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PVOs and Local Institutions in Mozambican Rural Development: Identifying Strategies for Sustainability and Effectiveness

A Pre-Design Study for PVO Support II Project

Submitted to USAID/Mozambique

by
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

As a contribution to the design of the second Mozambique PVO Support Project, the Local Institutions Study was commissioned by USAID/Mozambique to address concerns regarding the relationships between PVO rural development programs and Mozambican institutions.

Its objective is to provide guidance to USAID regarding program strategies and mechanisms which will promote local "ownership," field-level effectiveness, and increased sustainability of USAID/PVO supported activities in the areas of rural agricultural development, basic health services, and small-scale infrastructure provision as well as promote broadly participatory local governance and development management. The local institutions with which it deals are community-based institutions, Mozambican NGOs, local government, and local private businesses. The study addresses the basic question: *How should PVO II and PVO programs be organized in order to realize the potential contributions of such local institutions to effectively promoting and sustaining Mozambican rural development?*

The study was undertaken using a participatory methodology, based on consultation with key stakeholders including: PVO personnel, Mozambican NGO staff, rural community leaders and residents, sectoral and territorial government officials, and USAID personnel. Discussions were held at Maputo, provincial, district and local levels. Fieldwork was undertaken for one week each in Buzi District and Sofala Province; Barué District and Manica Province; and Morrumbala and Nicoadala Districts and Zambezia Prmvince. Feedback on preliminary findings was obtained from PVOs, Mozambican NGOs, and USAID, and study recommendations were revised in light of comments received. The study should be seen not as a purely technical/analytical exercise; the methodology employed attempts to capture and analyze implementor and participant insights into what local institutional arrangements are desirable and possible in rural Mozambique.

Findings and Analysis

PVO programs in rural Mozambique face a challenging context including: rural resettlement and social instability, poor transport and communication infrastructure, weak market institutions and integration, and political and administrative flux. At the community level, human, financial, and institutional/leadership resources, while clearly improving, represent significant constraints on the ability of beneficiary groups to effectively assume responsibility for the organization and delivery of the basic development services currently delivered or supported by PVOs.

Institutional intermediaries; including community-based associations (CBAs), local NGOs, and local governments; frequently link participant/beneficiaries to PVO assistance. CBA models such as general community development groups, users' groups, and producers' groups have been promoted by PVOs with some success, but remain constrained by local capacities. Traditional authorities often play prominent roles in governance, but significantly less in management, of development initiatives; thus the importance of committee and associational structures which facilitate more inclusive participation and more flexible organization.

Local NGOs, with a few exceptions small and new, have begun to assume greater importance in rural development. Several categories of development assistance NGOs have appeared in Mozambique, including: hometown-type associations, local affiliates of international NGOs, peak associations of CBAs, and religious, specialized/sectoral, civic cum development, and NGO association/service organizations. Identified NGO institutional needs and problems include: weak financial and administrative systems; limited programmatic capacities such as planning, management, and monitoring/evaluation; small local resource base which slows NGO ability to respond to beneficiary needs and initiatives; and limited technical skills and experience in the substantive content of their rural projects.

NGOs not only offer the prospect of institutionalizing PVO sectoral development activities, they also represent significant new channels for the articulation of societal interests and the organization of autonomous centers of development activity. While in general project funding for NGOs and training programs for NGO staff are increasingly available, technical assistance and institutional support are less so. This lack is especially acute in the case of newer and smaller NGOs and those based in the provinces. Thus there is a risk that NGOs in Mozambique may be characterized by "growth without development" during the next few years.

District administration plays a changing and increasing role as both the operational unit for management of sectoral services and the governmental unit within which local democratization and governance reform is expected to be implemented. PVOs have generally chosen to coordinate rather than collaborate with district structures; often treating them as an implementing arm of the provincial sectoral directorates with whom PVO staff frequently work more closely.

PVO sectoral programs are characterized by some crosscutting and some specific institutional and sustainability issues. Several PVOs in rural Mozambique are very "operational," relying on their own personnel such as sanitation and health animators, nurses, and agriculture extensionists at the service delivery level. Others work more extensively through local intermediaries. Irrespective of their operational approach, however, few PVOs organize training and assistance in other than technical subjects, often leaving management and institutional capacity needs less well addressed. Nearly all local non-governmental and governmental intermediaries lack organizational skills and systems adequate to sustain PVO initiated activities.

PVO efforts to institutionalize community-level structures for program implementation are more developed. Most function to mobilize participation, while relatively few to engage community or beneficiary governance. Although still very modest, PVOs have also begun to develop cost recovery mechanisms, especially for community-based services such as midwifery and well maintenance. Community-financed agriculture extension remains a speculative hypothesis. In the near-term, cost recovery cannot be expected to meet capital expenses or to finalce ongoing operational inputs such as middle-level personnel, logistical support for field operations, and imported inputs such as medicines and vaccines. However, cost recmvery can contribute importantly to filling gaps in each of these areas and providing a resource base for effective decentralized management.

Agriculture programs continue to rely on PVO logistics and distribution of inputs, As household production surpasses subsistence needs, marketing will become increasingly important. PVO promotion and facilitation of private sector linkages with farmers could

accelerate the development of commercial mechanisms. Small agro-industries and other local processing is a new feature both in rural areas and PVO programs, introducing the need for credit provision. Effective participant-governed producers' associations and cooperatives, while still quite rare in rural Mozambique, may also contribute usefully to market integration for both inputs and produce, as well as rural credit as it becomes useful.

PVO health programs are generally more closely linked to government services, with the exception of some RENAMO areas. Nearly all rural health posts, and many rural districts, rely heavily on PVO and other foreign assistance not only for funds and materials but also for management and supervision. Most PVOs have focused on health animation and clinical services but few on increasing the self-reliance of health posts by promoting community governance, local management and cost recovery. Local revolving drug funds are rare and MEDIMOC/MOH distribution erratic; thus medicines are often unavailable unless brought to the field by PVOs.

PVO rural water programs have moved significantly to the use of private contractors for construction and local NGOs for community animation. Government has also begun to liberalize its own rural water program and institutions. Community maintenance committees and water user groups are increasingly common as is local resource mobilization/cost recovery for maintenance and repair. Pump spares are often difficult for rural communities to obtain; rural shops may require subsidies in order to maintain availability. Rural road maintenance and repair has been an area of limited PVO activity except in the context of food for work rehabilitation schemes. Local institutions for maintenance such as *cantoneiro* (linemen) or contract schemes will be needed to complement seasonal community self-help brigades, especially in sparsely populated areas.

Recommendations

In spite of continuing challenges rooted in social and economic instability and extremely limited financial, institutional, and technical capacity, the prospects for rural development in Mozambique are increasingly promising. PVOs have contributed significantly to rural improvements, and can be expected to continue to do so under PVO II. However, much more systematic attention is needed to institutionalizing PVO activities through the development of viable local frameworks involving both community-based and beneficiary/participant institutions and the intermediaries, non-governmental and governmental, which support them and link them to broader public and private structures. Unless adequate rural community and local support institutions are in place, USAID/ PVO supported service delivery, infrastructure, and development promotion activities will remain extremely vulnerable to collapse at the end of the project period.

The following program strategies and mechanisms are recommended for PVO II in order to contribute to a more sound, more capable and more sustainable institutional basis for rural service delivery and development promotion in Mozambique.

Recommended Institutional Strategies Supporting "Ownership" and Sustainability

PVO Institutional Issues

Recommendation: PVOs should focus greater attention ol development of their own Mozambican personnel, especially in management and monitoring/evaluation roles.

Community Based Institutions

Recommendation: Existing PVO emphasis on community animation and organization in the context of sectoral programs should be supported and consolidated.

Recommendation: USAID should organize (through PVOs) a Community Development Micro-Projects Fund in order to promote local self-help and associational action

Local NGOs

Recommendation: The development of local NGO capacity should be considered by USAID an output in itself under the design of PVO II.

Recommendation: PVOs should continue to increase the role of local NGOs in the implementation structures of their sectoral projects.

Recommendation: USAID should develop and finance an NGO Support and Strengthening Project financed under PVO II, including the following components:

a) Technical Assistance and Training Fund,
b) Institutional Development Grant Fund,
c) Pilot Project Grant Fund, and
d) Local Consultancy Grant Fund.

Local Government

Recommendation: USAID should encourage PVOs to work more closely with district administrations in planning and managing service delivery and maintenance activities.

Recommendation: PVOs and USAID should consider "sponsoring" selected rural municipalities (districts) as a contribution to rural local government reform.

Local Private Sector

Recommendation: PVOs should increasingly rely on commercial channels for the distribution and sale of inputs for productive activities.

Recommendation: Organization and development of producers' associations and marketing cooperatives should become an increasing focus of PVO agriculture programs.

Recommendation: PVOs should increasingly explore the feasibility of "privatizing" rural service delivery by promoting cost recovery linked to community-based paraprofessionals.

Recommended Sectoral Strategies Supporting "Ownership" and Sustainability

PVO Institutional Issues

Recommendation: PVOs should increasingly redefine their role away from being operational service deliverers and toward being sources of support and technical assistance to local intermediaries.

Recommendation: PVOs should structure their remuneration systems in order to facilitate the integration of field personnel into local institutions after PVO projects end.

Agriculture

Recommendation: Extension, farmer training, marketing promotion, input provisions and other farmer support activities should be organized at the district level.

Recommendation: District extension networks should gradually be institutionalized outside of PVO structures, through district agriculture departments or local NGOs.

Recommendation: Greater attention is needed to ensure the development of private sector agricultural input provision outside of PVO logistic and extension networks.

Recommendation: Market development should play a greater role in programs supported by PVO II.

Health

Recommendation: Rural health posts should in general not be "owned and operated" by PVOs, but rather by communities themselves, local NGOs, or local governments.

Recommendation: PVO II should continue support to PVOs for the development of community-based MCH paraprofessionals such as *socorristas* and midwives.

Recommendation: Cost recovery for basic health services should be promoted as much as possible in keeping with government policy and local conditions.

Recommendation: PVOs should explore engaging community groups and other rural institutions to distribute and sell essential medicines outside MEDIMOC/MOH channels.

Rural Infrastructure

Recommendation: PVOs should continue their emphasis on community-based management and maintenance of pumps and other water points.

Recommendation: PVO projects should support the availability of pump spare parts through the rural private shop network, offering indirect subsidies if necessary.

Recommendation: PVOs, in collaboration with government and traditional authorities, should promote *cantoneiro* (linemen) and other contract systems for feeder road maintenance.

Recommended PVO Grant Proposal Guidelines to Promote Local "Ownership" and Sustainability

Recommendation: PVO grant proposals should include an "Institutional Capacity" output specifying how the PVO project will strengthen specific local institutions.

Recommendation: USAID should require a brief Project Sustainability Assessment annexed to each PVO grant proposal (or as part of its social or institutional analyses).

Recommendation: USAID should create under PVO II a program environment more conducive to PVO projects using local partnerships and promoting sustainability.

Conclusion

This study stresses the importance of systematically linking PVO activities to local institutions which may be able to sustain them after the PVO II project period. Experience has shown that there is a clear relationship between responsibilities assumed during project implementation and the commitment to carry on field operations, and to mobilize the resources necessary to do so, which characterizes "ownership" by local actors.

In order to promote this sense of ownership, beneficiaries must be participants. To the extent they are capable of sustaining and maintaining the outcomes of PVO assistance, beneficiaries must feel themselves to be responsible for those outcomes. And to the extent that rural residents and communities alone are not capable of effectively financing and managing rural services and infrastructure maintenance, local intermediaries--who will play critical roles in sustaining and maintaining PVO supported initiatives--must also feel a sense of ownership.

"Ownership" based on participation and governance needs to be complemented by capacity based on skills and systems. Both communities and intermediaries need to possess adequate and appropriate technical skills and management systems in order to sustain program outputs and impacts. Systematic capacity-building based on practical field-level experience supported by PVO assistance is essential to enable local institutions to effectively assume new responsibilities.

Evidently, the conditions do not now exist for the effective transfer of those functions which PVOs and other donor-financed projects now perform to Mozambican actors, community and intermediary. If the promotion of Mozambican rural development warrants USAID and PVO investment today, it would seem equally valuable to invest in the institutional basis for the continuation of the essential services, maintenance activities, and promotion efforts needed to sustain them beyond PVO II.

It is recommended that the design of PVO II explicitly address this institutional development and sustainability agenda.

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In spite of all this support--intellectual, logistical and moral--inadequacies of fact and of analysis doubtlessly remain. These are the sole responsibility of the principle author and should be laid squarely upon his doorstep.

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

AICF- Acção Internacional Contra a Fome
AAA- African American Institute
ADCR-Associação para Desenvolvimento Comunitario Rural (Gaza Province)
ACTIVA-Mozambican NGO
ADB-African Development Bank
ADEMIMO-Associacao de Deficientes Militares de Moçambique (Military Disabled Persons)
ADEMO Associação Moçambicana de Deficientes (Disabled Persons)
ADRA- Adventist Development and Relief Association
AJUDER- Associação Juvenil para o Desenvolvimento Rural (Assoc of Youth for Rural Development)
AMDU--Associação Moçambicana de Desenvolvimento Urbano
AMODEFA- Associação Moçambicana para Desenvolvimento Familiar
AMODEG- Associação Moçambicana dos Desmobilizados de Guerra (Demobilized Soldiers)
AMODESE- Associação Moçambicana de Desempregados (Unemployed Persons)
AMRU- Associação Moçambicana da Mulher Rural (Rural Women)
APM e APB- Apai Apa Banda and Amai Apa Mudzi = Associação da Mulher Dona de Casa (Sofala Province)
ASAN...- Associação De Amigos E Naturais De ...
ASDI--Swedish Bilateral Aid Agency
ASSANA- Associação De Amigos E Naturais De Nampula (Friends and Natives of Nampula)
AVEL- Associação de Apoio de Velhice (Older Persons)
CCM- Conselho Cristão de Moçambique (Christian Council)
CPE- Comissão Provincial de Emergência
CVI- Cruz Vermelha Internacional (International Red Cross)
CVM- Cruz Vermelha de Moçambique (Mozambican Red Cross)
cantoneiro-lineman, road maintenance worker
Casa Agraria-village agriculture center and/or shop
CBA-Community Based Association
CBDAs-Community Based Development Association
CPP-Commisão Provincial do Plano
DPAP- Direcção Provincial de Agricultura e Pescas
DPE- Direcção Provincial de Educação
DPOPH- Direcção Provincial de Obras Públicas e Habitações
DDA-Direcção Distrital da Agricultura
ECMEP-Estaleiro de Construçao e Manutenção das Estradas Provinciais--Provincial Road Constuction and Manitenance Unit
EPAR-Estaleira Provincial da Agua Rural--Provincial Rural Water Unit
EU-European Union
FHI- Food for the Hungry (Fundação Contra a Fome)
FAO-Food and Agriculture Organization
FDC- Fundação de Desenvolvimento Comunitário
GEOMOC-Well drilling and Hydrogeology parastatal

GTZ-German Technical Assistance
IFAD-International Fund for Agricultural Development
INDER- Instituto de Desenvolvimento Rural, (Nat'l Institute of Rural Development).
Kulima-Mozambican NGO
LWF- Lutheran World Federation (Federação Mundial Luterana)
MARRP-Manica Rural Rehabilitation Project
MCDI -Medical Cooperation and Development International
MCH-Maternal and Child Health
MEDIMOC-parastatal pharmaceutical importer and distributor
MHC- Mozambique Health Committee
MOH-Ministry of Health
Molisv-Italian NGO
MONASO-Mozambican AIDS Prevention Network
NAD-New Activity Description
NGDO-Non-Governmental Development Organization
NGO-Non-Governmental Organization
OMM- Organização da Mulher Moçambicana
ODA-British Overseas Development Administration
Oikos-Portuguese NGO
PECs-Community Education Workers (Sanitation, Water, and Health)
Programa RRR-Programa de Reabilitação e Reintegração Rural, Mozambican NGO
Prolide-Progresso, Liberdade e Desenvolvimento, Mozambican NGO
PRONAR- Programa Nacional de Agua Rural
PSC-personal services contract
PSI-Population Services International
PVO-private voluntary organization
regulado-chieftancy
regulo-chief, traditional authority
RFP-request for proposal
socorristas-community health assistance/first aid worker
Sotemaza- Sofala, Tete, Manica, and Zambéxia Association (Mozambican NGO)
UGC- União Geral de Cooperativos
UNAC- União Nacional de Associações de Camponeses (Nat'l Union of Peasant Associations)
USD-US dollars
Visão Mundial-World Vision

1. Introduction

1.1. Statement of the Problem

USAID/Mozambique has defined the rural development promotion activities implemented by Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) as one of the key program areas to be financed under its Country Program Strategic Plan for FY 1996-2001. In support of its Strategic Objectives--to increase income to rural households, to reduce mortality of women and children, and to increase government accountability to its citizens--USAID has noted the importance of multiplying and broadening the opportunities for involvement by Mozambicans at all levels in economic, social, and political development activities. These principles also inform the design for the planned PVO Support II Project (PVO II).

The New Activity Description for PVO II focuses on USAID support for rural development activities including the improvement of smallholder agriculture, increasing small private enterprise and other income generating activities, and the improvement of family health through promotion of behavioral change as well as the expansion and improvement of maternal and child health (MCH) and family planning services. An additional baqic objective of the proposed PVO II is the expansion participation in civil society through strengthening community-based organizations.

Both the CPSP and the NAD link institutional development and sectoral development. That is, they assume that the effectiveness and sustainability of activities to increase production and incomes and of those aimed at increasing the quality and quality of social services and local infrastructure depend on the nature and capacity of local institutions. Specifically mentioned (throughout these documents) are farmers, farmers associations, home-based health providers, traditional birth attendants and community-based health agents, health posts and health centers, local non-governmental organizations, private merchants and commercial intermediaries, community-based associations (CBAs), provincial and district governments and officials, and civil society including professional, interest and community development groups, as well as social welfare and cultural organizations. Each of these actors, individual or organizational, is seen as a potentially positive contributor to the human and economic development programs to be supported by USAID and implemented by its PVO grantees/partners.

This raises the basic question: *how should PVO II and PVO programs be organized in order to realize the potential contributions of local institutions to promoting and sustaining rural development?* What should be the relationship between USAID-supported PVOs and the above-listed (and other) Mozambican actors in order to effectively and sustainably achieve the desired developmental impact at the level of rural households and communities? How can PVOs organize and implement their rural development programs in Mozambique in order to create and promote the sort of institutional arrangements (definition of institutional roles and relationships as well as individual and organizational capacities) which will be capable of ensuring local responsibility for local economic and social develmpment?

1.2. Design and Approach of the Study

1.2.1. Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this study is to provide guidance to USAID concerning the institutional dimensions of the PVO II Project, as a contribution to its design.

This guidance consists of three levels of findings:

- ◊ basic institutional principles for the design and implementation of PVO programs to promote increased participation, "ownership," and sustainability by Mozambicans;
- ◊ broad strategies for building capacity and promoting local responsibility within sectoral development activities (i.e. agriculture, health, and local infrastructure), through sound institutional arrangements which balance short-term effectiveness and longer-term sustainability; and
- ◊ recommended program elements for PVO supported institutional development appropriate to each of four types of local institutions in the context of PVO II:
    1) Community-Based Associations (CBAs),
    2) Mozambican Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs),
    3) Local [District] Governments, and
    4) Local Private Enterprises.

