

MOZAMBIQUE FOOD SECURITY ISSUES PAPER

for

Forum for Food Security



in Southern Africa

Preface

This is one of five Country Issues Papers commissioned by the Forum for Food Security in Southern Africa.

The papers describe the food security policy framework in each focus country (Malawi, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe) and document the current priority food security concerns there, together with the range of stakeholder opinions on them. The papers have been written by residents of each country with knowledge of and expertise in the food security and policy environment.

The purpose of the papers is to identify the specific food security issues that are currently of greatest concern to stakeholders across the region, in order to provide a country-driven focus for the analytical work of the Forum for Food Security in Southern Africa.

As such, the papers are not intended to provide comprehensive data or detailed analysis on the food security situation in each focus country, as this is available from other sources. Neither do the Forum for Food Security, its consortium members, and funders necessarily subscribe to the views expressed.

The following people have been involved in the production of this Country Issues Paper:

Kerry Selvester
Maria Adela Castro

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Abbreviations

CEF	Centre for Forestry Research and Wildlife Management
DFID	Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DINAGECA	National Department of Geography and Cadastre
DNFFB	National Department of Forestry and Wildlife
DPCCN	Department for Prevention and Combat to Natural Disasters
DPDAR	Provincial Department for Agricultural and Rural Development
ESAN	Food Security and Nutritional Strategy
FAO	United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization
GAPVU	Office for the Support to Vulnerable Population Groups
GPD	Gross Domestic product
HAI	Health Alliance International
IAF	National Household Budget Survey
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
INGC	National Institute for the Management of Natural Disasters
INIA	National Institute for Agronomic Research
INIVE	National Institute for Veterinary Research
IPA	Institute for Livestock Production
MICAS	Ministry for the Coordination of Social Issues
MADER	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
MICOA	Ministry for Environmental Coordination
MoH	Ministry of Health
MPF	Ministry of Planning and Finance
MSU	Michigan State University
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PAAOs	Annual Action Plans and Budgets
PAMA	Agricultural Market Support Programme
PARPA	Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty
PROAGRI	National Agricultural Development Programme
PRSP	Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SETSAN	Technical Secretariat for Food Security and Nutrition
SPFFB	Provincial Forest and Wildlife Services
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Development Agency
VAC	Vulnerability Assessment Group
WFS	World Food Summit
WHO	World Health Organisation

The Southern African Humanitarian Crisis of 2002-03: A Chronology

2001	MOZAMBIQUE
February	Floods in central region displace 380,000.
March	Retail price of maize rose by 26% in Beira due to floods.
April	42,000 ha of food crops lost due to flooding in Zambezi valley. First season production decreased by 40-80% following 2 successive seasons of crop loss.
May	First production estimates predict food crops levels to remain stable.
July	Joint crop and food availability mission predicts a substantial increase in crop production for first season
September	Production expected to increase by 17% and food availability expected to cover 87% of national needs. 100,000 MT of maize exported, mainly to Malawi.
October	Shortages of food stocks in rural areas predicted to affect 369,000 highly food insecure people. Maize prices rose by 4-5%.
November	Maize prices at record level of 350,000 Meticaïs per 70 kg sack.
January 2002	National Institute for Disaster Management (INGC) presented its draft contingency plan for 2001/02 rainy season for expert review. Limpopo River on flood alert.
February	Government approve INGC contingency plan. WFP added 170,000 to food aid beneficiaries bringing total to 390,000.
March	Rainfall below normal affected maize yields in southern Mozambique. Northern and central districts were also affected by a moderate drought. INGC, FAO and others visited Gaza province in February to analyse the effects. Maize prices remained high due to demand from Malawi and Zimbabwe.
April	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MADER) announced Emergency Plan for the Reduction of Drought Impacts in 2002.
May	MADER reported 83,690 ha of maize lost due to drought. Distribution of 30,300 kits of seeds to drought affected areas. Maize prices lower at the start of the harvest and substantial quantities reported to be exported informally (on bikes) to Malawi.
July	WFP estimated that 600,000 Mozambicans would need food aid.
August	Prices for maize higher than normal.
September	WFP's food aid for cereals expected to cover requirements only to October.
October	WFP expected to have food aid for approximately 60% of the population in need. Retail maize prices rose sharply.
November	Food insecurity in urban areas increased.
December	Below average rainfall caused setback to 2003 crops. SADC drought monitoring centre released warning statement.
January 2003	National Disaster Management Institute projected that 1.4 million people would need food aid. Large gap between WFP planned distributions and estimated needs. 43% coverage. Nine hunger-related deaths confirmed in the north-west.
February	Outbreaks of cholera reported. Poor harvest predicted, leading to a dramatic increase in food insecurity, especially in central and southern regions.

Sources: Mozambique: Documents by UN OCHA Integrated Regional Information Network, Catholic Relief Services, IFRC, sourced from ReliefWeb. "Monthly Food Security Updates", FEWS NET Mozambique, "Monthly Food Security Updates", FEWS NET Mozambique.

Summary

The current crisis

In 2001/02 Mozambique experienced serious crop losses in the south of the country to drought with around one third of the expected harvest being lost in that region. In the north, however, harvests were good, so good that as much as 200kt of maize are reckoned to have been exported informally to Malawi. This has been of little use to the south, since it is so expensive to ship grains from the north to the south because of the poor communication infrastructure. The southern districts and a few in centre-interior have seen food availability fall disastrously low in 2002. To make matters worse these are areas that were hit badly by the floods of 2000, from which households have been making a slow recovery.

By early 2003, some 650,000 persons in southern and some central districts were in need of food assistance. In addition to the 53kt of food aid delivered under the UN Emergency Programme (EMOP) 10200 by late 2002, another 31kt were needed through to March 2003. To put this in context, the numbers in need are just 3% of the population. Of the six countries in the EMOP, Mozambique is the least badly affected.

The background: vulnerability

Mozambique is a very poor country, almost 70% of the population are considered to live below a poverty line of just US\$0.40 a day. Chronic malnutrition rates were estimated in 1997 at 36%.

At independence in 1975 Mozambique had one of the least developed colonial economies. Since then it has experienced a phase (1975–1983) of central planning of the economy, and a bitter civil war (1980–1992), with massive displacement of the rural population. Economic liberalisation began in 1983, with structural adjustment adopted in 1987. The war ended with the cease-fire of 1992 and the multi-party elections of 1994. Since then the economy has been recovering, albeit from a very low base, with some of the fastest growth rates in the world: an average of over 10% a year increase in GDP since 1996.

Poverty affects those who have least access to resources or formal jobs. Geographically poverty correlates with isolation, with areas of low population density, and with the inland districts of parts of the centre and much of the south of the country. However, there are concentrations of poor (in absolute numbers) in the densely inhabited coastal regions, on the trade corridors and in the cities. The south has been hard hit by the loss of opportunities to migrate to South Africa, the area formerly having been for almost a century a major supplier of male migrant labour to the mining and urban economy of South Africa. This has limited livelihood opportunities for the people living in the semi-arid areas in the south and centre of the country.

HIV/AIDS incidence is estimated at 13%, with higher figures along the trade corridors and in the cities.

The rural non-farm economy and the urban economy of manufacturing and services are little developed. Most Mozambicans depend on farming for their livelihoods and their own food supply for at least half of their consumption needs. Outside of some small areas of

irrigated land, or that under commercial estates and plantations, farmers operate smallholdings manually, or with some ox traction, under low input-low output systems that depend on the rains. With only small areas tilled and low yields, smallholder food supplies are limited and vulnerable to bad weather.

Food security policy

During the war years, when the country depended heavily on imported food, distribution was the key food policy with the Ministries of Commerce and Health as leading actors. Subsequently with the revival of domestic farming, the main issue is that of reaching domestic self sufficiency in staple foods, with the Ministry of Agriculture taking the lead role. Currently, the main food policies emphasise increased farm output and food marketing. Most trading and storage of food is left to the private sector. Despite proposals for a public strategic reserve of grains, there are as yet no such stocks.

Debate on food security centres around the production issues and above all the question of whether to focus agricultural development efforts on estates, commercial farms, and the better-resourced small farms in the most favoured areas, or whether to spread public investments for a broader coverage of smallholders.

Social protection schemes are few and of very limited coverage. That said Mozambique is well used to disaster relief efforts from the experience of the war years, drought, and floods. Capacity and focus, however, is on reacting to calamity, rather than mitigation. Some progress has been made in establishing the capacity to map vulnerability and to track this through the seasons.

The future

Ten years on from war Mozambique has reached a stage in development where the recognition of the complexity and diversity of the operating environment is essential for successful policy formulation and significant reduction in food insecurity. In order to increase the resilience of households to the numerous natural disasters that affect the country policy frameworks for food security must be equally committed to labour policy, investment, industrialisation, population mobility and basic service provision, as to agricultural development.

There is a need to:

- Maintain and strengthen the multisectoral approach to food security policy
- Examine the intricacies of livelihoods in order to design policy frameworks.
- Discuss the role of governance in achieving food security; creating space for interaction between different actors linked by common discourse.

The multi-disciplinary approach to food security in Mozambique opens possibilities to tackle the severe food insecurity faced by millions of Mozambicans with creativity and a vision for sustainable development

1 Introduction

The GDP growth rate in Mozambique peaked at 11.3 percent in 1997 and averaged around 8 percent over subsequent years ⁽¹⁾, even in 2000 (year of the floods) the growth rate was above 7 percent, yet Mozambique in 2003 finds itself, once again, in the grip of a food security crisis with many thousands of people in need of food aid in order to survive. By early 2003, some 650,000 persons in southern and some central districts were in need of food assistance. In addition to the 53kt of food aid delivered under the UN Emergency Programme (EMOP) 10200 by late 2002, another 31kt were needed through to March 2003. The immediate event leading to the food security crisis is drought. But this event cannot be taken in isolation. High levels of vulnerability to food and nutrition insecurity are the result of both historical and current factors that will be explored in this paper.

The food security problem in Mozambique is a multi-faceted and multi-layered globe. Cutting vertically we can observe the layers of history compressed, each layer having an impact on the subsequent years: the impact of colonialism, warfare and periodic climatic episodes can all be seen in the layers. Cutting the problem horizontally we can see the impact of geography, infrastructure development, basic services, education and health. Bleeding throughout, marbling unevenly, the impact of policies and ideologies. Some areas are untouched by the policy shifts, from colonialism to socialism, socialism to capitalism and market based liberalization, and some areas have been profoundly affected by these contextual changes.

In teasing out the major influential factors on household vulnerability to food insecurity the document will attempt to identify indicators of positive and negative trends. However, all generalizations about vulnerability need to take into account the myriad of factors and the difficulties of adequately analysing the weave and waft that is the pattern of food insecurity at household level. The conclusions will attempt to tie a few knots in the policy debate.

1.1 Historical context

Mozambique became independent in 1975, and was left with a legacy of under-development. Within a few years of establishing the independent government and introducing socialist ideology, including widespread nationalizations of industry, large farms and infrastructures, introduction of universal primary education and primary health care, war had broken out that was to last for 17 years. The war destroyed the little that had been left after colonialism or built up after independence. Health and education services were war targets as were economic and communications infrastructure. At the height of the war over 4.5 million people were either internally displaced or refugees in neighbouring countries out of an estimated total population of 16 million people. An illustrative statistic from the 1980s estimated that 80% of all food needs were imported (food aid) with only 20% produced in this predominately rural country (MADER, FAO. 2002). This situation was reversed within two growing seasons after the end of the war, and currently, ten years 80% of cereal needs are met by production and only 20% is imported.

By the end of the war in 1992, the majority of the rural infrastructure had either been destroyed or disabled, rural food processing and industrial plants were non functional,

¹ The interpretation of the GDP figures must take into account the decades of zero growth preceding the end of the war and the fact that many of the major investments, such as those in the aluminum industry have created relatively few jobs.

roads and railways damaged. The legacy of this destruction can still be seen in the lack of rural infrastructure in much of the country.

Extensive work has been carried out to map poverty levels in Mozambique using large statistically valid data-bases ⁽²⁾. Absolute poverty is estimated as 67% of the population (MFP/IFPRI, 2002). Estimates show that 64% of the Mozambican population (about 10 million) is food insecure. About 67% of the urban families do not have enough food compared to 63% of the rural families (MPF/IFPRI, 2002). The lowest level of food insecurity can be found in the rural north (48%). On the other hand the highest level of food insecurity is found in the southern region (75%), which corresponds with the higher level of poverty and lower agricultural potential (MADER,FAO 2002). The work carried out to map poverty clearly illustrates not only the extent of extreme poverty in the country but also the complexity of the problem that needs to be taken into account when discussing policy intervention. A selection of the maps has been reproduced in a separate appendix.

