “medium/normal price”), while also producing bananas, maize, onion, green pepper, cucumber, beetroot and mangos. The farmer sold his produce at the local market, as well as at district markets of Vilankulo and others, with Vilankulo being described as “the only good market” in terms of gained prices for his produce. The increased income was argued to be a combination of increased production, in terms of area cultivated and production per hectare, as well as higher prices. He argued: “The price is increasing. Because at the market, there is not a lot of tomatoes. So when I see that in the market the tomato is low, I increase the price. And when I see that there is more tomato, I reduce the price”.

Farmer 2 has six full-time employees at his farm. Based on their responsibility and experience, two employees received 2000 MTs per month, two received 3000 MTs per month, and the final two received 4000 MTs per month. In this regard, Farmer 2 argued: “It’s enough now, it goes according to my income...If I increase my income, I will increase the payment”.

Farmer 2 describes how the biggest challenge in establishing his farm “is to work, to get in the field. Even when its sunshine, I work. It’s a challenge”. A main challenge in his production was related to pests on the crops, “which I don’t know

how to handle”, as well as to further increase his hectares under production. While he used cattle to plough and cultivate, he argued that he needed a tractor to increase efficiency and further expand area of production. Farmer 2 bought a pick-up in 2014, which he used to transport his produce to markets. He sells his produce himself, without middlemen or partners/contracts.

Farmer 2 lives with his wife and employees at the farm, while his children live and go to school in Maphinane, another community. While being a combination of assistance from JAM, government support and own initiative and hard work, Farmer 2 describes the impacts on his livelihood as “Its high improvement. We...have food security, and I get money to help my family”, and further:

My life situation has improved. Now we have food security, and in terms of health, I clean my home. I let my home in better condition, so it's decreasing the level of disease...Because now I am in a better condition. Now I sleep on the bed, ...before I slept on the ground. Now I have money to buy furniture to my home...

As the assistance from JAM was still in its initial phase, Farmer 3 argued that the assistance from JAM had mainly had impacts in terms of improving his agrarian knowledge and techniques, thus increasing his production, as well as the assistance in terms of installing the irrigation system through JAM's machinery.

Farmer 3

Farmer 3 started his farming activities along Rio Govuro in 2011, coming from Maphinane community where he has his home and his two children lives. Establishing his livelihood as a small-holder farmer along the river, while previously having worked in the dryland, Farmer 3's machambas initially covered two hectares. He chose the area because “this soil is good...in terms of fertilization”. In October 2015 this had expanded to 12 hectares, although not all of these were prepared for production. The expansion was facilitated as Farmer 3 received government support of 200 000 MTs, which he, among others, invested in a water pump with 12 hectare capacity. In terms of government extension services, however, Farmer 3 argued that this had not contributed to increasing his agricultural knowledge, “because the government assistors does not come regularly to my farm” (SJEKK).

With Farmer 1 again serving as a linkage, Farmer 3 connected to JAM in 2014. The last year, he had received cabbage seedlings from JAM. While JAM's

coordinator did not visit his farm regularly, Farmer 3 argued: “I go to [JAM’s PLC-farm] to see how they cultivate, and then I get knowledge, and...tries to practice it”. According to JAM staff, the farmers “are coming to the [PLC-] farm all the time to get training”, receiving training every week.

Farmer 3 also cooperates with Farmer 1, who passes forward what he learns from JAM. Although Farmer 3 finds that he has more knowledge and experience than Farmer 1, he highlighted the positive aspect of the four farmers exchanging experiences and knowledge, after they received training from JAM. Farmer 3 is Farmer 2’s brother. As such, also Farmer 3 had been working with his father, being a small-holder, subsistence farmer, “I had empirical knowledge. My father was a farmer too, and thought us how to lead with that, how to be independent in the future. So we got that skills through that”. The farmers in the area regarded Farmer 3 as the most experienced, e.g. in terms of banana production, through which he helps Farmer 2 to improve his practices and production. Producing maize, however, was described by Farmer 3 as a new experience. In terms of future JAM support, he argued: “I will not wait for JAM, not be dependent of JAM. I will be independent. But...the knowledge is not enough in our life. I am [searching]...to increase my knowledge in terms of agronomic issues”. In this regard, Farmer 3 believed that JAM has “a lot of knowledge and experience to support”.

According to Farmer 3, his livelihood and resilience has improved significantly as a result of his establishment of farming activities along Rio Govuro. This is described as a combination of his own initiative, interests and experiences, financial government support for water pump, and increased knowledge and production through working directly with JAM, and indirectly through Farmer 1. As the four farmers exchange experiences and pass forward to each other what they learn from JAM, Farmer 3 described this as very valuable. Farmer 3’s profit exceeded 150 000 MTs, and production included, among others, cabbage, tomatoes, maize, cucumber, watermelon, green beans, carrots, and beetroot. In October 2015, his cabbage production for 2015 exceeded five tons⁷, which constituted his main produce along with tomatoes. Regarding the development of his livelihood, Farmer 3 described:

⁷ 2015 was the first year this farmer started to register/keep account of his production.

It has improved, because when I started to work here, I was working without transport. Now I have transport to take products [to markets], and to come from Maphinane to here to see my fields. When I started, I was fetching water to irrigate.... Now I have a water pump, and I irrigate my fields easily.

While Farmer 3 previously reached his fields using a bicycle, the car he recently bought was described by other people as “wow, that’s a very good car”. The car has a box at the back, which makes it suitable for transporting produce to markets. Regarding increases in production, he further stated: “It’s a significant improvement. Even if...there appear someone to give me a job, I will refuse. Because I know that I get more money [through my farm] than to work for others”. Farmer 3 has five employees from other communities at his farm, each being reported to earn 3000 MTs per month, being scarcely below minimum wages in Mozambique. He sells to district markets, including Vilankulo, Inhassoro and Mavanza. In terms of improved living conditions for himself and his family, he noted: “There is no problem with food security, because I use production, and I buy other food products with my money”. He further stated that he and his family is living in good health conditions. In the future, he wanted to have “a luxurious house and a luxurious car”. He regarded himself as being a “small-scale farmer”, although he is categorized as a medium-scale farmer.

The main challenge for Farmer 3 is to transport his produce to markets during rainy periods, as the only access to his *machambas* is a dirt road. A further challenge relates to lack of tractor to plough, as he was using cattle for this. In terms of expanding markets, lack of formal contracts was described as a key challenge, as e.g. hotels preferred importing products from South Africa. He argued: “...in South Africa they are producing in large [quantity]. The hotels don’t want to make a linkage with small farmers, because those farmers are still producing in a small scale. So the challenge is that I, as a farmer, have to increase the production”.

Farmer 4

Farmer 4 started his farming along Rio Govuro in November 2014, and was in the start phase of production during the fieldwork in October 2015. Farmer 4 explained the process of establishing agricultural activities along the river as the following: “I was developing livelihood activity in Chimite [another community], and [Farmer 3] was there developing agrarian activities. Then I asked [Farmer 3]: “In your community, could I have space to develop my agrarian activity?” And [Farmer 3] told

me that it's possible". Farmer 4 further explained the process of getting access to property:

To have this property, first I had a linkage with local members, like [Farmer 1] and others. Then, [the other farmers] told me that there is property to explore. So they took me to...the local leader. Then the local leader wrote the documentation to show at the Agricultural Department, [which] authorized me to use the area.

Farmer 4 previously worked as a miner in South Africa, although having abandon this as he struggled with diabetes. He further explained why he chose to settle by Rio Govuro: "Where I was living, Maphinane community, there is no river. So I come here to use the river to help me in my activity, because of the drought. In my community [Maphinane] the agriculture depends on rainfall. Here I have water to use in my crops" and "I have no other activity to do" for livelihood. His available fields along Rio Govuro include 35 hectares.

Working as a miner had left money for saving. In the initial stages of his farming, Farmer 4 worked to clear the land himself, as well as hiring people from the community to assist. However, "the work was tough, so I decided to ask JAM for help. Then JAM helped me [to clear the land]". Further support from JAM included cabbage seedlings. However, "the crop was destroyed because I didn't have irrigation system", during the drought. He also received training and advice from JAM's agricultural coordinator, for example "teaching us how to cultivate, how to combine plants on the field". Based on the area of cleared land on his farm, he received government support for irrigation system, which JAM would assist in installing in the upcoming time. With regard to the relationship with JAM, he argued: "

The relationship with JAM is based on collaboration. When we request something to be helped, JAM helps us, and then JAM pays attention to what we want... We work together, we discuss together about what we want. Now JAM said that they will help with one maize hectare, in terms of supporting with seeds, training. But we are working together.

Farmer 4 further argued that he had received assistance from Farmer 1:

Me and Farmer 1 are working together, they are helping each other. Farmer 1 is helping me in how to arrange the field, how to sow, how to fertilize, how to prepare the soil...because Samuel has agrarian knowledge. I help Farmer 1 in providing transport. Because I have a car, and help Farmer 1 to take his products to the market.

The further impacts of JAM on his capabilities, and his life and livelihood, was uncertain during the time of the fieldwork, as the farmer remained to harvest production. In the initial stages of moving from a being small-holder, inexperienced farmer, to moving into a semi-scale farmer, Farmer 4 regarded the support and increased knowledge through training from JAM as helpful for his opportunities to improve his livelihood through agricultural activities. “I opened 6 hectares... indeed that job was done. So now I need support to install irrigation system”. Still, he argued regarding actual impacts: “If the results are positive, it will help me”. As he had not yet harvested and sold produce, it was too early to tell the actual impacts of JAM’s assistance on his livelihood.

According to JAM’s agricultural coordinator, the farmers’ have become increasingly self-sustaining throughout the process, and as such he is reducing his follow-up. Still, e.g. Farmer 1 has now reached a level where he needs to do further investments, e.g. in a car and a tractor, to be able to further expand his farm. JAM staff did, however, argue in terms of “stepping back” at this stage in terms of supporting with equipment and machinery, stating that “we can’t just continue supporting him indefinitely... We can’t make him dependent on us either”, as well as enhancing the Farmers ownership during the process through covering own costs. Farmer 1 argued: “JAM has said that they will support me with transport, but only for a short period of time”. As such, the farmer needed to solve his transport issue. Regarding need of machinery, the four farmers, based on advice from JAM, discussed to start saving and pool funds for investing in a tractor.

6.2.3. Collaboration Between the Farmers

According to the four neighbouring farmers, a main described impact of working with JAM, was advices of JAM of making the four farmers working together; collaborating, sharing knowledge, experiences and resources. “It was a JAM advice. We had the plan [to cooperate], but JAM increased it”, one of the farmers argued. As such, the farmers argued that JAM contributed in this regard, although the impact should be seen as a combination of the farmers’ willingness and initiative and guidance and advices from JAM. This can be related to the argument made by Mathie and Cunningham regarding the potential role of development NGOs to serve as facilitating and guiding actors, through “leading by stepping back” (2003). This, the

authors argue, is central to avoid inducing aid dependency mentality, and truly increase communities' capacities. In this case, this can be related to the fact the farmers are in charge of their farms, taking decisions and bearing costs and benefits. The argument of Mathie and Cunningham (2003) also involves a focus on available resources, e.g. human, natural, physical and social, within a community, rather than focusing on lacks, and how human capital can lead to enhanced utilization of other forms of capital.

In this regard, guidance and advices, combined with support, can, however, be central in the process of making e.g. farmers increasingly self-sustaining, through enhancing their individual and collective capabilities. Farmer 1 argued: "When I go to JAM to learn, I come here and transfer that knowledge to the other farmers. I go to other farmers to teach them how to cultivate and how to make arrangements on the field". JAM staff argued: "We provided [Farmer 1] with the initial inputs, like seeds, fertilizer, and we also built a shed cloth for the nursery. But his place now is like a college for the other farmers. So they come there and learn from [Farmer 1]". Farmer 4, being unexperienced in farming, argued: "Farmer 1 comes here to teach me Farmer 1 also argued that he was now fixing a broken water pump of his neighbouring farmer, based on his experience as a mechanic, and teaches them to use the tractor. Farmer 1, however, depends on the other farmers to transport his produce to district markets, while sharing gasoline costs, as well as borrowing Farmer 4's tractor. The farmers travel to different district markets to investigate at what markets they receive best prices for their produce, and collaborate actively in this regard, although each farmer sells their produce independently.