These recommendations are developed for use by USAID in support of the design and implementation of PVO II. Some can be used directly, as a basis for the design of specific capacity building elements and mechanisms within the PVO II Project. Others can be used as a basis for the development of guidelines for PVO grant proposals, in order to clarify USAID expectations and provide a framework for the assessment of PVO-proposed institutional and sustainability strategies within sectoral or regional development projects. Other elements of the study, while they may contribute less directly to the formal mechanisms of PVO II, are intended to serve as part of the ongoing discussion between USAID and its grantees concerning the most effective ways of organizing and implementing effective and sustainable rural development activities in contemporary Mozambique.

It is important to note the limitations of these recommendations. Because of the variety of PVO program goals and approaches and the diversity of program environments (significant regional variation of field conditions within Mozambique), they should not be considered blueprints but rather suggestions for improving the institutional dimension of USAID/Mozambique and PVO programs. Also, because of the special nature of USAID-PVO relationships based on grantor-grantee partnership rather than a strictly donor-driven contracting relationship, the selection of institutional development strategies must be made by the PVO and developed in dialogue with USAID. Each organization's experience in the regions and sectors in which it has worked, as well as its own philosophy and development approach, will powerfully and usefully influence its response to the challenge of increasing local participation and "ownership."

This however, should not be taken as an "out" for PVOs to avoid the difficult issues related to transforming the role of the foreign assistance program and its implementor

from a relief role where the beneficiary population is largely dependent and passive to that of a development promoter which empowers local communities and institutions, both participant/beneficiaries and intermediary/service providers, to assume responsibility for the improvement of livelihoods and living conditions. The importance of USAID's clear, consistent and continuous emphasis on increasing Mozambican governance and management of development support activities and on promotilg meaningful local participation by beneficiaries and their representatives cannot be overemphasized.

While the solutions proposed by PVOs will vary, their serious consideration of certain fundamental principles of sound development programming should not. Although the study does not argue for a single model of local institutional development for all USAID funded PVO activities, it does suggest that in each and every case USAID should exert its influence to assure that PVOs clearly articulate an explicit institutional and sustainability strategy within each grant activity and component, and devote project resources to implementing such a strategy alongside the production of such concrete beneficiary-level impacts as improved health, increased yields and incomes, and impro· d water supplies.

By providing a range of criteria by which to assess proposed approaches to institutionalizing PVO program activities within the Mozambican milieu, the study is intended to support USAID's effort to promote more participatory, more sustainable, and in the end more Mozambican development of Mozambique's rural areas.

1.2.2. Scope and Methodology

The study has been undertaken using a qualitative and consultative approach. Field visits and diqcussions were employed in order to assure that its analyses reflect not only the objective realities of rural development in Mozambique; i.e. the capacities, constraints and opportunities which confront rural communities and those working to assist them; but also the priorities and concerns of rural residents, leaders, and officials, as well as rural development workers--governmental and non-governmental, Mozambican and expatriate.

Research was conducted at four levels: central, provincial, district and local. At each level PVOs, Mozambican NGOs, and government officials were consulted. In addition, during fieldwork at district and local levels discussions were held with PVO and other rural development program participants/beneficiaries. Fieldwork was undertaken in three provinces, and in at least one district in each province.

Field sites were selected on the basis of several criteria. All were chosen to lie within USAID's planned area of geographic focus in central Mozambique. Each was selected to allow observation of a particular PVO program, the mix of which would reflect various organizational styles and sectoral emphases. And sites were chosen to reflect a variety of field conditions including general accessibility, degree of war damage, and impact of RENAMO presence on local government functionality. Table 1-1 shows the field sites selected and their basic characteristics.

Field work was conducted for approximately one week in each province. Three days were spent at the district/village level and two days in the provincial seat. In each district, discussions were held with the local administrator and with directors of sectoral departments. In addition discussions were held with local notables such as school teachers, business people, opposition party representatives, and association

TABLE 1-1

SELECTION OF FIELD SITES

Province	District	PVO Presence	Sectoral Focus	Remoteness/ Devt. Capacity	War Impact	RENAMO Impact
Sofala	Buzi	Food for the Hungry	Agriculture and Community Devt.	Moderate / Moderate	Moderate Destruction and Dislocation	Limited Administrative Impact but Some Political Influence
Manica	Barué	Mozambique Health Committee	Primary Health and Commu-nity Devt.	Moderate/ Low	Extensive Isolation and Dislocation	High Political Influence
Zambezia	Morrumbala (Admin. Post Derre)	World Vision	Agriculture and Child Survival	High/ Very Low	Extreme Destruction and Dislocation	Divided Admin-istration and Political Tension

leaders. At locality level discussions were held with traditional authorities, local government personnel, and PVO project workers as well as with several groups of village participants in agriculture, health, and community development activities.

At provincial level, discussions were held with Mozambican notables, from both government and NGO sectors, as well as with staff from PVOs and international NGO programs. In each province one meeting was organized with sectoral government officials (provincial directors) to discuss the role of NGOs (foreign and Mozambican) and community institutions in development promotion, and one with Mozambican NGOs to discuss their perceived roles, priorities, institutional difficulties, and relationships with government and communities. Three such "roundtables" with government staff were held, one in each province, but only two with NGOs, in Sofala and Manica, as attendance was poor in Zambezia due to a public holiday.

In Maputo, PVOs and NGOs were consulted both individually and collectively. Four separate workshop-style meetings were organized, two with PVOs and two with NGOs. One such "roundtable" was held with each stakeholder group at the beginning and one at the end of the study process: the first in order to identify issues and concerns and the second in order to discuss preliminary findings and recommendations. In addition, a similar feedback session was held with USAID Mission staff to discuss preliminary findings before the preparation of the final report.

Based on this consultative methodology, the study and this report can be said to represent the fruit of a participatory exercise. Its findings are those of the consultants but are not based only on observation and analysis, they are also based on discussion and vigorous debate with those individual and institutional actors involved in USAID-PVO supported rural development activities: PVOs, Mozambican NGOs, local government and sectoral officials, rural community leaders, project participants/beneficiaries, and USAID personnel.

The consultants have attempted to listen closely to the self-reported experiences, concerns, and aspirations of these various stakeholders and assess them in light of the verifiable developments in the changing social, economic, political, and institutional environment of rural Mozambique. This interplay between the felt needs and goals of

those involved in development promotion and the policy guidance and program framework given by USAID provides the basis for the development of the strategic and programmatic recommendations set out in this report.

As such, this study should be seen not as the result of a purely technical/analytical exercise. It is better seen as a synthesis and analysis based on the experience, vision and concerns of the various actors, foreign and national, whose work in rural Mozambique transforms resources into results. In the end, the impact of USAID investment in rural development promotion depends upon the effectiveness of those who work in the field. Therefore the methodology employed in the preparation of this report attempts to capture and analyze implementor and participant insights into what is desirable and what is possible in rural Mozambique during the next five years.

1.3. Basic Assumptions and Conceptual Framework

1.3.1. Rural Institutional Arrangements and Capacity Building

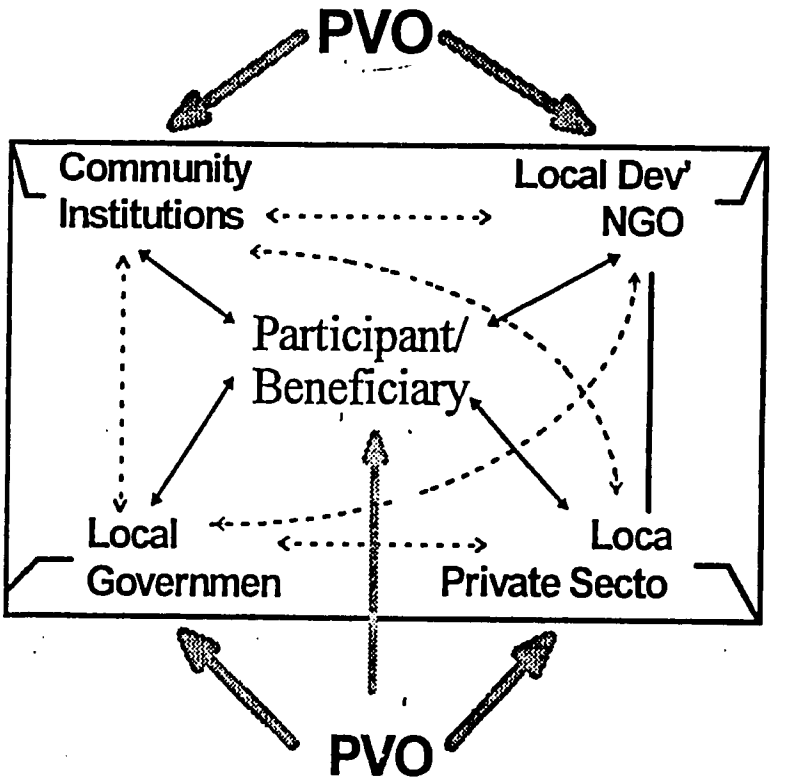
This study employs a specific conceptual approach to analyzing program effectiveness and sustainability based on the notion of the *institutional arrangement.* An institutional arrangement can be operationally defined as a structured allocation of roles and functions among several organizations and/or institutions and their patterns of exchange and interaction. The distinction between an organization and an institution hinges merely on the degree of formalization: for example, an age-set savings group (institution) and a producers' cooperative (organization) may perform the same savings mobilization function, the difference between them being the formality of rules and processes.

The institutional arrangement through which rural development promotion and rural service delivery are undertaken in Mozambique is characterized very generally as consisting of six sorts of actors: participants/beneficiaries, community institutions (including "traditional authorities"), local NGOs, local government agencies, local private sector enterprises, and the PVO (or other external development organizations). Figure 1-1 shows schematically the general institutional model which informs this study. Any particular programmatic activity; such as distribution of food aid, promotion of improved maternal health, construction and maintenance of rural roads, or provision of agricultural credit; can be represented as a functional institutional arrangement in which one or more of these actors fulfills specific responsibilities.

The PVO is therefore seen not only in relationship to participant/ beneficiaries but also in relation to other actors and institutions in the local development arena. PVO effort to institutionalize service delivery and development promotion activities and to build the capacity for their sustainability is undertaken by strengthening of one or more of these local intermediaries. The PVO acts as part of the local system during the life of its program; it also influences the nature of the local institutional system by the way it collaborates, works through, and promotes the development of local intermediaries.

Here the systemic nature of the local institutional arrangement should be noted. Typically, in any sector several types of institutions contribute to the implementation of functional processes. It is rarely a question of which institution--PVO or traditional authority or local government--should be the responsible party in a given sector. Rather the relevant concern is "How are and how should roles and functions be allocated among involved local institutions?" Each PVO's approach to

Figure 1-1
PVO RELATIONSHIP TOP LOCAL INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT



implementing sectoral development programs implicitly or explicitly expresses a strategy for developing one sort of institutional arrangement over other alternatives. In other words, PVO programs manifest through the way they organize present field activities vis-à-vis local actors, their prescription for the allocation of sectoral roles and functions in the future.

This is the perspective which this study assumes. The institutional arrangement is taken as the unit of analysis, the mechanism for PVO program implementation, and the object of institutional development efforts. General analyses are carried out of the status of each of the four basic types of local institutions identified, as well as sectoral analyses linking the substantive content of sectoral programs to the institutional arrangements in which PVOs (and others) engage for their implementation. Then recommendations are made, based on these assessments of capability and medium-term prospects and on identified needs for sustainable capacity, for PVO implementation approach and specific PVO II interventions which promise to increase local capacity to meet future demands for continuing development promotion and service delivery.

The goal of the analysis is to link existing PVO implementation arrangements, future capacity needs for effectiveness and sustainability, and the capacity building strategies and interventions recommended for USAID funding during PVO II.

1.3.2. Rural Development Sustainability: Resource Mobilization, Technical Capacity, and Management Aapacity

Essential to the analysis undertaken in this study is the notion of sustainability. Clearly development assistance is a forward looking activity; perhaps this feature more than any other distinguishes development assistance from humanitarian relief. Development projects attribute to themselves the role of "creating fishers rather than distributing fish." The question here is "How can PVO II supported programs create/promote this local capacity more effectively?"

One of the points of departure for the planning of this study was discussion with USAID personnel regarding the potential trade-off between short-term effectiveness and medium-term sustainability of PVO implemented programs in rural Mozambique. Because during the years of emergency assistance far greater emphasis was (justifiably) placed on the need to achieve field-level impact than on the need to build local capacity, many PVOs in Mozambique have developed styles of intervention which rely generally less on local intermediaries than do similar programs in other African countries. But as suggested in the PVO Support Project Mid-Term Evaluation Report, emergency-style program approaches are increasingly less appropriate for the conditions of present-day Mozambique.

This recognition motivates consideration of sustainability. As a basis for discussion, a Working Definition of PVO Project Sustainability is proposed:

> **Sustainability** is the degree to which PVO project-supported initiatives are able to continue to achieve program outputs and impacts beyond the time period of PVO implementation.

While one cannot verify sustainability *ex ante*, development experience and literature clearly indicate the conditions upon which it is based. Sustainability is achieved through the development of essential technical, financial, and institutional capacity among local actors and institutions such as participants/beneficiaries and their leaders and associations, local non-governmental organizations, local government service deliverers/support agencies, and private sector providers of inputs and services.

Sustainability can be disaggregated into several important components: financial, technical and institutional. Working definitions of each element are presented below.

1. **Financial sustainability** is the degree to which key actors in a development initiative are able to generate the flow of funds needed to continue the achievement of program outputs and impacts beyond the period of project intervention, including both cost-recovery and the ability to mobilize external resources through contracts, grants or other transfers.

2. **Technical sustainability** is the degree to which the technical means promoted by a development project can be employed, maintained, and renewed by local actors in order to continue the achievement of program outputs and impacts, given their financial and institutional constraints.

3. **Institutional sustainability** is the degree to which beneficiaries and intermediaries are able to employ, maintain, and renew the human resources, management and administrative systems, and logistical infrastructure needed in order to transform available financial and technical resources into continuing program outputs and impacts.

Sustainability does not imply self-sufficiency. Rather it implies the continuing capacity to mobilize and organize the resources necessary to carry on important service delivery and development promotion activities. Given the poverty of rural Mozambique, not only economically but also in terms of personnel and institutions, this distinction is crucial. While it can be expected that rural Mozambicans will continue to rely on assistance from beyond their communities and districts during the next few years, it is equally clear that they can assume progressively greater responsibility for the development activities which benefit them.

It should also be noted that, as discussed in the preceding section, the relevant unit of analysis for assessing sustainability may be neither the household nor even the community, but rather the local institutional arrangement which includes intermediaries and agents which mobilize and deploy external resources to sustain local services and growth.

Given the changing environment in rural Mozambique, several factors argue for a greater and more consistent focus on sustainability issues. First, as will be detailed below, the economic, political, and logistical environment are much more favorable to local development initiatives than they have been for at least a decade. Second, while development efforts, both governmental or non-governmental, remain highly dependent on foreign financing and personnel, the external resources which support them have begun to decrease significantly. In the near future (3-5 years) either much more will need to be done with fewer foreign resources or rural Mozambique will likely suffer a dramatic deterioration in the quality and availability of grassroots services and support for rural economic growth. Finally and most importantly, the people of rural Mozambique are in a position to assume greater responsibility for their own futures. If habits created by years of dependency on the State and on donors can be overcome, sustainability can increasingly be rooted in the understanding that beneficiaries of social services, infrastructure, and productive development efforts can and should see them as their own and so ensure, to the extent that they are able, their continuation.

PVOs should be leaders in the promotion of this perspective and the creation of the conditions under which sustainability is steadily enhanced during the PVO II project period. If by 1999, rural Mozambicans are healthier but no better able to support and manage their health services; are producing more but no better able to continue productivity gains, obtain inputs, and market produce; and are drinking cleaner water from pumps and traveling better roads but no better able to maintain and repair them without calling on a foreign organization, it will be difficult to claim that PVO II and the PVO activities it supports have been a complete success.

PVO II represents an opportunity to rethink implementation approach and program content, and to systematically address financial, technical and institutional sustainability constraints by promoting the development of necessary local capacity through appropriate institutional arrangements. This study suggests how such an objective might be achieved in the conditions prevalent in contemporary Mozambique.

1.3.3. Institutions, Participation, and Governance in Rural Development

A third element of the conceptual approach employed in the study is related to issues of participation and governance. Participation involves the roles played by

community residents and beneficiaries in project-supported activities. Governance involves a specific set of those roles: ones related to collective decision-making and oversight.

Participation has been an increasingly explicit focus of PVO projects in Mozambique during the last few years. The organization of mothers' groups, farmers groups, and water well committees has been motivated not only by efficiency concerns (reaching more beneficiaries in a single field visit) but also by PVO interest in involving beneficiaries in participatory discussions of problems, priorities, and prospective solutions. In some aases, expressed priorities are incorporated into PVO program plans at either community or regional level. A few PVOs have also begun to use structured participatory research and consultation techniques such as Participatory Appraisal and Focus Groups in order to gather information used for the design of project activities.

Participation also includes the contribution of beneficiaries and community residents to the implementation of PVO II project-supported activities. Labor or local materials constitute in-kind contributions to self-help infrastructure schemes or other community level efforts such as crop demonstration or multiplication plots. Beneficiaries express their commitment to and valuation of project activities by participating in construction and maintenance activities. In a few cases, rural residents have mobilized household-level resources, such as food or money, as their participation in community initiatives such as water well maintenance schemes.

Another form of participation is through market relationships to project activities. The purchase of vegetable seeds or condoms and the sale of dried pepper or peanuts represent autonomous decisions by a project beneficiary to participate in a PVO promoted activity. While the PVO may not be a party to the transaction, market exchange is often appropriately seen as beneficiary participation.

However, all of these forms of participation differ significantly from beneficiary governance of development activities. Governance implies that beneficiaries are engaged in some structured decision-making processes which determine specific local-level actions. When community members establish goals, articulate them and negotiate with outside agencies, mobilize and manage resources, oversee action by community residents and by outsiders concerning project activities and resource use, and collectively or through their leadership resolve disputes and solve problems, they do not merely participate. They govern local development initiatives.

Here it is essential to consider the importance of structuring participation to include special target groups such as women, the poor, the young or the old, returnees or ex-soldiers. Many "participate" in development programs as beneficiaries but not as contributors of their understanding and aspirations. As such, marginalized groups may merit specific mechanisms to engage their participation at all stages of PVO rural development assistance. Alongside ensuring that projects address the special needs and constraints of women and other speaific target groups, it is also important that they be involved in participatory planning and governance of development activities.

Governance engages local institutions in a way that other forms of participation may not. While a beneficiary may work on a PVO-supervised brick-making brigade, and so participate in construction, a structure of leadership and enforcement within the community is needed if the construction is to be locally governed. In some communities and for some functions, traditional authorities act as institutions of

governance; in others committees or associations structure decision-making and organize implementation. In this context, institutions of governance may reflect a tension between the inclusiveness discussed above and traditional forms of leadership and decision-making.