The mapping exercise considers among other variables:

- Rates of poverty: Ratio of poor households in a given area
- Number of poor people living in a geographic area
- Depth of poverty: Measures the distance between stipulated poverty line and the actual consumption levels of the households.

Large parts of the country have unacceptably high levels of poverty, with only six districts with less than 50% of the population below the poverty line. Further investigation of the poverty picture in Mozambique shows that the numbers of the absolutely poor are not evenly spread throughout the country, with a concentration of poor people (in terms of numbers) along the trade corridors in the south, centre and north of the country, along the coastal strip and in the urban centres. However, many of the areas with the highest rates of poverty have the lowest numbers of poor people, presenting a policy dilemma in terms of resource allocation. Does the government opt to allocate resources to relieve poverty for the highest number of people, or in the areas with the highest overall rates of poverty?

Isolation is one of the major contributing factors to poverty. Areas that are distant from major road or rail networks have the highest rates of poverty, but not necessarily the highest number of poor people. Many of the districts with high rates of poverty have extremely low population density (for example, Massengena, Gaza Province has a population density of 1 per Km ²).

Further mapping work has been carried out by the Policy Department of the Ministry of Agriculture supported by Michigan State University. Comparing maps of road access, poverty rates and marketing potential further reinforce the relationship between poverty and food insecurity. Areas of high agricultural potential continue to have high rates of poverty due to the weak marketing potential. Maps illustrating these relationships can be seen in separate appendix. Improving economic infrastructure must play a role in reducing poverty in rural areas. Greater provision of roads, markets, banks, extension, and communication services to Mozambican villages can go a long way toward alleviating rural poverty.

² National Household Budget Survey (IAF) 1996 and National Population Census (1997). Please refer to maps in separate appendix.

1.2 Food Security and Nutrition Policy Framework

The approach to food security issues in Mozambique is a product of the historical context in the country. The Mozambican government recognized in the early 1980s that food security issues needed an inter-sectoral approach if inroads were to be made into the difficult situation caused, in large part, by the war. This was neatly illustrated in 1988 when the World Bank required the government to carry out an analysis of the food security situation and the government constituted a multi-ministerial working group, led by the Ministry of Commerce. The strongest elements in the group were the Ministry of Health (including social welfare) and the Ministry of Commerce, both of whom had departments specifically designated to look at the food security situation⁽³⁾. The role of the Ministry of Agriculture was much less evident. This bias was due to the war, which in practice minimized the part that agriculture could play in achieving food security for the population and gave much more power to the Ministry of Commerce as they were responsible for food aid management. Food security was therefore considered in terms of access to food and not only food production. The discourse was led by economists, nutritionists and social scientists and not agronomists. Debates centered on safety nets, basic social service provision and emergency planning. From this multi-disciplinary background joint information gathering exercises were organized, a department was established in the Ministry of Planning and Finance, designated – the Poverty Alleviation Unit - which had at its heart a food security bias and a number of initiatives were launched that helped to cement these relationships⁽⁴⁾. At the end of the war, the pendulum swung in the direction of the agriculture sector and the food security impetus was drawn into the agricultural field. Post-war agricultural policy has food security as its central tenet with emphasis on improving food production and the role of the small farm sector in post war recovery was emphasised. Although the majority of the resources directed to improving food security now rest with the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, the bedrock of multi-sectoralism has resisted and is reflected in policy documents and the inter-sectoral bodies now in place in the country⁽⁵⁾.

At the end of the war the move was towards resettlement and stability. Policies were conservative with a tendency to fall back on support for small farms in order to achieve peace and tranquility. Innovation was very difficult in these circumstances, as feeding the population was of paramount importance. This led to a tendency to equate food security with self sufficiency through own production from peasant farms. The decision was pragmatic. The state was weak, the manufacturing base inexistent and there was a lack of social cohesion in the years immediately following the war. Strategies immediately post war lent themselves to uniformity and not diversity, to “kits” and packages, rather than tailored interventions. As pointed out by Nicola Pontara (Pontara, N. 2002) most academics...

“... have argued that the most effective way to end poverty is to stabilise the population in the countryside and improve conditions within a framework of prioritising smallholder agriculture, supporting this sector for example with input provision packages”

A further example of this thinking was seen immediately post war when the integration of the large number of demobilized soldiers led to a “one size fits all” approach by the government and the donors, resulting in the indiscriminate distribution of buckets, hoes, seeds, socks and a pair of underpants, irrespective of where the demobilized soldiers were

3 Ministry of Trade : Department of Food Security , Ministry of Health, Nutrition Section.

4 For example: Harmonising training curriculum to include notions of Food Security (health, commerce and agriculture)

5 Food Security and Nutrition Strategy , SETSAN – Food Security and Nutrition Technical Secretariat

going, their professions or their livelihood options. The measures were an expensive public relations exercise and did not attempt to suit the livelihood needs of the returning soldiers.

Given ten years of stability, the generally positive growth trends, but the persistent high levels of vulnerability of households to food insecurity it is time to start looking at alternatives and more varied options that deal with the complexity of the livelihoods of both rural and urban households.

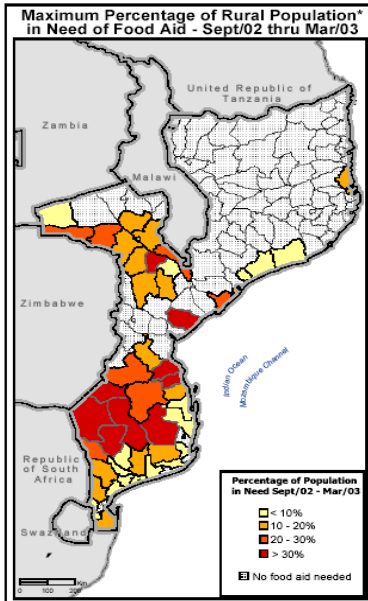
1.3 Situation at present

1.3.1 Agricultural sector

The general situation in the agriculture sector is characterized by low productivity, low mechanization and levels of inputs (only 7 per cent of farmers use animal or mechanical traction and only 2 per cent use fertilizers or pesticides) (Fauvert,2002) Some of the traditional risk factors are reflected in the statistics, e.g., war displaced have higher levels of food insecurity when compared to non-migrants (perhaps emphasizing once again that the demobilization package was largely ineffective in economic terms). However, work from the National Household Survey (INS, 1997) shows that female headed households are not at greater risk of food insecurity. One reason for this is due to the migratory labour patterns in much of Mozambique where males left for work in South Africa, Zimbabwe or the cities and regularly sent remittances home to the rural areas. This system was disrupted during the war and has been further undermined with the political and economic changes in neighbouring countries. Rural relationships and livelihoods are varied and it would be a mistake to believe that subsistence farming on family plots will guarantee food security for all in a country as diverse as Mozambique.

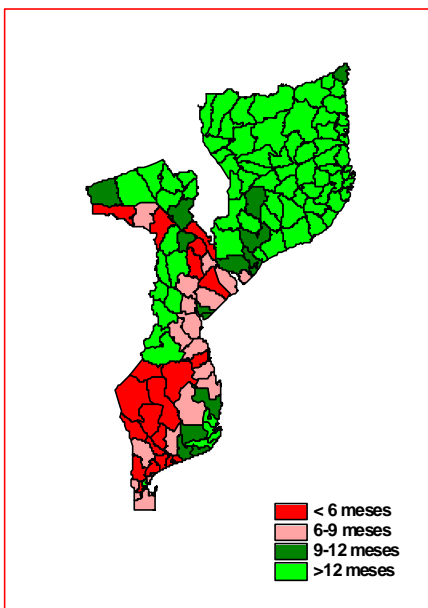
For example, the 2002/3 food crisis appears at first glance to be closely related to food production capacity. With the areas most severely affected by the drought in the food deficit areas (see Map 1 and II). This analysis does not take into account the chronic nature of food deficit in these areas and the importance of other food sources at household level, such as remittances and other income sources, even in good agricultural years. The easy conclusion is that policy makers should concentrate on increasing food production in these areas as they are clearly the most vulnerable to chronic and acute food insecurity. This thinking is reflected in practice with irrigation schemes, drought resistant crops being encouraged in these areas. Maybe it is time to open possibilities for alternative food sources that will in fact lessen the food deficit through increased purchasing power and alternative (to agriculture) livelihood options.

Map 1 Food aid needs



Source: WFP. 2002

Map 2 Food deficit areas



Source: Mapeamento da Pobreza em Moçambique: Desagregação das Estimativas da Pobreza e Desigualdade aos Níveis de Distrito e Posto Administrativo MPF/IFPRI. Jan 2002

1.4 Poor nutritional security

One of the outcomes used to measure success of food security policies is the level of malnutrition found in the population. Mozambique continues to have high rates of chronic malnutrition (36%) including high levels of debilitating micro-nutrient deficiencies such as vitamin A and iron deficiency. Nutrition surveillance data reflects poor nutrition status of mothers with high rates of low birth weight babies (national average of 11.6 % well above the cut-off of 7% recommended by WHO). Acute malnutrition is higher in cities than in the rural areas strongly linked to disease incidence and lack of basic sanitation in the cities.

Information on food consumption patterns reflects the status of Mozambique as the 170th poorest country out of the 173 countries in the UNDP World Development Report (UNDP, 2002). Overall minimum daily requirements are not met and the majority of the kcal intake is through carbohydrates with only a small contribution of protein and concentrated energy (fats and sugar) to the diet.

Further strain is placed on the nutrition status of children through the shortage of clean drinking water, poor or non-existent sanitation in peri-urban areas, and inadequate refuse collection that facilitate the spread of epidemics and compromise the nutrition status of children and women of child-bearing age.

The nutrition data supports the general poverty picture with the highest levels of chronic malnutrition in the center and north of the country (Espeut, D et al).

1.5 Slow industrial growth

In the early 1990s manufacturing output began to increase, in 1997 output was up by almost 50 per cent with a further 16 per cent increase in 1998. The mining industry (mainly marble, bauxite and graphite) also grew by around 30 per cent in 1997 and 1998, due in part to the lowering of mining taxes and increased access to remote areas of the country. Mega projects such as MOZAL aluminum smelter and a planned iron ore processing factory contribute to rising exports and boost the employment figures (Fauvet, 2002). However, the effects of the incipient industrialization are largely limited to the urban areas in the south and the centre of the country, and the impact of modern industry on unemployment figures is minimal. MOZAL has created around 750 permanent jobs in the Maputo area. Analysis carried out by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI, 2002) suggests that the fastest growing sector of the economy is the industrial sector, but as ever when discussing Mozambique one has to take into account the low baseline point for the growth, and recognise that Mozambique is far from becoming an industrial power in the region.

1.6 Rebuilding social services

Although there were real increases in health and education spending after the 1994 elections the coverage of both services remains very low. Access to primary education has increased in recent years but statistics indicate that Mozambique will not achieve the goal of full primary enrolment by 2015. Access is limited by lack of school places in the system and by poverty that leads to low enrolment of girls and high drop-out rates after primary age. The illiteracy rates for males and females are still extremely high, 60.7% and 76.4% respectively. After fifth class the number of children enrolled in schools reduces dramatically, particularly among young girls. The quality of the public school system is low, with teachers poorly paid and under-qualified. Motivation for teaching in isolated district schools continues to be problematic, whilst in the urban schools overcrowding, poor conditions and corruption dog the heels of the education system.

Although some success has been achieved with the primary health care system, as indicated by high rates of vaccination coverage, access to curative services remains low (only 2.1% of the population has access to a doctor) and less than 20% of the population has access to a trained midwife (MADER, FAO 2002).

The national HIV prevalence rate in adults (15-45 years old) is 12.2% differentiated by region with the trade corridors showing much higher prevalence rates. Projections suggest that by the year 2010 the epidemic will lower life expectancy from 50.3 years to 36.5 unless the trend of the epidemic is drastically reversed. (MADER. FAO. 2002)

Without achieving better health status and educational for all it will not be possible to achieve food security. Investment in the health and education sector is a priority in the national action plan for the reduction of poverty but the country remains distant from ensuring health and educational security.