A key question, however, concerns, as previously discussed, the balance between providing initial support for the farmers to "get started", although without inducing aid dependency mentality and increasing the real abilities of the farmers to successfully manage their farms in the long term without e.g. JAM support. A JAM staff argued:

You don't want them to become too dependent of you. Because even now, [Farmer 1] wants us to [lend our] tractor. I mean, we can't just keep doing it. He needs to become contributing... When he had a very good season, [JAM's agricultural development manager] said: "Don't waste your money. You must now try to get a vehicle", and he didn't listen... So now it was a lesson for him, but now he's gonna learn better the next time... Because sometimes you get a lot of money in, and you think that it will happen again next month, but then a cyclone happen, anything happen."

The further impacts of the farmers collaborating has been central to the successes of their farms, they argue, as their knowledge base and joint experiences complement each other. Farmer 3, for example, “has most experience in producing bananas”, while Farmer 1 assist Farmer 3 in producing maize, being a new experience to farmer 3. However, these bonding ties have also served to increase the bridging ties of the farmers to actors outside the community and to gain access to resources, e.g. abilities to sell to other markets; abilities of recent farmers to access land along the river through approaching the local leaders and contacting the government, and; contacting the district government for support through the FDA. This was also the case as Farmer 1 was central in connecting the other farmers to JAM. The above findings should be seen in relation to the importance of social capital in economic growth.

6.2.4. Impacts on the Wider Community Capabilities, Structures and Institutions: Food Security, Livelihoods and Economic Development

While enhanced education, nutrition and health is paramount for a child’s abilities to improve its livelihood and living conditions in the long term, it can be argued that this also depends on a favourable social and economic environment in which the person can exercise agency and utilize capabilities (Perkins et al., 2013). As such, enhancing the community conditions in which children grow up and are to improve one’s life, is paramount. This, it can be argued, is also central enhanced education is a long-term development, while improvements also needs to be made in the short run, thus “spurring” the process of economic and social development. The actual impacts of JAM’s initiatives in this regard should be seen as a combination of JAM’s initiatives at EPC Machengue, affecting the wider community, and the larger-scale agricultural initiative involving the farmers along Rio Govuro. A key question relates to, to which degree, the “targeted development approach” of JAM, by working rather narrowly through the school and a few farmers, has been successful or not in positively impacting the community as a whole, and promoting “holistic community development” in an integrated way. This, it can be argued, is central if JAM is to bring about “lasting and transformational change” in the community, and spurring the process of promoting sustainable local development.

Food Security: Emergence of Endogenous Processes?

A main argued impact of the school feeding provided by JAM on the wider community concerned reduced pressure on parents to provide food for their children. According to the sub-principal at EPC Machengue, this left more time for “bigger” and income generating activities, such as agriculture or horticulture. He argued:

The parents are taking advantage of what we are doing. For example, this year, what we are producing in the garden, we prepare meals for the kids, and when the kids arrive at home, they do not want to eat, because they are already getting food at school. This reduces the pressure for their parents... That means the parents are more focused to produce their gardens or farms, then it is not pressure to prepare meals. Because they do not have. But they will spend more time to do bigger things.

JAM’s agricultural initiatives in Machengue, both the school garden and the larger-scale agricultural project, is argued to have contributed to increasing community members’ abilities to cover their nutritional needs through increased agricultural production, thus promoting their resilience and livelihoods. The teacher being responsible for the school garden argued how JAM’s school garden initiative had increased his and the pupils agency within the community to further promote agricultural development:

It increased my knowledge, because when I receive training, from JAM’s assistor and from the agrarian department, I spread the knowledge to the students. Then, students take the knowledge to their parents... I and JAM’s assistor join and spread information to the parents. It helps because it increases the level of knowledge and production is improving. Because we make the community conscious that if they use those techniques, they will increase the production.

Further, the teacher argued:

Students and I sometimes go to see if community members are running that process or not [at their *machambas*]. If we see that there is a weakness with some farm, on his fields, we try... to increase the consciousness of the farmer, that the better way to produce is this [method], than to use that way.

Also Farmer 1, who is a leader in the school garden, argued that he worked to increase awareness and knowledge in the community regarding sound agricultural techniques to increase their production. In 2014 he started to visit community members in Machengue to train them and follow-up in their production. Interviewed

community members argued this to have been helpful and increased their production. A teacher at EPC Machengue also argued in terms of spin-off effects of Farmer 1's activities by the river, as well as spill-over effects due to the farmers being involved in the community: "Other members of the community try to follow [Farmer 1's] way to achieve that", he argued, thus having increased community members' initiative and agency, and what Narayan (2005, p. 10) terms "ability to imagine and aspire to a better future", through using available, although previously under-utilized, resources in the community (e.g. natural resources). Along with increased "ability to imagine and aspire to a better future", also community members' vision of *how* this can be achieved, and abilities and skills, has been increased. Farmer 1 also help "demonstration days" at his farm, where students and parents visited his *machamba* to receive training. This impact happened both directly through JAM's work in the community, and indirectly through JAM's approach of identifying and training "key agents" in the community, which would spread the knowledge throughout the community.

Also the other farmers along Rio Govuro argued that they worked to increase awareness and knowledge in the community regarding sound agricultural techniques to increase their production, although this was mainly based on advices, and not extensive training like Farmer 1. "I tell them that they don't have to burn the grass", Farmer 2 argued, referring to traditional slash-and-burn agriculture. Farmer 3, however, found it challenging that community members were unwilling to listen to his advices and experience. He also argued: "I train the local community, and I try to persuade them, saying that: "Look, I started with a bicycle, but now I have a car, during last year I got a car. It's possible to achieve what I has achieved".

One family argued: "The main impact of JAM's involvement is that they help to keep the children at school, and with the knowledge that for example school gardening spread to the community, we use that knowledge to produce and to increase the production". They further stated: "We got knowledge in terms of irrigation techniques. We put grass on the soil to save water [mulching], and we use techniques to sow, we use one seed per hole, and we use space, to separate the crops". Community members' traditional techniques involved shifting agriculture, also based on slash-and-burn, involving burning the grass. They also used three seeds per hole, thus reducing growth of plants and production despite higher input. Previously, they

also used one metre between each plant, although now reducing this to 15 centimetres.

Similar arguments by other community members indicated that they adopted the new knowledge, and altered their techniques. One older lady argued: “Children take the knowledge that they get at school about gardening, and they take this information, that knowledge, to their parents. Then the parents, with the children, try to make some small gardening at their homes”. However, the actual impacts of enhanced capabilities on their livelihoods, they argued, were highly reduced due to lack of rainfall. One community member argued: “It was small increase, because of the drought. I get knowledge, but knowledge is not the only input in agrarian activities. We depend on rain”. As such, the community members argued in positive terms about the impacts of JAM’s agricultural projects, in terms of skills and abilities. However, at the time the impacts on their food security and livelihoods were argued to be in a limited scale due to the drought.

To promote sustainable livelihoods, food security and economic community development, the scale of impact throughout the community would need to be increased. However, the area along Rio Govuro poses significant opportunities in this regard. Still, community members often had a mentality that “we don’t have transport” or “we don’t have irrigation system”, thus not taking on initial, small-scale activities which can increase in the longer-term. As Farmer 1 and Farmer 3 argued, they started their activities “using a hoe and a water can”, “fetching water in the river” and “using my bicycle for transport”. This indicates that it is possible to start with scarce resources. The hard work of the four farmers resulted in government funding, which also significantly spurred their activities.

While community members heavily focused on their limitations in this regard, questions may be related to which degree this was a result of “psychological aspects” or real constrains. Arguments can be made that this probably was a combination of these two aspects, as community members increasingly started to take on activities and utilize the land along the river and a lake within the community. JAM staff, however, regarded it as a main challenge how community members could get the initial condition, in terms of resources, to initiate activities along the river. During October 2015, three more farmers established activities along Rio Govuro to start their farms. However, community leadership regarded the government requirements to access government funding, which involved clearing nearly two hectares of land, as

very difficult to achieve. The representative of the Vilanculos Department of Education, on the other hand, argued that the most significant challenge for agricultural development in the district was to incentivise the population to use irrigation systems, fertilizers and improved seeds.

Arguments were made by teachers at EPC Machengue, Farmer 1, the PTA and JAM staff that a “new trend” emerged in Machengue the last year. One teacher argued that “[parents] are now demanding for other areas in the community” to do agriculture and increase their production. There is a small lake in the community, by which there previously was no cultivation, although cattle grazing. The sub-principal argued:

when the students are learning here about how to maintain the garden, they are transferring the knowledge to their homes... This year, we have a small area [by the lake]..., which is the better place to do gardens. The parents opened the space to do gardens, their sons helped them to open and to do the garden.

It was remarked that agricultural activities were not the previous daily activities of these parents. One JAM staff argued: “Because JAM here at school established the garden, the community is taking [the practices] from... school, because they see that it is possible to do, and they are multiplying in their homes. It is what is happening now”. The sub-principal argued:

I look to JAM’s work in this school as positive. The school works with five members of the community, in the PTA. What indicates that they are transmitting the information, is that now, by the lake, there are more people working. The [PTA] members replicate the information that they receive at school to other community members, and that makes a linkage. The council members [of the PTA] are five, but the people that are developing agrarian activities by the lake are more than ten. And [the school] uses the students as messengers, the students replicate information.

Still, this was an initial trend, with the production applied for self-consumption.

During the WASH-committee FGD it was argued that “there is a conflict by the lake”. It was argued that, as cattle were grazing on the fields, “the cattle will destroy the crops” in cases of further development of agricultural activities. Further, one of the community members having started to produce by the lake, having received training from Farmer 1, argued that her produce was good during training in the first season, but after the training stopped, her production decreased in the second season. According to Farmer 1, the impacts of JAM’s agricultural initiative throughout the

community, in terms of agricultural production, has been “medium. Because in this year there is no rain, the community is in drought”.

However, increased skills and knowledge should also be regarded as central impacts on people’s capabilities, as this may materialize in times of good rainfall. These findings does, however, illustrate that the community is still highly vulnerable to natural shocks, although their food security (in terms of agricultural production, not school feeding) and livelihood resilience has increased to some, although limited extent.

Culture of Economic Agency and Commercialization

In terms of economic development, community leadership, school management, community members and JAM field staff argued in terms of positive impact of the small animal creation training, as this was replicated in people’s livelihoods. This was, however, not mainly in terms of high economic improvement, although e.g. one teacher argued that his incomes had increased, but rather a new “culture” of commercialization and initiative emerging within the community. Both community actors and JAM staff argued that very recently, community members increasingly started to produce animals, sell and commercialize their production. This indicates that the small animal creation project at school might have been more successful in terms of creating positive spin-off effects on the wider community, not only in terms of knowledge being disseminated, but also in terms of promoting agency mentality through guiding community members *how* it is possible to achieve sustainable development and improve their livelihoods. However, the local leadership argued in terms of restrictions in this regard, as the community “do not have resources to forward this in a large scale”. However, such mentality can in itself constrain further development, as it can be argued that development is a gradual process through gradual investments. The study found that successful initiatives in the community, e.g. the farming activities along Rio Govuro, often was a result of initiatives starting with limited resources, which again had opened new doors, e.g. in terms of government support.