Whatever the particular circumstances, if PVO supported activities are expected to be sustained by communities or groups of beneficiaries, governance must be seen as an important concern. It is not only important that local residents contribute, it is important that they do so through an institution seen as legitimate by them. Recognition of the legitimacy of the institutions through which program decisions are made and carried out at local level is crucial to their sustainability. If a PVO presence, and the resources it brings, are needed to support the position of a *regulo* or a village association president, it can be expected that this leader will be limited in his/her ability to maintain effective governance of the health post or water well after the PVO is gone.

Thus local institutions link participation and governance. The promotion of effective and legitimate community-level institutions to govern development activities, consistent with local tradition, practice, and social dynamics, presents a significant challenge to PVOs. However to the extent that sustainability hinges on continuing participation and grassroots management, PVOs need to explore, understand, promote, and engage rural institutions of governance as part of their program efforts.

2. Essential Background: The Changing Rural Development Environment in Mozambique

2.1. Rural Social and Economic Conditions

The conditions prevailing in rural Mozambique are well-known and well-documented. The destruction and degradation physical infrastructure, the collapse of public services and often of public order, and the destitution of a majority of the population as a result of the disastrous synergy of war, natural disaster, and failed policy are the legacy of the post-independence period.

For the purposes of this study it is not necessary to enter deeply into quantification and analysis of this historical context. However, it is useful to briefly consider the environment within which USAID-supported PVO rural development initiatives will work during the next five years. While the general trends of change in rural Mozambique are relatively clear, it should be noted that considerable uncertainty remains concerning this environment, based on four areas of concern.

First, the process of reestablishing rural society after wartime dislocation and disturbance is still in process. The demographic composition of Mozambique's rural communities and their spatial organization is still unclear. Community structures are also in flux, as are commercial links between rural populations and areas and the wider economy. And perhaps most importantly, it remains to be seen how rural Mozambicans perceive their future and anticipate their aspirations for the development of themselves their families and their communities. The social environment continues to improve for rural development, and can be expected to improve further as rural Mozambicans develop the confidence to invest in their futures and begin to accumulate both the means and the results of such investment.

But the society within which, through which, and upon which PVO and other rural development programs work retains the scars of war--demographic, institutional, and psychological--and will struggle with them for at least another generation.

The second area of change involves the Mozambican government and its relation to society and economy. While the general direction of the public sector reform process is evident, the pace and depth with which it will be implemented remains to be seen. Much of what is possible in terms of rural institutional development depends on the redefinition of government's role in the economy and society and more importantly on the implementation of this redefinition at the local level--a process which can be expected to vary widely throughout the country depending on the dynamism of local civil society and the vision of local leaders. Thus the climate within which PVOs can work with local actors to develop creative institutional solutions to the challenge of "ownership" and sustainability, while generally expected to continue to improve during the next few years, may in specific areas remain constrained by the government's reform process. Just as importantly, PVO institutional development efforts may be limited by the approach and conduct of specific government officials in rural areas.

A third source of uncertainty is related to the economic environment. Macro-economic factors such as currency stability and price inflation will clearly affect financial sustainability of rural initiatives. In addition, rural-urban terms of trade will have a profound impact on economic development, not only in terms of the incentive structure presented to rural producers but also in terms of relative factor prices they face as they consider shifting to more input intensive technologies and cropping systems. Together these factors will also determine the feasibility and the potential contribution of cost recovery efforts to the social service, especially health care delivery activities in which PVOs are often involved. Given the extremely low buying power of most rural households at present and this turbulent economic environment, it is difficult to anticipate the rate of growth in rural incomes relative to local currency prices and their disposition between savings, immediately productive investment, and current consumption including education and health fees. Yet it is precisely these factors which will strongly influence decisions concerning sustainable service standards and the need for continuing subsidies during the coming years.

Finally, the political factor cannot be discounted as a source of environmental uncertainty. At both national and regional levels, the possibility of political conflict in Mozambique remains. The experience of several PVOs during 1993-5, linked to the local political uncertainty rooted in the problem of "double administration" demonstrates the difficulty which broad political tensions can bring to rural development even, perhaps especially, in remote regions. And general security concerns, which relate not only to social and economic privation but also to political frustration, remain a potential impediment to the development of capable local institutional frameworks for sustaining development activities.

The broad policy, economic, and political environments will influence the feasibility of PVO institutional strategies in all areas. In addition, several specific contextual factors are discussed below.

2.1.1. Transport and Communication

Rural development takes place in a regional setting, characterized by specific links between rural households and communities and the broader social, economic, and . institutional environments.

The rapid demining and rehabilitation of key transport links--primary, secondary and tertiary--throughout Mozambique is one of the most notable changes in the rural environment since the Peace Accord. Large investment programs are having an observable effect on access of rural populations to regional economies and local urban centers.

Maintenance of these links will pose an increasing challenge to both government and rural communities during the coming years. Especially at the level of tertiary roads linking rural localities to their district centers--which offer commercial, health care, educational, as well as administrative facilities--the sustainability of transport links is a growing concern.

Because both the economic development and family health improvement goals of USAID and PVOs depend significantly on the existence of district-locality linkages (both market and service delivery), the absence of minimally accessible rural tracks may put them at risk. At present, many localities depend on foreign organizations not only to transit these rural roads with project vehicles but also to repair the tracks themselves when they are periodically washed out.

2.1.2. Markets and Economic Integration

Based on the experience of 1992-94, continuing improvement in the efficacy of the market network in most rural regions can be expected. Both increased availability of consumer goods and improved access to wholesale produce channels for staple foods and cash crops are anticipated.

But there are important areas of concern. Away from market towns, large roads, and commercially important rivers, the restoration of shops which offer broader ranges of goods as well as some commercial services, as opposed to petty traders, may require years not merely months. Also, the availability of producer's goods--such as farm tools and inputs and materials for off-farm productive activities--and the availability of efficient market links for perishable crops are less likely to be "spontaneously" available through many rural shops and markets. As mentioned above, credit availability is also likely to be limited in rural areas.

Thus the institutional strategies of PVOs will need to respond to such specific constraints in local markets by proposing transitional strategies or strengthening/creating intermediary institutions to support commercially oriented economic development during the period of market weakness which will likely continue for at least several more years.

2.1.3. Political and Administrative Environment

The nature of the relationship between rural communities and local authorities in Mozambique is in flux. So is the relationship between local authorities (i.e. chieftancies/*regulos* or district officials) and the wider public sector represented by the provincial administration.

While the government's policy for local government reform as well as sectoral decentralization initiatives offer a basis for some optimism, the pace and specific nature of this change cannot yet be foreseen. How decentralization will influence the balance between domination and responsiveness by officials at local and regional levels is still unknown. In addition, the specific dynamics of local politics and leadership and the specific characteristics of regional history will introduce significant variation in the unfolding of new government-society relations at local levels.

PVOs and other international organizations are often important sources of material and technical assistance beyond rural districts and localities. They also play an influential role in determining the nature of developmental relationships at the provincial level. Because most PVOs are provincially-based and work in several districts, there is a tendency for their relationships with government to be focused on the province. This tendency is reinforced by the sectoral focus (i.e. agriculture, health or water) of most PVO activities, which lends itself to technical links with provincial directorates which share this sectoral scope.

Insofar as the PVO provincial project center functions as the source of direction, resources, and personnel through which district and local activities are realized, it has in one sense supplanted the Provincial Government as the key actor in local development. In other words, just as communities and districts requested and expected provincial government, i.e. *O Estado*, to provide the resources and make the decisions necessary to resolve local problems, many now look to PVOs and other donor financed projects. While admittedly many PVOs do invest in the building of community-level capacity and as such contribute importantly to the diminishing of these habits of dependency on a remote agent (whether Governor or PVO), less attention is typically devoted to the strengthening of more local, yet not necessarily community-based institutions, which are nearer to, more easily influenced by, and in some cases more capable of responding in support of local initiatives.

It is essential to recognize the continuing importance of links between rural communities and external political and administrative systems and the role which local institutions, governmental and non-governmental, play as intermediaries in these relationships. The PVO, as a contributor not only to the beneficiary's welfare but also to the development of a framework for future improvement of life and livelihood, plays an important role in the development of these links. Thus one must ask the question, *"What are the most appropriate mediating institutions from families and communities to the formal structures of government and how can the effectiveness of these links be promoted in the interest of sustainable local development?"* Further reflection on this question can be found below.

2.2. Community Context and Resource Base

The rural community (village or locality) is, after the family/household, the basic unit of rural development activity. Social services are organized at community level, collective action for infrastructure development and maintenance is usually organized at the community level, and much economic development assistance, while targeted at individual producers, is also organized at community level in order to achieve necessary economies of scale and efficiency of effort.

Because so much of PVO activity is focused on the rural community, it is worthwhile to consider the general features which characterize Mozambique's rural communities.

Because of the tremendous variations in community characteristics across and within regions, generalization must be cautious and qualified,. However some important general features and broad trends do emerge which are worthy of consideration in the context of elaborating an institutional development strategy for rural development activities in Mozambique.

2.2.1. Community Human Resources

The lack of educated, trained, and even skilled people represents a significant constraint at all levels in contemporary Mozambique, but nowhere more acutely than among rural communities. The complex legacy of colonial underdevelopment of the African population and out-migration induced by politicization of rural society and later by civil war has left many villages with very few literate, numerate, or otherwise formally trained residents.

Indigenous systems of skill transfer were also significantly disrupted by the war. Thus many rural Mozambicans have not learned from their elders the survival skills--including agricultural practices, natural resource use, and even health care practices--which their parents often possessed. In this sense Mozambique's rural communities have been doubly impoverished, often poorly skilled in both "modern" and "traditional" senses.

However, several important experiences mitigate these constraints. Many migrant workers have brought with them from South Africa and other neighboring countries rich personal and professional experience which contributes importantly to the skills pool of their communities. More widely, and especially in the regions where Mozambicans sought refuge in Zimbabwe, many returnees bring with them skills, experience and sensibilities of potentially significant value not only to their families but also to their communities. Unfortunately, it appears that relatively few of those returning from Malawi benefited similarly. Also, many Mozambicans achieved basic and in some cases technical/vocational education while dislocated <u>within</u> the country during the war, although it is less clear how many of them have returned or will return to the countryside.

Thus the availability of basically educated or skilled people within communities is limited in many parts of Mozambique. PVOs report that not only is it difficult to find teachers and nurses within many villages, it is also often a challenge to locate a literate or Portuguese speaking progressive farmer or midwife to be a leader/trainer for agricultural or community health activities. While dynamic leadership and participation of community members, and their profound knowledge of their environment and traditional practices and technologies, are essential to sustainable rural development, they cannot be held to be sufficient when outside technology (such as vaccines and medicines) and management systems (such as basic cash accounts and written reports) are held to be desirable. In addition, because many development assistance programs require local committees and most require someone who speaks passable Portuguese to communicate with outside (including Mozambican) field workers, there is an ongoing problem of "overloading" better educated community members with many time consuming meetings.

The scarcity of these skilled individuals (not to say absence, since many such local notables have been identified and engaged) within communities increases the difficulty of developing adequate self-sufficient community-level institutions to support sustainable service delivery. Insofar as it increases the reliance on externally

recruited and more formally employed para-professionals (i.e. Mozambican personnel from nearby town and cities), this human resource constraint substantially increases the cost and the vulnerability of rural service delivery systems.

2.2.2. Community Financial Resources

Nearly all rural Mozambicans are poor. By regional standards, a majority is likely to remain poor for the next generation. It can reasonably be hoped that soon rural production will support the basic nutritional needs of nearly all rural households except in cases of drought or flood, but the time frame within which many households will be able to produce significant cash incomes remains unclear. While their are positive signs of growing income generating activity in many rural areas, it is difficult to project both the scale and the distribution of the income gains to be realized during the next 5-10 years.

The mobilization of these growing, yet still small, incomes in support of local investment and local service delivery is an important element in the promotion of sustainable rural development in Mozambique. As rural households generate surpluses, many have expressed and some have already demonstrated a willingness to contribute to the costs of operating schools and health posts and maintaining water points. It can be expected that this sort of cost recovery for operating and maintenance of basic services can be promoted and will increase as household food security improves and rural incomes increase.

However, it appears unlikely that most rural communities will be able to mobilize sufficient resources to sustain basic services without some external input during the next 5 years. To the extent that these services require relatively expensive inputs from beyond the community, they are difficult to sustain based purely on local cost recovery. For example, a community resident minimally capable of teaching primary school (i.e. literate) or a traditional midwife can be trained by an external agency (government or NGO) and sustained through community contributions. Given the fact that their home and family are in the same area, their income (in cash or in kind) can be seen as a household supplement. On the other hand, the mid-level nurse needed to staff the health post or the mid-level agriculture technician or teacher who probably comes from a nearby town will require a more-or-less living wage in order to remain in the rural community. In addition, the full cost of vaccination and essential medicines, necessary inputs to a basic health program, will be difficult to recover in most areas during the near term.

Thus, one is forced to confront a fundamental impediment to sustainability of service delivery in rural Mozambique: household and community level poverty. Local cost recovery can play an important role in filling gaps and enabling local communities to address specific constraints which compromise service delivery, but is unlikely to provide sufficient resources to eliminate reliance on outside funds during the next few years. Without some mechanism for financing the flow, at least at a minimal level, of essential external human and material resources, basic social and economic development promotion services will remain vulnerable to the cutback of the PVO or other foreign organization which provides them or finances their provision.

2.2.3. Community Institutional and Leadership Resources

A third important community resource is the capacity to mobilize, organize and coordinate the action of community members. This capacity is manifest in the

institutional and leadership resources--the roles, norms, relationships, and systems of communication and decision as well as the personalities--which are needed to translate individual interest and effort into collectively beneficial outcomes.

Here it is essential to note the limitations of the notion of "community" in the context of rural institutions and organization. One ought to be cautious about assuming the homogeneity and the coherence of Mozambique's rural populations vis-à-vis collective action, and about attributing shared goals and interests to the households one encounters occupying a given territory. Given the profound and often violent dislocation and change rural populations have suffered during the last two generations, the extent to which the populations of rural localities feel themselves to be a community and are willing on occasion to forego or defer private interests for collective benefit should be seen as an empirical one, to be decided not *a priori* but rather on the bases of the expressed intentions, and more importantly, on the actions of "community" members in today's Mozambique.

Nevertheless, it is clear that rural Mozambicans have demonstrated their capacity to organize themselves effectively (and sometimes to adopt willingly the organizational strategies brought by outsiders) at various junctures in their recent history. The stories of survival in the face of colonial forced labor regimes, of mobilization during the fight for independence, of voluntary personal sacrifice during the heady days of post-independence socialism, and of civil war and grassroots civil defense are testimony to the durability and flexibility of the institutional fabric in many parts of rural Mozambique. Thus, in the context of an examination of the strategies by which one can promote the "ownership" and sustainability of externally supported development initiatives, it is worthwhile to explore the characteristics and potentials of community-level institutions.

Mozambique's rural communities can be said (once again dangerously generalizing) to face relatively weak systems of leadership which are in a rapid and dynamic process of simultaneous pluralization and institutionalization. Often these two processes are in tension with each other. Because the of flux characteristic of the last thirty years, lines of authority are often unclear and leadership roles are often confused. Sometimes this ambiguity is a source of local tension and/or conflict. Their is no universally applicable model for the role of "traditional authorities" and other sources of community leadership including educated and commercial elites as well as *grupos dinamizadores* and similar party structures. (It should be noted that these leadership structures are often interpenetrating in spite of superficial tensions concerning their bases of legitimacy.)

While leadership is in part an individual phenomenon--based on the ability of a prospective leader to marshal respect and eventually participation or compliance by followers--it also depends in part on a consensual recognition of the structure through which leadership acts. It is here that the problem often lies in rural Mozambique. While there <u>are</u> respected intelligent and even wise members of most rural communities, existing structures--such as *regulado*, party, and administration--are often ill-adapted to acknowledging and institutionalizing the role of such members as leaders. Thus rural communities often face situations where it is difficult to join the communities' "natural" individual leaders and the structures of leadership and governance in ways which produce both legitimate and effective mechanisms for decision and collective action.

The question of "traditional authority" requires special attention in this context[1]. It should be emphasized from the start that no valid universal treatment of the role of the *regulo* in Mozambique is possible. The very notion of *regulo* is a colonial construct, superimposed over a wide variety of indigenous governance and leadership institutions which vary from hereditary kingships to council chair/senior elder (first among equals) to a externally nominated intermediary for tax collection, labor mobilization or other administrative matters. Thus while in some areas the institution of the *regulado* is a clearly legitimate and integral form of local governance, in other it remains a problematic construct more closely linked to the use made of it by outside agents (government, plantation, party or NGO) than to internal community dynamics.

Nevertheless, in many parts of the country the *regulo* in its local form represents an important and influential part of the local institutional resource base. In most areas, the *regulo* himself functions as a channel for the (more or less participatory) collective articulation of interest, structuring of collective action, allocation of commonly-held resources, and resolution of disputes. In general the *regulo* is more involved in what might be termed "policy matters" than in "operational matters," in the sense that he typically remains apart from the mechanisms for carrying out decisions. For example, while an influential *regulo* is likely to be involved in the decision of how to organize groups for the maintenance of a road or the distribution of aid, he is unlikely to enter into the selection of specific households to work on a given day or in counting of heads and monitoring of contributions. These functions are typically delegated under the supervision of the *regulo* who would again become involved in case a conflict required resolution or a reformulation of the work plan might be needed. Thus the *regulado*, in broadly general terms, can be seen as an important source of local political leadership but generally less as an executive institution.

Associations and development committees provide an alternative, and increasingly important, channel for the emergence and institutionalization of local leadership. Because they exist in principle outside the defined scope of both "tradition" and party/government, they can emerge as a more organic reflection of community dynamics. In some situations they are more influenced by a political party, in others by local administration, in others by *regulos* and their clans and families, in others by local notables such as teachers or business people; sometimes each of these groups and even more marginal segments of the community are represented in associational leadership. One source of the importance of the associational model is that participation in leadership is more open and can more easily shift over time in response to changing community dynamics.

In sum, the leadership dynamic in rural Mozambique is rapidly evolving. The retreat of the party-state has left open a space which is being contested in localities across the country by a variety of potential leaders. Traditional, associational, and "modern" (referring without intended bias to emerging technocratic and entrepreneurial elites) currents of leadership now exist alongside political and administrative ones in many rural districts and localities. To what extent this process will produce locally accountable and responsive leaders and institutions and to what extent it will degenerate into conflict or domination remains to be seen. However, it is clear that

[1]See Annex ##, Appendix for a brief treatment (in Portuguese) of the status of traditional authorities in rural community development.

the environment in Mozambique for community-level institutional development is more conducive than ever before for the promotion of responsive leadership in the context of PVO supported activities.

2.3. Rural Organizational Context and Capacity

Rural development promotion efforts are grounded in links between rural communities and the broader institutional environment. Production and marketing, social and economic development service delivery, as well as infrastructure improvement and maintenance all require that local actors and resources be coupled with those from beyond community boundaries. The importance of the intermediary institutions which embody these links to the success of rural development efforts is clear. The issue is what sort of intermediaries are best adapted to fulfilling different functions under different economic, social and political conditions: non-governmental, governmental, or private sector.

In the following section, an overview is presented of the status and capacity of each of these types of institutions in contemporary rural Mozambique, as a basis for the recommendations concerning PVO strategies which follow.