1.7 Changes in the patterns of remittances

Migrant labour has always been a feature of the livelihoods of thousands of rural households in Mozambique. In the south and centre of the country hundreds of thousands of men left for South Africa to work in the mines, returning annually with goods and cash to inject into the rural economy. In the North of the country informal migration to neighbouring countries was also common, although in this case it did not involve government to government agreements. During the war the flow of remittances were disrupted as people did not want to invest in the rural areas, and much of the money was converted into food to feed back home families that were no longer able to cultivate.

In the early 1990s there was widespread retrenchment with the downturn in the South African mining sector which further undermined the remittance system in the southern part of the country. The Ministry of Labour in 1997 estimated that there were over 50,000 officially employed in the mines in South Africa, a further 30,000 in the farming sector and an estimated 5,000 work officially in the service sector. These are extremely conservative estimates and some analysis suggest that the real number could be as high as 900,000 in the formal and informal sector.

In terms of the impact on the home economy the largely informal (and even illegal) migration often leaves the home households bereft in terms of labour and with little expectation of remittances on a regular basis. Work carried out in Maputo city (CARE, 1998) found that mainly young men are attracted to skip over the border where they generally become engaged in marginal activities on the fringes of the productive sector in South Africa, although anecdotal evidence from the border districts in Gaza province suggest that youth of both sexes regularly move across the border in search of casual employment ⁽⁶⁾. Households in the city of Maputo are often relieved to see the boys leave as they had no hope of jobs in the Mozambique and would often turn to crime, drink or drugs. People did not generally expect to see any benefits from the people who left for South Africa.

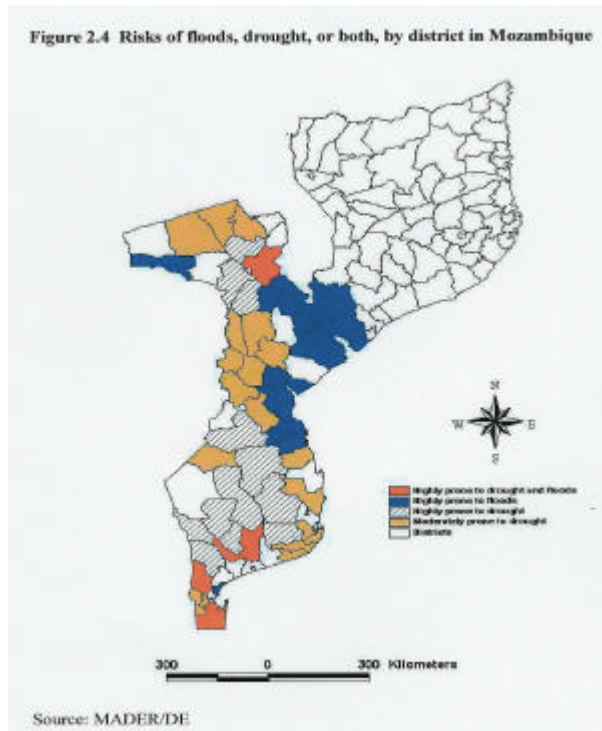
1.8 Natural disasters, environmental and Natural Resource Management

Mozambique has a high propensity for natural disasters, as can be seen from Map III below charting flood and drought risk in the country. Over the last decade there have been numerous natural disasters and although contingency planning has begun in the country, coordinated by the National Institute for the Management of Natural Disasters (INGC), very little effective mitigation is carried out. The essential undermining factor is the structural

6 Personal communication. Field work. Massangena, Gaza Province.

vulnerability of households, illustrated by the shocking poverty statistics presented in the first section of the paper and an emergency policy framework that is not conducive to innovative action.

Map 3 Risks of natural disasters in Mozambique



Source. MADER/DE

In 1999 a new National Policy on Disaster Management was put in place that states as its aim “a proactive approach to disaster management aimed at developing a culture of prevention” (Wiles, 2003). However, the role of the INGC continues to be firmly embedded in disaster response; the institute acts as a coordination body, with a minor role in resource mobilization and a low post-emergency profile. The national disaster management policy is not accompanied by a national disaster management plan, which considerably weakens the impact of the INGC.

One of the principal problems facing communities living in the disaster prone areas is that although restoration of minimum living conditions is a priority (housing, food and water) the problem of significant asset depletion is not generally tackled. This has the effect of spiralling households into deeper poverty and vulnerability, with less resilience to subsequent shocks.

Innovative interventions, in terms of emergency programming in Africa (7), were piloted in Mozambique during the 2000 floods, namely cash grants were made to affected households. The results were positive with money spent on household goods, clothes, and livestock, allowing people to take charge of their lives rapidly, decreasing the tendency to passive dependency. The money helped to stimulate the immediate economic environment and did not lead to inflation of food prices as the money was generally spent on investment and not consumption goods (USAID, 2002).

7 Cash grants and insurance claims are normal practice in Western countries and some South American countries.

1.9 Land issues

Generally Mozambique is considered to be a land-rich country, with low population density and low hectare per household under cultivation. Many analysts consider that the most important asset for the peasant community is the right to use the land, and although this is an over-simplification of present rural livelihoods in Mozambique, it is clear that land is one of the central issues for stability and food security. A legal framework was established to guarantee farmer land tenure, thus creating confidence for investments. However, illiteracy, lack of negotiating skills, isolation, and traditional beliefs has hampered the ability of the small-scale farming sector to take advantage of the law. An increasing number of foreign commercial farmer and companies have requested legal rights to use the land creating conflicts with local communities. The media and the TV often report conflicts that arise between communities and newcomers. The Land Tenure Law is very ambiguous on several issues: there is lack of definition in the terminology used, i.e.: public interest land, reserved land and ways to compensate communities for losses of land rights. In this context, several NGOs are helping small farmers understand the law and stand up for their rights. In particular the implementation of the law does not appear to be protecting pasture rights and the rights to the use of the fauna and flora from the forests.

There are some areas where land pressure is an issue; a situation that will become even more evident over the next decade. Pressure points are found (a) on the trade corridors in the south, centre and north of the country where larger farmers are interested in establishing commercial farms, the investing farmers are often from neighbouring countries, namely Zimbabwe and South Africa (b) around cities where the pressure for land for habitation competes with the green zones and the semi-rural populations, (c) along the coast where tourism is pushing small-scale fishing and subsistence farming away from prime beach spots.

More recently the management of natural resources has come to the forefront of government policy due to the massive undertaking of the cross-border game reserve; straddling southern Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe. The national land law ⁽⁸⁾ and the procedures in place for natural resource management provide for community participation and protection of rights of residents in relation to the exploration of the forests and fauna. Problems are faced when implementing the laws and procedures due to the lack of capacity on the part of the government, the lack of information available to communities for rights protection and inexperience in the management of processes of participatory planning.

1.10 Impact of HIV/AIDS

Discussion around HIV/AIDS and rural food security generally focuses on the impact on the labour force with subsequent impact on production, but as yet there is no empirical evidence that this is happening in Mozambique. Strain is evident in the urban areas with the increasing number of orphans and missing generation households stretching under resourced social services, institutions such as churches and household coping strategies.

There is anecdotal evidence that some traditional practices that could encourage the spread of the HIV virus are under going significant changes in an attempt to limit the spread of the virus and maintain community cohesion.

⁸ See appendix for summaries of land law and relevant policy documents.

Box 1 Community AIDS Action Plans

Manica District . Manica Province: Community Based HIV/AIDS Action Plans

Facilitated by the health service and an international NGO, Health Alliance International , communities have been encouraged to discuss action plans for the fight against HIV/AIDS.

In the locality of Tabaco, the elders were discussing the traditional practice of protecting a widow's place in the family structure through the practice of marrying the widow to the brother of the deceased husband. In recognition of the danger of this practice if the husband died of AIDS, the practice has now changed. An elder sister or aunt of the deceased will symbolically "marry" the widow. The widow and the children will therefore remain in the family. However, if the widow wishes to marry again or have sexual relations with a man from the family or outside of the family she will be asked to leave.

Source: Interviews with Community Leaders Councils, Manica. Final Evaluation of the HAI Child Survival Project. 2002.

The impact of HIV /AIDS on the health services is apparent in the urban areas and the district capitals where there are health services. In the remote rural areas social provision is so minimal that there is no additional direct burden on the services.

Along the trade corridors the situation is critical with higher and deeper rates of poverty, and much higher rates of HIV infection. Policies in these areas need to target families affected by HIV/AIDS in order to avoid the use of highly risky livelihood strategies by these groups. Efforts to secure food security for HIV affected households will need to consider all livelihood options and not limit ideas to subsistence farming.

Understanding the dynamics of these communities to chart the possibilities for positive coping strategies is important. One issue is that fear of death may not be the most important factor for behaviour change as all these communities live and have lived on a daily basis with death for decades through war, high child and maternal mortality levels, thousands a year dying of malaria and infectious diseases, mining accidents and untreatable diseases of cancer and diabetes. Prevention messages must cater to this reality. Secondly many communities have suffered from a chronic lack of labour power due to the war and its affects, and livelihoods are in large part adapted to low labour in-put. Each food security measure adopted in the country should consider the impact on households affected by HIV/AIDS; designs of food security strategies need to be HIV/AIDS sensitive.

1.11 Policy implications: thinking out of the box

Given the information presented above it appears there is a need to begin to think out of the agricultural box in order to achieve household food security.

Macossa in Manica Province provides us with an example of alternative thinking. Macossa is considered to be chronically vulnerable, with a history of political instability, mass out-migration during the war and in-migration after the war. Macossa is far from the Provincial capital and has weak internal social and communications infrastructures. Population density is low and scattered, households work on small family plots without inputs or investment. In national analyses Macossa is always classified as a vulnerable district. Macossa is also a district where 80% of the territory of the district has been handed over to "hunting concessions" and two private operators take advantage of the abundant forests and wildlife, the rich natural resource base and peaceful virgin environment.

Thinking in the box – Macossa is the most vulnerable district in Manica. Food security interventions in the district traditionally consist of opening new areas for cultivation, forming farmers associations, increasing productivity on marginal lands, improving the use of foods in the diet and improving service delivery.

Thinking out of the box - Macossa is fabulously rich: Rich with potential, resources and with a small enough population to ensure that benefits can be spread across all groups. The population of Macossa needs to take advantage of the favourable policy environment for the management of natural resources. The hunting concessions need to be renegotiated and laws enforced at district level. District development should centre on the natural resource base and exploit the resources for good of the district. This would lead to the: development of service industry through education and skills development; renegotiation of concession through the decentralization of power to district level; food security through tourism and wild forest harvest. Limited measures focused on the family farming sector will not improve household food security in Macossa. The level of complexity of food security response in Macossa is replicated in all districts across the country. **(FAO, 2003)**

Along similar lines Nicola Pontara questions the emphasis on land access and control the perceived principal factor leading to vulnerability of rural populations. He states that there are both historical and economic precedents for considering wage labour and rural to rural migration as part of the livelihood patterns in Mozambique, he states...

“Relationships among households cannot be explained by reference either to simple dichotomies (landed/landless, wage labour/family labour) that are not identifiable in reality”. (Pontara 2002)

He further states that there are three policy implications that arise from a more detailed analysis of the intricacies of rural livelihoods. Firstly, that the one fits all rural poor packages may deepen the poverty of some of the most vulnerable households, i.e. those relying on wage labour, particularly if the policies aim to decrease demand for wage labour. The second policy issue is linked to the argument made in the first section about the role of isolation in vulnerability. The emphasis on small sector farming may result in marginal farming communities staying in areas that are not viable, stretching the basic service provision to breaking point. His last point refers to the trend towards larger farming units and the capitalization of agriculture in the rural areas. His opinion is that by firmly fixing the policy gaze on the peasant farmer, the increasing group of wage labourers (either on farms or in the incipient industries) is largely outside of any regulatory framework, with the very real potential of creating an unprotected underclass of non-organised workers. The final point can be stretched to include all the other “forgotten” policy areas that should be developed to protect vulnerable households practicing the myriad of livelihoods that can be found in both the rural and urban areas.

These arguments are particularly pertinent if we consider the plight of households affected by HIV and AIDS. With policy emphasis firmly on small farmer self-sufficiency households affected by HIV/AIDS may not be able to take advantage of the conventional intervention packages and will increasingly seek high risk livelihood options, such as increasing use of child labour, abandonment of home and prostitution. As these families move into unregulated territory so the policy frameworks increasingly fail to protect them. Recognition of more complex livelihood options and the development of a policy environment that encompasses complexity are essential in order to prevent the creation of a growing under-class.