The development of medium-scale farming along Rio Govuro, approximately seven kilometres from the market in Machengue, was widely reported to have had positive impacts on food security and development of Machengue community as a whole. Farmer 3, who first established activities by the river, without JAM support,

argued that he met initial resistance from community members when he established his activities: “There was resistance, but I tried to convince them, to tell what I was going to do here. I said that it will be good. I tried to explain the local leader too, and they started to understand”. At the time of the fieldwork, the interviewed community members and community leadership had a positive view on the impacts of the farming. The main impact argued by community members was related to the farmers selling their produce at the local market in the community, at a low price. In time of drought, this was argued by community members to be central to their continued access to food.

A key impact, argued by local leadership, Farmer 1 and JAM, as well as community members, was related to the fact that community members buy produce from Farmer 1, to resell e.g. in Vilankulo at higher prices, thus gaining a small profit and improving their livelihood gradually. Further, community members argued that for the last year, Farmer 1 had actively visited community members to train them in gardens or *machambas*, being reported to have positive impacts on their produce, although to a limited degree at the time due to the drought (as discussed above). A new initiative was being developed for community members to access seeds. It was argued that in return of assisting at Farmer 1’s farm, community members could receive seeds, alternatively they could get seeds and pay after harvest.

While this was widely described in positive terms throughout the community, both community leadership and members did, however, note that the improvements in community members livelihood, e.g. through re-selling farmers produce and through creating small-animals, were in a small scale at time. However, some community members argued that the impacts had been more significant. This should, however, be seen in relation to the fact that these were very recent developments. A question remains if a sustainable, gradual and long-term and endogenous process has been spurred, that will further improve livelihoods in the community through endogenous processes, or if the development will become stagnant and continually slow.

Generating Employment From Within the Community: Livelihood Impacts

In total, the farmers employed 15 people full-time at their farms, while also employing community members over shorter periods, in times of much work at the farms. The full-time employees received wages ranging from 1500 to 4000 MTs. Minimum wage in the agricultural sector in Mozambique was approximately 3200

MTs at the time. As such, the wages were not high and the employees continued living in poverty. However the employees argued that being employed and receiving regular income had positively impacted their lives and livelihoods. One employee, previously having produced coal and firewood for sale, argued that his livelihood had improved “a little” after having been employed by Farmer 1, also stating that “now I am not suffering with hunger in my home”. However, being employed was argued to have improved his relationship to other community members to a high extent:

My relationship with other people is improving. Because now I am able to have money to buy food, to feed my family. When someone comes to my home, to visit me, I give something, like food, and they value me. So my livelihood is improving, and as my livelihood is improving, I am having respect. People respect me.

Another employee further argued that “as I am receiving training with [Farmer 1], now I am increasing my knowledge, and it’s helping me in terms of agrarian knowledge, to manage land and how to arrange crops on the field”. This, the employee argued, helped him in increasing his produce at his own *machamba* at his home in Machengue. He describes that his livelihood has improved “much. Because now, when I started working here, when I receive money, I buy some articles to my family, and I am sending to my family in Mabote”. Still, he argued that his wage of 1500 MT “is low”, although “it’s improving, in terms of income to me. Half a loaf is better than none. It’s better to be here than to be at home”. He argued: “Before I started to work here I was without clothes, without food, without water to take bath. But now, as I am working here, I take bath, I have clothes and I feed myself”. In terms of his trust to other community members, he argued: “I am living a better life with the community, in terms of solidarity. Me and the community respect each other”.

6.2.5. Impacts on Social and Political Structures and Institutions

While community members argued that their individual capabilities had positively increased as a result of JAM’s involvement in Machengue, although to various degrees, it was also argued within the community that JAM’s involvement had positively impacted on collective capabilities and social capital. This was particularly the case in terms of trust and relationships within the community, that is, bonding ties, and to some degree to external actors through bridging ties, e.g. for the WASH-committee.

According to Machengue community members and leadership, JAM's involvement in the community had, over the years, positively altered community structures and institutions. This was related to promoting trust and unity within the community, and in terms of seeing the value of collaboration among community members to promote community development. It was frequently argued that "JAM increased our trust"⁸. In the WASH-committee FGD, it was argued: "The community work together. JAM played a helpful role in terms of joining, to unite [us] to work together to solve our problems". They further argued: "JAM showed how much it is good to work together. It has affected the entire community... In the entire community it is happening that we are improving". One family argued: "We [the community] are united, because we help each other. We discuss together about problems, and to find solutions for the community... JAM helped to make us more united". They stated:

It makes us work together, to make easy the process... of unifying, the cooperation. Because when JAM came, they first involved the local leader about the purpose of JAM here, and then JAM worked with the school. Both the school and the local leaders informed and involved the community in the process. So the community is working together.

In the WASH-committee FGD, when explaining the impact of JAM in enhancing trust to internal and external actors, it was argued: "When we increase our local trust, we are able to trust other communities and other actors". This can be related to discussions made by Francis Fukuyama (2000, p. 4) regarding the "radius of trust". Fukuyama argues that enhanced social capital in terms of bonding ties within communities can lead to restrictions, or even hostility, towards other communities. However, the findings from Machengue indicate that also the opposite can be the case. Internal trust and bonding ties within a community can be favourable for community members to trust and make bridges to external actors, thus expanding their "radius of trust". As such, the findings support the argument of Newman and Dale that communities can "achieve agency through a dynamic mix of bonding and bridging ties" (2005, p. 477), although adding that bonding ties within a community can be essential for communities to expand their bridging ties.

⁸ In some cases this answer, among others, could be a result of reactivity, in terms of the participants knowing that they were studied. However, in some cases the answer seemed genuine, as the respondents clearly argued why they thought JAM had achieved this. In some cases it was, however, difficult to tell the accuracy of the answers given.

With regard to the process of enhancing trust and unity in Machengue, a JAM field staff argued;

...the sustainability goes very slowly. Goes very slowly. It's normal. You go the community and get problem. But you need give the solution very slowly, slowly, slowly. Because, it is very difficult to change the people's mind very quickly...It is very, very difficult.

While community members argued that they trusted each other, and that relationships in Machengue were based on cohesion, further conversations both with school staff, community members and JAM staff revealed serious limitations in social capital in the community. This related both to lack of trust and unity, combined with very low utilization of existing trust to improvement one's own and others' lives, and promoting general community development.

As such, a distinction can be made between *existing social capital* and actually *utilized social capital*. As Evans notes: "Informal ties do not necessarily promote improvement in material well-being", if they are not applied for this purpose "but if people can't trust each other or work together, then improving the material conditions of life is an uphill battle" (1996b, p. 1034). As such, Evans argues: "When sustainable improvements in the welfare of ordinary Third World citizens is an aim, social capital is a crucial ingredient" (Evans, 1996b, p. 1034). Without social capital, human and physical capital are easily squandered. The Machengue case could to a very high degree be related to these arguments. JAM staff and the school board argued that further improvements needed to be made both in terms of further developing the social capital in Machengue, and in mobilizing community members to utilize their existing relationships to promote development. This related to community members collaborating for common purposes, as, it was argued, lack of unity within the community significantly hampered a clear vision within the community of how to collectively work towards development.

Views of the teachers at EPC Machengue were of interest in this regard, as they possessed an "insider-outsider role" in the community. Some of them had lived in Machengue for many years, although coming from and having worked in other communities. Having lived in Machengue for 14 years, a teacher at EPC Machengue described the community as a "very difficult" community to live and work in, compared to the community in which he previously worked. The teacher largely attributed this to community socio-cultural and socio-political structures and

institutions. Lack of trust and cooperation between community members, combined with poor relationships between the *secretário* and *régulo*, and between the community leadership and community members, were described as particular challenges. The teacher stated: “there is no good relationship of the leaders and the people of this community...They do not interact well”. According to JAM staff, this was again caused by lack of willingness of the community political leader, *secretário*, to cooperate with the traditional leader, *régulo*, in the community. This created divisions and lack of unity between those supporting the *secretário* versus those supporting the *régulo*. This relationship was also argued by community members and JAM staff to “create confusion” regarding how to behave and promote development. One community member: “It reduces confidence [to the leadership]”.

Further, the teacher argued: “The trust of families here depends on paternal linkage. If two families are from different paternal linkage, there is no trust or confidence”. This, he argued, significantly hampered the development process of Machengue: “The people here are fighting to develop the community. The people look to themselves as potential agents for development. But the problem is in terms of traditional values and beliefs of the different people of this community...If one paternal group has an idea to develop, others will not receive very well, because they are not of that paternal group”. It was further argued that if community members should help each other, they needed to be paid. As such, lack of norms of abilities for collective action and cooperation seemed to continually characterize the community.

However, the teacher further argued that community members join together in ceremonies and special occasions, such as celebrations or funerals. In such cases, “the barrier of different paternal groups does not exist”, he argued. However, in terms of *utilized social capital*, the teacher argued: “The community do not interact in terms of the things that will take the community to development. They interact to drink local traditional beer”. Observations from the fieldwork confirmed this statement to some degree, as interviews with community members could not be conducted after 1 or 2 pm. A community member argued: “Everyone in the community are drinking at this time a day...to get drunk...Men and women. After they have finished working for the day, this is their only pleasure”. This was confirmed by observation. It was further argued: “Even if there is a funeral, it can not be held at this time a day. Funerals need to be early in the morning, because everyone is drinking at this time a day”.

Community members also articulated frustration regarding lack of initiative of the political leader. One of the farmers argued: “The one who knows how to read and write [the *secretário*], does not take initiative. But the one who does not know how to read and write [*the régulo*] takes initiative”. Based on the political structures in Mozambique, where the *secretários* serve as linkages, or bridges, between the community and external actors, such as the government, this was regarded by some of the interviewed community members to severely hampering community development. One community member argued regarding the socio-cultural and political situation:

In terms of structure, it is challenging. But in terms of symbolic leadership it is good, because they work to the stability of this community in terms of tradition, local tradition. But what is happening, what is the challenge, is that the leaders of this community don't go to each family to see how we are living. So they only invite the community to have meeting, then start to write problems. Then they promise the community that those problems will be solved. But the community stay waiting, and the community stay long, stay long without result and no change.

This was largely based on the fact that the local leadership (consisting of leaders from the “sub-villages”) within the community forward the identified problems to the political leader of the community. Again, the *secretário* forwards this to the government at higher levels. However, “[we are] still without result of all problems that the leadership wrote. There is no efficiency in this process”. It was further argued by a community member that this affected community members’ mentality: “Because we only see the problem, and we don't receive results. It makes the community frustrated. We are still frustrated...and it reduces the confidence of the community to the local leadership”. As JAM clearly argues in terms of being an independent part in the community, not getting involved in political conflicts, JAM's involvement had limited impact on political structures and institutions in this case.

Community members did, however, argue that JAM had increasingly impacted on their interactive and deliberative skills, in terms of discussing and identifying common problems or goals, and working towards these. This can, in itself, be regarded as important political structures, when seeing community political capabilities in a “deliberative” perspective (Eriksen, 1995; Hadenius, 2001). This can be seen as a result of community members working together over longer periods of time, through participating in planning and implementation processes of JAM's projects. This can be related to what Coleman describes as “investments in social

capital”. As Hadenius (2001) argues, routinized and fixed forms of social interaction is essential to such “investments”. Further, it can be argued that “joining drives trusting”. JAM’s projects and community members’ participation in these were argued by Machengue community members to have served as an arena in this regard. Also JAM field staff argued that working through the school, being a neutral “community institution/organization”, had been essential in bringing the community together, uniting competing interests and diverging views, and reducing divisions.

A teacher also argued in terms of continued “inward-looking” mentality within the community: “The people of this community don’t make partnerships. So it’s difficult, the condition of this community”. In this regard, he stated: “The other communities have some businesses, to buy things in Maputo and South Africa, and they resell, commercialize that to the communities, like clothes, oil, basic domestic products, like soap. So here in Machengue subsistence agriculture is the only alternative, they depend only on agriculture”. According to the teacher, “there exist a linkage between this community and other communities, but when this community learn about the experience of other communities, they don’t implement what they learnt in other communities”, and “they are closed”. Also a member of the school board argued that “Machengue is a restricted community”. JAM staff argued that lack of unity among the community leadership and community members not directly impacted on the specific projects at the school, but hampered a holistic community development process as “they lack a clear vision” for the future, and unity to sustainably achieve community development and manage large-scale projects collectively.