2.3.1. Non-Governmental Organizations

2.3.1.1. Introduction

The accelerating growth in the number and variety of non-profit non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Mozambique is one of the most notable changes on the institutional landscape over the last five years. This change can be attributed to a number of factors. First, the increase in development assistance and the opening of rural areas due to improvements in physical security have increased the demand for local development institutions. Second, the increasing openness of the political environment to soaietal (as opposed to governmental or party based) organizational initiatives have made it increasingly feasible for Mozambicans at all levels to initiate and mobilize participation for NGOs. Third, and very significantly, the donor-driven interest in NGO promotion and program implementation has created a supply-side push for the growth of the NGO sector.

Two types of NGOs can be distinguished in order to facilitate clarity of analysis: non-governmental development assistance organizations (NGDOs) and community-based development associations (CBAs). These pure types differ in one essential characteristic: the relation between their members and their beneficiaries. NGDOs are "other-oriented," that is they mobilize resources to provide assistance to non-members. CBAs are "self-oriented" in the sense that the members and the beneficiaries of development or service activities are the same. It is important to note that the "community" around which a CBA is organized may be a geographical community or, importantly, a "community of interest" within which members share a particular characteristic such as being a demobilized soldier or a cashew farmer or a blind person.

Many organizations in Mozambique fall between these two pure types, partaking of characteristics of both. Some of these hybrids are "peak associations" in the sense that their local units are essentially CBAs which are organized into an association of associations, providing support to subsidiaries and so itself acting as a NGDO.

Examples include the UGC (General Union of Cooperatives), AMODEG (the Association of Demobilized Soldiers) and ADEMIMO (the Association of Disabled Military Persons). At central level they function as NGDOs and at local levels as CBAs.

Another complication of this typology is the formal framework within which all official NGOs are legalized in Mozambique; a legal definition which insists not only on a board-based governance structure (as for example does US law) but also on an associational membership which elects and in principle governs this board (unlike the US model where boards may be self-organizing and self-perpetuating). Thus at present all legal Mozambican NGOs are associations, even in cases where their members are neither contributors nor volunteers who materially support the organization's activities.

However, there is increasing movement toward greater member participation even in NGDO-type organizations, such as the ASAN... model. These organizations (Associação dos Amigos e Naturais de ... or Association of Friends and Natives of ...) are the local form of the "hometown associations" familiar in many other African countries through which urban members and other emigrants mobilize support for their city or region of origin. In Mozambique, the membership is often mixed, local notables resident in Maputo joining with those in Nampula in support of development initiatives in that province. Thus ASAN...-type organizations are a sort of hybrid NGDO-CBA which in some senses aombine the comparative advantages of each. These organizations are being created at a rapid rate in Mozambique, although at present the most notable outcome of their existence is the appointment of two of their leaders as provincial governors (in Nampula and Tete) by the post-election government.

Despite these hybrid cases, the discussion below employs the NGDO-CBA distinction because it is useful in identifying the way PVOs and PVO II may look to engaging these organizations and supporting their development promotion activities.

2.3.1.2.Self-Help (Associational) NGOs (CBAs)

2.3.1.2.1.Context

Associational initiatives of many kinds ape increasingly common in Mozambique. In the context of the objectives of PVO II, several kinds of CBAs can be identified: General Community Development Groups, Service Users and Beneficiary Groups, and Ppoducers Groups.

General Community Development Groups comprise both standing village councils or committees and ad-hoc groups linked to a particular activity or initiative. These structures are common features in areas where a Rural Animation Model of community development is employed, a model increasingly popular among both governmental and non-governmental development programs in rural Mozambique. Ad hoc structures are also common when self-help infrastructure improvement or maintenance schemes are implemented, which require community input as a counterpart contribution to externally finanaed technicians/artisans, constructiol materials, heavy equipment or other inputs. Community Development Groups may be structured explicitly on traditional patterns of social organization, such as elders representing clan or other kin groups; on modified structures which promote the participation of typically under-represented groups such as women, youth, and other

marginalized sectors; or on more formally innovative structures such as representatives elected by particular segments (kin, demographic, or geographical) of the community. The function of community development groups is typically related to the planning and implementation of general development initiatives based on the participatory identification of priorities and the mobilization of community resources (human, financial and material) in support of their implementation.

The second kind of CBA, **the Users' Group**, is organized around the beneficiaries of a specific social or development support infrastructure or service. Water users' groups, mothers' groups, farmers' groups, etc. are common examples of this model. There are at least three distinct motives for the organization of beneficiary groups. The first, similar to that expressed above, is the mobilization of resources in support of service provision and maintenance through a fee or contribution (cash or in-kind) system. Here the distinction is that non-beneficiaries need not contribute, as they would be expected to in general community development groups. A second motive is to achieve efficiency and economies of scale in service delivery. Through such groups animation/education, vaccination and well-baby services, or agriculture demonstration and trailing sessions can be offered to groups rather than individuals and at scheduled times rather than continuously, in order to make better use of external personnel and resources. The third motive for the organization of beneficiary groups is that of developing a governance structure which will promote the delivery of services adapted to the needs of their beneficiaries. Organized mothers and farmers should be in a better position to tell health workers or extensionists what their problems and priorities are, rather than be represented by a government official or *regulo* who may have a different perspective on their needs. Thus beneficiary groups may serve to increase the accountability of service deliverers, especially when beneficiaries themselves cmntrol financial or other key program resources.

Producers groups are the third main type of CBA. These groups are often a special case of the beneficiary group discussed above, in the sense that they link farmers or micro-entrepreneurs to extension or other technical assistance structures. However, they typically offer additional economic services to members such as assistance in the purchasing of inputs, access to credit, and marketing of outputs. Some such groups may be organized as cooperatives, others as formal intermediaries between producers and commercial structures, and others as informal facilitators of contacts between individual producers and the market. Here the potential representational/governance advantages of the beneficiary group are coupled with the potential economic advantage of achieving economies of scale and reducing the transaction costs which are often a serious constraint to rural economic development, especially in remote regions.

At present, PVO and other rural development programs are promoting all three of these CBA models. Infrastructure improvement schemes, of which many are underway linked to post-war rehabilitation, often employ the general community development group model. This model may also increasingly be promoted as an approach to organizing tertiary/feeder road maintenance since the road is seen as a public good producing general benefits and therefore difficult to attribute solely to users. Beneficiary groups are increasingly common: being employed in water programs where the inhabitants of specific settlements may control specific water points, MCH activities where young women and their children organize for health education and access to service delivery, and agriculture extension where field agents

typically work through groups of interested producers rather that with the entire community or individual farmers. Producers groups are less common at present but will become increasingly so as market oriented and input dependent agriculture as well as agro-processing and other artisanal activity increases in rural areas.

2.3.1.2.2.Capacity

Many of the capacity issues related to rural CBAs have been discussed above in Section 2.2 regarding the rural community resource base. However a few additional comments based on the specific experience of rural organizational development are germane.

First, the issue of expectations is a very important one. Throughout Mozambique rural development workers report significant resistance (albeit passive) to the assumption of responsibility by grassroots CBAs. Factors discussed earlier--such as weak and conflictual local institutional frameworks, disempowerment by colonial and state socialist regimes, and dependency on relief and other foreign assistance systems--have induced this reluctance of community members to see their development as their challenge and thus too treat local institutions as the vehicles for the achievement of their goals. In many cases, Mozambique's rural resident see (often rightly so) CBAs as the channels through which external resources flow and therefore a sort of hoop through which they must jump in order to open these channels. The challenge of promoting and strengthening CBAs without furthering this perception and the passivity it engenders should not be underestimated.

The general community development group can usefully be seen as a part of the new system of local-level governance which is developing in Mozambique. These institutions are likely to become the most grassroots level of the political organization which will link rural citizens to their (district) municipalities and thus to national systems of service delivery and governance. (See Section ## below on Local Government.) To the extent that they treat issues of broad local interest and activities which produce broad local benefit--i.e. truly public goods such as roads, social infrastructure, land and natural resources, etc.--community development groups in partnership with traditional authorities will require both the popular legitimacy to mobilize and assure local inputs (and overcome free-ridership) and the capacity to responsibly manage the necessary local contributions. In few communities are this legitimacy and this capacity already present; in many the development of both legitimacy and capacity require significant nurturing and training.

Similarly, beneficiary groups can be seen as the lowest level in sectoral service delivery systems. Here the degree of publicness is reduced, and so the likelihood that community institutions will mobilize enough collective resources to collaborate effectively with local government or with NGDOs (including PVOs) increases accordingly. Governance issues are somewhat less of a concern here, since beneficiary interest are more closely linked to group efforts and participation is voluntary. But because cost recovery is likely to be of greater importance in sectoral areas of public interest but relatively private benefit, such as primary education, health care, rural water and agriculture extension, management becomes increasingly important. Thus the effectiveness and sustainability of CBA beneficiary groups in these sectors will increasingly depend on the ability of members to deploy and account for the resources needed to keep the schools, health posts, water points, and

perhaps extensionists working. Given the human resource issues discussed above, this grassroots management potential represents a likely constraint.

Finally, promotion of producers groups may represent an even greater challenge. The Mozambican experience of post-independence cooperatives, which were both excessively dominated and under-supported by government, makes the promotion of producers groups more difficult. More recent observation by many rural Mozambicans of opportunistic elites acting "in the name of the people's interest" further complicate the prospect. Thus the importance of participation in decision-making, transparency, and accountability--in other words of good governance--to the success of local economic associations cannot be overstated. To support good governance, sound record keeping, accounting, communication and other management functions are also required and may be difficult to find among farmers' group participants.

In sum, serious consideration needs to be given to the balance between management and governance in the promotion of CBAs in rural Mozambique. The chequered history of collective endeavors and the limited management capacity of communities and community residents argue for caution and gradualism. While the promotion of community governance (i.e. decision-making, oversight, and control) of local service delivery and development efforts can and should be undertaken with vigor, one needs to examine the role of external actors such as rural animators, extensionists, health technicians, etc. in assuring that communities have access to the skills they need to realize their aspirations. It can be expected that for at least several more years, CBAs will require management assistance from NGDOs, PVOs, and other external actors in order to assure their effectiveness.

2.3.1.3.Development Assistance NGOs (NGDOs)

2.3.1.3.1.Context

As discussed above, increases in the number and scale of NGOs in Mozambique has been rapid in recent years, consistent with the broad trend across Africa as well as the change in Mozambican conditions arising from social and political liberalization. Because of their significance as vehicles for expression outside government channels of Mozambican development priorities and agendas, as well as their potential as intermediaries between sources of foreign aid and program participants/beneficiaries in the field, NGOs have become an important focus of attention among development assistance donors.

Considerable variety exists among Mozambican NGDOs[2]. Some of the largest are local affiliates of international NGOs: Cruz Vermelha de Moçambique (CVM, the Mozambican Red Cross) and Caritas, the Catholic charity, are examples. Others were created by foreign NGO projects: Kulima grew out of a French NGO program and the Ecumenical Council's Rural Rehabilitation NGO (RRR) grew in part from a Lutheran World Federation project. Some NGOs (or quasi-NGOs) such as the União Geral de Cooperativos (UGC) and the Organização das Mulheres Moçambicanas (OMM, the Organization of Mozambican Women) have developed from former party-state mass

[2]Here one distinguishes between NGDOs who have a development orientation and advocacy NGOs whose mission is primarily policy-related communication. The earlier distinction between NGDOs and CBDAs is also maintained. In both cases it should be noted that these are pure types and that in practice many Mozambican NGOs partake of characteristics of all three types.

organizations which have progressively gained autonomy and continue to distance themselves from the government. Other important NGOs have been organized by religious groups, notably the CCM (Mozambican Christian Council), Caritas, and the CIM (Mozambican Islamic Council).

More recently, local activists have begun to organize NGOs in order to develop their own Mozambican governed and managed institutions through which to work for development. In general, NGDOs of this type are led by elite citizens--present or former civil servants or staff of donor organizations/foreign NGOs--and have membership concentrated in Maputo and other major urban centers. Progresso represents one of the first and one of the most capable of these elite developmental NGOs. However, there is a growing trend toward the establishment of NGOs in other provincial centers. In addition to the ASAN...-type "hometown" associations described above, NGDOs focusing on specific issues such as women's development or AIDS prevention education as well as those targeting specific marginalized groups such as street children, the disabled, or the demobilized soldier have gained in prominence. Because of the complexity of the legal process involved, there appear to be few or no associations based in rural areas outside of provincial seats which have achieved fully legal NGO status[3].

Several service NGOs constituted specifically to support NGO programming and development also exist in Mozambique. The most prominent is LINK, which functions as a forum and service organization for both foreign and Mozambican NGO members. While not all Mozambican NGOs belong to LINK, a majority of those based in Maputo do belong, as well as some provincially based organizations. LINK is increasingly oriented toward meeting the needs of national NGOs for information exchange and technical assistance, however it appears that its representational impact has been more significant with respect to clarifying or easing government regulation of foreign NGOs. LINK, along with a university-based initiative supported by the Fredreich Ebert Foundation, is cmntributing to discussions with the Ministry of Justice regarding a new statutory and regulatory framework for Mozambican NGOs. In addition to LINK, a specialized coordinating NGO, MONASO, works specifically with other NGOs in the area of AIDS education and prevention. Another type of local NGO intermediary is the Foundation for Community Development, which often functions as a on-granting agency by channeling foreign-donated funds to local NGOs. It also appears that an attempt to organize a new NGO umbrella association, with solely Mozambican NGO members, is currently underway.

Mozambican NGOs obtain their funding from a number of sources. Many are directly financed by foreign NGOs, primarily European organizations without operational presence in Mozambique. As mentioned above, some NGOs are local representatives of international partners or networks which provide relatively stable base funding. Other have functioned primarily as implementation partners and grantees of foreign NGOs with field programs in Mozambique. Some local NGOs have been funded to deliver emergency and humanitarian relief during the years of Mozambique's drought, war, and post-war resettlement. It appears that during 1993-5 a significant portion of NGO program funds has come from UNHCR's rapid impact

[3] While a comprehensive survey of NGDOs has not been undertaken, a series of consultative roundtables and individual interviews were held in order to assess the status of, and solicit self-assessment of needs and priorities of a variety of NGOs. The results of these discussions are synthesized in Annex ##, in Portuguese with a summary in English.

rural rehabilitation program, principally targeted at the reconstruction and rehabilitation of small-scale rural infrastructure. Several bilateral donors; including the Italians, Dutch, and Swedes; also directly finance Mozambican NGO development projects.

A variety of programs and mechanisms have been organized for the support and development of Mozambican NGOs. Several international NGOs and bilateral donors, as well as UNICEF, have organized workshops and training programs for Mozambican NGO staff as well as financed their participation in training programs in neighboring countries, especially Zimba'we. LINK has also organized several training activities in Maputo and is planning a series of organizational development workshops for Mozambican NGOs. INDER (the National Institute for Rural Development) organized the Balcão de Atendimento das ONGs (an NGO Service Unit) with UNICEF and NORAD support, offering both a series of training workshops and, in principle, an ongoing support service. While its workshops have been well attended and well received, it appears that operational assistance to NGOs by INDER has been quite limited. Progresso has also offered several training workshops aimed at local NGO personnel.

Kulima has been more systematically engaged in NGO capacity building, organizing both training courses and other operational assistance. Kulima has at present an NGO resource center in Maputo, staffed with several university educated, but rather inexperienced, assistants and furnished with a reference library and several computers available for general use by NGO personnel. Kulima has secured funding for at least two more such centers which should be functioning in 1995 in Beira and Nampula and hopes to staff and furnish others in Chimoio, Quelimane, and other provincial capitals in 1996 should resources be available. An additional contribution to NGO development is being made by the African American Institute (AAI) with USAID funding, focusing on training in basic planning and administration alongside a substantive focus on the promotion of democratic principles and practices in NGO programming and the NGO role as participants in "civil society."

In sum, the Mozambican NGO sector is characterized by significant dynamism and resource flows. The number of NGOs of various types can be expected to continue to increase rapidly, as can the number and variety of support programs financed by donors and international organizations. The potential contribution of USAID and of PVOs to the development of NGOs and the NGO sector must take as its point of departure this rapid growth and flurry of assistance to Mozambican NGOs.

2.3.1.3.2.Capacity

In general, Mozambican NGOs lack effective administrative and program management systems. With some notable exceptions--such as CVM, CCM, ADCR (the Association for Rural Community Development in Gaza), Progresso and to some extent Kulima--the level of professionalism and the institutionalization of adequate accounting, monitoring, and field supervision and support systems is limited. Recently, some of the more "professional" NGOs have also suffered from mismanagement and occasional malfeasance. While NGOs represent significant sources of progressive development initiatives focusing on poverty alleviation, grassroots participation, and the incorporation/empowerment of marginalized groups in the development of Mozambican society and economy, their capacity to effectively transform resources into results and to document the use of resources in this

transformation lags behind their increasingly important role as sources and agents of assistance programming.

Based on interviews and discussions with local NGOs conducted during this study as well as consultation of other needs assessments[4], a series of synthetic observations concerning specific capacity issues and the intervention/assistance strategies they suggest are presented below.

One nearly universal priority and concern expressed both by local NGOs and their foreign sponsors/partners is the **lack of adequate financial management and accounting systems.** There are weaknesses at all levels: from transaction documentation and bookkeeping to budget implementation and expenditure tracking to financial reporting. Procurement processes, inventory control, and field-level record-keeping linked to commodity distribution are also concerns. It is important to note that these problems are linked to both the availability of skilled personnel and to the existence of adequate systems. Some NGOs have professional middle-level accountants and/or hardworking, intelligent staff members who have participated in accounting workshops, but do not have in place clear and effective record keeping and reporting procedures. In recent months several NGOs have overspent project budgets or received unfavorable audit reports on their 1994 program expenditures; thus there is an increasing awareness of the need for improvement in accounting and financial management.

It should be noted that some Mozambican NGOs have been unable to mobilize the financial resources needed to address their own management weakness. A number of NGOs depend on small project rather than program funding, and so do not receive significant overhead funds which could be used to pay for improving organization-level capacities. Some NGOs even report foreign donors unwilling to pay for accountants and administrators since "their money is to be spent to benefit the poor not the NGO." Whatever the frequency of this sort of orientation, it represents a tendency for resource-poor organizations to channel as much of their budgets as possible to program activities: a positive sentiment which may have negative consequences on institutional capacity to manage and report on field operations. Thus the skill and system deficiencies discussed above are sometimes related to NGO resource deficiencies.

A second problem identified by NGOs is their **need for program related institutional capacities** in such areas as project design and budgeting, proposal development and presentation, implementation planning and operational management, and the establishment of monitoring and evaluation systems. These cross-cutting functions are needed by all NGOs, regardless of their beneficiary population, sectoral focus, or level of technical sophistication. Several NGO staff members report feeling "caught" between their project designs and their target group--the former failing to provide appropriate resources and strategies to assist the latter. Other NGO managers note the weak link between what happens in the field and plans made in the office and the difficulty NGOs face in knowing to what extent field activities are effective in contributing to project objectives. Another issue cited is the desire of donors for reporting that goes beyond description of project outputs and

[4]The consultants verified and supplemented their own findings through consultation and discussion with LINK, Kulima, and with AAI staff who are at present documenting their own assessment of NGO needs.

documents project impacts and analyzes the dynamics of implementation; NGO managers find it difficult to respond to such requests.