2 Development of Markets and Economic Growth

2.1 Overview

Agricultural production has increased significantly in the last ten years even though there are still considerable structural constraints in the availability of inputs and the commercialization of surplus production. The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development identified the main constraints to agricultural growth are : (1) difficult access to markets (2) low level technology used in the small farmer sector (3) lack of credit (4) lack of extension services (5) vulnerability to natural disasters.

An estimated 80% of the Mozambican population lives in the rural areas. In general their food needs are met through own production and income from agricultural, livestock and forest resources. Livelihoods are closely linked to production systems but also reflect the ability to access food and preserve access to these food sources.

Agro-climatic and infrastructure differences in the country are one of the determinants of livelihoods. In the south of the country (Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane) there is limited agricultural productive capacity and there is an annual deficit of 600,000 metric tons in cereals. Maputo, the main consumer of cereals in the south, is generally supplied by South Africa and by production from the central region. The combination of varied income sources and a good road network means that the cities in the south do not suffer from food shortages. Productive areas in the centre of the country produce enough cereals for self-sufficient, and export to Malawi and Zimbabwe. High transport costs and lack of adequate infrastructures impede the movement of grain north –south. Problems linked to infrastructures are slowly being overcome with widespread roads rehabilitation programmes in all provinces in the country.

At present the different means of subsistence are firmly linked to the agro-ecological zones in the country, but in the absence of the availability of sufficient own production other income sources are sought. These include livestock rearing, fishing, selling of forestry products, daily labour and remittances. In the southern part of the country the diversity of livelihood options is more evident. In the centre and north of the country the emphasis is firmly on agricultural produce both for food and as an income source..

Higher rates of urbanisation linked to the improved road network means that households in the south have increased access to a variety of income sources. Looking at the population pyramid and the masculinity index in these districts it is notable that there are less men of economically active age. Women generally practice subsistence farming and the families are supported by remittances. Constraints on migration to South Africa, the retrenchments in the mines and the economic situation in Zimbabwe have hit these communities hard.

In the north of the country economic activity off-farm is less visible, although the situation is changing in the larger towns such as Nampula where food processing is beginning to provide alternative income sources. In general people are not a cattle rearing due to Tse Tse and fishing is a secondary occupation for the majority of the population.

The exception is the population on the coast who practice a dual agricultural economy with the men practicing fishing from small boats and the women responsible for farming on the marginal land near the coast. Investment in fishing is low and, although an income source,

lack of good commercialization or preservation limits the impact of this livelihood strategy on vulnerable populations.

There have been numerous projects implemented to increase agricultural production; one of the central aims of the government agricultural policy – PROAGRI. Through food security initiatives NGOs, and government agencies have applied considerable funds to agricultural diversification, and in more recent years, in the areas of commercialization in keeping with the government move towards the market economy. The interventions focus on the distribution of seeds and high yield vegetative material, as well as crop diversification towards cash crops. Additional interventions concentrate on micro-credit, technical assistance, support for the creation of farmer associations for production and commercialisation.

The results of these interventions are uneven, dependant on the type of intervention, the beneficiary group and the implementing agent. One possible factor linked to the lack of success is the lack of capacity of the national institutions to implement the activities. Another analytical limitation is that the measure of the success of the activity does not take into account the process to achieve that success, i.e., capacity building, supporting the formation of associations and finally improved production and commercialization. The real results are measured after the end of the “projects” and are therefore not reflected in the final formal evaluations.

Lessons have been learnt through mistakes made in some of the interventions. For example the distribution of seeds now emphasizes the need to use seeds known by farmers and of local origin, and not hybrids. This lesson was learnt through the extensive emergency programmes that supplied hybrid seeds to populations in need during the last ten years that led to disastrous results.

- High humidity content of grain leading to losses in family storage
- Seeds obtained from the harvest of hybrid grain have erratic production. Peasant farmers who are used to storing seeds were not aware of the properties of the hybrids.
- Hybrid seeds need higher levels of inputs in order to obtain the promised higher yields. These are not available to peasant farmers in Mozambique. Yields therefore are the same or lower than using traditional seed stocks.

The cash crops most extensively practiced by the family sector farmers are cotton and sugar cane. Recently, some crops have been encouraged by industrial producers, namely, tobacco, oilseed crops (sunflower and sesame), paprika and ginger. Both tea and sugar production has recently revived in large plantations and are now producing to supply the local market. Workers in the tea plantation are wage labourers. The sugar cane plantations often are wage labourers but also practice cultivation of sugar on their own plots. This will begin to have a significant impact on rural livelihoods in these areas, although the impact is still to be measured.

The contract farming of cash crops works in the following way. The processing plants provide the inputs such as fertilizers and seeds and receive technical assistance and the farmers sign contract to sell their produce to the company after harvest. Some of the difficulties found in this system (cotton) are: a) some associations did not honour their contracts and sold to another buyer who was able to offer a high price as they did not subtract the price of the inputs and technical assistance b) the low buying price, due to the low international price of cotton, meant that farmers did not make any profit at all, and

even had debts at the end of the growing season. These situations meant that the government had to set up regulatory frameworks for the cotton and the tobacco industry. The cultivation of tobacco suffered a similar fate where the final price to the farmer did not compensate the effort by the farmers in growing the crop. In general the conclusion is that it is better to grow food crops, sell the surplus production and increase income through daily labour on larger farms. A few areas of the country continue to produce tobacco; generally the areas close to the borders of Zimbabwe and Malawi where there is a ready market for the leaves at competitive prices.

One of the major interventions supported by NGO through farmers associations is the production of oilseed crops. Principally sunflower and sesame. The aim of the intervention was to increase the availability of oil in the rural areas, through home-based oil production from manual oil-presses, and supply the incipient oil processing industry. There have been many problems, including problems with making returns on the production sufficient to pay back loans on the processing equipment, the lack of demand for oil in the rural areas due to low purchasing power, and the failure of many of the crops leading to situations where the farmers could not supply enough oilseeds for the processing industries. Many farmers returned to food crops (beans and maize) in the fertile centre and north rather than risk the precarious supply and demand chain for oilseeds in the remote rural areas. Also the storage of oilseeds requires more sophisticated facilities than are generally available in the rural areas and this led to high level of losses in the post harvest period, further eroding profits from the crop.

Hopeful signs are displayed with the cash crops of paprika that is at present only produced on a small scale, however there is a strong demand for the crop on the Malawian market and the produce is sold quickly and easily.

2.2 Market functioning and the supply of inputs

The coverage of agricultural inputs in the country is low, it is estimated that Mozambique has the lowest uptake of use of fertilizers in Sub-Saharan Africa. There are no fertilizer factories in the country and the highest importers of fertilizers and pesticides are the companies producing tea, cotton and sugar. There is no importation and selling to subsistence farmers. Seeds are produced locally and imported from neighbouring countries. Seeds supply is controlled by a mixture of parastatal companies and multinationals. Distribution systems are supported by NGOs and there is some exchange between communities and households. Peasant farmers traditionally preserve their own seed stock. District Agricultural Offices previously supplied vegetable seeds but the system was unworkable and has been abandoned. The main source of seeds is still the farm, resulting in exchanges between farmers in the same area, some efforts to promote seed fairs have had some limited success, but there is still a lack of skills in preservation and selection seeds. Farmers associations have not yet developed effective seed multiplication and selling strategies

Propagation of vegetative matter, mainly cassava and sweet potato, even in areas with developed markets does not attract the private commercial sector, and the production of these plants is limited to the family sector, generally for own consumption. Collaboration between the research institutes, NGOs and farmer association has led to the distribution of new varieties of cassava and sweet potato. The cassava is more resistant to disease and the sweet potato has high Vitamin A content. There is an extensive research project underway to investigate the impact of the improved sweet potato on the vitamin A levels in vulnerable groups. NGOs form the main bridge between the research institutions and the

farmers associations in the distribution and propagation of these crops. In areas where there are no organizations the link is weak and it is less likely that the research institutions have directly contact with the associations.

The agricultural sector suffers from a lack of credit facilities. Farmers do not have collateral and bureaucracy prevents the setting up of small-scale credit agencies. The current banking network is not sufficiently sophisticated to manage widespread small scale loans. With the closing of the cooperative bank in Mozambique the majority of the districts in the country do not have any access to formal financial services of any kind. Banking institutions in the country do not look kindly on agricultural loans as they are seen to be overly risky. Some medium size farmers that have access to loans for tractors and inputs complain about the unfavourable rates of interest and the short loan time. Generally loans will be conceded over a six month period with interest rates as high as 25%. Some NGOs have practiced systems of loans-in-kind, where repayment is also in kind. The “real” interest rates were very low, and there was a lot of interpretation of the loans as gifts. Also the interpretation of “return-in-kind” is often mixed with the example of grain being returned instead of seeds. These schemes are not sustainable as they are not profitable and cannot fulfill the strict fiscal requirements of the Central Bank.

Agricultural commercialization changed considerably over the last few years. The monopoly practiced by the state immediately after independence no longer exists and the state now acts as a facilitator in terms of information about the market, responsible for infrastructures and the creation of the legal framework for the functioning of the market.

During harvest time for maize and beans it is common to observe ambulatory traders setting up trading posts in the localities. The farmers bring their produce to these temporary trading posts and the traders then sell on to wholesalers or shopkeepers. There are also long-distance traders that, during the harvest, bring trucks from Maputo to the centre and north to buy the surplus for sale in Maputo. The majority of these traders are women. The process is costly in time and money. The income of these traders is unknown but is the principal source of income for these households.

NGOs have played an important role in encouraging the process of commercialization, reducing costs of transactions and strengthening the capacity of the peasants to negotiate in a market economy. The NGOs contact the farmers associations and coordinate with the traders the amount of produce to be traded and the place of concentration. In this way it has been possible to increase the price that the farmer receives by up to 20% by reducing the costs of the traders. The traders benefit as they only have to go once to an area – they know the volume of goods that they will buy and they do not have to go to various pick-points. This reduces costs for them and they can pay a higher unit price.

Even though the majority of the production is rain fed using manual agricultural tools, with the exception of rice that is planted in low-lying areas where there are some irrigation schemes, there is a strong indication that the area under production will increase if commercialization can be guaranteed. The lack of commercialization, the uncertainty in the market and the possibility that surpluses will not be sold, influences decisions about expanding the area under cultivation. The lack of a guaranteed market also influences decisions about expenditure on fertilizers and pesticides. In areas with favourable agro-climatic conditions farmers sell as much as possible as soon as possible, and areas where access is difficult are often relegated to the last position, and unless they are prepared to travel long distances to sell their produce. Generally when maize prices rise households prefer to sell maize and eat the cassava they have in stock.

2.3 Extension service

The organization of the extension services aims to increase production and increase income from farming. The main interventions are:

- Introduction of varieties adapted to local conditions
- Animal production
- Conservation and management of natural resources
- Diversification of agricultural practices
- Multiplication, selection and conservation of seeds
- Methods to prevent post harvest losses

The extension service is available throughout the country. However, the number per extensionists varies throughout the country, with better quality and higher quantity in the south of the country. The service is gradually improving. The extension service is provided by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, NGOs and the private sector (linked in particular to industrial production). Community radios and the national radio station are used extensively to disseminate technical messages and agricultural information. PROAGRI has adopted a policy of outsourcing of the extension work. All suitable agencies can apply to offer the service. The existing services face considerable constraints namely, not enough qualified staff to cover the country, the majority of the extensionists are contracted and do not have job security, extensionists often leave the government service seeking better working conditions. The out-sourcing experiment is new. The success (or otherwise) of the initiative will not be apparent for a number of years.

2.4 Commercialization of agricultural products, food reserves and food aid

Official trade between Mozambique and the majority of the neighbouring countries is still insignificant when compared with trade within Mozambique, and Mozambique and European countries. However, informal trade between countries has increased significantly during the last years. Two-way trade is carried out: agricultural products (maize, beans, and dried fish) leave Mozambique and manufactured products are traded into Mozambique (soap, sugar, oil etc). The factors that contribute to this trading pattern are the following (a) cheap agricultural labour on the Mozambican side and lack of formal employment opportunities to increase off-farm income, (b) the need for money due to a fall in the value of the agricultural products within the country, (c) depressed labour market in the region (so trading only fiscal alternative), (d) inability of people to enter into the limited formal employment market due to lack of education or qualifications. The informal trading often substitutes the formal network. The formal network is faced with higher overheads, a lack of liquidity and low purchasing power of consumers.