The above issues will be further discussed in other sections. However, this provides insight into the socio-cultural and socio-political context in which JAM’s development initiatives have been planned and implemented. It also indicates that while community members widely argues that trust, collaborative abilities and unity has been enhanced as a result of JAM’s involvement in the community for at least the past 20 years, this continues to be a problem.

With regard to the lack of unity between the community leaders, also splitting the community members, JAM staff argued strongly in terms of the need to act as an independent part within the community, and “not taking any sides”. While working to alter negative community structures and institutions through sensitization, JAM staff also argued in terms of the importance of respect when entering and working in a

community. “We come as guests”, one JAM staff member stated. Acting independently, e.g. in cases of negative relationships between the political and the traditional leaders in a community, and not intervening, were regarded as central to not create “really bad politics” within the community. While community members widely argued in terms of enhanced trust and unity, JAM staff argued in terms of the lack of unity as a problem in need of continued attention. “We have worked in Machengue for over 20 years now. Still, our job is not completed”, one JAM staff argued. In this regard, Machengue was described as a very difficult community to promote sustainable development in, compared to other communities.

6.3. Community Agency and Endogenous Development Processes

The above findings indicate that JAM’s recent projects, particularly the combination of the school garden, large-scale agricultural development, and the small animal creation project, has promoted an endogenous process within Machengue. This was also the case regarding the WASH-project. This relates to community members increasingly utilizing community resources, particularly natural resources and social capital, to improve their livelihoods. This has, to a high extent, resulted in increased individual and collective agency. Community leadership e.g. argued in terms of the establishment of the market along the main road and increased commercialization in the community. While JAM has not concretely trained the broader community in economic activities, the animal creation project and the large-scale agricultural development project along Rio Govuro seemed to have been essential in this regard. It was mainly argued in terms of JAM “opening their vision” regarding what it is possible for the community to achieve”.

The *secretário*, a teacher and JAM staff also highlighted the establishment of a coal association. This should be regarded as a spin-off effect or indirect impact, as JAM was not directly involved in the establishment of the association. It was however argued within the community that JAM sensitized the community regarding the economic value of cooperation to achieve common goals. Arguments were, however, made by the PTA and a teacher at EPC Machengue that the coal association were dysfunctional. The teacher argued: “There is no cooperation in this organization, so it is difficult to know the volume of the firewood they are cutting per year”. The PTA and *secretário*, on the other hand, argued that the association did not work effectively as “there is no resources”, although this perspective easily could lead to passivity and

lack of positive agency (this was a common argument made in Machengue), by focusing on lacks rather than resources. As such, this is a recent development clearly distinguishing itself from previous trends in the community, where each community member worked separately. However, the association also illustrates continued challenges for community members to cooperate to promote economic development. Still, it was often argued that “If someone [in Machengue] should help you, you have to pay them”. The farmers along Rio Govuro distinguish themselves very clearly in terms of abilities to cooperate and assist each other, having been central both to expand their economic incomes, and to get connected to government resources. Arguments were made also the Vilanculos Department of Agriculture increasingly focused on the area, seeing the potential for future development.

While the findings indicate that the projects have impacted on the broader community, it was also revealed that the scale of the impacts varied between the different projects. JAM’s approach involved working through “key agents” within the community, for these community members to disseminate the knowledge and skills and promote behavioural change throughout the community. It would be of interest for further research to study to which degree the projects had impacted on the capabilities and livelihoods of community members having participated directly in JAM’s projects, versus indirect participants (those having received training and awareness from other community members).

Interviewed community members seemed to have been inspired, arguing that JAM has “opened our vision” of what it is possible to achieve, and guiding them how it can be achieved. As such, the question can be posed to which degree an endogenous and sustainable development process is emerging in Machengue. Community members also argued that JAM had increased their abilities to discuss and work towards goals of the community, or identify solutions to problems. This was also central to their abilities to articulate themselves, they argued. Further, the WASH-committee FDG it was argued that the community’s abilities to connect to and work with other external actors had increased: “We now are able to work with other actors”. In this regard they argued that they could contact an external actor, or an external actor could come to them. Concrete examples, however, were not given. They also depended on working through the local leadership in this regard.

On the other hand, however, members of the school at EPC Machengue and JAM staff, clearly articulated concerns regarding key challenges for the further

development of Machengue, and for the community to be increasingly self-sustaining. This related first and foremost to the lack of unity between community members, being derived from divisions between the *secretário* and the *régulo*, as well as paternal lines of division. A community member also made the argument that lack of positive relationships between the community leaders “reduces confidence” in the leadership. This conflict was argued to lead to lack of clarity for the community members, in terms of disagreements between the two leaders, thus hampering a clear vision of community members for future development. One JAM staff member argued that this “makes it very difficult to promote development in Machengue”. “When the people is united, it is very easy to take the community to development”, he argued. This was argued to severely have hampered the impact of JAM’s large-scale agricultural project within Machengue. This also indicates that while JAM’s involvement was widely argued to have enhanced trust and abilities to cooperate to achieve goals, continued challenges existed in this regard.

This finding is in accordance with the increased attention in literature towards the role of social capital in food security. Lack of social structures and institutions promoting individual and collective agency, combined with people’s view of themselves and other community members, have severely hampered the potential of agricultural development within the community. A JAM staff member e.g. argued that the community would not have the capacities, in terms of abilities, to successfully manage a large-scale irrigation system, due to lack of unity. This was the case, it was argued, as the fragmentation within the community affected the community’s organizing and management skills, as well as abilities to collaborate effectively with external actors, such as NGOs or government. This can be related to Evans’ (1996a, p. 1124) argument that lack of social capital, and challenges in “scaling up” already existing micro-level social capital within communities, so these can be economically and politically efficacious, severely reduces potential for state-civil society synergies and co-production. In the Machengue case, this seems to be a core problem, hampering both a clear vision within the community for future development, as well as severely constraining the community’s abilities to establish bridging ties which external actors.

Conclusion/Summary

A key question when relating the above arguments to sustainable local development, relates to whether an endogenous process has been generated within the community, which bear potential to promote positive change in the future. The above findings indicate that individual agency, through increased agricultural activities and small animal production has been generated, although in a very initial and preliminarily in small scale. This has not only been a result of increased knowledge and skills as a direct and indirect impact of JAM's initiatives in the community, the findings indicate, but also due to changes in community members' mindsets. Narayan argues that the psychological aspect of capabilities has been generally overlooked. However, this study highlights the essential role of generating agency mentality and "self-esteem, self-confidence, and an ability to imagine and aspire to a better future" (Narayan, 2005, p. 10). This can also be related to people's identity, that is, how they see themselves, their relationships to other people, and what it is possible to achieve.

Regarding the impacts of JAM's agricultural project in general, the representative of the Vilanculos Department of Agriculture argued: "JAM is promoting sustainable development. Because when local farmers get new techniques, they continue using these techniques to increase their area and to increase their production". He also argued, although in terms of general development of agriculture in the area, that "the vision of people has been opened". Also people's initiative to exercise agency to promote improvements not only in own life and the school, but also to the wider community, has been enhanced.

However, despite enhanced individual agency as a result of JAM's projects, the sub-principal and JAM staff argued that the further development of Machengue was severely hampered due to lack of collective capabilities and unity within the community, largely a result of poor interaction between the *secretária* and *régulo*. This was argued to spilt community members according to those who support the *secretária* versus those supporting the *régulo*. However, a further key impact was related to the fact that

6.4. The Dual Impact of Aid: Increased Capacities Co-Existing with Worsened Aid Dependency?

However, a key question relates to the degree to which overall sustainable local development has been promoted as a result of JAM's projects in Machengue. While

JAM's involvement in Machengue was argued by community members, teachers, and JAM staff to have promoted an endogenous development process in the long term, questions should also be related to whether this development has been paralleled e.g. by worsening of aid dependency, or what can be termed "recipient" mentality, which leads to lack of outward looking mentality to actively create bridging ties, expand networks and thus diversifying the community's "income base" (Newman & Dale, 2005, p. 481). In this regard, the Farmers along Rio Govuro distinguished themselves very clearly in terms of agency to connect to resource bases, or Newman and Dale "income bases"

The finding of this study indicates that while community members argue that their individual and collective capabilities have increased as a result of JAM's projects in Machengue, indicate that the community is highly characterized by aid dependency mentality. However, this may be caused by "the history of the aid industry". Since it's establishment in 1984 during a time of crises, the community has received aid from a variety of actors for over 30 years. Community members did, however, argue that "we will work, but if someone wants to help us, we will receive". Also the political leader showed lack of initiative and awaiting mentality, as discussed in other sections.

6.5. Contribution of Capabilities, Structures and Institutions on Project Success/Failure and Sustainability

In the above, it was revealed that while the projects having been initiated by JAM in Machengue largely were argued to have been successful, key challenges existed and affected the sustainability of the projects, and some projects were also described as "a failure". In the following sections, the question is discussed of how, and to what degree, enhanced local community development capabilities, structures and institutions, or lack of enhancement of such, has affected the successfulness and sustainability of JAM's projects within Machengue. As such, this includes a study and analysis of how the current capabilities, structures and institutions relates to project success or failure, and sustainability or lack of such.

6.5.1. Food Security and Livelihood Projects

School Feeding and Commercialized Local Farming

The school feeding project was widely argued among all respondents in Machengue, and JAM staff, to have been entirely successful. No weaknesses were identified in this regard. The project is relatively easily handled, and did not require much in terms of enhancement of community capabilities, structures or institutions. The teachers and volunteers regarded their skills enhancement and training received as sufficient, and it was argued that volunteers participated actively. It was also argued within the community that they had ownership feeling to the project. Community members saw direct benefit as “it helps our children” and “it helps us to educate our children”. Increased children’s education and nutrition can in itself be regarded as key to the successfulness of the project, as this was the main intended objectives of the school feeding.

On the other side, a key issue of debate concerns the issue of aid agencies providing food in terms of in-kind contributions. During the MGD grant, food for school feeding was imported from the United States. However, in this case opportunities are lost in investing in the local social and economic structures and community capabilities. The latter can be argued to be keys to communities’ long-term sustainability and abilities to improve their livelihoods and food security, thus promoting endogenous development processes and rural economic growth in developing countries. It was also widely argued in Machengue: “In terms of school feeding, we will not be able to continue the project if JAM pulls out”. As such, the sustainability of the project is weak as the community has not gained capability to successfully continue this on their own. Farmer 1 and teachers, however, argued that the community would prosper in the future and be economically self-sustaining as a result of JAM’s agricultural projects and social development: “It is possible. The things are changing. Now people have new techniques in agrarian activities, the WASH-committee has new techniques in terms of sanitation, water and hygiene, and people create small animals”. It was argued that JAM has had “big importance” to this development, although the actual impact on livelihoods was still in a small to medium scale.

Prospects for future sustainability of the school feeding, depends heavily on project success and sustainability of the larger-scale agricultural development project having been implemented along Rio Govuro. This discussion is also related to the HGSF approach that JAM has adopted. This is discussed at the end of this chapter. As noted, findings indicate that JAM’s large-scale agricultural initiative has positively

impacted on the farmers' individual and collective capabilities. This has also been central to their successes. Enhanced bonding ties, in terms of trust and cooperation, between the farmers are described by both them and JAM staff to have been key to the preliminary successes of the farmers. The farmers complement each other in terms of various knowledge, experiences and resources, and in enhancing their bridging ties, e.g. to government support, JAM and external markets or resources. In this regard, Newman and Dale's argument that communities can "achieve agency through a dynamic mix of bonding and bridging ties" (2005, p. 477), becomes relevant, and the merit of this is practically illustrated. As previously described, these farmers have actively applied social capital as a means to achieve economic development and increase the resilience of their livelihoods. The combination of enhanced individual and collective capabilities through working with JAM, and active utilization of this, has been key to the success of JAM's larger-scale project along the river.