As in the case of finance and administration, NGO staff report that they have attended workshops in these programmatic areas but often have difficulty putting their knowledge into practice in their own organizations. This is a recurring theme in discussion with NGO personnel: the weak link between individual-level training and organizational change and improvement. NGO directors/coordinators who participate in training are often too busy to work closely with staff responsible for operations, management and administration, and mid-level staff who participate in training often feel limited in their ability to make substantial change because their position. Thus there remains a gap between knowledge and practice.

A third problem identified by NGOs is **the long time required to get field operations underway.** Because in many cases their donors are in Europe or their funds come directly or indirectly from large aid organizations like UNICEF, the EC, the Dutch Government, ASDI, USAID, etc., NGOs report the lag between project identification and project funding is often 12-18 months and may be longer. Local NGO projects are often small, relatively local, i.e. targeted at a few specific communities, and of relatively short duration, i.e. 1-2 years; they are generally unlike typical foreign NGO projects which are larger, broader in geographical and substantive scope, and longer term. Thus unlike foreign NGOs, who face these sort od "pipeline" problems on a large scale every several years, many local NGOs are constantly frustrated by their continuing inability to respond rapidly to the articulated needs and initiatives of their target communities. While UNHCR funding, characterized by rapid disbursement during 1994-5, has temporarily ameliorated this problem in some regions of Mozambique, NGOs working in other areas continue to report that slow funding processes constrain their effectiveness in the field. As emergency and resettlement funding ends in 1995-6, this issue can be expected to become an increasing concern among newer and smaller NGOs.

A fourth weakness identified by local NGOs is **the lack of technical expertise** and capacity. Because most Mozambican NGOs are generalist organizations undertaking community development or area development projects, they often find themselves engaged is substantive activities requiring specialized skills and knowledge. Examples of skill needs cited by NGOs interviewed include: agronomy and soil fertility, artisanal fisheries promotion, credit administration and small-enterprise development, building and small bridge design and construction, borehole siting and well construction, and traditional mid-wife training.

Local NGOs are often too small to employ full time technicians to address such needs. Some resolve them by requesting "cooperante" specialists who are financed by foreign partners. Many rely on government staff working in provincial directorates as sources of technical advice; some also request assistance on an *ad hoc* basis from foreign NGO technicians working in the same province. Few local NGOs make use of short-term consultants to address their technical needs. Most cite the high cost of consultancy and the difficulty in identifying and contracting the appropriate person as the reasons. As NGOs move beyond the technically straightforward tasks of distributing seeds and tools, rehabilitating schools and health posts, and organizing village health animation programs and increasingly undertake more substantial economic development, infrastructure provision and maintenance, and serviae delivery and improvement activities, their skill needs can be expected to increase.

Thus existing technical deficiencies of local NGOs are likely to have more significant negative impact on the quality of field programs during the next few years.

To summarize, this study has identified four principle constraints which limit the effectiveness of Mozambican NGO development organizations: inadequate accounting, administration, and financial management systems; limited program design, implementation management, and monitoring and evaluation capacity; long delays in accessing financial resources and slow response to beneficiary initiatives and innovative ideas; and lack of substantive technical skills and expertise needed to support sectoral field activities.

Experience indicates that the sorts of training programs which are commonly organized to support NGO development, while they do make a necessary contribution to the improvement of staff skills, are not sufficient to ensure that these capacity constraints are addressed. Nor will broad increases in normal project finding be sufficient to ensure that NGOs are able to plan and implement high quality development promotion activities which respond in a timely way to beneficiary aspirations. However, an effective program of organizational development and capacity building complemented with specific resources targeted at institutional constraints and relieving "pipeline" delays in launching new initiatives could contribute significantly to increasing the ability of Mozambican development NGOs to increase the effectiveness of field activities and the quality of their reporting in order to satisfy their two most important stakeholders: rural program participants and financial donors. It is to these ends the suggested NGO development component of PVO II, outlined below, is directed.

2.3.2. Local Government Organization

2.3.2.1.1.Introduction

The Government of Mozambique is in the midst of a wide range and a complex series of public sector reforms. Each sector, to varying degrees, is redefining its role more narrowly, decentralizing its planning system to move away from centralism and comprehensivism, and introducing management systems better adapted to field operations and service delivery. While some of the fruits of these reforms are already measurable, many remain focused at central level ministries and have thus far not observably improved the way rural services are delivered and rural areas governed. One important exception to this delay is the Ministry of Health, which has undertaken significant action to decentralize planning and management systems and has begun to realize improvements in service delivery and organization at provincial, district, and local levels.

Two of the key features of this reform procesq with relevance for rural development programming are systematic decentralization and local governance reform and the redefinition of the role and the boundaries of government and of government's relationships to non-governmental actors and institutions.

Decentralization, both sectoral and territorial, increases the importance of the rural district as the focus of service delivery and infrastructure investment and maintenance. In addition, because such functional decentralization is taking place concurrently with the creation of autonomous local governments with their own democratic institutional framework and financial base (due to begin in 1996), it is

linked to political and budgetary management reforms which may be mutually reinforcing. This sectoral management improvement and local level governance reform clearly have implications for the development of institutional strategies for increasing local "ownership" and sustainability of PVO supported development activities.

In addition, several sectors have recognized the importance of non-governmental service delivery systems--NGDO, CBA, and private sector based--by redefining the role of the public sector in specific functional areas. While this liberalization of the public service delivery regime remains embryonic, its trends and implications are becoming clear. Government will no longer monopolize many areas of service delivery, and will increasing function not only as a service deliverer but also as a coordinator and regulator of non-governmental delivery units. In addition, the public sector is expected to increase its role in research and training in support of improved public service by both governmental and non-governmental providers and producers.

In the Section 3.2 these trends are more specifically described in relation to the district/local governance system as well as in each of the key sectors of PVO rural development activity: agriculture, health, and water/local infrastructure. Both the current trends and assessment of existing capacity and constraints are presented for each.

2.3.2.1.2.Context

New local government laws passed in 1994 and 1995 will transform Mozambique's District Administrations into Rural Municipal Governments. To the extent that they are implemented over the next few years, they will significantly effect the institutional environment of rural development efforts--both in relation to PVO (and other external) projects and in relation to community participation and "ownership." Thus any consideration of strategies to increase the role of local actors and institutions in rural development efforts needs to look carefully at the service delivery and development support roles of local government and at their relationship to PVO and other external supported development promotion efforts.

It should be noted that local governments will fulfill a variety of functions, some of which are clearly beyond the scope of the sort of community and sectoral development efforts in which PVOs are currently engaged. They will collect taxes, enforce law and administer justice, promote and facilitate local investment and production, and adjudicate--alongside traditional authorities--disputes over land and other civil issues as well as organize social services, coordinate emergency assistance, and maintain basic infrastructure. Thus while there is an area of potential collaboration between PVOs and Rural Municipalities, their are also areas of "distinctive competence" where their roles do not overlap.

The new legal framework attributes "political, financial, administrative, and patrimonial [i.e. asset management] powers to new "rural autarchies." This implies that in the future districts will have the right and the power to determine their investment priorities, to allocate their own financial resources to operating costs, and to assign personnel to such service delivery units as primary schools, health posts, construction and maintenance brigades, and agriculture extension networks. While it is not yet clear precisely how districts governments will work vis-à-vis existing sectoral administration, in terms of allocation of roles, responsibilities, and resources,

it can be expected that gradually significantly greater priority setting and management responsibility will be vested with the local authorities. Thus, to the extent that PVOs desire to promote a management and support structure in the public sector beyond the level of the individual community or service delivery unit, the obvious institutional option is the district.

In addition, the law provides the new local government with standing as a "legal person." Thus it becomes possible for districts to enter into agreements and even contracts with external actors--private sector, NGO and donor--for the financing of and the delivery of public services. This opens significant opportunities for the development, at local levels, of the mixed institutional arrangements which appear favorable for effective and sustainable rural service delivery and development support. In situations where PVOs identify such non-governmental delivery and support systems as preferable to public sector ones, they can facilitate the development of coordination and collaboration mechanisms through which service producers (private or NGO) define their roles and relationships with the public sector via agreements with district governments.

2.3.2.1.3.Capacity

The development and implementation of a new framework for rural local government promises significant opportunities for the development of more responsive local institutional arrangements for service delivery. However, it is essential to note that at present capacity does not exist in Mozambique's rural districts to assume such roles, responsibilities, and functions.

Neither skills nor systems are in place adequate for local planning, organization and management of local service delivery. And of equal importance, little understanding exists of the new relationships and patterns of behavior which will be required--from local politicians, local administrative and technical personnel, local leaders and notables, and local citizens--in order for this new institutional arrangement to work effectively. Significant training and consciousness raising are needed in order to create the conditions within which decentralization can make a positive contribution to rural development in Mozambique and not merely create another level of unaccountable government which serves its own interests to the detriment of its constituency.

Because PVOs and other development project implementors are among the best endowed and most influential actors in rural areas, they are likely to influence the way the rural local government reform unfolds during the next five years. If the PVO response is to maintain its technical/sectoral orientation linked to provincial sectoral directorates, it will represent an influence (among many others no doubt) toward the maintenance of the status quo--reliance of localities on provincial organizations, governmental and non-governmental. On the other hand, if the PVO recognizes the centrality of the district as the level of government closest to the rural population and the link between rural communities and the broader public sector, including provincial departments, the PVO can assist in the development of a sound institutional basis for decentralization of development planning and implementation as well as effective service delivery.

As noted above, one need not reinforce government monopolies in public service delivery while promoting the development of local government. The importance of

promoting the sensibilities and the mechanisms required for constructive public-private and public-NGO relationships at the local level is an important contribution to local institutional development. Establishing both the precedents and the methodology for such collaborative action in areas such as health, agriculture, and infrastructure maintenance is a crucial process; one to which external organizations can contribute importantly.

Thus PVOs might consider the usefulness to institutionalizing and sustaining their project activities by contributing to the development of the capacities of rural municipalities (district governments). PVOs can help local governments to realistically define and effectively fulfill their functional roles and at the same time facilitate districts' recognition of and collaboration with the non-governmental partners which complement them, both those at the community level and those from more formal NGO and private sectors. In this way PVO activities can play a progressive role in the rural institutional development process at this phase of Mozambique's history, rather than entrench themselves as substitutes for provincial administration. As will be discussed below this principle applies universally, if somewhat differently, to each of the sectoral domains within which PVOs operate: agriculture, health, and small infrastructure.

3. Status and Trends in Mozambican Rural Development

3.1. The Changing Nature of PVO Programs

3.1.1. Transition from Relief through Rehabilitation to Development

As the long-term emergency in Mozambique from drought and war has drawn to a close, the environment in rural Mozambique has changed dramatically. During 1994-5, the opening of rural areas and the return of refugees and *deslocados* has produced new and different demands for external assistance from PVOs and other donor supported organizations.

Food aid and medical relief now play a significantly different role; rather than maintenance of Mozambique's population, these resources are targeted at enabling rural residents to reestablish themselves in their communities and reestablish the productive bases for household livelihood. Infrastructure development is no longer provisional; it is investment in the basic living conditions and services which will contribute to the viability of rural settlements. This rehabilitation phase, expected to continue through 1996, is aimed at creating the conditions for individual and community development in the medium term.

Clearly, Mozambique's rural society remains weak and vulnerable. Not only low incomes, but the demographic burden of high dependency ratios and the poor skills base and low educational and health status of the rural population make the restoration of viable communities a significant challenge. Only several years of productive work by rural residents and successful rehabilitation investment from outside can create the basis at the household level for minimum food security and for an adequate balance between production, investment, savings, and consumption.

PVO program focus currently reflects this transitional situation. Agriculture programs are dominated by significant emphasis on subsistence food production, often complemented by food aid during (at least) the first crop cycle. Free distribution of seeds and tools is gradually being replaced by subsidized sale of (or in kind trade for) inputs. Health programs focus on rehabilitation and equipping of health posts and extension of vaccination and service coverage to relatively remote populations. Rural infrastructure projects focus on the construction of potable water points, often developing the only functional sanitary sources in target communities.

However, as well as relief-type activities, the rehabilitation phase of PVO programs also typically includes elements more oriented toward longer term development. Some PVO agricultural programs include research for the selection of productive varieties and cultural practices as well as extension of improved technique to farmers. A few have begun to address issues such as post-harvest storage and marketing of surpluses. PVO health projects train nurses, midwives, and village health agents; some also promote improved management and supervision systems. Water projects include community animation/sanitary education and local maintenance components well as institutional development for EPARs and village and district-based well maintenance teams.

In sum, one can say that significant evolution of PVO programs has accompanied the dramatic changes in rural Mozambique during 1993-5. While elements of the "donation" approach to assistance remain, they are in general being replaced by an "investment" approach. PVO projects funded in 1994 and 5 clearly reflect this trend away from relief and toward development assistance, as reflected by two broad program strategies: promotion of income generating activities and emphasis on community governance of development activities.

3.1.2. Movement toward Production and Income Generation

Several PVO programs have begun to significantly emphasize production and income promotion, consistent with USAID's own strategic objective to increase rural household incomes in Mozambique.

Thus far, the principle areas of focus are agricultural production for market and small-scale agro-processing. Agriculture projects include staple crops such as maize, beans, sweet potato, and cassava; horticultural crops such as tomato, pepper, onion, and cabbage; and more recently oilseeds such as peanut and sunflower. Agro-processing, a newer element, is at present mainly focused on edible oil production from oilseeds. In addition, some PVOs have begun promotion of small livestock production, principally goats and chickens. Thus far, PVO promoted production has not been input dependent; beyond in-kind exchange for seed or in-kind payment for animals PVOs have undertaken little or no agricultural credit provision.

Recently, PVOs have begun to concern themselves not only with production but also with marketing. Support for market information systems and promotion of producers association and marketing cooperatives is seen as an essential addition to increased production in order to secure rural income increases. In this context, institutional development complements technical improvement in order to achieve the economic benefit of agricultural development.

A further area of possible income promotion, still largely unexplored by PVOs, is off-farm income generating activity. As USAID has commissioned a specific study in

this area, issues of substantive content will not be addressed here. However, it is clear that such programs will rely considerably on local institutions for at least two of their key activities: credit administration and business skills training. Thus it can be expected that in addition to direct assistance to beneficiaries, PVOs will be involved in the development of provincial and district based enterprise support organizations which support off-farm production and marketing.

3.1.3. Increasing Emphasis on Community Development and Beneficiary Responsibility

The other key dimension to PVO development programming is a growing focus on grassroots development and local participation.

PVO sectoral programs now typically include community-level animation, and/or organization components which promote local intermediaries through which PVO field agents work and through which beneficiaries undertake collective action. Rural water, basic health, and smallholder agriculture projects each involve characteristic forms of local institutions--from well committees to mothers' groups to farmers' associations-- which assume particular functions in their implementation. As-- discussed above in Section 1.3.3, the role of participation varies as does the degree to which community institutions promote beneficiary governance. However, one notes clear trends toward increased beneficiary involvement in identifying priorities and toward the engagement of community institutions to mobilize local resources as part of project implementation.

Not only do PVOs focus more on collective responsibility, they also increasingly promote individual responsibility among beneficiaries. The shift from charity-style relief programs to development programs has increasingly led many NGOs to sell inputs (albeit at subsidized prices) and to offer credit instead of donations. The fragility of many resettled communities has in some cases delayed this transition, but it can be expected that as the rural food security situation improves, less donation and greater beneficiary input will become the rule. Savings, mobilized domestic financial resources, household contributions, credit provision, and user fees are all expressions of this tendency toward reducing dependence on outside resources and increasing beneficiary responsibility for supporting rural services.

3.2. Sectoral Development Policies, Programs and Institutions

3.2.1. Agriculture Sector

3.2.1.1. Context

The promotion of small-holder agricultural production and marketing is a relatively recent development in Mozambique. Post-independence agriculture sector programming favored state enterprise and cooperative producers and largely neglected household level production. Collapse of the state farming sector, broad based policy reorientation under the PRE (Economic Reform Program), and the increasing prominence of international NGOs with a smallholder focus in rural areas have led government to reformulate its approach to increased rural production. In the context of rural resettlement and rehabilitation since the 1992 peace agreements,

the so-called "family sector" has been recognized as an important engine for both economic growth and social development among Mozambique's rural majority.

The liberalization of rural produce markets is one of the key features of the new environment for smallholder agriculture. The elimination of state marketing monopolies for most commodities (some export crops remain exceptions) and the shift from officially fixed prices to minimum market prices have fundamentally changed the relationship of rural producers to broader markets and in general improved their terms of trade significantly. While private market institutions remain underdeveloped (see below), favorable incentives presently exist to encourage the expansion of competitive outlets into rural areas as the transport links which facilitate them improve.

A second significant change in the context for agricultural development is the adoption by government of a policy and strategy for smallholder development and the introduction of a "Master Plan for Agricultural Extension" which defines the mechanisms through which government will organize technical assistance to small farmers in order to promote the introduction of improved varieties, technologies, and cultural practices. This strategy--based on the implementation of district-based extension networks supported by provincially and regionally based research and training programs--provides a more coherent basis for government-NGO collaboration in support of smallholder assistance.

The shift in focus to include household-scale production units, the liberalization of rural markets, and the introduction of an extension and technical assistance model aimed at smallholders all create a significantly more favorable environment for PVO agriculture programs than that which existed before 1994.

3.2.1.2. Capacity

The capacity of Mozambican actors to take advantage of the improved context described above remains constrained by limited capacities in both the private and public sectors. In order to achieve both desired increases in production and income as well as the capability to continue the promotion of improved technologies and practices, PVO agriculture programs need to address these institutional constraints as well as those faced at the farm level.

Until recently neither the public sector nor the local NGO sector has had the financial, logistical, human, and technical resources necessary to competently assist small farmers. Little appropriate technical information and few field-proven low-input "production packages" have been available to be extended to farmers. Undercapitalized, under-skilled, and underpaid government agriculture staff rarely reached the farmer with useful, timely information. Few Mozambican NGOs have had the technical skills to offer more than material support, i.e. seeds and tools, to farmers. Neither the public nor the non-profit sector has demonstrated its ability to effectively implement small-scale water resource development and irrigation schemes for smallholders.

During the last two years, the quality of services available to small farmers has begun to improve, largely as a result of the intervention of donor-financed programs. Multilateral assistance from the UNDP/FAO Pre-Program and from World Bank, ADB, and IFAD agriculture sector credits has financed the establishment of district extension networks in about 20 of Mozambique's 128 districts. The most common

model for their organizations is the employment of contact personnel paid out of a central "Fundo de Fomento Agraria" (Fund for Agricultural Promotion). These extension teams are employed on public sector terms but are not civil servants. Typically they are supported by an area development project which provides training, transport and logistical support, allowances and per diems, and technical supervision. Several bilateral and international NGO projects such as the German GTZ program (MARRP) in Manica, the UNICEF district development programs in several provinces, and the Danish Ibis program in Zambezia "operationalize" government contracted extension staff and networks using donor project resources.