The informal cross border trade illustrates the comparative advantage of the different regions in terms of production and processing. In the south of the country the superior production possibilities of South Africa and Swaziland supply the large urban markets of Maputo and Matola. In the north Mozambique has the advantage in the production of maize and beans but not in the areas of conservation and processing. Considerable quantities of maize are transported to Malawi (and this year Zimbabwe) and maize flour (industrially processed) comes back into Mozambique.

In years when there is low production the government advises the farmers to store grain in order to have access to food during the lean times. This advice is ignored by the majority of the producers, particularly in the remote areas. The producers prefer to sell the produce while there is the opportunity. There is a greater impulse to sell at the beginning of the season to Malawi, than to retain grain for difficult times. Malawians sell cotton in May and the prices of manufactured products rises as there is higher demand, as Mozambicans wish to buy these products it is more advantageous to sell maize immediately after the harvest in March, when prices are still relatively low. This massive sale at harvest time does not necessarily translate into shortage later in the year. In these highly productive zones the second season planting begins for vegetables and root vegetables. Also the peasant farmers generally have a second staple food crop such as cassava that is not commercialised. Maize is a de facto cash crop in the region due to the demand from neighbouring countries.

Poor years in Zimbabwe and Malawi have caused favourable terms of trade for Mozambique with the terms of trade swinging in favour of those selling maize. As was discussed previously trade is fragmented into hundreds of small traders traveling on foot or by bicycle. There are practically no formal large-scale traders. Small traders are authorised to cross the border with two sacks of 50kg per day, so grain leaks slowly out of the country. The high costs of establishing businesses in the formal sector and the excessive bureaucracy all mitigate against the formalisation of grain trade.

Although the economic problems of Zimbabwe and Malawi have helped the grain trade they have had an opposite effect on the labour market, and the food deficit areas of the country that are dependant on migrant labour. There has been a downturn in the labour market.

2.5 Food reserves

The institutional capacity to maintain and manage a food reserve system should be evaluated carefully. Even in more liberal economies, government plays a dominant role in the implementation of a food reserve policy as well as in the supervision and operational decisions.

Maintaining a food reserve to guarantee supply for a certain length of time due to seasonality of production involves substantial economic costs. Mozambican experiences over the last two decades to establish food reserves proved to be costly and difficult to administer. The government has stated that food reserve is part of an emergency policy (floods, cyclones, drought, etc.) and not as a way of controlling supply or effect price stabilisation. Currently there is an emphasis on encouraging households and a community response towards food reserves in order to avoid free food distribution in times of emergency. There is no capacity to evaluate how communities are able to respond or mitigate for natural disaster or how food markets behave in times of shortages.

The National Strategy for Food Security and Nutrition contemplates government interventions to “ensure adequate food reserve for distribution in the event of sudden and unexpected natural disasters, when there is a need for rapid distribution of food aid and local or imported supplies can not be obtained quickly”.

In colonial times, the former Cereal Institute of Mozambique, a monopoly para-statal unit to trade cereals, kept stocks in specific food deficit areas. Soon after independence, severe

flooding hit the country, and an FAO mission recommended the establishment of a revolving stock of 60.000 tons of cereals. An initial stock of 5.000 tons was provided by WFP. Expected donations from other donors to complete the target never materialised. Four successive replenishments of 5.000 tones were made. Other problems associated with the National reserve were the high cost of handling and storage, and the corruption that was involved in the management of the reserve.

The emergency appeal launched in 1992 proposed the setting up of 60.000 tons to cover delays in food shipments, but donors did not respond.

The European Union maintained a reserve of 20.000 tons; the cereal was used and not replenished. A further 15.000 tons was established in Beira. The stock was not used and deteriorates due to delays in decisions how to use the grain, finally it was sold for animal feed at a later date.

The government continues to express interest in having a strategic stock and further studies have been commissioned to investigate the viability of the proposal.

The late 80s and early 90s were marked by a strong dependency on food aid. With the end of war and a sharp increase in production demand for food aid was reduced dramatically. Currently food aid is used for population affected by natural disasters.

3 Rural non farm activity

3.1 Rural non farm activity

Information regarding the rural job market in Mozambique is scarce and scattered. Formal off farm employment opportunities are few and limited to seasonal jobs on commercial farms during weeding and harvesting time. Demand for labour in the rural areas is higher in north region and less in the south, but even those opportunities are scarce. Data indicates that only 11% of male adults in rural areas have some sort of formal employment, most of the time they are paid with a combination of cash and food and non-food goods. Daily labour on farms in the family sector is the principle source of income for the majority of the poor households and is an integral part of the livelihood strategies (MoH 1996-2000). Statistics about daily labour are not available. There are some government initiatives to promote wage labour as part of a drought mitigation programme with the intention of carefully monitoring the impact of wage labour on vulnerable food insecure households. Data from the monitoring system should provide insights into the functioning of the cash-starved rural economies (9). In some areas large agricultural companies control commercialization by allowing employees to withdraw goods from company shops the value of the goods are deducted from salaries at the end of each month.

Other sources of income for rural communities include charcoal and wood sales, sale of traditional beverages and sale of traditional crafts. Remittances from migrant labour are also an important source of income in many of the rural areas. As all of these activities are not part of the formal domain there are no reliable figures to represent the weight of each of the activities in rural livelihoods.

The high cost of investment and inappropriate policies has meant that food processing plants in the rural areas are under developed. The cashew industry has been decimated by the policy to allow the export of raw cashew causing the loss of hundreds of seasonal jobs (mainly female labour). There are only a few labour intensive plants still open. The commercialization policy for domestic cotton (selling above international prices) has also jeopardised the textile industry causing the closing of many of the factories.

In order to fully understand rural livelihoods more research is necessary on actual off-farm income opportunities and future perspectives for investment in non-agricultural employment in the rural areas.

9. National Road Administration with financial support from DFID

4 Urban Base and Industrial Activity

4.1 Urban vulnerability

In the last decade the urban areas in Mozambique have changed from being wholly dependant on food aid (supplied through market support mechanisms) to functioning markets where availability, along with variety and choice, is no longer an issue. There are no longer price controls on basic food stuffs and the rationing system in place during the war has been dismantled. Maputo is supplied largely by South Africa and Swaziland, and the other cities by the surrounding rural areas. Since the end of the war there has been increasing north-south commerce, with rural areas supplying the cities with food. Maputo is the only city with highly productive green zones although the majority of cities are investing in the urban agriculture since the end of the war. The major food security issue in the urban areas is access to food and not food availability.

In urban areas the question of governance is the key to combating vulnerability to food insecurity. The concept of governance, expanded from a merely political ideal, to include all relevant actors, can have policy outcomes that are;

“the result of bargaining, conflict, negotiation and coalition forming” (Coetzee, E., 2001)

In the same article Coetzee cites Devas (1999) as focusing on the need for urban governance to act as “a mechanism to couple the (top-down) management with the (bottom-up) poverty perspective”. If this approach is followed livelihood options for the most vulnerable will be grounded in political reality and with pro-poor bias.

Policies or lack of policy frameworks have direct and immediate impacts on the food security urban households, for example, the privatization of public utilities can have a profound effect on access to clean water for thousands of urban households; urban planning and the reorganization of informal markets can deprive marginal households of livelihood options; food pricing policies can make access to sufficient food impossible for the poorest households. The quality of urban interaction will directly impact on households. Policy implementation in urban settings requires intense negotiation and consultation. Positive change can be achieved if administrative and legal frameworks are the result of a consultative process.

The definition of vulnerable groups in urban areas are determined by the historical and present day context of the city or town, generalizations are difficult to make due to the complexity of interaction. A participatory analysis of groups vulnerable to food insecurity in one Mozambican town resulted in the following characterisation. (DPADR/FAO, 2002)

Box 2 Food Insecurity in Chimoio. Vulnerable Groups.

Poor urban peasant farmers: Households that live on the edges of the town and are dependant on farming for their livelihoods. They were characterized as having low productivity and low inputs, with problems of access to land. The households do not have sufficient skills to manage the market. The poorest households supplement income through daily labour on larger farms. With very little capital for investment, these farmers are vulnerable to take-over of their land leaving them as landless labourers.

Urban Daily labourers: Characterised as households who are landless, or with restricted access to land. Their livelihood strategy consists of carrying out a myriad of daily jobs. They work as individuals and without contracts or continuity. The labour can be agricultural work, portaging, digging cleaning latrines, washing, water carrying or petty trading. Income sources are characterized as irregular and low.

Final group identified as vulnerable to food and nutrition insecurity was charaterised as the urban poor . These were households with retrenched workers, or long term unemployed. They have no access to land and no connection with land. Job skills may be low or obsolete. They have no capital for investment and are not suited to small business enterprise.

Also identified were cross-cutting vulnerable groups: physiologically vulnerable; families affected by HIV; and female headed households.

Source: Urban Profiles, Chimoio, .Food Security and Nutrition Project. DPDAR/FAO. 2002

It is interesting to note that contrary to the overall findings from the Household Budget Survey female headed households were identified by the population as one of the vulnerable groups in the town. Female headed households in urban areas tend to have no male support and are not recipients of remittances as is often the case in the rural areas. Also women are often excluded (more) from the formal sector in the towns thereby limiting their income options to the informal sector; increasing their vulnerability.

Towns act as magnets for the rural populations, motivated by the possibility of employment and improved access to education and health services. It is estimated that by 2015 over half of the Mozambican population will live in cities. However rural migrants often lack the required skills needed for the urban industrial sector. On the demand side, employers in the formal sector face strong labour regulations which may lead to increasing capital investment to the detriment of labour-intensive options.

The majority rural migrant became part of the informal sector of the economy, competing with existing urban households; working as domestic servants, street sellers or temporary workers in the construction sector. Their ability to meet their food requirements is slim and sending remittances to the family left behind is almost impossibility.

Policies aimed at decreasing urban food insecurity will be required to work within a governance framework providing communication channels between stakeholders.

5 Social Protection

5.1 Extent of protection

The formal social protection safety net is very weak and without a strong logical link between measures. The interventions resemble a series of individual fishing lines rather than a trawl net: offering patchy salvation to the most vulnerable.

The formal social protection safety net is only active in urban areas, where coverage is incomplete and consists of:

- A limited cash handout scheme referred to as a Food Subsidy, and is mainly claimed by the elderly and the destitute, the amount given is under revision but there is reluctance to link the subsidy to a specific food basket.
- Statutory minimum wage. There are, however, two problems with the minimum wage, (a) the minimum wage does not cover minimum living costs (work carried out in 2003 by Students on nutrition course shows that a family needs at least two minimum wages to provide food for a household of five people not contemplating other essential living costs) (b) the mechanisms for the enforcement of minimum wage are weak and do not extend to the informal sector where the majority of wage labour is employed.
- Scheme for providing minimal help with the cost of medicines and school fees if there is proof of extreme poverty. These measures do not extend outside of the cities and even within cities the very poor are often excluded due to bureaucracy and lack of legal papers necessary to benefit from the measures.
- National Social Security System, for salaried workers providing retirement pension and insurance against death (widow's pension).

The National Institute for Social Action coordinates a number of targeted programmed aimed at poverty alleviation, namely food for work programmes and micro-credit facilities. Each ministry is responsible for specific aspects of the safety net, but the package is coordinated by the Ministry for Women and Social Action. The effectiveness the safety net and the role of the Ministry of Women and Social Action are under review by the Ministry (10).

The informal safety net relies on; the ties of the extended family ranging from remittances to care of relatives; and the hierarchical relationship between poor and better-off households in the rural areas, where daily labour in exchange for food or cash is one of the main coping strategies adopted by poorest households to survive the hungry season.

10 . Personal communication, Sr. Buque. Technical Advisor. MICAS .

6 Policy Process and Policy Learning

6.1 Context

After independence Mozambique changed from a centrally planned economy to a market economy, however, political and economy decisions are still generally centrally controlled. The government states that it intends to move to a facilitator and regulatory role and away from an interventionist role in policy making but practical constraints due to lack of capacity mean that this process is very slow. There is political commitment to the deconcentration of power and resources through-out the state administrative system, and there has been limited political and administrative decentralization in the cities. Thirty three urban areas have elected municipal governments. There are a number of donor initiatives supporting this process but impetus is affected by the lack of capacity within the civil service where less than 4% of public service employees have tertiary education.