However, the farmers continued to face challenges e.g. in terms of accessing new markets. Farmer 3 argued in terms of central challenges in accessing markets in terms of formal contracts and partnerships, thus highlighting arguments also made in literature in this regard. This was largely due to the fact that while he wished to sell to hotels, these did not want to enter partnership with him. He argued: "There was a season were I produced products with better quality than those of South Africa, but they are still choosing South African products". He argued that lack of trust was essential in this regard, as well as the fact that he was a medium-scale farmer. Regarding trust-building to partners, he did not know how to achieve this. He argued:

It's a big challenge, because we, as farmers, have restricted markets. Because if the hotels were open to receive products, for example, I would be able to increase my production, and to make other community members to join in this production. Because if other community members see that my production is being destroyed because of no market, they don't have willingness to work in this activity and start their own farms.

This indicates that the farmers continue to struggle in terms of economic structures and institutions, which negatively affects the projects successfulness and sustainability. A key argued challenge by JAM staff have been to mobilize community members to participate in large-scale agricultural activities. However, this may require social and economical structural changes. In this regard, JAM argues in terms of the HGSF approach, which the farmers will be connected to school feeding

production. This involves that the farmers will sell of their produce e.g. maize, to JAM's food factory in Beira, which again will be applied for school feeding. During the fieldwork, Farmer 1 was in an initial phase in this regard. As such, it was too early to assess the real impacts of HGSF in Machengue at the time.

The preliminary impact of the larger-scale agricultural project on school feeding sustainability, was so far related to the role of Farmer 1 in the school garden. Along with increases in his knowledge, experience, and resources, e.g. nurses, he was able to maintain, expand and assist in the school garden, and also work to spread the knowledge to parents, teachers and pupils regarding agricultural methods. This was widely argued to be central to the success and sustainability of the school garden project. Further impacts on the wider community is discussed in the following section.

Wider Community Capabilities, Structures and Institutions

While enhanced capabilities and structures of the Rio Govuro farmers was identified to be central to their success, this has also, to some extent, impacted positively on the wider community in enhancing livelihoods and food security through creating a “new agricultural trend”. However, JAM staff regarded the large-scale agricultural project as “the most challenging” and least successful in Machengue. While the development of the four farmers were regarded as “successes”, there were difficulties in broadly mobilizing community members to invest time and effort in agricultural activities along the river. Community members in Machengue argued that this was related to the distance, as “we do not have bicycle or transport”. The PTA leader also argued that “the job of clearing the land is very though”. According to JAM staff, a key question was related to how they could create an initial condition for poor family farmers in Machengue to get started. This was related to the fact that JAM regarded initial and independent initiative of community members in farming activities as a necessary indication of commitment and agency mentality, before JAM wanted to directly support their farming activities. Further, community fragmentation and lines of division within Machengue continued to hamper collective capabilities and effective agency on the wider community level to “successfully manage their own affairs” (OECD-DAC cited in Taylor & Clarke, 2008, p. 10), as a way out of poverty. JAM's agricultural coordinator, for example, argued that Machengue as a community would not be able to manage a large-scale irrigation system, as this demanded

organizational capacities that the community did not possess due to lack of internal unity.

Teachers at EPC Machengue and JAM staff regarded the enhanced linkage between the school and Farmer 1, and increased capabilities of farmer 1, was key to the relative successfulness of the school garden. This was not only the case with regard to actual level of production, but also in terms of the reach of disseminating agricultural knowledge to teachers, parents and students. As such, if JAM pulls out, the knowledge and expertise, and a base of nurses and equipment, would remain within the community, it was argued. As such, it can be argued that the linkage between Farmer 1 and the school, and enhancement of Farmer 1's capability, has been central to the continued maintenance, level of production and expansion of the school garden, although the school also buy seeds.

However, the sustainability of the school feeding programme were highly reduced as Farmer 1 was the only volunteer in the school garden. No other parents volunteered in the project. According to Farmer 1, "It's frustrating, because to work here, other parents need money". Similarly, it was argued that "when the community found that they would not receive any money in that project, they stopped to work". Different arguments were made in this regard. One teacher argued: "It's challenging, because parents, beyond to come to work in the school garden, have their activities, like to open their *machambas*. It's challenging to do that". It was further argued by the teacher that "another challenge is to have irrigation system. If the school had irrigation system, it would be easy, because we would not demand more effort of parents". As such, the argument was made that socio-economic conditions hampered project successfulness and sustainability. Similar arguments were made by the PTA and Farmer 1. However, Farmer 1 also argued in terms of the mentality aspect of parents, that parents do not see the value of the school garden to their children's education:

they are not seeing the immediate effect of that project. Because the community thinks that to go to school, is only to get in a class and to study the theoretical thing. They don't believe that it is to study empirical things, like to cultivate, they don't believe. They only think that to go to school is to get in a class and then start to learn theoretical things.

It was further argued: "The community is not engaged to help in that productivity activity. The community is more engaged in meal and to build some infrastructure at the school". This was argued to be caused by the fact that the parents saw more direct

value of the school feeding and construction work. “If the community get the knowledge, the willingness, to explain them the importance of that project and if the community see the advantage of that project, they will work engaged in that”, it was argued. Similar arguments were made by the PTA, stating that “in terms of feeding, the community good participation, they cultivate an ownership, because it has a direct impact...But in terms of gardening they don’t have ownership”. As such, the sustainability of the garden was highly reduced, as it depended on only one volunteer, Farmer 1, in addition to the teachers and pupils. It was argued that community members initially started to work in the school garden, but when they saw that there was no money for them to receive, they stopped working in the garden.

Further conversations with the current PTA and Farmer 1 revealed that lack of key positive structures and functioning community institutions/organizations, in terms of the former school principal and PTA, had severely hampered successfulness and sustainability of both the school garden and small animal creation project. This finding is key, as JAM work through these channels to enter the school and the wider community. It was first and foremost argued by the PTA and Farmer 1 that the former principal and previous PTA “did not have interest in agriculture”. This can also be related to the former principal’s refusal of the irrigation system at school. Further, it was argued:

Before there was not a linkage between the school and the community, because the last PTA was not organized to lead with this problem, to go the community to know the problem, like complaints. Now, with a new PTA, the school and the community have a linkage to solve problems.

As such, the new PTA argued that they worked to establish a positive relationship between the school and the community.

This issue was also argued to have been key to the challenges of the pig creation project: “When the [pig] project came down, it was because the school was a little bit far [distanced] from the community”, the PTA argued. This lack of linkage between the school and the community resulted in insufficient community organization to feed the pigs during the summer holiday, as well as supporting the school in terms of feeding the pigs during the drought. It was argued that due to lacking linkages, the community did not feel ownership to the pig project. According to Farmer 1, this also negatively affected the school garden production, as the pig destroyed crops due to lack of community maintenance of the pigsty.

According to JAM's CDO, the key reason for the death of the pigs was related to poor organization in the holiday: "Some pigs died, and others they killed to feed the students. But the pigs that died, died in the period that they did not teach at school, because it was the end of the academic year, December. There was not anyone to take care of the animals, to feed and to make arrangements".

Comparing the school garden with the pig project, he further argued: "Between these two projects, to create pigs, for example, and gardening, there is difference, because pigs, as animals, demands more attention than plants. What made the pigs project come down, was because of that; The attention". He also pointed to organizing and management abilities: "If the community worked as a union, it would be easy to operationalize this project. Because in Machengue, in the holiday periods, many families immigrate to cities or to village, so it is difficult to take care of animals in that period". This indicates that lack of community collective and organizing capabilities, caused by malfunctioning social structures and institutions, were reported to, to a high extent, have contributed to the failure of the animal creation project.

However, a key feature may also relate to the argument by JAM's CDO that JAM's approach had negatively affected enhancement of community capabilities to successfully manage the project: "I [should have] had a refreshment, because JAM only trained in this project, then pulled out". This was argued to be related to the closure of the MGD grant, and highlights the importance of sound transfer and follow-up phases of projects. He also argued: "If JAM had financial support, we would buy other species, to reproduce other animals that are more resistant. To diversify the species". A key question also relates to, to which degree, JAM's approach of identifying and working through what JAM staff termed "influential community members" and community members of "excellent behaviour", in this case had negatively influenced on community ownership. The approach seemed successful in promoting an endogenous and sustainable development process, in terms of encouraging small animal creation in Machengue, through "opening their minds", and increasing knowledge and skills. However, as only 15 community members were trained and involved, without any participation of the wider community, the question should be asked if this contributed to insufficient community ownership.

The above findings indicate that enhancing social structures and institutions, particularly through establishing sound linkages between the school and the community, through functioning PTAs, is key for JAM's projects to succeed and be

sustainable. This clearly illustrates the challenges of promoting sustainable development in fragmented communities, thus highlighting the need of NGOs to be “cognisant of” and have deep insight into the specific local contexts in which they operate (Hickey & Mohan, 2004, p. 15; Mansuri & Rao, 2004, pp. 1, 31). While JAM staff argued that the former PTA functioned well, interviewed community members argued that this was not the community perception. Also teachers at EPC Machengue indicated frustrations with the relationship with the principal, as he not informed them or the PTA e.g. about the offered irrigation system before refusal.

In this regard, JAM staff seemed unaware of the malfunctions of the former PTA and poor relationship between the school, PTA and community, although it was argued that if the community worked in unity, the project would have been sustainable. JAM’s CDO argued: “The animal creation project was a pilot project. So it’s different from the school garden, because the school garden is a sustainable project, and it is running”. In this regard, the school garden received long-term follow-up and training, also involving the wider community in terms of students’ parents. However, also in the school garden project, it was widely argued in terms of lacking community ownership and responsibility, except from Farmer 1 very actively working in the garden.

Community members, Farmer 1 and teachers were positive to the new principal and PTA at EPC Machengue, and expected that this would enhance the relationship between the school and the community. However, as the new PTA had only been in function for a few months, it was too early to study the actual impacts of this in terms of the re-organization to community ownership of the school garden and pig project. JAM staff argued that they had told the new PTA to engage more parents in the school garden.

Questions could be related to whether it would be necessary to work actively to alter community norms and customs for the projects’ sustainability to be enhanced. With regard to the question to which degree there exists community culture or norms of helping each other, community members argued widely that “to ask another community member for help, you have to pay money”. This was also reported by Farmer 1 to be a serious constraint to the successfulness of the food garden, as “the parents refused to work in the garden when they saw that there is no money to receive”. Such norms and culture can be serious constraints to practical application of social capital, to promote community development. However, JAM’s involvement in

the community was reported to have decreased this mentality or norm. In the WASH-committee FGD, it was argued: “The society here is growing, because JAM showed us how much it is good to work together”. This was e.g. argued by a community member to have been achieved as “with JAM, we join efforts to work together to achieve our goals. In the future we will be sustainable because we are working together, and when we work, we have ownership, that [the projects] belongs to us, to the community”. Regarding gender issues, the community reported major impacts of JAM’s projects, as “all of us work together” in JAM’s projects, and also through sensitization and communication.

In general, community members and JAM staff argued that enhanced knowledge was key to project successfulness and sustainability. An identified key characteristic within Machengue was that community members highly valued to gain new knowledge. “You can never have enough knowledge in life”, a community member argued. Also JAM’s CDO argued that a key strength in Machengue was their knowledge: The potential is the knowledge that the community has. Because even if JAM builds an infrastructure, without knowledge, it will be difficult to operationalize”. However, this was largely related to receiving knowledge from external actors entering the community, particularly NGOs, rather than acting as outward-looking agents that actively seek new arenas for getting this knowledge. This can be related to the argument made by the sub-principal that the community does not adapt experiences of other communities which could help them to develop further, e.g. in terms of commercialization. This indicates that the community has a “recipient mentality” also in terms of access to new and innovative knowledge.