In other districts, foreign NGOs have developed their own extension and agriculture training systems using direct hire personnel as their link between projects and rural participants. To varying degrees these NGO projects collaborate with provincial and district agriculture departments in the planning and implementation of their field programs; some merely coordinate, i.e. share information, while others collaborate, i.e. jointly implement, their extension and training schemes. This non-governmental model, typically adopted by American PVOs as well as by some European organizations such as Oikos (Portuguese) and Molisv (Italian), is typically more productive and more technically capable than either the normal DDA (District Agriculture Department) or the better contract extension agent model. By employing training and supporting Mozambican field personnel PVO projects contribute significantly to the professional skills base of rural Mozambique as well as to rural communities and farmers. And because the technical and organizational capacities of PVOs are high, the quality and productivity of their field efforts considerably surpasses those of local institutions, governmental and NGO. However, as will be discussed below, PVO extension system as currently implemented in Mozambique are not likely to be sustained beyond the term of PVO funding, thus threatening their long-term contribution to the slow process of smallholder agriculture development.

Few Mozambican NGOs have engaged in systematic technical assistance to small farmers as described above. Most have limited their "agriculture" programs to the distribution of tools and seeds and the construction of farmer service centers (*Casas Agrarias)*. Organizations such as Kulima and AMRU do employ agriculture technicians who provide a liaison between participating communities and the NGO as well as provide elementary advice on row planting, weeding, etc. However in general these extensionists function more as logisticians and animators than as sources of technical assistance to farmers. Among exceptions to this rule are ACDR (the Rural Community Development Association) in Gaza and UGC (the General Cooperative Union) in Nampula and other provinces. which have to varying degrees organized Mozambican NGO extension networks which collaborate with government agriculture field agents in introducing improved practices to farmers and farm communities.

Not surprisingly, many of the capacity constraints discussed above are linked to resource constraints. Both the lack of financial resources to pay and otherwise support field staff and the lack of well trained professional agriculturalists to train and supervise them limit the quality of Mozambican government and NGO extension personnel. As demonstrated by the relatively high costs per beneficiary community or household of existing PVO and foreign NGO agriculture programs, adequate staff, support, and training cost money. And PVO experience indicates that when well

managed these resources can make a notable difference in the productivity of extension as measured by adoption of new practices and increases in production.

In the context of this study, the question remains: What sort of arrangement linking PVOs (and other foreign NGOs) to Mozambicans organizations, governmental or non-governmental, will create the most productive and sustainable mix of technical capacity and local institutionalization of services supporting the development of smallholder agriculture?

3.2.2. Health Sector

3.2.2.1. Context

The delivery of primary health care services to rural populations represents one of the greatest challenges in contemporary Mozambique. The importance of improving the health status of vulnerable populations by reaching minimum standards of health educatiol, preventative services, and rudimentary curative services has been repeatedly articulated as a priority by the Mozambican population at all levels, by the government and by major donor organizations. USAID's targeting of improved maternal and child health as a strategic objective of its country assistance strategy is a recognition of this priority.

One important feature of the primary health care sector in Mozambique is the debate over standards, reflected in the balance between preventative and curative services and the reliance on professional versus community-based service providers. Health policy and management professionals have demonstrated the cost effectiveness and substantial benefits of basic preventive services such as vaccination, health education, and community sanitation improvement. While vaccination requires a complex and on-going logistical and technical system to assure that viable vaccine is correctly administered, the latter two preventive interventions require only simple technologies and rudimentary changes in household practices to produce improvements in health status. Curative services typically require both moderate technical expertise (for correct diagnosis) and external inputs (medicines) to assure adequate treatment.

Each of the three types of services typically promoted by rural health programs--education, vaccination, and treatment--demand a somewhat different institutional approach. The first, health education/animation, lends itself to a community-based and very low input approach. Its costs are low, its benefits collective, and the solutions it promotes sustainable with limited continuing external input (e.g. training and minimal support to animators and community-based deliverers such as midwives).

The second preventative intervention, vaccination, clearly requires well organized links between beneficiary communities and external institutions which provide materials and logistical support. Such support is expensive but produces long-term and broadly collective improvements in health status by containing the spread of childhood communicable diseases. In general vaccination is considered public good worthy of public investment, and an investment priority across rural Africa.

Setting standards of service for the third intervention, clinical or curative health care, poses the most complex and difficult case and is the subject of considerable debate. Because it engenders high recurrent costs linked to generally narrow benefit, clinical service has more of the technical characteristics of a private good than do health

education and vaccination. The need for both technical expertise typically unavailable in Mozambique's rural communities (i.e. a trained nurse) and for imported supplies (pharmaceuticals) implies that external resources must be mobilized to sustain curative services. The government, given its difficulty in fielding and supporting technical personnel and its lack of supplies and logistical systems, is often unable to meet the demands of ensuring the delivery of effective curative services.

It is worthwhile to note the importance of the rural health post as the nexus of all three of these rural health services. The health post provides a focus for the continuing training of village health workers and animators. It provides a base of operations and a support center for vaccination brigades working in remote regions. And it is the site of curative service delivery. In practice, these rural health services are interdependent; the physical locus of the integration of both preventative and clinical services is the health post. In this sense, one can pose the basic question regarding organization of rural health services in terms of defining the role and developing an adequately sustainable support and management structure for Mozambique's rural health posts.

During 1993-1995, donor assistance implemented largely through NGOs (including PVOs) has dramatically increased the number of rural health posts operating in Mozambique's rural areas. Physical rehabilitation and the provision of basic operational support (often including personnel) has significantly outstripped the ability of Mozambican institutions to take over and sustain them. Neither government nor NGOs are presently in a position to keep widely dispersed health posts in operation. Thus Mozambique finds itself in 1995-96 in the unenviable position of facing both excessive demand (from the beneficiary population) and excessive supply (from NGOs and other projects) of basic health services but without the financial, managerial or technical capacity to maintain their correspondence over the medium term.

The realities of continuing dependence on external financing for rural primary health services in Mozambique is undeniable. Both the low purchasing power of the rural population and the "public good" nature of preventative services limits the potential for implementing a market solution. What the population can afford, community based prevention, is that which they are least likely to purchase. And what they value most directly, curative service, is beyond both their means and that of their government. Vaccination, being expensive and not offering immediate benefits, is most problematic in this sense.

The challenge facing USAID supported PVOs and other donor financed programs is how to create an institutional context for basic rural health care provision which is less vulnerable to the dual threats of weak technical and management systems and extremely low purchasing power among beneficiaries while both supply and demand side conditions improve during the next 5-10 years.

3.2.2.2. Capacity

At present, two dominant approaches exist for provision of the health services described above in Mozambique's rural areas: decentralized provision by foreign charities (PVOs/NGOs) and centralized provision through the Ministry of Health network. These two approaches are not mutually exclusive; in practice they coexist

in various combinations depending on the strategic approach taken by external organizations.

At one extreme, foreign organizations establish independent health education and service delivery systems in coordination with Ministry of Health field offices at provincial and district level. At the other, PVOs/NGOs provide operational and technical support to government health workers at government health posts, in essence making operational what would otherwise be only minimally functional units.

It is evident that NGO/PVO operated or sponsored health posts offer more consistent and generally higher quality services than those relying on support provided through government channels (largely financed by donors in any case). Higher salaries, better training, and more professional management and supervision result in higher motivation and technical standards. The material and logistical support which NGOs/PVOs provide routinely, and government provides sporadically, complement better performing staff to produce broadly superior outcomes in terms of coverage and care. In addition, most foreign NGO/PVO field teams focus more systematically on health education and community animation than do government health workers, thus increasing the long-term contribution to improved health status.

The independent health service model poses obvious concerns for sustainability. Indeed, some areas of Mozambique have already begun to experience declines in service quality as emergency and relief organizations such as Medecins sans Frontieres have begun to close the district-level field offices which have supported rural health posts for the last 3-6 years. While the level at which equilibrium will be reached in such cases of NGO "hand-over" to government health systems has yet to be determined, it seems clear that curative services will suffer from declining supplies and medicines and that the logistical and management systems supporting vaccination brigades are also vulnerable. This phenomenon of "aid withdrawal shock" is characteristic of both government and NGO based delivery systems. While government health workers will continue to be paid, however poorly and sporadically, the other essential elements of the rural health care system--supplies and materials, training, management and supervision, and transport--will be less available as external PVO/NGO support declines.

The Ministry of Health has recognized the severe constraints on public sector capacity to effectively deliver rural health services. It has begun a redefinition of the role of government in the health sector, including a more explicit recognition of the importance of private sector and non-profit providers. Already, a *de facto* division of responsibility has emerged with NGO (local and international) programs assuming primary responsibility for grassroots health education and community animation efforts, in close coordination with District health departments and local health posts. It can be expected that during 1995-96, the MOH will more formally define its relationship to NGO providers of vaccination and curative services, in essence delegating responsibilities for serving particular areas and populations to NGOs.

Another dimension of public sector reform in the health sector in recognition of capacity constraints is movement toward the liberalization of pharmaceutical retailing. While the nature of specific reform is still under discussion, it appears that licensing of private sector (including NGO) drug sales outside of formal sector pharmacies will soon begin. Whether or not the state monopoly on importation of drugs by MEDIMOC will be superseded by a regulated private import system for

essential medicines is less clear. Informed respondents indicate, however, that the most serious failures under the current system is in distribution and deployment, i.e. "wholesale and retail."

The area of pharmaceutical provision appears to be one significant constraint that has so far been relatively little addressed by NGOs/PVOs. At the "wholesale" level, i.e. distribution at provincial and even district level, this can be attributed to the limitations imposed by government policy. As MOH policy becomes more open to alternative institutional arrangements, important opportunities for non-profit distribution of essential medicines may become available which could contribute significantly to the effectiveness of curative services in rural areas by assuring consistent and adequate medicine supplies. A social marketing approach to rural pharmaceutical provision, combining education and promotion with improved management systems and logistical subsidies for distribution of medicines, might be an appropriate approach to alleviating this significant constraint on the effectiveness of the rural health care system.

Potentially even more important is consideration of improved provision of essential medicines at the "retail" level. It appears that relatively little work has been done in Mozambique in the promotion of community-based medicine provision. The "revolving drug fund" approach, among the most successful local resource mobilization and management initiatives across Africa, remains rare in Mozambique. The combination of cost-recovery, community governance, and decentralized management is a potent one in the face of limited public sector resources, poor public sector management, and centralized distribution and logistical systems within MOH's pharmaceutical program.

In addition, community drug funds provide a powerful and often effective means for introducing local governance into a typically technocratic government health system. By creating a partnership between a local health post staffed by government nurses and a community institution which provides an essential input, medicine, a basis for more collaborative governance of the local health system is established. Indeed, the promotion of a stronger community role in overseeing the activities of health posts and health personnel should be an element of the institutional development strategy of PVO rural health care initiatives, whether they aim explicitly to strengthen MOH health services or promote local NGO alternatives.

In order to address the capacity constraints of the existing rural health system in a way which creates the conditions favorable for sustainability in the medium term, PVO subsidies and support must be channeled through structures which will endure beyond the life of PVO projects. The creation or development of local NGOs capable of managing rural health programs, personnel, and posts is clearly one option. The strengthening of decentralized public sector health service delivery systems is another. Conditions in Mozambique are increasingly favorable for both.

The Ministry of Health has undertaken one of the most systematic management decentralization programs in government. Though still in its early phase, the gradual decentralization of management of operational funds to districts and of management of support staff to the province are being undertaken as a deliberate, progressive strategy. And movement toward NGO "operating agreements" (perhaps eventually sub-contracting) for local level service delivery may open the way to more autonomous operation at district level.

Further empowerment at the level of the health post is essential, whether the delivery point for PVO-supported health services is a government or an NGO facility. It is here that the beneficiary is in contact with the provider and here that human, material and logistical resources are combined in support of service delivery. Until now, relatively little attention has been devoted by PVOs/NGOs to institutional development at the health post and community levels; naturally enough the first priority has been to rehabilitate the delivery system and reinstate minimum services. The result has been not only increased coverage and quality but also increasing dependency in financial terms (at present an inescapable reality) and in organizational terms.

To summarize, institutional structure (relationship between health posts, local NGOs, district health departments, and PVO projects) and local management capacity are crucial elements in the development of effective sustainable rural health service delivery systems in Mozambique. In order to address intrinsic local resource constraints without creating debilitating operational dependencies, flexible institutional arrangements characterized by effective community governance, significant autonomy at the level of health posts, and dynamic collaboration between government structures and local NGOs/PVOs need to be promoted in the context of PVO assistance.

3.2.3. Public Works-Potable Water and Feeder Roads

3.2.3.1. Context

The devastation of Mozambique's rural infrastructure as a result of direct destruction and general neglect during over a decade of civil war has produced a significant demand for reconstruction of rural buildings, roads, bridges, etc. In addition, the resettlement of rural populations and the experience of returning dislocated persons and refugees in camps and peri-urban areas has increased the demand for basic infrastructure such as schools, clinics, and water points. During the present phase of rural rehabilitation, government and donor effort is largely concerned with rehabilitation and construction of small-scale infrastructure throughout rural areas.

Because government's own investment budget is limited, much of this reconstruction has been financed by donor-funded projects. In rural areas a large proportion of the small scale infrastructure work has been implemented by NGOs. During 1994-95 UNHCR has financed a large number of "rapid impact" rural reconstruction micro-projects in areas with large numbers of returning refugees, most implemented through contracts with Mozambican and foreign NGOs. Bilateral donors; including Italy, Denmark, Sweden, the UK, Holland, and Portugal; have typically funded their own national NGOs to implement rural reconstruction activities. These organizations often complement bilateral funds with EU funding. Some undertake small-scale infrastructure work as would a contractor, using hired rural brigades, while others employ more community based approaches and typically limit paid personnel to artisans such as carpenters and masons who provide required skills and often come from outside the community.

The Mozambican government is also implementing rural reconstruction activities with donor funding. Several area-based schemes are being implemented by INDER (the National Institute for Rural Development). INDER implemented or coordinated reconstruction micro-projects in selected districts are being (or will soon be)

supported by EU funding in Gaza, by World Bank funding in Sofala and Zambezia, by IFAD funding in northern Niassa (and through the Artesanal Fisheries Institute in coastal Nampula), by UNICEF funding in two districts each of Inhambane, Manica and Zambezia, and by expected ADB funding in upper Zambezia and lower Niassa. These programs are generally coordinated by the Provincial Planning Commission (CPP) and implemented in various configurations by communities and district administrations. In some of these cases, local or foreign NGOs are engaged as facilitators and overseers of INDER supported micro-projects, alongside local government.

In the rural water sector, specific institutional arrangements for construction project implementation exist. The National Rural Water Program (PRONAR) is directly supported by UNICEF, the World Bank, and several bilateral projects. At provincial level, rural water activities ape overseen by the Directorate of Public Works (DPOP). However, provincial rural water programs in general operate more under PRONAR management than that of DPOP. One or more Provincial Rural Water Workshops (EPARs) function as bases of operation for government rural water teams who construct hand-dug and manually drilled wells and install hand-pumps in rural villages. Generally 2-3 EPARs serve an entire province and few districts without projects have specific water teams within the district administration. A further element in the rural well construction domain is GEOMOC, a parastatal company with provincial delegations which perform hydraulic surveys and drill deep-bore water wells. GEOMOC works now works primarily on a contract basis, and is scheduled for privatization in 1995. Finally Community Education Teams (PECs) linked to the EPARs provide animation and sanitary education support for rural water program activities.

At field level, UNICEF is the most prominent donor, supporting EPARs with vehicles, equipment, training, operational funding, pumps, and the construction materials employed at well sites. In addition, many donors--bilateral and multilateral--and foreign NGOs finance rural water infrastructure projects through grants or contracts with EPARs and, if necessary, with GEOMOC. Some NGOs also organize their own well construction brigades, either purchasing their own pumps or requesting Agua Rurale to supply and/or install them. In areas suitable for hand-dug wells, some NGOs have promoted the development of contract well-diggers by paying local residents for individual construction jobs. Others have begun to employ private contractors to drill deep wells as an alternative to GEOMOC.

At the community level, the promotion of Village Water Committees has become increasingly common. These participant/beneficiary associations function both as channels for community education around water and sanitation practices and as management structures for water points. Cleaning and maintenance around pumps and concrete aprons as well as routine repairs are organized by committees and/or community-based "pump mechanics."

The organization of rehabilitation and maintenance of Mozambique's tertiary or feeder roads is thus far less well defined. Officially, roads which link district seats and other important towns are classified as "provincial roads" and so are the responsibility of the DPOP and its parastatal implementing agent, the ECMEP (Provincial Road Construction and Maintenance Workshop). All lesser roads and tracks are the responsibility of the district administration, which may request investment funds from the annual budget to undertake improvement and/or mobilize

local resources for maintenance. But few government funds actually exist for district-based road rehabilitation and maintenance.

In practice, responsibility varies widely. A few districts have heavy equipment or tractors and so undertake road work, many are without even a pickup truck. Some districts have obtained donor support for machinery or for labor, often in the form of food-for-work and/or cash-for-work schemes, and undertake labor based rehabilitation and maintenance. Some send requests to their province for assistance. Other district officials work with traditional authorities to mobilize local residents for self-help road work. Many districts continue to rely on NGO and other donor projects for maintenance and rehabilitation of tertiary tracks.

3.2.3.2. Capacity

In spite of large scale and accelerating investment in both rural water and rural roads, technical and institutional capacity remains inadequate to meet demand. While EPARs and provincial GEOMOCs have begun to function more like contractors, neither can be said to be adequately staffed and equipped nor adequately managed to serve the many remote communities within their catchments. Private contractors have begun to appear in the water sector, but appear to be few, expensive, and sometimes reportedly do not meet technical standards. Community-based well maintenance programs appear broadly promising, but often suffer from the unavailability of spares.

The inherent publicness and costliness of roads make their rehabilitation and maintenance more difficult for local institutions. Few rural districts have the demonstrated capacity--logistical, technical, and organizational--to effectively assume this responsibility. Community-based self-help is sometimes an effective response to specific problems. But voluntary road repair has not been developed in Mozambique as a sustainable routine maintenance program, in part because of the low population densities and demographic weakness (relatively few adults) of the rural population in many areas. Donor and government assisted labor-based schemes such as food-for-work supporting rehabilitation brigades and *cantoneiros* (linemen) for maintenance are increasingly common, but it appears that an institutional framework for their management at district and community level remains tentative.

Thus in water, and especially in tertiary road maintenance, significant needs for increased effectiveness and sustainable capacity exist. Various mixes of government, NGO, community, and private institutions are involved in rural public works activities in Mozambique. While several PVOs have made creative and positive contributions to the development of institutional arrangements which address these concerns in the water sector, few have yet gone beyond rehabilitation brigades in the area of rural roads.

4. Program Strategies for Promoting Effectiveness and Sustainability through PVO II

4.1. Working with Community Based Institutions

4.1.1. Basic Strategy and Principles

A guiding principle of PVO rural development activities should be the promotion of maximum participation and "ownership" of service delivery and infrastructure maintenance at the most local level possible. The household, the producers group, and the individual enterprise are the preferred level for productive and commercial activities, the user-group/association, the village and the locality are preferred for social services and infrastructure. In every case, PVOs should promote community-based institutions through which this participation and "ownership" can be realized.

However, ascription to this principle does not resolve the thorny conceptual and practical problem: *How much is possible? To what extent and in what ways can Mozambique's impoverished rural communities solve their own problems?* If communities had all the capacities--human, financial, organizational, technological, etc.--to organize services of recognized value, they would already have done so. The fact that external assistance is required in each of these areas (and not merely the financial one) demonstrates that their are limits to what is feasible in post-war Mozambican rural communities.