During the colonial era, despite the wide range of ethnic groups and languages in the country, the traditional power in the countryside was invested in *regulos* or traditional leaders who ruled specific communities. These leaders were the link between the colonial power and rural communities. Succession was hereditary along family lines after the death of the incumbent leader. During the first years of independence, the new government tried to reduce the influence and political power of the *regulos*. Currently the approach is to maintain collaboration between formal government and traditional leaders: localities are actually governed by traditional leaders and officials appointed by central national or provincial government, with the parties generally having a tacit agreement of mutual consultation. Traditional leaders who are endorsed by the community are recognised under the law and have official status (insignia and a small subsidy). Some believe that the traditional leaders are being co-opted by the government. Others feel that the need to work together is paramount and that there needs to be compromise on both sides. The *regulo* generally resolves local problems, allocates lands to families in need and co-ordinates social protection for vulnerable members of the community. His role was very important during the civil strife years and continues to unite communities in times of natural disasters. The importance of his role increases in line with the level of isolation of the communities. In general the view of the state is that there is no place in a modern democratic country for purely hereditary traditional leaders and communities must have the right to choose their leaders, hence the new legislation recognizing traditional leaders if consensus is reached by members of the community.

6.2 Stakeholders and interest groups

The main stakeholders in the food security debate are those affected by food insecurity. However, they are rarely at the centre of the debate. As discussed above the Mozambican government continues to have a centralized approach to policy making, providing an enabling environment; facilitating and regulating, but generally with little genuine consultation.

Other stakeholders in the food question include:

6.2.1 The small-sector farmers

Small-scale farmers produce over 90% of all food crops in the country, but their per hectare productivity is low due to low level technology, lack of inputs and the impact of natural disasters. There are no reliable figures regarding surplus marketed but it is estimated that about 10 – 15 % of total produce is sold. Marketing continues to be problematic due to the lack of a commercial network, the isolation of the farmers, and poor internal infrastructure. The government does not have the capacity to enforce the minimum price fixed for food crops, even-though this is the mandate of the National Cereal Institute.

6.2.2 The commercial farms

Agricultural companies are beginning to take a firmer hold of the market place and this is increasing contract farming; the main way of promoting tobacco and cotton. The position of the sharecropper is precarious with weak government interference and lack of organization between the contract farmers. Currently only minimum prices for tobacco and cotton are set and there are no effective mechanisms for enforcing minimum prices or buying surplus.

In the last five years there has been reinvestment in large plantation style farms for sugar cane and tea. These provide permanent and seasonal labour for rural labour. Labour employed in the formal sector is protected by minimum wage legislation and strong labour laws. However, the lack of organization of the workers and the high levels of unemployment make the bargaining position of workers very weak.

6.2.3 The banking sector

Access to credit is the bottleneck for a further development of trade and there are virtually no formal sources of credit for the rural farmer or rural business person. NGOs have supported a number of credit schemes to finance the agricultural marketing but without serious fiscal reform in the banking sector these activities will remain outside of the policy framework.

6.2.4 Traders

Formal and informal traders form the supply chain. Informal traders, unlicensed and outside of the tax system are more numerous and reach the more remote rural areas. The combination of the liberalisation of the economy and the lack of other income earning opportunities has drawn into the market many young adults, mainly males, oriented towards short-term gains. They work with small capital outlay, selling and buying small amounts several times in a same marketing year. There are also a significant number of female traders from the south who buy grain in large quantities to sell in the southern cities. They often have larger capital outlays in the form of trucks and stay in district centres waiting for grain to arrive from the remote areas. Farmers complain about low prices paid by group of traders but in fact they are the only ones who will travel to the more remote areas reaching the most isolate farmers. Currently, the bulk of the agricultural produce is being handled by the informal sector. Increasing competition from informal traders and difficulties in accessing to credit prevent formal traders from increasing market competition. In highly productive regions with significant surplus, some NGOs are working towards linking producers and buyers: group of farmers concentrate in a collection point and at a specific date, formal traders paid a premium prices for this convenience.

6.2.5 Non agricultural calls on land

Increasingly actors other than farmers (small or large scale) are interested in land in Mozambique. The growth areas are; tourism; urban development (over-spill); industry, including extraction and processing. In all of these areas policy development generally does not take as a reference household food security, even-though within the next ten years livelihoods will change due to the increased influence of these activities. The challenge is to maintain food security centre stage when discussing the development of these sectors.

The table below provided a list of other stakeholders summarising their relative power and leverage points. This list does not pretend to be exhaustive but gives details of the areas of interest and leverage points of the major actor in the food security field.

Table 1 Stakeholders and interested groups

Stakeholders and interest groups	Particular interest and actions	Relative Power	Leverage point
Ministries and government institutions			
Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development	Formulation and implementation of policies. Custodian of the legal framework on land and agricultural issues.	Control over existing resources. Major institutions for policy determination	Influence on allocation of expenditures and resources. Allocation of lands under the law land framework.
Ministry of Environmental Coordination	Monitors investments in rural development and their impact on the environment.	Not yet effective due to limited technical capacity.	Its role is recognised by other institutions in terms of resources conservation.
Ministry of Health	Monitor nutritional status of children and pregnant women Founding member of Food Security and Nutrition intersectoral institutions.	Focal point for nutrition interventions. Active in emergency forum Increasingly marginalized from wider food security debate.	Well respect by national and international donors.
Ministry of Commerce and Industry	Establish legal framework for commercial and industrial activities.	Licensing the commercial and industrial sector. Low level of interest in wider food security debate	Influence support to the commercial network and development of legal instruments
Ministry of Finance -National Commission for Prices and Salaries	Set reference prices mainly for cash crops.	Currently not clear	It has influence on final decisions on prices.
Ministry of Finance and Planning. Department for Social Development and Population	Formerly Poverty Alleviation Unit, the DSDP is responsible for poverty work. Household bias	Reduced power base because of macro-bias of MFP	Excellent data bases and analytical capacity

INIA - National Institute of Agronomic Research	Development of varieties of crops resistant to drought and pests.	Access to financial resources to conduct research on agricultural. Coordinating role with the nutritional sector.	Well respected, recognition of work.
Para-state and private companies	Particular interest and actions	Relative Power	Leverage point
INAM – National Institute of Meteorology	Data collection on rainfall and forecasts about meteorological hazards.	None	Direct influence on response to climatic adversities.
INGC – National Institute for Disasters Management	Coordinating role among national and international agencies during food crisis.	Power derives from its coordinating role	Direct influence on advising on quantities of food and non food aid for distribution in emergencies.
National Institute of Cereals	Acquisition, storage and distribution of grains to support food security	Backed financially by the government. It has power to distribute grain.	Buyer of last resort.
GAPI – Unit for Support to Small Industries	Small industry development	Provide financial resources to rural sector	Based on solidarity guarantees, low loan defaults.
AMODER	Credit and maximising dividends	Provide financial resources to rural sector	Fill gap for small credit
Agribusiness enterprises	Profit, maximising shareholders value	Oligopoly deciding product supply and prices	Market power
SEMOC	Profitability	Monopoly on seed production	Market power
NGOs	Particular interest and actions	Relative Power	Leverage point
CLUSA CCM CARE WORLD VISION SC-US AAA Aga Khan	Support food security at community level Empowering local communities Fund raising from donors	Mobilising local communities for development purpose Influencing international donors and sponsors to guarantee flow of resources	Well respected by the international community Recognition of their work Ability to raise funds

6.3 Institutional environment

Generally there is a strong pro-poor rhetoric in Mozambique. However, implementational capacity is poor and the state has limited capacity to provide sufficient support to the most vulnerable. The government recognizes the limitations. The last ten years have been marked by massive deregulation of all aspects of life in Mozambique leading in some cases to under regulation; vast areas of the country where the long fingers of policies are barely felt. On the up-side, the presence of enabling frameworks can be used for the advantage of the poor and vulnerable if there are champions of these groups (see appendix I – Food Security Policies). At present the most vulnerable are often the most poorly educated with their feet on the lowest rung of the policy framework. One of the challenges is to achieve a situation where all stakeholders are able to participate equally in the debate.

Food security policy explicitly recognizes the need for multi-sectoral solutions to food insecurity in Mozambique, providing a lens with which to clearly study the environment and

introduce innovation. There is also explicit recognition that food security at national level can only be achieved when there is food security at household level. At present the debate is dominated by the agricultural sector but the inter-sectoral bodies established by the government prevent the discussion from becoming mono-sectoral.

The national parliament does not, at present, play an active role in monitoring the implementation of government programmes. They scrutinize measures but have very little knowledge or expertise in this area. The business of the day tends to concentrate more on party politics than issues affecting their constituents.

The press in Mozambique constantly reports on crises issues but does not often carry out more in-depth work on food security and vulnerability. There are some notable exceptions, for example, the extensive press debate about the changes in the Cashew Exportation Policy. In general there is very little investigative journalism in the country, and as yet the media is not a major stakeholder in policy formulation.

6.4 Policy process

In the debate on poverty reduction and food security the government of Mozambique uses a multidisciplinary approach. For the formulation of policies, the government receives funds and technical assistance from external donors (multilateral and bilateral, academic institutions, etc.).

With the aid of several donors, the Mozambican government prepared and launched the Action Plan for Poverty Reduction ⁽¹¹⁾ 2001 – 2005. The combined effect of investment in the road system, education and government structures is expected to have higher impact on the agricultural sector than would be obtained from just direct investment. The Plan of Action for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (PARPA) involved an inclusive consultative process, if not a truly participatory process ⁽¹²⁾. The PARPA is the policy framework for all ministries for the development of Mozambique. Donors adhere strictly to the areas identified as key to the sustainable growth and development of the country. One of the criticisms of the PARPA is that it does not explicitly refer to the complexity of the food security and takes a sectoral, vertical approach to intervention without clear indication of the linkages between the different areas.

The Food and Nutritional Security Strategy (ESAN) ⁽¹³⁾ was developed in 1998 and is the base for the overall government strategies related to rural development and food security. The strategy developed a multisectoral approach including the improvement of access to food, road development, information systems and investment in trade. An important component of the strategy is the improvement of the utilisation of food, nutrition education, prevention of diseases and malnutrition. The idea that issues of food security and nutrition are the responsibility of the state and that it is the sole responsibility of the state to ensure food security is gradually changing due to the changes in social and economic policies. The new policy framework encourages the disengagement of the state from direct intervention in a variety of the social and economic spheres. There is a growing awareness that these questions are the responsibility of all society (the state, NGOs, international community and the private sector). The role of the state is to provide a policy framework that allows the various actors to design interventions in the knowledge that they are

11 PARPA - Programa de Action para a Reducção da Pobreza Absoluta

12 True participation can only said to have occurred when all stakeholders have equal access to information and an equal opportunity to influence change.

13 ESAN – Food Security and Nutrition Strategy

working towards a common goal that will be achieved through the activities of different stakeholders.

The strategy for rural and agricultural development is based on the implementation of food security policies and issues related to the population at risk. The Technical Secretariat for Food Security and Nutrition (SETSAN) within MADER provides links with institutions at national and provincial level to discuss issues related to vulnerability and chronic food insecurity. The Secretariat is comprised of representatives by all major ministries and is chaired by the Ministry of Agriculture. The SETSAN structure is replicated at provincial level in keeping with the decentralisation policy. As yet the provincial level SETSAN are struggling to make an impact on policy, lacking in capacity and resources to take the lead on food security issues. SETSAN is active in the areas of vulnerability mapping, training, nutrition policy analysis and research.

The Vulnerability Assessment Group (VAC) is a product of inter-sectoral efforts made by various governmental departments, donor organizations and UN agencies to develop a common analysis to support the implementation of food security programmes. The working group for Vulnerability Assessment is part of the SETSAN. The VAC uses a Food Economy Approach as the basis for assessment and district level data as the unit of analysis. An annual vulnerability assessment is carried out and the working group meets regularly through-out the year to discuss the food security situation and the need for intervention.

PROAGRI is the National Agricultural Programme and is a mechanism to pool donors' resources under the MADER umbrella. The aim of PROAGRI is to consolidate the management and reporting of projects related to the agricultural sector. One of the key components is the improvement of extension work. The system is a combination of public, NGOs and private agents responding to the demand for technologies and training mainly from producers associations. PROAGRI aims to create the institutional capacity to: introduce market reforms; deregulate the agricultural sector; introduce reforms in land utilisation and sustainable use of natural resources; diversify the family agriculture sector; reorient the agricultural production support services; develop small-scale irrigation. PROAGRI aims to decentralise planning and development of region specific activities.