As is argued by Narayan (2005), the mentality aspect of capabilities has received little attention, but should be regarded as central in enhancing people’s capabilities and agency. While the issue of aid dependency has recently been issue of attention, one may also ask to which degree development NGO’s can play active roles in enhancing individual and collective agency mentality within communities. This, it can be argued, is central if sustainable and endogenous development processes is to emerge, based on human and social capabilities. Machengue community members argue that this has constituted a central part of JAM’s contribution to their capabilities. This has also contributed to increased agency to disseminate the gained knowledge throughout the community. This was illustrated both in the current “new trend” emerging, largely because of Farmer 1’s active agency, as well as the

progressing, although slow, transfer of sound WASH-practices throughout the community. JAM's approach of selecting a few "key actors" or "role models" within the community, as well as working through the PTA, teachers, and pupils to transfer knowledge, has been central in this regard. Weaknesses in this regard has, however, been argued in the above.

WASH-Project

The JAM-rehabilitated water-well was reported to have been highly successful, as the WASH-committee was effectively organized to take care of the pump, and it was "in very good condition". As previously noted, the leader of maintenance and repairs argued that through the training he had received from JAM, he possessed sufficient skills in cases of small breakages, as he successfully had assisted the Mavansa community in this regard. The WASH-committee and several community members argued that they had seen "big impact, because we learnt more", and "With this knowledge, with this training, we avoid diseases like malaria, diarrah, we will keep our health condition safe". Still, the degree of impacts varied significantly throughout the community. Key reasons for continued utilization of unsafe drinking water were related to the pH-value of the water. Community members argued that the water in the water pump was acid, which affected flavour. Another key reason was related to costs: "When they use the water pump, they spend more soap. But they spend little". Also mentality issues were mentioned, and it was argued that "JAM does nothing to mobilize the community the community to fetch water at school".

In terms of the sustainability of the project, a key issue relates to the fact that the payment system did not function. A range of explanations were given in this regard. In the WASH-committee FGD, it was argued that "they [the community members] don't have money to pay", and that community members "say that "It is not relevant, because we will go to fetch other water than this [water in the unsafe well]"". However, initially it was argued that lack of internal trust within the community was a key reason. In the WASH-committee FGD, it was argued: Even if the [wider] community was involved in the planning [of the water pump], it would not be possible to mobilize them to save money before the breakage. Because people here do not trust the committee. People think that we will take money to other things than to fix the water pump". The WASH-committee argued that JAM increased their abilities to function effectively, in terms of dividing the committee into commissions

of hygiene and technical management, sanitation and hygiene and financial management, the financial. However, the financial function was destructed by lack of social capital in terms of trust within the community. As such, while JAM staff argued that the payment system was an evidence of project sustainability, in practice it did not function.

6.6. Key Reasons of JAM's Success or Failure in Promoting Sustainable Local Development

The above indicates that Machengue community members and institutions/organizations largely regarded JAM's projects to have promoted successful impacts in Machengue. However, it was also found that the successfulness and sustainability of JAM's projects varied significantly between the different projects, as well as between different members of the community. These aspects, it can be argued, was largely due to a combination of JAM's approach and key community characteristics. In the following sections, JAM's approach and its contribution to promoting overall sustainable local development in Machengue are elaborated on.

However, the findings of this study indicated that this needs to be seen as interlinked with the context in which JAM has operated, as these aspects are mutually affecting each other. This can be related to the arguments of Mansuri and Rao (2004) regarding the need for context-specific development interventions, and the need to be aware of how development interventions again affect the communities and contexts in which they are implemented. This is central to the study of to which degree and how the projects in overall have had positive and negative impacts. Arguments can e.g. be made that while capacity development projects may have positive impacts on communities' capabilities, they may simultaneously involve dependency (Vold, 2013). As such, the impacts may be dualistic in their nature, as positive and negative impacts may occur in parallel. Therefore, a key question relates to key reasons for success or failure of JAM in contribution to provide overall sustainable local development.

In the following sections, attention is given to the question of "What have been the key reasons for the success or failure of JAM to enhance the local community's development capabilities, structures and institutions, and promote sustainable local development". As such, while in the above key reasons for the

success or failure of specific projects were given, this is further discussed in this section with regard to the overall the impacts of community development.

6.6.1. Working Through Community Structures and Institutions:

As described, JAM's approach in Machengue was to a high extent based on working through local leadership and key institutions/organizations, such as the school, PTA and WASH-committee, as well as identifying "role models" or "community members of excellent behaviour" that can act as agents to promote positive change throughout the community. As is argued in previous sections, this approach seemed to have negative impact on broad community ownership of the projects, although this was also highly related to previous lack of functioning of these institutions due to community characteristics. It can also be argued that the approach is vulnerable in contexts of mal-functioning structures and institutions, e.g. school-community linkage as previously discussed.

However, at the same time this approach seems to have been key in generating an endogenous development process in Machengue, e.g. in terms of a "new trend" of increased agricultural production, small-animal creation and commercialization in these terms. Both local leadership in Machengue, Farmer 1 and JAM staff argued in terms of the recent establishment of the market, which was seen as a result of JAM having "opened our vision" regarding economic development and how it can be achieved. Throughout this process, while working through community institutions and "key actors", JAM has to a high extent served as a guiding part, and community participation has often been characterized by a combination of all types of participation, in Brinkerhoff and Crosby's (2002) categorization, from information sharing, consultation, collaboration, joint decision-making and empowerment. The level of participation in this regard varied particularly with regard to the different stages, or life cycles, of the projects and what community stakeholders were involved in planning and implementation (local leader, school principal, PTA, WASH, wider community). This was also highly affected by the nature of the projects and the funding of these, that is open versus targeted funds such as specific grants.

The agricultural project involving the four farmers along Rio Govuro, seemed particularly to have been characterized by "empowerment", in Brinkerhoff and Crosby's (2002) categorization, as the farmers are independently running their farms,

being in charge of all decisions made, although firstly consulting with JAM. In this project, the farmers are themselves “in the driver’s seat” of their farms. This seems to highly have contributed to ownership feeling of the farmers of their farms, which reduces danger of inducing aid dependency. JAM staff also argued clearly in terms of restricting support, e.g. provision of machinery, over longer time periods, to avoid such dependency from emerging.

Although having negatively affected the school garden and pig project, the narrow approach of JAM, based on identifying key community members, has still contributed to promoting an endogenous development process within the community. As Farmer 1 argued: “The things are changing. Now people have new techniques in agrarian activities, and the committee has new techniques in terms of sanitation, water and hygiene, and people create small animals”. However, the approach of working indirectly, can also have limitations, as Farmer 1 argued regarding whether JAM’s projects had changed people’s mentality to see themselves as agents for change:

Yes. It is increasing. Especially to me, who am interacting with JAM directly, it is increasing because I know the importance of this, of that JAM is trying to mobilize the community. But other members could be recessive, are not working directly with that, and being a bit resistant, because they do not know the real advantage, because they are not working directly with JAM.

However, the findings indicate that JAM’s approach in this regard has been important to the “new trend” that is emerging in Machengue, e.g. agricultural activities by the lake. This was, among others argued to be a result of community members seeing the value of such activities when other community members took on such activities, and receive training from Farmer 1 and through the school, to succeed. This is also complemented by the students taking home what they learn from school. As such, the community members themselves needs to act as agents for the projects to lead to “transformative” and sustainable local development. By working through a combination of “channels” or “focal points” within the community, applying the teachers, pupils, PTA (although previously malfunctioning), and Farmer 1, sustainability were reported to have been enhanced in this case. One community member also argued in terms of the importance of bonding ties, in terms of trust between community members to mobilize community members and promote actual behavioural change e.g. in WASH-practices. This also enhances long-term

sustainability in terms of keeping the knowledge and experience within the community, thus reducing dependency of JAM.

JAM clearly argued in terms of the importance of working through local leadership for projects success and sustainability, as local leadership serves as an authority. Without consents and acceptance of the local leader, it was argued that the project would fail, as this constitutes a key structure. “It’s how things works”, JAM staff argued, and “nothing in the community happens without the knowledge of the local leader”. As such, development NGO’s may be restricted to work within these frameworks. Interviewed community members regarded this approach as positive

6.6.2. Active and Long-Term Monitoring and Follow-Up

This aspect was found to have been key both in the school garden and in particularly in the large-scale agricultural project along Rio Govuro. The farmers particularly regarded it valuable that JAM thought them practices, and thereafter left the farmers to practice these methods and knowledge on their own farms, alone. This was also argued by JAM’s CDO to be a key reason why the school garden was running more sustainable than the pig project.

6.6.3. JAM as an Independent Part: Political Issues as “Non-Touch”

As mentioned, in Machengue the community struggled severely in terms of the relationship between the *régulo* and *secretário*. While community members and JAM staff argued that this did not impact on JAM’s projects in the community, it was heavily argued to reduce the overall development of the community. This was particularly the case, it was argued, as it reduced unity, levels of trust and cooperation, and thus the community’s capacities, in terms of abilities to manage their affairs successfully, and thus initiative. Further, community members clearly argued that lack of initiative of the *secretário* significantly hampered community development.

JAM’s approach, however, clearly involved approaching political issues in the community as a “non-touch”. This was argued to be based both on the issue of respect to the local community in which one enters, as “we come as guests”, along with the argument that getting involved in community socio-political conflicts could create “really bad politics”.

However, JAM field staff argued in terms of working through the local school as key to promote unity in Machengue, as both the children of the political leader and the children of the *régulo* studies at the school. As such, the school was regarded as an arena to unite the two sides. Community members argued that this approach significantly had served to increase trust within the community, among others as “everyone work together at projects at the school. However, further conversations revealed that much remained to establish a sound foundation of social capital within Machengue. This should also be seen in light of Evans’ (1996a, p. 1124) question if social capital should be seen as depending on prior existence of social and cultural patterns being historically rooted in particular cultures and societies. In this case, this may be well out of reach for most groups. With regard to discussion of social capital in Machengue, it should be kept in mind that the community was established as people from different areas of the country arrived during the civil war. This historical context may have affected levels of social capital, which continues to affect community relationships today. JAM’s process of working in the community over a very long period of time, patiently working to increase trust, were reported to have been key reasons for improvements in trust. A recent initiative included that the community saved and pooled money to establish the local market.

6.6.4. Clear Communication, Respect and Sound Relationships

JAM clearly argues in terms of the need of respect and sound relationships with the communities in which it works. Throughout the fieldwork, community members and leadership clearly argued that the relationship with JAM was based on “respect”, “partnership” and, in some cases “equality”, although one community member argued that the community and JAM were in different levels, as JAM gives them the projects “because JAM comes with the project to this community”. The traditional leader argued: “It’s a key, the respect, it’s a key to develop. Because, until now, JAM didn’t yet do a bad thing to the community”. This was widely argued throughout the community. In the PTA FGD it was argued: “JAM respect us, and we respect JAM”.

Community members also argued that respectful and clear communication had been a main reason in terms of promoting sustainable development, particularly in terms of showing community members the value of working together, and “they tell us that we need to be self-sustaining in the long term. That JAM will not always be here”.

6.6.5. Increased Agency Mentality: Guidance and Training

Increased literature has argued in terms of development agencies to serve as facilitators in development processes, the importance of guidance and “leading by stepping back” (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). Although JAM had not conducted training in economic development, it was widely argued in Machengue that JAM “opened their vision” and mobilized the community in these terms, and “showing us how we can achieve economic development”.