Thus the basic strategy proposed for PVO work with rural communities is to promote community level governance of rural service delivery systems which are organized and implemented in partnership with outside institutions: NGO, government, and private. Governance may be based on true ownership; participant/beneficiaries may be the proprietors of local schools or health posts where they employ teachers and nurses/health aides. Or "ownership" in the more limited sense may be based on participants'/beneficiaries' abilities to determine policy and control the resources of delivery units which legally belong to governments or NGOs. While true ownership is desirable, it is not always feasible because of the scale of external inputs or the technical complexity of services undertaken. In this situation governance-based "ownership," with communities in partnership with external actors, is an essential next-best.

Whatever the form of ownership of local service delivery units and infrastructure, community resources need to be complemented by external ones while community-level capacities for management, resource mobilization, and substantive work are improved through training and technical assistance oriented toward local institutional development.

4.1.2. Collaboration and Strengthening within PVO Sectoral Programs

Farmers' groups, women's savings clubs, parent-teacher organizations, construction tradesmen and artisans, community drug funds, and other grassroots CBAs should continue to be incorporated into PVO sectoral programs. Leaders from within communities should be promoted, trained, and engaged in the organization and implementation of project supported activities. And beneficiaries should be involved as participants and decision-makers, not merely as souraes of labor and money.

Training is essential. Specific PVO program resources need to be dedicated to community organization, leadership development, and basic management training if CBAs are to realize their potential role as a fundamental building block of the rural public service system. One cannot expect an agreement made with a *regulo* or a village-based committee that a community assume responsibility for a given activity to translate spontaneously into an effective, participatory, and equitable collective endeavor. This is especially true in cases where the needs are ongoing: running a community based school is much more challenging than building one. Thus PVOs need to follow-up in the field to assure that that community-based institutions are effectively engaging both local and outside resources to address local needs and priorities.

PVO potable water projects have considerable experience in the community organization/animation/education area. Health projects in many areas have also begun working with mothers' groups and village health committees. Agriculture programs are just beginning to engage organizational issues as they move to producers groups, farmers' associations, and marketing cooperatives. Increasingly, local institutions which mobilize collective resources and mediate with external organizations are engaged as part of PVO programs.

In each case, the fundamental dynamics and constraints are the same. So are the difficulties faced by field staff when confronted by frequently weak and dependent, sometimes fragmented and conflictual, and often overwhelmed rural communities. The process of developing institutions which rely on strong and effective participation will be slow in an environment where rural residents must first deal with the challenge of restoring family stability and economic security. Then beneficiaries will become increasingly willing and able to assume responsibility for the rebuilding and management of community-level public services.

Therefore in addition to the need for training of local leaders complemented by village-level follow-up, both USAID and the PVOs will need patience and consistency in order to realize significant improvements in the grassroots governance and management capacities required for community-based ownership and sustainability of basic social service delivery and infrastructure maintenance institutions.

4.1.3. Proposed Mechanisms for Institutional Development and Strengthening under PVO II

In addition to increasing the emphasis on community-level organization and capacity-building within PVO sectoral programs, a specific opportunity has been identified for USAID to promote grassroots institutional development through PVO II. By implementing a Community Development Micro-Project Fund, USAID can assist existing PVOs to support grassroots associational and self-help initiatives in rural localities, with special focus on those organized outside of formalized NGO structures.

Most USAID PVO grants do not include funds for general community development or small-project support outside the sectoral scope of project activities. Thus a PVO involved in health work typically has no USAID funds to respond to a community request to rehabilitate an irrigation canal or improve domestic water wells. In some cases PVOs have used use their private funds to finance such small initiatives, in

others they have used UNHCR or other donor funds, many of which were linked to emergency and resettlement programs now drawing to an end. But in most cases, PVO staff have either referred community leaders to other programs or expressed their regret and returned to their sectoral project activities.

Because an essential feature of participatory development is its breadth, responding not merely to globally defined sectoral impact targets but also to the felt needs and priorities of each locality or participant group, effective assistance to participatory development must be flexible. Its mechanisms must respond to the priorities and the pace set by rural communities themselves. Existing PVO sectoral programs in Mozambique are often highly structured, designed to produce predetermined outputs and impacts rather than to respond flexibly to beneficiary aspirations beyond their project scope. Thus PVOs are often aware of, but institutionally limited in their ability to support, precisely the sort of grassroots collective action and self-help initiatives which USAID would like to promote.

Based on this diagnosis of existing opportunity and on expressions of interest among some PVOs, the Community Development Micro-Project Fund is recommended. By providing a fund through which PVOs can access small-scale financing (for example a maximum of $25,000 per project) USAID could stimulate both the concrete improvements in rural standard of living and the development of increased capability for local governance and management of development which it has identified as desirable. Rather than mount an expensive organizational structure through which to implement such a program, the mechanism for identifying, assessing, and administrating community grants can "piggyback" on existing PVO rural program organization, to the benefit of both USAID and PVOs.

USAID has access to a tremendously valuable resource which is well-adapted to its objective of promoting autonomous centers of economic and social development activity throughout Mozambique's rural society: PVO field networks staffed by Mozambican personnel who reach many rural districts and localities. The presence of PVO field staff in rural communities and the existence of PVO logistical and administrative support systems could provide the critical link between external (USAID) resources and rural communities and their leaders. Should adequate resources be made available, the routine contact between PVOs and beneficiary groups could be engaged for the identification of program opportunities based on <u>informed assessment</u> of expressed community-level priorities and of the demonstrated commitment and capacity of community leaders to mobilize local participation in support of a local initiative.

It is important that all parties understand that one is not proposing PVO micro-projects, rather community projects facilitated by PVO staff and organization. Thus PVOs would and assist and administer the process of project development and implementation but they would not manage it. The role of the PVO should be to oversee and support the work of participants/beneficiaries. The PVO would take responsibility for accountability to USAID concerning the use of its resources but not ultimately for the action of community members and leaders. Grassroots responsibility and governance implies recognition of the autonomy of rural participants as subjects, and not merely objects, of development processes. This may entail decisions and actions deemed undesirable by outsiders. But if agreements are kept and resources accounted for, PVOs will be limited to persuasion in their relationships to local participants.

The recommended Community Development Micro-Project Fund component of PVO II requires a simple and rapid mechanism. Community requests would be pre-screened and then developed by PVOs into short proposals for submission to USAID, in accordance with a few agreed guidelines and criteria. Rapid approval (less than 30 days) by the Mission PVO Office would lead to the signature of a standard agreement. The PVO would administer funds and present (perhaps within 1 year) a short financial and outcome report for each micro-project. Because of the small scale of these activities and the existing relationship between USAID and PVOs, the Mission can effectively delegate to PVO managers the assessment of the potential viability of micro-projects.

It is essential to note however, that PVOs will incur costs in the identification, monitoring, and reporting tasks associated with community projects. Thus it is recommended that a modest overhead component be included in grants to cover these costs: for example 10% of micro-project cost or a minimum of 500 USD. In this way, PVOs will be minimally compensated for their expenses in staff time and logistical costs which are associated with their support for community development micro-projects.

In conclusion, the recommended Community Development Micro-Projects Fund component of PVO II is seen as a potentially effective way for USAID to promote the achievement of its objective of increasing local responsibility and local governance of the development process at the community level. By complementing the grassroots animation and organization elements of PVO sectoral programs with a simple, rapid and flexible mechanism for financing small-scale very local initiatives through existing PVO extension structures, USAID can contribute usefully to both improved material conditions and increased ihstitutional capacity in Mozambique's rural communities.

4.2. Working with Local NGOs

4.2.1. Basic Strategy and Principles

The continuing growth and development of the Mozambican Non-Governmental Organization community can and should be supported by foreign assistance programs, including those of USAID and its PVO partners. Both existing NGOs[5] and the new organizations which are constantly being created and formalized represent an important element in the institutional ecology of contemporary Mozambique. NGOs not only provide the means for Mozambicans to express their ambitions for self-help and self-development through voluntary association and mobilization; they also represent significant channels for the strengthening of links outside government structures between urban and rural regions, between educated elites and less skilled and worldly members of the population, and more broadly between the few "haves" and the many "have nots" of Mozambican society. Thus NGOs provide a way for Mozambicans at all levels to articulate and act on their vision of the future of their village, region, city, and country in a constructive and progressive manner.

In addition, as experience in other countries and regions has shown, NGOs represent an alternative channel for the programming of development assistance resources. Because they are not governmental, they are not burdened either by the weighty

[5]Except when otherwise noted, the term "NGO" refers to Mozambican non-governmental organizations.

hierarchies and procedures which limit the effectiveness of public administration nor by the political oversight and control which constrain government organizations. NGOs provide a "third way" to organized development program--different from government programs as well as from those implemented by foreign private organizations, whether for-profit or non-profit. By combining the advantages of localism, privateness, and voluntarism NGOs constitute a mechanism for development project implementation in Mozambique which is potentially more responsive, more flexible, and more cost effective than other means.

Thus the promotion of NGO development programs is at the same time a means for improving the effectiveness and sustainability of assistance to target populations and an end in itself insofar as NGOs are seen to have intrinsic value as civic organizations and as alternatives to governmental monopolies. One should not only engage them to realize their short-term instrumental benefits as program implementors, but also to promote their longer-term benefits as multiple, independent voices and sources of autonomous action in the realms of social and economic development.

However, as the earlier discussion of the situation of NGOs in Mozambique suggested, these organizations are relatively few, young, low in capacity, and increasingly oversubscribed both in terms of the demand for their services and in terms of the supply of funding for their programs. These organizational realities, along with the economic and political environments in Mozambique, which make NGOs a particularly attractive venue for "development entrepreneurs" who wish to use them as vehicles for the accumulation of prestige, influence, and wealth argue for an approach to NGO promotion and development which is modest and well-conceived. Caution needs to be exercised that this assistance is provided over the medium and long-term, consistently, at moderate levels, and with appropriate balance between institutional development, technical capacity building, and beneficiary targeted program assistance.

Support needs to be adapted to the specific characteristics of NGOs in Mozambique. Provincial and district based organizations (and delegations of regional or national organizations) are worthy of special attention, since those based in or centered around Maputo are typically better trained and better financed. CBA-type NGOs, i.e. those with a self-help orientation, require a different sort of assistance than NGDOs which have more of a technical/programmatic orientation: the former are typically less professional and less formally structured than the latter. And charity-type NGOs require a different orientation than economic development assistance organizations, where principles of beneficiary self-reliance and commercial soundness are more important.

However, based on the needs assessment, discussions with NGOs, and meetings with donors and others involved with NGO programming in Mozambique, several nearly universal needs and priorities exist. First the need is clear for stronger basic institutional capacities, especially in the areas of accounting, financial and personnel management, program planning and project design, and field-level monitoring and evaluation. Second, there is a need for relatively small and relatively rapid funding in order to launch new initiatives in response to identified opportunities and to experiment with new program approaches. And thirdly, the need was identified for improved technical expertise within NGOs and for access to external technical advice and assistance to address issues related to the technical soundness and quality of field activities. And of course, one cannot fail to mention the general need for more

funding for operational costs, more vehicles, better offices, and more quality personnel: at least as acute among Mozambican NGOs as among other Mozambican organizations.

In the following sections, the broad outlines of two approaches to addressing these needs in the context of the specific realities of contemporary Mozambique are presented. The first is support for the development of NGOs through programmatic collaboration with PVOs. The second is the development of specific mechanisms for NGO institutional capacity building under the rubric of PVO II.

The fundamental strategic question for USAID in assessing these proposed approaches is whether the collaborative strategy alone will adequately contribute to increasing the capacity of NGOs to assume greater responsibility for delivering development promotion services and for acting as a capable and responsible intermediaries between beneficiaries and the broader institutional system, governmental and donor. While the collaborative approach does address, at least in part, the narrower concern of institutionalizing PVO assistance, it would contribute only modestly to the broader concern of promoting development NGOs in Mozambique. Thus the NGO institutional development component is proposed as a way for USAID to effectively achieve NGO development as a principle, and not merely an ancillary, output of PVO II.

4.2.2. Collaboration and Strengthening within PVO Sectoral Programs

One of the most effective strategies for developing Mozambican NGOs is through well conceived and systematically,implemented collaboration with PVOs in the context of PVO sectoral and area-based development programs. By engaging NGOs as partners, collaborators, or sub-grantees/contractees and complementing joint programmatic endeavors with institutional development efforts, PVOs can support increased NGO capacities in areas where they are already working. This provides the potential benefits of increasing Mozambican participation as well as building a stronger institutional basis for program sustainability through a local organization as well as contributing to more capable Mozambican NGOs.

Three models of PVO-NGO collaboration are suggested as alternative approaches:

- PVO-NGO Program /Project Partnership
- PVO Project Sub-Grants or Sub-Contract to NGOs
- PVO Creation of NGOs during Project Implementation

4.2.2.1.PVO-NGO Program/Project Partnership

PVO-NGO Program/Project Partnership is based on the development of a broadly based collaborative relationship between PVO and NGO which transcends the "employment" of the NGO to implement a particular component of a PVO project. NGOs may be involved during the identification and formulation of PVO programs; typically they would participate in the design of PVO projects with a special focus on the NGO's areas of expertise, either technical or social-cultural. In such a partnership, NGOs may be involved in all aspects of a PVO project or only on some elements, components, or activities.

NGO involvement in financial and administrative matters may vary under such partnership arrangements. In some cases, the PVO might carry out all procurement, accounting and reporting, and financial management through its own books; here for project administration purposes the NGO functions as though it were part of the PVO. In other cases, some vehicles, equipment, etc. might "pass through" the PVO and be managed by the NGO which presents accounts etc. to the PVO. The PVO would in turn report to USAID on the use of project funds and resources used by the NGO under its supervision.

PVO-NGO partnerships have several advantages. Because they are often based on broadly shared goals or values, they may provide a basis for collegial collaboration between foreign and local organizations and individuals. They may be comprehensive or narrow, limited to field and implementation matters or including planning and management matters, formalized or informal. They can develop over time through the experience of collaboration between the partners to include more or different elements and responsibilities. Partnerships offer the advantage of flexibility and mutual learning through the course of shared activities, which may be beneficial to both the PVO and the NGO. And they allow the allocation of roles based on the comparative advantage which each organization brings to the relationship: for example the technical and financial management strengths of PVOs can be complemented by the cultural and linguistic knowledge and familiarity with field conditions which NGOs offer.

At the same time, there are several disadvantages to such PVO-NGO partnerships. Often NGOs are not strongly involved in finance and administration, which means that their skills and capacities in these areas may not be developed. Secondly, the partnership is inherently unequal due to the greater resource base--from both USAID and private sources--of the PVO "partner." This in some cases has translated into not only dependency of NGOs on PVO resources and direction, but also on a withdrawal of NGOs from some areas of potential collaboration. There is a risk of NGO "partners" having different expectations than their PVO "partners," expectations which may remain unarticulated and unresolved because of the non-contractual nature of the relationship. Because partnerships are typically less well specified than grants and contracts and often include little or rather narrow training for NGO staff related to specific project needs, NGOs can (as some in Mozambique already have) feel themselves used by their foreign partners as sources of inexpensive local labor without the commitments that direct employment of local staff entails.

In sum, PVO-NGO partnership is an increasingly common method for collaboration in Mozambique. It is a useful way for like-minded organizations to develop mutually beneficial, potentially long-term relationships; even though they run the risk of providing relatively little systematic development of independent NGO capacities.

4.2.2.2.PVO Project Sub-Grants or Sub-Contract to NGOs

In contrast to the breadth and informality of the typical of the partnership model for PVO-NGO collaboration, sub-grants and sub-contracts reflect a narrower and more instrumental relationship. Here the PVO acts as a financing agency for an NGO, in a similar way to that under which USAID finances work undertaken by private mrganizations. Under a sub-contract the PVO purchases services, typically well specified ones, from a collaborating NGO. Under a sub-grant the PVO finances a general activity consistent with its project objectives to be undertaken by the NGO.

Often these instruments are employed in the context of a complex project to finance a particular component or element which is delegated to the local NGO.

In both cases, there is a clear legal and financial boundary between PVO and NGO. Contracts or agreements are signed which specify the contributions and responsibilities of each party as well as the terms of accountability, reporting, etc. The NGO receives funds, equipment, and/or supplies, then manages them with its own personnel and accounts for their use to the PVO.

Greater financial and administrative autonomy does not, however, necessarily imply programmatic independence. The degree to which PVO and NGO collaborate during implementation may vary considerably. In some cases, the PVO may only evaluate output and outcome, leaving the implementation process entirely to the NGO. In others, NGO implemented activities may be undertaken in close cooperation with PVO management and technical personnel. The mechanisms of contract or grants implementation will vary depending on the technical nature of the work, the degree of integration or coordination required with other project components, and the capacities of the participating NGO as well as the policies of the PVO involved.

One clear advantage of the PVO-NGO sub-contract and sub-grant is an increased level of responsibility and authority on the part of the NGO. It must assume planning and management roles as well as implementing ones, and is therefore at greater liberty to prioritize and allocate resources than under a typical "partnership" arrangement. In addition, the need to present reports--both financial and programmatic--creates incentives for the NGO contractee/grantee to develop its accounting and program monitoring capabilities: capabilities which will serve it well in other spheres and with other programs. By assuming a fuller range of roles in project implementation, NGOs become more fully capable organizations. And because their "donor" (i.e. the PVO) is nearby (typically in the same province and often in the same districts), the NGO has access to advice, assistance, and oversight in a way that it normally does not in relation to sources of foreign financing.

The disadvantages of the contract/grant model of PVO-NGO collaboration relate mostly to the narrowness of scope and relationship characteristic of some more formalized arrangements. NGOs may not be involved in developing the program; they may enter merely as an implementing agent for a specific component or activity. NGOs may be "used" by the PVO without really being developed, in the sense that as a result of PVO financing they grow only in size but not in skills or institutional capacity. The PVO, as stronger and richer partner, may define the relationship simply as one for purchasing services or financing field activities. On the other hand, the PVO may see the contract/grant as an instrument through which to develop the capacities of the NGO. Because NGO capacities may be weak, especially in areas of finance and management but also in technical and programmatic areas, the narrower view (NGO as instrument) can create implementation and accountability problems which undermine rather than strengthen the legitimacy and the capacity of the NGO. Several instances of this sort of "NGO overload" have taken place in Mozambique during the last year.

In conclusion, the PVO-NGO sub-grant or sub-contract has particular potential for strengthening the position of NGOs as fully capable development organizations. The financial and management autonomy they entail implies greater responsibility by local actors, and the formalism of contracts and agreements may also support a

stronger negotiating position and a less subordinated relationship between a local NGO and its source of finance. However, the institutional weakness of the NGO is not directly addressed by this mechanism, it merely strengthens the incentive for institutional development by delegating responsibility to the NGO. Thus the contract/grant instrument creates the opportunity for NGO development while increasing the risk of NGO failure if not complemented by training and organizational capacity building.