A United Nations team, in consultation with government, donors and NGOs developed a Common Country Assessment (2001) under the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF). The document defines objectives and recommendations for funding across the UN agencies based on their own competitive advantage. Many of the objectives are listed below and many of which share common objectives with PROAGRI.

- Decentralisation of administrative support
- Consultation with rural population on decision making
- Revision and simplification of registration for farmer associations
- Diversification of production and rural incomes
- Increase role of women in food production
- Transparent land tenure policy to ensure household security

UNDAF and PARPA, see agricultural growth and rural development as one of the key issues to help reduce poverty in Mozambique and PROAGRI¹⁴ as the way to ensure the institutional base in

MADER. However, the support of the agricultural sector is not the only way in which the Government of Mozambique intends to intervene in the food security situation (Box X. Areas of Intervention by Central Government).

Box 3 Areas of Intervention by Central Government

Extract from World Food Summit 2002 Mozambique Country Paper

The Government will intervene in the food economy through the following institutions that have the following functions:

- Global macro-economic framework in which to develop the food economy. (Ministry of Planning and Finance, Ministry of Trade and Industry)
- Provide a legal framework that regulates the relationships between the economic agents and ensure the security of consumers (Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Health)
- Management of development programmes aimed at increasing production and economic growth (Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Ministry of Transport and Communications, Ministry of Public Works, Ministry of Trade and Industry)
- Develop human capital in the short, medium and long term (Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry for the Coordination of Social Welfare and National Institute for the Management of Disasters).

Source. World Food Summit 2002. MADER/FAO

With few exceptions there is no consultation with rural communities regarding the formulation of policies. Even when consultation does take place (as with the land law) unforeseen problems can arise. For example, in order to promote tourism and attract foreign investment, fishermen received compensation in exchange for fishing rights, and numerous of hotels and resorts were built by the sea. However, fishermen did not receive proper advice about how to use the compensation money to earn their living, and are today one of the most food insecure groups resorting to high risk strategies to earn their living (e.g. catching and selling of rare and protected species). If caught they pay hefty fines.

There is very little input from national academic institutions into the policy debate although some of the key Ministries are receiving support from International Research Institutions as part of donor packages (Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Ministry of Health). The farmers lobby is also non-existent, although with the increasing number of farmer associations this group may, in the future, have some influence over policy decisions. Statutory regulatory bodies only exist in the water sector (for the five cities with privatized water supply) and the protection of consumer rights, although of growing concern, is still in its infancy. Public accountability is low; the government, donors and NGOs do not have mechanisms in place to validate their actions with the poorest and most vulnerable sections of society.

6.5 Policy learning

There have been many changes in food security and nutrition policy formulation in the last decade. After the war the task of intervening in food security shifted firmly back to the agricultural sector, whilst still maintaining remnants of multi-disciplinary input. There is a

lively debate around food security, and the policy gaze is still firmly fixed on the most vulnerable groups.

Most of the policies are designed with donor support and have concentrated on the identification of cash crops alternatives and market development. There is little funding for research in agricultural or related food security areas. Some NGOs conducted a fair amount of research on high yield seed, low input options and produce conservation but funding is tight and many of these activities are no longer taking place.

There are programs scattered throughout the country with very few forum for interchange of ideas and experiences. One such example is in the multiplication of seeds for specific crops. Farmers have been trained and produce seeds for NGOs and private traders, but these initiatives are locally specific and the development of a national seed supply system required a broader approach.

Farmers associations are generally regarded as one of the means to reduce co-ordination problems and high transactions costs in Mozambique. There are different types of association some of them more likely to alleviate poverty creating a safety net for vulnerable households. PROAGRI and the recently implemented PAMA ⁽¹⁵⁾ leave room for farmers associations but the lack of trained people to identify approaches in the development of the associations reduces the effectiveness of the intervention. Donors are generally interested in funding specific activities to attain food security through associations instead of investing in understanding how to develop associations.

Although there are opportunities for increased participation of the poor in policy formulation through the decentralization policies and the main intermediaries in the policy debate (NGOs, associations etc) there is little evidence that this, is in fact, happening. Participation can only happen when the population is empowered, educated and aware of all rights and responsibilities. Decision making remains in the hands of a few, namely the government, the donors and the international NGOs. The food security debate would be enriched by broadening the range of issues discussed to include areas other than agricultural policy, thereby increasing the possibility of encompassing diverse livelihood opportunities.

15 Programa de Apoio aos Mercados Agrícolas - PAMA

7 Conclusion

Ten years on from war Mozambique has reached a stage in development where the recognition of the complexity and diversity of the operating environment is essential for successful policy formulation. In order to increase the resilience of households to the numerous natural disasters that affect the country policy frameworks for food security must be equally committed to labour policy, investment, industrialisation, population mobility and basic service provision, as to agricultural development.

There is a need to:

- Maintain and strengthen the multisectoral approach to food security policy
- Examine the intricacies of livelihoods in order to design policy frameworks.
- Discuss the role of governance in achieving food security; creating space for interaction between different actors linked by common discourse.

These issues cross-cut the main areas discussed in the paper, namely the links between food insecurity and poverty, the bias of agricultural policy that is seen to be synonymous with food security, problems of urbanisation and rising rates of malnutrition and vulnerability due to HIV/AIDS .

The rich and enabling policy environment needs champions that will move the debate to consider all facets of the food security and nutrition problem in the country. A strong agricultural policy should be complimented with equally strong social, economic, fiscal and social protection policies.

Hopefully the paper has illustrated that although improving family farming is essential for the rural economy and ultimately household food security, the answer to the food security problem needs to refer to the access debate, to risk reduction strategies that strengthen all livelihood strategies and policy frameworks that support the strategies

7.1 A Final Note on HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS is a cross-cutting issue that requires attention in all policy fora and should not become a vertical issues relating to only one area. HIV/AIDS sensitive planning may include; labour laws aimed at protecting HIV employees (health care benefits, open testing policy, provision of housing families in industrial developments and not single male hostels); foreign investment to dedicate money specifically to HIV/AIDS related activities; labour intensive public works aimed at areas with high HIV/AIDS to provide employment for HIV/AIDS affected households; specific protection of schooling of orphans; care with the introduction of new crops in terms of labour use during the agricultural year; and exhaustive treatment programmes for the millions already infected with the HIV virus.

In terms of donor politics it is important to remember that poverty is the main reason that people die from HIV, and the lack of adequate social services is the reason that households are torn apart by HIV. Ensuring food security for vulnerable households means that all policy areas mentioned above should specifically take into account HIV/AIDS and tailor interventions to ensure that households and communities affected by HIV/AIDS can participate in the activities and contribute to the increased resilience of vulnerable communities.

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Appendix I: Policy Summaries

A number of policy frameworks were approved, including strategies, plans of action and programmes. The following list illustrates the most important documents approved in the last years.

1. Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty
2. Food Security and Nutrition Strategy
3. PROAGRI
4. National Research and Extension Work Strategy
5. Land Law
6. Agricultural Marketing Strategy.2000-2004
7. Rural Action Plan (PRA)
8. Rural Development Funds
 - Support fund for Economic Rehabilitation (FARE)
 - Agricultural Development Fund (FFA)
 - Market Fund (FC)
 - Small Industry Development Fund (FFPI)
9. Management of forestry Resources
10. Fisheries Policy
11. National Plan of Action for Combating Drought and Desertification
12. Food Subsidies Programme
13. Integrated National Programme for Social Welfare, Employment and Youth
14. Action Plan for Disaster Management

1. Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (PARPA) 2001-2005

This plan was elaborated from Action Plan for Poverty Reduction 2000-2004 (PARPA interim). The Mozambican Government has as its central goal the substantial reduction of the levels of absolute poverty in the country through measures that will improve the capacities and opportunities for all Mozambicans, and in particular the poorest groups.

The specific objective of the plan is to reduce the incidence of absolute from the 1997 level of 70% to less than 60% by 2005, and less than 50% by the end of the first decade of 2000. The Government of Mozambique has produced a Poverty Reduction Strategy and a Plan of Action for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty.

The Plan of Action for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty is a dynamic planning system for the public sector that has as its goal to establish objectives and inter-sectoral activities for the reduction of poverty. The main key areas of action within the Plan are: agriculture, health, education, rural development, basic infrastructure, good governance, and macro-economic and financial management. The PARPA selects the areas and programmes that are most conducive to the efforts to reduce poverty through the promotion of socio-

economic development, in particular economic growth that is all encompassing, rapid and sustainable.

Beside the main areas of actions, the plan covers other complementary areas such as social programs (social support and housing), income generating policies (managerial development, fishing, mines, industry, tourism), specific programs towards vulnerability reduction due to natural hazards (transport and communications, technology and environmental management). Although the social programs are seen as one of the key areas for poverty reduction, currently, due to limited resources, the number of target beneficiaries is still small when compared to the size of the problem. This situation will be reviewed when additional resources become available through the economic development.

The dynamic nature of the PARPA's leaves room for the introduction of new elements in order to keep pace with the social and economic development, while the main objective remains unchanged: the reduction of absolute poverty. Implementing tools, policies and goals might vary as the picture of poverty changes. PARPA is an expression of a set of policies and actions which are periodically revised and adjusted in consultation with relevant sectors.

The disbursement of the budget gives emphasis to the most populated areas with the highest number of absolutely poor. Some of the objections to the PARPA are centered on the need to pay more attention to agricultural marketing, agro industries support, national entrepreneurs support and financial services development.

2. Food Security and Nutrition Strategy

In terms of food security and nutrition the governments commitment is to guarantee physical and economic access to sufficient food for an active and health life at all times. The National Food Security Strategy has as its central goal the coordination of government policies in order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives. The strategy aims to act as a reference for all private, civil society and public sector interventions, in order that all activities contribute to poverty reduction. The strategy aims to secure food availability, access and optimum utilization of foodstuff through: maximizing economic growth and food security, especially in the sector where 80% of the population obtain their living (small-sector farming). The strategy emphasises that the government should not leave all aspects of life to market forces and that the government should make a commitment to guarantee land tenure for all citizens and to make assistance available for those unable to secure their livelihoods through the provision of social services and the distribution of resources for the benefit of those in need. The government does not have sufficient human or financial resources to create an enabling environment for maximum economic growth in the food economies, or to ensure all the food needs, it is therefore necessary to take alternative strategies to improve food security and guarantee the sustainability of the activities.

SETSAN is a special unit within MADER designed to coordinate activities for the strategy implementation. Several actions were identified to improve the availability of food (increase agricultural productivity including livestock and fishing), improve households access to food through road development, information systems and commercialisation, and improve the utilization of food in terms of nutrition education and disease prevention and treatment. SETSAN is represented by regional offices throughout the country. While at central level the unit is well staffed and has resources, at regional level there is a need for more

capacity building and more coordination among sectors. The institutional decentralization at MADER will help to remedy this aspect.

3. Programa Nacional de Agricultura (PROAGRI)

PROAGRI is a public investment program with a five years timeframe for the planning of public expenditure for the agrarian sector aimed at the implementation of the Government programme and the Agrarian Policy and Implementation Strategies

The main strategy of PROAGRI and the policies that support the program is the development of agrarian activity based on the family sector. Key elements of this strategy are:

- Increase food production (crops and livestock) in the family and private sector and sustainable management of natural resources.
- Facilitate access to market for the commercialisation of agricultural and livestock produce.
- Guarantee the rights to access to land.
- Reduce the vulnerability and food insecurity of households.

PROAGRI aims to promote an agrarian sector, which responds to the evolution of the market and use resources in an efficient and sustainable way. Based on this PROAGRI will create the institutional capacity to:

- Continue the development of market reforms that will articulate with the new inter - sectoral strategies
- Deregulate the agriculture sector and reduce the direct involvement of the state in the production, price setting, processing and commercialisation of agricultural products
- Introduce reforms on land utilisation and sustainable improvements for the use of natural resources
- Diversify and expand the family agricultural sector, reorientation food production, commercial crops production , extensive cattle and wildlife production and reforestation;
- Reorient the agricultural production support services in order to respond to the comparative advantages of each agro-ecological region in the provision of services
- Develop and expand the small-scale irrigation.