6.7. Prospects for Future Development in Machengue

When analysing the role and function of JAM in promoting sustainable local development, a key question becomes what potential exists for the community to be increasingly self-sustaining in the long term, as a result of JAM’s involvement in the community. This could be a result of an enhancement of the community’s capabilities, as well as social, economic and political structures and institutions, or lack of such. A key question concerns, as previously mentioned, how community members see themselves and each other, that is, their identity as potential agents for change, and whether bonding and bridging ties exist sufficiently to bring the community out of poverty. In this section, the Machengue case will be analysed in this regard. This is also related to relevant literature on the field.

Food Security and Socio-Economic Development: Potential of HGSF

While the main activity of JAM in Machengue is school feeding, although complemented with other projects to increase sustainability, the following section will particularly discuss prospects for Machengue to be increasingly self-sustaining in terms of enhanced food security, and improved livelihoods. In this regard, Machengue distinguishes itself from most other communities in which JAM works, as JAM’s initiative along Rio Govuro is intended to form part of a Homegrown School Feeding approach. In Machengue, the approach is argued to include that local, independent farmers are trained and given capabilities to produce for the school feeding. As such, JAM argues, these farmers could sell to JAM’s food factory in Beira, where it “will be processed into a nutritious porridge meal” (JAM International, n.d.-a). As such, this is argued to include a cycle from community production to community school feeding, thus also feeding into the local economy and local agricultural capacities. JAM argues that this will “not only help feed children in need, but also provide an income for

small-holder farmers, thus contributing to an improved economy...” (JAM International, n.d.-a). This approach is argued to promote “sustainable, locally grown produce to improve health, the economy and food security of local communities” (JAM International, n.d.-a). Further, it is related to enhancing education. This can be related to arguments by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) that “Social protection measures combined with agricultural policies that target the poor can be transformative” (2015, p. 80). FAO argues:

The majority of the poor live in rural areas and depend on agriculture for substantial parts of their income and food security, whether directly or indirectly. Over the long term, economic growth is essential for the poor to develop sustainable livelihoods that take them permanently out of poverty. Growth originating in agriculture is particularly powerful in reducing poverty in countries that are predominantly agricultural.

(FAO, 2015, p. 80)

However, as is further argued, “this is a longer-term scenario” (FAO, 2015, p. 80). The FAO argues that the poor need immediate help to reduce poverty and hunger, “which in themselves undermine the ability of individuals and households to be productive...” (FAO, 2015, p. 80). Further, social protection is argued to bear potential to play important roles in the longer-term context of the structural transformation of agriculture, by making the process “more inclusive and less painful”, through “mitigating the costs farmers face in adjusting to changes and by enabling households to diversify out of agriculture” (FAO, 2015, p. 80).

The findings of this study indicate that JAM’s large-scale agricultural initiative has positively impacted the farmers’ individual and collective capabilities, and this has been central to their successes. The bonding ties, in terms of trust and cooperation, between the farmers are described by both them and JAM staff to have been key to the preliminary successes of the farmers, as the farmers complement each other in terms of various knowledge, experiences and resources, and in enhancing their bridging ties, e.g. to government support, JAM and external markets or resources. In this regard, Newman and Dale’s argument that communities can “achieve agency through a dynamic mix of bonding and bridging ties” (2005, p. 477), becomes relevant, and the merit of this is practically illustrated. These farmers have actively applied enhanced social capital as a means to achieve economic development and increase the resilience of their livelihoods. Combined with enhanced individual

skills through working with JAM, enhanced social capital and the active utilization of this has been key to the success of JAM's larger-scale project along the river.

However, the farmers continued to face challenges e.g. in terms of accessing new markets. Farmer 3 argued in terms of central challenges in accessing markets in terms of formal contracts and partnerships, thus highlighting arguments also made in literature in this regard. This was largely due to the fact that while he wished to sell to hotels, these did not want to enter partnership with him. He argued: "There was a season were I produced products with better quality than those of South Africa, but they are still choosing South African products". He argued that lack of trust was essential in this regard, as well as the fact that he was a medium-scale farmer.

Regarding trust-building to partners, he did not know how to achieve this. He argued:

It's a big challenge, because we, as farmers, have restricted markets. Because if the hotels were open to receive products, for example, I would be able to increase my production, and to make other community members to join in this production. Because if other community members see that my production is being destroyed because of no market, they don't have willingness to work in this activity and start their own farms.

This indicates that the farmers continues to struggle in terms of economic structures and institutions. In this regard, JAM argues in terms of the HGFSF approach, which the farmers will be connected. This involves that the farmers will sell of their produce e.g. maize, to JAM's food factory in Beira, which again will be applied for school feeding. During the fieldwork, Farmer 1 was in a recent phase in this regard, although not delivering yet. As such, it was too early to assess the real impacts of HGFSF in Machengue at the time. HGFSF and discussions regarding its potential to increase sustainability of both the school feeding and larger-scale agricultural projects is elaborated on in later sections.

In this regard, the HGFSF approach is based on the argued merits of institutional markets within countries, e.g. schools, to combine social and economic development. JAM staff argued that pupils constitute a significant consumer base. The HGFSF-approach originated in Brazil, although in this case being financed through government funding. JAM leadership argued that its partnership with the Mozambican government as "more pockets of success". A key question relates to what real opportunities exists for the Mozambican government, having been a highly aid dependent country in terms of financial support, to fund school feeding. This

should be seen in relation to the fact that Mozambique, despite strong economic progress after the civil war, continues to be among the poorest countries in the world, although it has been argued that Mozambican government also focuses on investing e.g. in health and education (USAID, n.d.-b). Based on prospects regarding the future economic growth based on mining and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the oil and gas sector, arguments can be made that the country bears future potential to invest in school feeding, among others given political willingness (Zanella, n.d.). It should, however, be noted that the expectations for Mozambique's economic growth has recently weakened. In this regard, discussions regarding JAM's, as an NGO, versus the Mozambican government's role in HGSF as a tool to promote development of rural Mozambican communities, is highly relevant. This also involves the question of what opportunities exist for complementarities (Evans, 1996a) between the NGO, communities and government, thus creating potentials for synergies and co-production. This, it can be argued, is particularly the case with regard to increasing small-scale farmers real opportunities and capabilities to improve their agricultural practices and livelihoods. However, as Zanella argues: "If policy design is enriched by development imaginaries, policy implementation is constrained by real world practicalities" (n.d., n.p.). This is related to challenges of reproducing what is argued to be "relatively successful rural development experiences grounded in Brazilian agrarian history, context and political configuration in such a diverse social setting, as the case of Mozambique" (n.d., n.p.).

The Mozambican government cooperates with Brazil's government among others in terms of a "Purchase from Africans for Africa (PAA Africa)– Mozambique program, involving HGSF. This is a multilateral program involving Brazil, Mozambique, the World Food Program (WFP) and the FAO, which intends to promote local food purchase from smallholder farmers for school feeding. Matheus Zanella argue:

The rationale behind the program suggests that smallholder farmers cannot engage in fair market integration because of structural market failures in the input, transportation and technology/knowledge systems. As Sumberg and Sabates-Wheeler described (2010): "by 'structuring' demand in a way that makes it easier, less risky and more profitable for small-scale farmers to engage with markets, and by providing an array of complementary services (training, credit, access to technology)", these programs are used to integrate small-scale farmers into markets in facilitated terms.

(n.d., n.p.)

Zanella (n.d., n.p.) argues that in this case, the focus on public support for establishment of a smallholder-based rural development agenda is clear. However, as Zanella argues, challenges of the Brazilian approach has been related to “dualism in Brazilian agricultural policy” (n.d., n.p.), in terms of investments in agribusiness versus more family-oriented programs. Findings from this study revealed that the community farmers regarded it very difficult to expand their agricultural production, among others due to what some community members regarded strict government requirements to provide support. Requirements were reported by the representative from the Vilanculos Department of Education to include FULLFØR HER SENERE. This clearly indicates that involvement of development NGOs to complement and contribute to implementation of government policies can be necessary to assist smallholder farmers reach a level where they can access government support. The family farmers did not regard the government provided support in terms of family programmes, e.g. including extension services, as sufficient for their abilities to improve their livelihoods significantly. However, findings from the four farmers collaboration, although informally, also indicate that community social capital can be a key to access government funding, or establish synergies based on “state-civil society co-production”. As Evans argues, however, this also demands the existence of “relevant proprieties of government institutions”, which “may take decades or generations to change” (1996a, p. 1124). As previously argued in the literature review, joint focus on both strengthening civil society in terms of social capital and collaborative skills, and increasing openness and functioning of government, may be central to promote a favorable environment to state-civil society co-production. This is the case as co-production not only relies on *complementarity*, in terms of existing value through co-production, but also on *embeddedness*, in terms of actual organizational structures to realize the potential synergy (Evans, 1996a, p. 1123)

Compared to Brazil, JAM staff argued:

...we have different model of Homegrown School Feeding. Our concept here is different than Brazil. Because in Brazil they do like that: The government are supplying schools with money, and the schools are buying from the local farmers. They have a local farms capacity to have a big production, and they have good lands, the season rain is very good. It is different with us, we are in arid area, our local farmers...don't have banks to supply with money, like credit. They are doing for own, its difficult to have big production...It would be difficult to supply schools with food.

But if JAM can work with the local farms, as association, supplying them with machines, supplying them with irrigation system, they can produce and sell directly for the factory. That is the way that JAM is thinking about [it].

Further, as argued by Zanella, what is regarded as small-scale farming in Brazil, may signify large-scale farming other agricultural contexts, such as Mozambique.

The objectives of JAM's HGSF programme include:

- Provide nutrition to children and train small holder farmers to improve their crop outputs.
- Link sustainable school feeding programmes with local small scale farmers to create an income and market for their produce.
- Reduce the negative impact that food insecurity and malnutrition causes in the education sector.
- Equip communities to move beyond poverty, towards levels of sustainability.

Social and Political Capital and Collective Capabilities in Machengue: Continued

Key Constrain

The recent trends were argued within the community to emerge in Machengue, in terms of increased agricultural initiatives, production of livestock and health and sanitation, were argued by community members to be indicating positive development in terms of the community's self-sustainability. However, as the previous findings and discussions have indicated, lack of social capital, also severely affecting political capital in the community, continues to be a key constrain, argued both by the sub-principal. A JAM staff member argued in similar terms. In his view, the school and community managed and adopted the WASH-project, school feeding and school garden project very successfully. Still, he regarded Machengue as "a particularly challenging community", in terms of making the community increasingly self-sustaining through enhancing their capacities. This, he argued, was related to lack of unity within the community, thus hampering effective collaboration and a common vision towards future community development. As such, the community struggled to work in one direction to promote development.

Findings from the study revealed a "waiting mentality" and lack of innovative ideas and initiative within Machengue. Certain community members, such as the farmers along Rio Govuro, very positively distinguished themselves in terms of exercising individual and collective agency, exploring new opportunities and taking

initiatives. This was to a high degree accomplished through outward-looking agency, using what Newman and Dale (2005) term "a dynamic mix", of bonding and bridging ties. While bonding ties between the farmers and their collaboration was of great value to their individual successes, their reciprocal relationships also served to expand each person's network and relationships to external actors. This increased their access to resources outside the community. Relevant external actors and sources included JAM, government support and actively connecting e.g. to market actors outside the local community, also working to get contracts.