The design of PROAGRI was a lengthy learning and a consultative process among government, financial and donor institutions and NGOS resulting in a largely consensual institutional strategy to be implemented by the MADER. There are eight components based on the main functional units of MADER, namely: agricultural research, agricultural extension, livestock development, crop production, forestry and wildlife, land management and finally small-scale irrigation.

The decentralization process initiated at MADER, in line with other ministries, means that local resources will be managed at provincial and district levels. A first step was taken with the development Annual Action Plans and Budgets (PAAOs) at provincial level. However, disbursement of funds continues to be a centrally controlled activity. The decentralisation of MADER is regarded as a way of ensuring accountability in rural areas; each province

sets its own targets and submits a budget to MADER in accordance with the agro-ecological potential.

PROAGRI needs a clear human resource management policy, and in particular the decentralization plans require investment in capacity building.

4. National Research and Extension Work Strategy

To improve agricultural research reforms, a temporary coordinating unit was established to coordinate research institutions and facilitate the agricultural reform process. MADER has merged four research institutions – INIA, INIVE, IPA and CEF – into a new Mozambican Institute for Agricultural Research (IIAM). Further steps involve the reorganization and decentralization of research into four agro-ecological zones (Zone Centres). It is believed that this will help the research move towards a more client-oriented research programme. The strategy includes a strong training component for staff in the four Centres and will absorb the actual Agricultural Training Centre (CFA) and the Centre for Agricultural Documentation (CDA).

The organization of the public extension services is guided by the principle of decentralization and participation in line with the research service. The extension network covers the entire country but coverage is uneven. Regions with high agricultural potential are poorly served. The priority areas of focus are:

- Introduction of varieties which are adapted to local conditions
- Crop intensification packages through the use of improved inputs
- Improved animal health and production techniques
- Natural resources conservation and management
- Conservation techniques and improving soil fertility
- Improved cultural practices which are adapted to condition of production
- Diversification of cultural practices
- Multiplication, selection and conservation of seeds
- Introduction of post-harvest technologies

The PROAGRI envisaged arrangements for the extension services on the principle of promoting participation of producers to ensure that the extension service responds to farmers' needs. The arrangements include outsourcing, cost sharing with local extension structure and cost recovery from farmers, farmers' groups and associations. The pluralistic approach (private enterprises, NGOs and farmers' associations) is expected to yield greater cost effectiveness.

5. Land Law

In the early 1990s, as the State began to consider ways of breaking up and privatizing old and bankrupt state farms the land issue was paramount. Several rounds of legislation marked the development of the Land Law that took into consideration the political, economic and social context. The basis of the land law aimed to ensure security of tenure for peasant households, as well as establishing a secure framework for national and international investment. A Land Policy was approved (September 1995) and a new Land Bill passed in 1997. The "Land Commission Technical Secretariat" successfully developed

Land Law Regulations (approved in December 1998) and a Technical Annex to the Regulations (approved in December 1999).

Civil society groups and NGOs have successfully been involved in the process of policy and legislative reform. The Law creates a new *legal* concept, the 'local community', to which are attributed land rights acquired through customary norms and practices. Local communities have a right and obligation to participate in the management of land and other natural resources. The NGO movement continues to play a major role in the dissemination of the Land Law throughout the country, working with communities to help them exercise their new rights under the Law.

The innovation in the technical annex integrates customary law into the formal law of the State without the need to codify the flexible common law systems that govern 90% of land holdings. It also provides a rapid and low cost way of offering legal protection to thousands of people.

However, land rights allocated to a community can be very large area which has led to a reaction from concession holders questioning access rights. An open border model is being developed which means that rights to use land over a whole area belong to the community but an investor can be allocated land in consultation with local people. There is still a great deal to learn about how this overall model will work in practice. For example, the process of consultation between communities and investors, and the nature of the agreements that are made. In addition to the questions of land rights the titling exercises in the country have led to intense debate. The titling office does not have the capacity to carry out all of the requested demarcations creating severe blockages in the system.

In accordance with the Land Law the following have the right to the use and exploration of the land:

Nationals

- Mozambican nationals, collectively or individually, men and women, as well as local communities have rights to the use and exploration of land.
- Mozambican nationals, collectively or individually, can obtain the right to the use and exploration of land, either individually or together with others as joint title-holders.
- The right to the use and exploration of land by local communities obeys the principles of joint title-holders under this law.

Foreigners

- Individuals who have resided at least five years in the Republic of Mozambique
- Collectives, registered or constituted in the Republic of Mozambique.

6. Agricultural Marketing Strategy. 2000-2004

For more than a decade, after the demise of AGRICOM, the para-statal marketing company, NGOs have been an important link between formal traders and farmers. Activities aimed to increase agricultural output were initially often unsuccessful due to lack of buyers. The NGOs took the lead in helping to develop market opportunities for the family sector.

The Commercial Strategy and Policy document approved in 1999 seeks to fill in the gap and aims to:

- Facilitate fluid commercial exchange.
- Achieve food security
- Promote sustainable economic and social development
- Reduce economic dependence on the exterior.
- Reduce levels of absolute poverty.

The Agricultural Marketing Strategy, designed in 2001, is focused on market infrastructure and market information to reduce transactions costs. The strategy includes the carrying out of periodic rural fairs to encourage more exchange between informal traders and producers as mean to reduced costs of coordination. This strategy is being implemented Zambezia with promising results and there are suggestions that other initiatives linked to rural storage and transport will also be piloted.

7. Rural Action Plan (PRA)

The PRA has as its main objective the development of the rural areas and the development of the agricultural sector. The programme has four components: micro finances, micro projects, community management of natural resources and support for local organizations and rural communication.

One of the PRA components is called community management of natural resources.

This component seeks to promote delegation by the state to communities for land and resource management. INDER (Institute for Rural Development) is providing multifaceted support in several areas: research methodologies, monitoring, supervision and advocacy. The programme does not have the same weight as PROAGRI within the government planning process.

8. Rural Development Funds

Liberalization of the banking sector has meant the withdrawal of lending facilities for agricultural related activities due to high risks. The Government has created a number of specific funding mechanisms for supporting rural development initiatives

- Support fund for Economic Rehabilitation (FARE)
- Agricultural Development Fund (FFA)
- Market Fund (FC)
- Small Industry Development Fund (FFPI)

MAP has agreed to review the functions of the FFA, since it is not clear whether its role fits with PROAGRI. The other funds are also under review by MPF.

9. Management of Forestry Resources

The existing policy framework for the Forestry and Wildlife sector in Mozambique dates from 1991 with the drawing up of a provisional programme under a UNDP/FAO team. There has been a long technical consultative process; National Programme of Forestry

and Wildlife (1995), Investment Programme for the Forest and Wildlife Sector (1996) and Forestry and Wildlife Policy and Strategy (1996). There was no formal consultation with civil society organisations.

The investment programme was revised and integrated into the broader PROAGRI programme. The passing of the new Forestry and Wildlife Law in 1999 have been developed with very little consultation during its drafting by those who worked in the land law. Consultation was limited to foresters and technicians neglecting important organisations who are more in tune with the social aspects of the law. Recent attempts for the establishment of a “policy working/thinking group” within the DNFFB at MADER appear to have been welcomed and approved by the department. A Forum of consultation on forestry and wildlife was created and involves different stakeholders aiming to solve problems affecting the sector.

The principles of the Forestry and Wildlife Law are similar to those contained within the Land Law, and states, as it is in the Land Law, ownership of all forest and wildlife resources rest with the State without prejudice to customary practices and recognises the role of “local communities” in the preservation and conservation of biodiversity. However, the law only recognises these customary rights to forestry and wildlife resources for subsistence purposes.

The law establishes a licensing framework for development and exploitation of forestry and wildlife resources on a commercial basis and DNFFB - MADER has the right to issue licenses. Some areas, such national parks and natural reserves are now under the domain of the Ministry of Tourism, further complicating the possibility of real participation of communities in license allocation.

10. Fisheries policy

The Fisheries Policy is based on the following objectives:

- **Improve the internal supply of fish to cover food deficits in the country**, through the increase in the volume of the fish catch and the reduction in the post catch losses.
- **Increase the liquid income in foreign currency generated by the sector**, through the increase in the volume of fish production for export, increase in the added value of the exported products through processing in-country and increasing the value of the most important export – prawns- through the transformation of the existing fleet.
- **Improve the living conditions of the fishing communities**, through increasing the employment levels in the fisheries sector and increasing income of the small-scale fishermen.

In order to achieve these objectives the Fisheries Policy is based on the following principles.

- All fishery resources are the property of the state. The state is responsible for the gaining maximum benefits from the use of the resources.
- All ports and docks, and associated infrastructures are the responsibility of the state. The state is responsible for the development in time and space of these infrastructures in line with the needs of the productive sector, in ways that which ensure the sustainability of the investments in the long-term
- The need to improve the service capacity in the area of construction, maintenance and repair of ships.

- The need to improve the productive and commercial capacity for seafood.
- Create the necessary structures for the development of activities in the fishery sector.
- Develop the national private sector.
- Develop the institutional capacity and the human resources in the sector.

Although the fisheries industry is a major export earning industry, and small-scale fishing is an essential part of many rural livelihoods, progress on policy implementation remains slow.

11. National Plan for the Fight against Desertification

The Action Plan lays out a series of actions to be undertaken by local communities with the aim of reducing the causes and consequences of drought and desertification in the most critical zones.

Mozambique adhered to United Nations Convention to Fight against Desertification. The convention was approved by the National Assembly in 1994 and ratified in November 1996. The main objectives are:

- Fight against desertification and mitigate the effects of drought through the use of effective mitigation measures in drought-prone areas.
- Apply long-term integrated strategies in affected areas that aim to increase the productivity of the land, conserve and manage land and water resources in a sustainable way, with a view to improving the livelihoods of local communities.

A multidisciplinary body was created for the implementation of the strategies against the drought and desertification and to coordinate research. This unit has the remit to develop a proposal for the National Desertification Fund. This fund will develop and implement methodologies for diagnosis of areas most affected by desertification, mapping and an inventory of the causes and process of drought and desertification.

12. Food Subsidy Programme

With a view to minimising the impact of the structural adjustment programme (PRE) on poor urban households the food subsidy programme was introduced in the late 1980's. The programme consists of a money transfer with the goal of improving the diet of the beneficiaries. This programme was initially managed by the Office for the Support of Vulnerable Populations from 1990-1997. The programme is at present managed by the National Institute for Social Welfare, one of the implementing bodies of the Ministry of Social Action. This programme is directly related to other Ministry of Social Action programmes such as food for work and income generating activities. In 1999 the Food Subsidies Programme reached 38,000 beneficiaries in the urban and peri-urban areas and is estimated to indirectly benefit 322 thousand people.

13. Integrated National Social Welfare, Employment and Youth Programme

The objective of this programme is creating job opportunities and alternative forms of income generation activities.

14. Action Plan for Disaster Management

The National Disaster Management Policy was formulated in 1999, an immediate precursor to the establishment of the INGC. It establishes a legal and institutional framework to enable the adoption and implementation of the Disaster Management Action Plan for Mozambique, which identifies and clarifies the role of different stakeholders. The emphasis of this framework is on prevention, mitigation and response.

The National Disaster Management Institute (INGC) that evolved from the former Department for Prevention and Combat of Natural Disasters (DPCCN) is the government institution with a mandate to coordinate disaster initiatives. The INGC is subordinate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation.

DPCCN was an operational relief agency with a logistical network throughout the country managing drought relief (19982/3) and assisting people internally displaced by civil war (1982-1992). The INGC replaced the DPCCN, however the INGC is not an implementing body. Changes have been made from the reactive approach (emergency assistance) to disaster management and the co-ordination of activities linked to the management of disasters and emergencies in all phases, namely, mitigation, preparation, alert, response, rehabilitation and reconstruction. These are considered to be the main areas for action of INGC. The Government has recognised the need to adopt a more planned approach to disaster management.

A Disaster Management Technical Committee has been created in INGC with the aim of advising and co-coordinating the disaster and emergency interventions across sectors. This committee integrates focal points of Government Ministries, donors, private sector and NGO's.

There are INGC delegations in all provinces. The role of the provincial INGC delegation is to coordinate activities within the established framework.

The new INGC structure has been severely tested since its creation with the 2000 and 2001 floods and the recent drought. The institution is still in the process of re-definition and has tendencies to "over-administrate" rather than innovate. The provincial INGC delegations are particularly weak and need considerable support and capacity building to be able to respond adequately to the numerous challenges posed by the high disaster profile in Mozambique.