However, this degree of agency seemed to be the exception rather than the rule in Machengue. This related both to individual capabilities, and the mentality aspect of this, but also collective capabilities and norms and culture of collaboration within the community. The "new trend" having emerged, largely being attributed by community members to JAM, is however interesting in this regard. Also the reported enhancement in social and political capabilities should be seen as improvements in terms of potential for development. However, as Evans (Evans, 1996a) argues, these enhancements will only promote development if they are applied for this purpose. In the case of the farmers along Rio Govuro, individual and collective capabilities, and "a dynamic mix" of bonding and bridging ties, had mutually enhanced and reinforced each other, thus being highly interrelated, leading to effective utilization of natural, human and physical resources. According to the farmers, this was central in improving their livelihoods and the living conditions of themselves, their families and the wider community. One of the four neighbouring farmers collaborating along the river argued "the main challenge is that other farmers don't want cooperate. They don't want to pay attention to and be guided by farmers that have more experience and knowledge in terms of farming". This farmer argued that this was his main challenge of himself being a farmer, and also negatively impacting the livelihoods of the other farmers, thus hindering broad and inclusive local development. Again, this highlights the mentality aspect of development, as highlighted by Narayan (2005)

The sub-principal at EPC Machengue and a JAM staff member argued that lack of unity within Machengue was highly related to the relationship between the political and traditional leaders in the community, that is, the *secretário* and the *régulos*. It was argued that the community is severely split between those who support the political leader and those who support the traditional leader. This division was, according to a JAM staff member, largely due to unwillingness from the political

leader to cooperate with the traditional leader. This was argued to severely affect the capacities of the community to promote development. One JAM staff argued: “The people become confused, because the traditional and the political leader are telling them different things”.

While community members argued that their deliberative skills had enhanced through working in JAM’s projects, community members articulated frustration regarding lack of initiative of the political leader to promote community development. One community member working with both the *secretário* and *régulos*, argued: “The one who knows how to read and write [the political leader], does not take initiative. The one who does not know how to read and write [the traditional leader], takes initiative”. This was also found in interviews with the *secretário*. Regarding questions how he aims to promote development of Machengue, he argued: “The way to prosper Machengue, is first farming, to cultivate, then livestock and to commercialize. These are the bases. If here comes some companies, to work in Machengue, it will help the community, because people will go and ask for job, and be employed, and then will increase”. However, he further stated:

“I don’t know how to achieve. Having these three [cultivation, livestock and commercialization], is a wish. Because the community doesn’t have a company. The key is to have a company..., it will help because it will hire people to work, and then help people in terms of knowledge and to improve their livelihood... The community is waiting for a company to come. Because the community has space, but we are waiting for the company to come”.

The above quotation illustrates a “waiting mentality”, being promoted by aid dependency mentality. It also illustrates a view of community development as an endogenous process. A JAM staff member argued: “at the time when they were forced to stay there [during the civil war], they always received aid from outside. So that created some kind of dependency syndrome for them. So they were not used to this life of working or sacrificing to get what you want from the land”. While community members argued that “if someone come, we will work”, there seemed to have been limited initiative to promote development completely by own effort.

This mentality was related to lack of clear vision among community members and the political leader of how community members’ livelihood could be enhanced. As the above quote illustrates, the political leader had a vision, although he had not

identified the role of himself and the community as active agents to achieve this, as he was “waiting for a company to come” to promote community development. However, in a previous interview it was argued that a German organization and the WFP had been running a farm in Machengue. The political leader argued: “It helped too much”. However, he further argued that when these actors pulled out, the community was not able to continue the project, “because it operated with a high sum of money”. This indicates that the political leader has a view of the development process as largely being an exogenous process, promoted by outside experts, rather than a largely endogenous process emerging from within the community, through community agency, potentially with initial external assistance.

It was widely argued within the community that “If someone comes to help us, we are open to receive, and we will work”, or “if someone gives us knowledge, we will take that”. Still, these members did not actively seek to promote or access this themselves, through establishing bridging ties to actors outside Machengue. A teacher at EPC Machengue argued: “the people of this community don’t make partnerships. So it’s difficult, the condition of this community”. He further stated: “The index of poverty here is higher than Molongo and Maphinane [neighbouring communities]. What is holding this community is the school, because of JAM’s support”. As such, he stated:

Other communities try to do other things, through partnerships. Machengue depends only on subsistence agriculture. When it’s not raining, there is no way to feed themselves. There exists a market in Machengue, but there are few people in these kinds of activities, to sell things to the community... The other communities, Maphinane and Molongo, have some business, to buy things in Maputo and South Africa, and resell, commercialize that to the communities. Like clothes, oil, basic domestic products and soap... ,and they have other kinds of activities in partnership

According to this teacher (sub-principal), “there exist linkages between this community and other communities, but when... this community learn about the experiences of other communities, they don’t implement what they learned”. It was also argued that Machengue community members “are closed” and “Machengue is a restricted community”. Further, it was argued that “the students finish grade 7, [the parents] refuse their children to go to other schools outside Machengue”.

The farmers along Rio Govuro, however, displayed a very different mentality. One of the farmers argued that he appreciate initial assistance from JAM, but “it will be uncomfortable to always ask JAM for assistance...JAM has other activities, we cannot always go to JAM”, e.g. if a water pump has a breakage. Certain members in Machengue had this mentality. However, the general trend in Machengue seemed to be a continued waiting and dependency mentality. JAM’s involvement in the community was, however, argued to have altered this mentality for the better, e.g. through community members’ increasing engaging in agriculture by the lake and animal production .

The case of Machengue clearly illustrates how the operating environment in which a development NGO operates, clearly affects the impacts of NGOs’ development interventions. In Machengue, the history of having received aid from a range of different actors for the last 30 years, has to a very high extent induced aid dependency mentality, where community leadership and a large fraction of community members wait for external actors to establish commercial activities or assist the community. This has also set a framework in which JAM’s current development initiatives within the community take place. Combined with lack of cooperation between the *secretar* and *régulos*, which was argued to create confusion and lack of confidence among community members as well as lines of division, a JAM staff member argued this to make it a very difficult task to promote holistic community development. With regard to enhancing capacities in communities for them to be increasingly self-sustaining, he argued: “We have worked in Machengue for over 20 years. Normally our job would be done a long time ago”.

As such, it is argued, while Machengue community members have increased individual capabilities, collective capabilities is a serious constrain to sustainable development in the community. Despite improvements over the years, this is an issue in need of continued attention if Machengue is to become increasingly self-sustaining in the long term. As Evans argues: “When sustainable improvements in the welfare of ordinary Third World citizens is an aim, social capital is a crucial ingredient” (Evans, 1996b, p. 1034). Without social capital, human and physical capital are easily squandered. Such “squandering” seems to have characterized Machengue, although recent developments implies a break with this pattern. The fact that this process bear signs of being largely endogenous through local agency, e.g. through the farming activities along Rio Govuro, can also be regarded as highly positive for the

sustainability of the current development. However, questions can also be asked if presens of long-term aid in itself brings with it negative implications, even in a capacity development context. Still, it is too early to assess if continuity with the “old pattern” will persist, or if Machengue will be able to break with a history and culture of distrust and unwillingness to collaborate. JAM is widely argued to have played a central role in this development, although this also needs to be seen in terms of individual and collective agency and government support. It should also be noted that as a range of other development NGOs have operated in the community, these may also have contributed to these changes.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

In recent years, increased focus has been directed towards the need to promote sustainable local development, through enhancement of local communities' capacities. In this regard, development NGOs are, as Lewis argues, "high profile actors" within public policy landscapes, ranging from local, national to global levels (2003, p. 326). This thesis has focused on the role of JAM International in promoting sustainable local development at the very local level, in Machengue, a rural community located in Inhambane province, southern Mozambique. Mozambique is a country having been described to have had high aid dependency even in an African context (Heltberg & Tarp, 2002). While this relate to the state level, it also characterizes many communities, particularly in rural Mozambique. Also Machengue has been receiving assistance for the past 30 years. In the study, it was highly useful to specify capacities in terms of capabilities and social, economic and political structures, as this assisted in making the concept more practical applicable and concrete in the study of JAM's actual role in this regard.

JAM's approach of the CCDA has been argued by the NGO to constitute the foundation on which all the NGO's programmes are built. Also in Machengue, JAM has taken on a holistic approach, by implementing school feeding, WASH-projects, school garden, animal creation and a large-scale agricultural project. The findings of this study indicates that, while the CCDA lays a foundation for the implementation of specific projects, the actual planning implementation varied significantly between the different projects. This also led to differences in whether the projects were "supply-driven" or "demand-driven", which among others were impacted by the nature of funding. Specific grants often leave less room for community decision making than more open "private donor" funding, thus affecting the planning of these.

JAM has based its approach of project planning and implementation on working through community structures and institutions, particularly local leadership and schools, PTAs and WASH-committees. Further, the implementation of the projects relies heavily on identifying and working through key actors within the community, described as "role models" and "community members of excellent behaviour". This study found that this approach, in the Machengue case, has been highly successful in promoting community agency to disseminate and apply the knowledge throughout the community, e.g. in terms of agricultural practices, small

animal creation and WASH-practices. This illustrates that working through social bonds within communities when implementing development projects can be of high value in promoting endogenous and sustainable development processes. In Machengue, this has resulted in a “new trend” of agricultural and livestock production and commercialization.

However, it was also identified that this approach was less successful in promoting community ownership and responsibility of the projects at the school, particularly with regard to the school garden and the pig project. As such, this caused limited successfulness and sustainability in this term. While the school garden was producing, this was argued to depend on Farmer 1. The pig project was highly reduced at the time. Long-term sustainability requires increased mobilization of the community to engage in these projects. The findings further indicate that this approach of working through community institutions/organizations and key community agents, is particularly vulnerable in contexts where solid community structures and institutions/organizations are not existing or malfunctioning, as was argued to be the case with the former PTA and principal at EPC Machengue. As such, the findings of this study do not imply that JAM’s “channel” or “focal point” approach functions poorly in contexts where these structures and institutions/organizations are in place and well-functioning. In such contexts, the approach may work very well. In this regard, the establishment and further functioning of the new PTA in Machengue is of high interest with regard to future sustainability of the projects. However, these findings, combined with the findings related to challenging relationships between the *secretario and régulo*, underscores the argument of Mansuri and Rao (2004) regarding the needs of development agencies to have sound insight into the context in which they work, to avoid reinforcement or worsening of detrimental socio-political and socio-cultural community structures.

In general the impacts of JAM’s projects were regarded by community members to be positive. These included particularly enhanced nutrition and education for the children of the community, being argued to be key for their future agency and opportunities to function as they value, in Sen’s (1999) terminology. The nutritional value and health benefits were also related to increased access to safe water and knowledge of sound WASH-practices. While the impacts of the school garden and pig project were highly limited at the time, these projects had, in combination with the

large-scale agricultural project, been major successes in terms of promoting agricultural and livestock production as a potential viable future livelihood to community members. However, the drought at the time severely affected the real impacts on community member's lives in this regard. However, the impacts of JAM's work in Machengue are related to a promising development of an endogenous and sustainable development process, particularly due to unutilized opportunities along Rio Govuro. In October 2015, 3-4 new community members started activities along the River. While the farmer's still struggled e.g. in terms of reaching better markets, the HGSF approach may serve as a potential solution. While the existing farmer's have exercised active utilization of social capital, both in terms of bonding and bridging ties, questions relates to whether this potential is inherent in the social structures and norms among the general community members in Machengue. As Evans argues in terms of the need of social capital for complementarity e.g. between communities and governments and NGO's) this study indicates that lack of social capital, in terms of bonding and bridging ties, may be a key constrain to the further development of the community. This is reinforced by the fact that community members are frustrated about lack of agency and initiative of the *secretário*. Based on authoritarian and hierarchal community structures, where the *secretario* serves as the middle link, this can be a key constrain to further development. However, in this regard JAM applies a "non-touch"-principal.

As such, JAM's involvement in Machengue, related both to *what* projects have been implemented and *how*, successfulness or lack of such has been results of a combination of JAM's approach and community characteristics.

Key challenges remain for Machengue to be increasingly self-sustaining in the long term. However, JAM's more recent projects (school garden, small animal creation project and large-scale agriculture) have promoted changes in people's views of themselves and other's in Machengue, and what it is possible to achieve through hard work and collaboration. As such, the prospects for Machengue seem to be brighter. However, as Farmer 1 argued, this depends also if the community members "take it". A key aspect relates to whether the initial trend will stagnate or progress. In terms of the latter, this would imply a significant break with the past, with opportunities for enhanced self-sustainability.

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