4.2.2.3.PVO Creation of NGOs during Project Implementation

A third approach to PVO-NGO collaboration involves the creation and "spinning-off" of an NGO by a PVO during the life of a project. The PVO project implementation unit over time "becomes an NGO" by being institutionalized with its own governance structure, management system, personnel, and administrative-finance capability. Typically this process is gradual. At the beginning the project is "internal" to the PVO. Later an NGO is organized which is formally separate but functionally still integrated with the PVO planning and management system. Next staff, accounts, equipment, and management of the project-NGO are progressively "handed over" to the local NGO, with the PVO remaining in an oversight role. Finally, as the NGO matures, the foreign organization functions more as a financing, monitoring, and technical assistance organization--i.e. as a donor--vis-à-vis the local organization which undertakes the full spectrum of program related functions and activities.

This approach to implanting and sustaining project activities beyond the life of PVO intervention through the development of a local NGO has several motivations. In the first place, NGO creation is a way of promoting the development of sectoral or technically oriented NGOs, as opposed to the majority of new organizations in Mozambique which are either area-focused or beneficiary-focused. Such specialized organizations--whether in the areas of health, agriculture, business promotion, or environmental protection--play an important role in the institutionalization of development activities in many countries, often working in partnership with beneficiary-oriented NGOs.

A second advantage to the "spinning off" strategy is that it provides a way for the PVO to promote and sustain its particular vision or methodology for development promotion in the Mozambican context. By "giving birth to" rather than "twinning with" a local NGO, the PVO is able to ensure that both strategic norms and technical standards are systematically applied. For example, a PVO might create an NGO to ensure that standards of loan worthiness (before the fact) and loan repayment (after the fact) are maintained in enterprise development and credit schemes. Because it is often difficult for PVOs to find an adequate partner among existing Mozambican NGOs; one with suitable leadership, a philosophy consistent with the PVO's, and interest in undertaken joint programs rather than merely receiving funds; NGO creation provides a way for PVOs to work toward sustainability outside of government structures while increasing both the capacity and the diversity of the local NGO community.

On the other hand, "spinning off" NGOs presents particular disadvantages and challenges. First is the governance problem. Typically NGOs are "naturally" born from a group of self-organized citizens (beneficiaries, "friends and natives of ..." or professionals) who have strong commitment to the mission and the survival of the

organization. These individuals, most of who are usually volunteers, ensure that the NGO "stays on track" in terms of its service to an identified target population or sector. While often weak in their technical/organizational capacities, Mozambican NGOs are generally characterized by strong participatory governance based in volunteer members, in part due to the associational nature of their legal status. Created NGOs, in contrast, are likely to be more capable organizations with weaker links to non-staff constituencies. Thus their soundness as legitimate Mozambican NGOs may depend on the success of efforts to develop participatory links to the broader interested communities during the period of their development; otherwise they will (perhaps rightly) be seen as "wholly owned subsidiaries" of a foreign organization--the PVO.

This governance issue also relates to the second concern regarding PVO creation of local NGOs: the likelihood that they will achieve adequate independent capability to sustain themselves. Transforming "a project into an NGO" does not in itself guarantee significant greater sustainability. This strategy merely creates the conditions within which sustainability may be more effectively promoted: adequate locally managed planning and administrative systems, adequate personnel and logistical resources, and diversified financing such that reduction or elimination of PVO funds will not immediately starve the program. Unless the PVO works systematically to ensure that these three conditions, in addition to the development of an adequate governance structure as discussed above, are satisfied during the PVO project period, the NGO is as unlikely to continue as any other project implementation unit beyond the life of project funding.

Nevertheless, it is clear that PVO creation of a local NGO through "spinning off" from a project of specific human, material and financial resources under increasingly autonomous management and governance structures constitutes an important possible strategy for sustaining PVO supported programs beyond the term of PVO projects.

4.2.2.4. Conclusion

Each of the three strategies discussed above-- PVO-NGO Program/Project Partnerships, PVO Project Sub-Grants or Sub-Contract to NGOs, and PVO Creation of NGOs during Project Implementation--is a way of increasing local participation, "ownership," and institutionalization in support of program sustainability. Choice among them depends on the PVO's assessment of the availability and capacity of potential NGO collaborators and on the interest and willingness of such collaborators to enter into these complex and time-consuming relationships.

The PVO too needs to assess its own priorities and its own commitment to a collaborative relationship. Clearly, the investments of time and effort to collaboration can be costly. Experience has shown that the employment of local organizations as "agents" in program implantation is quite different from developing a partner which can carry on and initiate new activities which respond effectively to beneficiary needs and aspirations. Because of the newness and relative weakness of local NGOs whatever approach is taken, institutional development will a necessary precondition to sustainability of any NGO implemented initiative in Mozambique. Whether in the contact of PVO partnership, contacting, granting, or creation of NGOs, specific attention will need to be paid to increasing the planning, management, financial and personnel administration, and technical capacities of these local organizations if these initiatives are to have enduring positive impact.

4.2.3. Proposed Mechanisms for Institutional Development and Strengthening under PVO II

Alongside the collaborative approaches to the development of Mozambican NGOs in the context of PVO development programs which have been discussed above, USAID may consider a more direct approach to the promotion of NGOs as development service deliverers and intermediaries. Should NGO development be considered in its own right an important objective of PVO II, the institutional development strategy discussed below offers suggested ways of responding to the goals and priorities of Mozambican NGOs as well as to the needs for increased NGO capacity identified in the context of this study. These proposals are based on the findings of the Institutional Capacity Assessment for Mozambican NGOs presented above in Section 2.3.

The proposed NGO institutional development component of PVO II has several elements: a Technical Assistance and Training Facility, an Institutional Development Grant Fund, a Pilot Project Fund, and a Local Consultancy Fund. Each of these elements is explained in turn below, followed by a discussion of the options for organizing the delivery of these resources and services.

4.2.3.1.NGO Technical Assistance and Training Facility

Clear needs have been identifying for the improvement of most of the general institutional capabilities of Mozambican NGOs. These needs are suggested not only by external assessors such as this team (March-April 1995), AAI (April-May 1995), LINK (1993 and 1994), UNICEF/INDER (1992-94) and ODA (1993) but also and more importantly by the leaders and staff members of the NGOs themselves. These general institutional capacities include accounting and financial management, personnel management, program planning and project design, field supervision and implementation management, and monitoring and evaluation.

It is important to note that institutional capacity building is not the same as training. While the increase of skills and understanding among NGO staff is necessary for the improvement of organizational performance, it is not sufficient. The development and implementation of appropriate accounting, management, planning, etc. systems is equally essential in order to provide a sound framework within which these skills can be productively employed.

Thus the proposed Technical Assistance and Training facility (TAT) cannot be reduced to a series of workshops and training courses. In order to achieve desired improvements in NGO institutional capacity, it is necessary to work on an ongoing basis with NGO personnel to diagnose organizational needs, propose and support the implementation of new systems, provide oversight and technical assistance, and to train staff in the specific skills they need to fulfill their newly structured functions. Effective NGO capacity-building requires incremental and coherent development of skills and systems which are suited to organizational needs. Just a series of standardized workshops can be expected to contribute relatively little to real improvement in organizational performance.

In order to achieve this sort of responsive capacity-building support, technical assistance personnel need to be near the workplace and in frequent contact with NGO staff. Given both the scale of the country and USAID/PVO II's rural development orientation, this implies a capacity to work in the provinces and the districts selected

as priority areas. A TAT facility with provincially based personnel is likely to be significantly more effective than one which only provides for periodic visits from trainers and TA staff. Because NGOs often require support to resolve many particular problems--e.g. the organization of a procurement process, the preparation of a financial report, the development of a project design and budget, the organization of a field evaluation--they are more likely to seek assistance if the response time is rapid and the source of help near at hand. A local presence not only facilitates this sort of responsiveness but also provides a more concrete and continuous assessment of NGO needs upon which to develop future training and assistance activities.

The recommended TAT facility would therefore include a network of provincially based personnel able to offer routine assistance in administration, management, and planning matters as well as mobilize more technical assistance to address specific higher-level needs and issues. Through small offices in selected provinces, a scheduled program of training for NGO managers and staff would complement this more specific organization-level assistance.

While this diagnosis leads one to suggest that PVO II support the implementation of a network of provincial TAT units, there is one clear drawback to this approach: its high cost and relatively low short-term productivity. In order to realize significant benefits from provincial TAT programs, continuity and consistency of assistance over several years will be needed. Such a 3-5 year provincially-based program entails significant costs which may only be justified based on long-term improvements in NGO capacity. Thus the mechanism needs to be carefully considered for administering such a TAT component under PVO II; one which is targeted generally at NGOs and aimed at producing cumulative increases in the quality of NGO planning and management systems over the medium term. This discussion of mechanisms follows below.

4.2.3.2.NGO Institutional Development Grant Fund

To complement technical assistance and training, NGOs would also benefit from a source of financing that would help them develop and implement new organizational systems in such areas as financial accounting, personnel and logical management, and field program monitoring and evaluation.

The direct costs involved in such organizational improvements might be the hiring of a specialized staff person, the purchase of computer hardware and software, the training of staff in needed generic skills, and/or the hiring of a specialized consultant to design and establish new systems. Because some donors to Mozambican NGOs, especially humanitarian and religious charities, are reluctant to support NGO costs not directly linked to field and beneficiary-targeted inputs and activities, many suffer from a lack of adequate "overhead" financing and infrastructure. By providing institutional development funds, USAID/PVO II would not only fill this important resource gap, which in some cases limits the ability of Mozambican NGOs to meet adequate standards of accountability and effectiveness. In addition, ID grants would provide an incentive for NGOs to avail themselves of the TAT assistance which will increase the productivity of these new overhead resources.

Grants on the scale of 1,000 to 25,000 USD for a one year period seem appropriate for institutional development support. On the basis of successful experience, ID projects might be extended for a second or third year to support the continuing

improvements. It should be noted that it is not recommended that ID funds be used for the purchase or repair of vehicles, for the rental of office space, or for the purchase of office furniture or other equipment not directly related to the goals of improved administrative and management performance. However, the contracting of a Mozambican accountant, logistics manager, or program evaluation specialist on a long-term (i.e. one year) basis may be worth considering in the context of a given NGOs existing portfolio and needs. Further discussion of organizing such a grant mechanism can be found below.

4.2.3.3.NGO Pilot Project Grant Fund

A third identified need of local NGOs is that for short-term funding to launch small new initiatives. Because of the slowness of most of their existing funding sources, which typically require 6 to 18 months between proposal submission and first disbursements, many NGO programs find themselves unable to respond to community initiatives and to pursue creative program ideas. The lack of significant private donations to local NGOs, and their subsequent reliance on donor funding of one sort or another, often robs them of one of the significant advantages of being an NGO--the ability to respond to a need they identify with their own funds based on their own judgment, and then justify their action to their contributors after the fact.

While PVO II cannot change the reality of this paucity of own-source income, it can help to minimize the constraint it constitutes by providing rapid access by NGOs to short-term funding. The provision of small, one-time project grants would not only increase the dynamism of Mozambican NGOs by helping them be more responsive, it would also encourage modest experimentation with new program approaches and technologies as well as provide incentives for NGOs to participate in TAT programs for accounting and management improvement.

It is suggested that PVO II include an NGO Pilot Grant Fund which would finance small (up to, for example, 50,000 USD) short-term (up to, for example, 1 year) field activities of a new or experimental nature. With a rapid turnaround time (60 days, or at most 90) between proposal receipt and funding, such a fund could contribute significantly to NGO development at relatively low cost (perhaps an expected disbursement on the order of 0.5 USD/yr.) by helping NGOs improve the diversity and the quality of their field activities.

Such a Pilot Grant could finance rather experimental or speculative endeavors, such as introduction of a new technology or development of a new training or communication program, to be evaluated at the end of the grant period to assess its usefulness. It could also provide start-up funding for a new NGO program which is in search of or waiting for financing from another donor. It is not recommended that these funds be used to buy vehicles or establish new offices etc. but rather that they provide financing for beneficiary oriented field activities. It is also recommended that these funds not be used to finance conventional rural rehabilitation schemes such as the construction of schools, clinics, and water points, for which more conventional funding should be available. However, it seems worthwhile to consider the payment of field staff salaries and support (including transport costs) linked to specific pilot activities. In addition, one might consider provision for the emergency extension of pilot schemes for up to six months in cases where conventional donor funding is assured but not yet on line.

In addition to its programmatic benefits, the Pilot Project Grant like the Institutional Development Grant, would only be disbursed on condition that the NGO grantee participate in the TAT program. Thus grantees would be required to undergo management system assessments, training and technical assistance, and financial audits in order to receive funding. In this way, links would be made between NGO development activities and management improvement/capacity building supported by both incentives (grants) and technical capability (TAT programs).

4.2.3.4.NGO Local Consultancy Fund

A fourth need of NGOs, identified by the study team and supported by NGO responses, is for technical assistance in the substantive content of their projects. Midwifery and pediatrics, health education and communication, agronomy, animal husbandry, soil and water management, design and construction of buildings and bridges, small enterprise promotion and financial resource management are all areas where Mozambican NGO programs could benefit from improved technical knowledge.

Because most NGOs are beneficiary or area based rather than sectoral or professionally oriented, their capabilities in community animation, organization, and education are typically stronger than their technical capabilities. In order to increase both the quality of NGO programs (and their beneficiary impacts) as well as the level of professionalism and internal technical capacity of NGO staff, access to specialized short-term consultancy services would be beneficial.

The proposed approach is the provision through PVO II of a Local Consultancy Fund which would finance short-term, in-country consultancies to support NGO development projects and programs. Two sources of consultants are suggested. First, USAID financed PVOs are a valuable asset insofar as they employ a large number of sectoral technical specialists with language skills and knowledge of local conditions. These PVO staff could be seconded for 1-3 weeks to an NGO to address a particular issue or problem, whether during project design or implementation, within their areas of expertise. The Fund would pay their travel and subsistence costs while their employing organization, by whom they are "lent," would continue to pay salary.

The second source of consultants for NGOs is Mozambican professionals. A significant pool of technical professionals in many development disciplines have left government service during recent years, and are available on a short-term basis to provide advice to development projects. Typically NGOs are unable to afford such professional consultants. Frequently they accept consultants chosen by their European donor/partners who pay directly for technical assistance services. In either case, relatively little local consultancy to NGOs seems to be taking place. Promotion of local NGO consultancy may not only improve the technical quality of NGO services, it may also help to build links between qualified Mozambican professionals, whose services can usually only be afforded by expatriate and donor organizations, and the more socially based but less technically capable branch of the development community: local NGOs. Facilitating these contacts between Mozambican experts and Mozambican NGOs represents an additional benefit of the Local Consultancy Fund.

While using quite modest resources (typically 1,000-3,000 USD per consultancy), such Local Consultancy Grants promise to enhance the quality of NGO projects and

address one of their self-identified needs: to ensure the technical soundness of their interventions. In addition, it would offer an additional incentive for entry of NGOs into the provincial-level TAT programs supported by PVO II.

4.2.3.5. Organizing Institutional Development Assistance for NGOs

The four suggested interventions-- Technical Assistance and Training Support, Institutional Development Grants, Pilot Project Grants, and Local Consultancy Grants--require that a suitable institutional arrangement be developed for their organization and implementation.

At this juncture it should be noted that USAID is already financing one NGO development initiative under a grant to the African American Institute. Not only will AAI support the development of "civic education" awareness, activities, and organizations within the NGO community; it has also undertaken to organize management, accounting and other institutional development assistance to Mozambican NGOs in Maputo and in selected provinces. It is essential to recognize that the target group for AAI NGO assistance is nearly the same as that of a proposed PVO II scheme; while there are a few NGOs with a "pure development" mission and a few with a "pure democracy" mission, most see themselves as agents of social development in which principles of increased participation and openness translate into a democratic agenda, even within sectoral assistance activities. Thus there can be no exclusivity between AAI's work and whatever NGO promotion strategy PVO II employs, even one limited to PVO-NGO programmatic collaboration.

It is therefore essential that AAI and other PVOs coordinate closely in promoting NGO development in order to ensure not only that actions are complementary and resources well used, but also to eliminate confusion on the part of NGOs concerning "USAID's NGO work."

As argued above, several basic principles are important in the design of an effective NGO support mechanism for Mozambique[6]. These principles include:

- Complement training with follow-up technical assistance.
- Provide regionally based support services (and not just "drop-in" training teams).
- Use small grants to NGOs both as an incentive to participation and as a way of enabling them to implement new methods of work
- Provide flexible and rapid mechanisms in order to meet NGO needs and sustain their interest/participation.
- Be modest in scale but consistent in support. Fund a three to five year activity at minimum and aim for long-term change in NGO operational style and capacity.

Four options for organizing USAID supported NGO promotion and institutional development activities have been identified:

[6]These principles are consistent with the "lessons learned" from an AID evaluation study "Designs for Collaboration: A Study of PVO/NGO Umbrella Projects in Africa" by J. Otto and A. Drabek for Datex, Inc. 1992.

Option 1) Leave NGOs to AAI. Do nothing through PVO II except encourage PVO-NGO collaboration within PVO sectoral programs. AAI will continue to implement its planned NGO training scheme, with little technical/programmatic content, limited capacity for follow-up at the NGO workplace, and no sub-grant funds to stimulate and support NGO innovation and capacity improvement.

Option 2) Fund AAI through PVO II to expand its NGO program to encompass more of a developmental orientation. Add one, more, or all of the four suggested mechanisms for NGO support to AAI's program and support the establishment of Liaison and Assistance Offices in selected provinces and sub-grant administration capacity in Maputo..

Option 3) Write an RFP for NGO support through PVO II. A Grantee would be selected to implement the four (or some subset) recommended NGO institutional development and promotion activities including establishing a central project offices and satellite Liaison and Assistance offices in selected provinces. Coordinate closely the allocation of roles and activities with AAI both during design (USAID-AAI) and implementation (USAID-AAI-Grantee). Of course, AAI may submit a proposal along with other PVOs, and be selected competitively to implement NGO support in all selected provinces.

Option 4) Organize NGO support through the USAID PVO II Office, using PSC personnel in Maputo and small provincial level grants to existing PVOs to run local NGO support offices. Smaller in scale and more modest in expectations than the RFP approach but also less dynamic and focused. Makes access to some NGO promotion services available in the provinces without employing many new staff and mounting expensive new provincial offices, but requires more attention from USAID/PVO II and significant commitment to NGO development among PVOs.

On the basis of extensive discussion with USAID staff, PVOs, AAI, and local NGOs, **Options 2 and 3 are recommended.** Option 1 is seen as inadequate to effectively promote desirable NGO institutional development and Option 4 is seen as too complex and excessively burdensome for USAID.

Option 2 may be preferable if USAID decides that it is unnecessary to establish an *extensive* program of NGO support and promotion under PVO II and if AAI is interested in and able to expand its existing NGO program to include some or all of the recommended mechanisms (preferably including some sub-grant facilities). This relatively low intensity and low cost expansion of AAI's program would include provincial technical assistance and liaison offices (probably locally staffed), a higher level of program related management and organization development expertise (perhaps 1-2 expats), and capacity to administer sub-grants (increased administration in Maputo) in addition to workshops and training programs. Its advantage is not only lower cost but also consistency with a modest and gradualist program of NGO development and the ability to capitalize on AAI's existing knowledge of and relationships with Mozambican NGOs.

Option 3 may be preferable if USAID decides that NGO development is a significant objective of PVO II, warranting a corresponding level of effort. It may also be necessary if AAI is not interested in or unable to assume the responsibilities entailed by Option 2. The advantages of a fully developed NGO support scheme are evident: the implementing PVO has a clear mission and resources focused fully on its

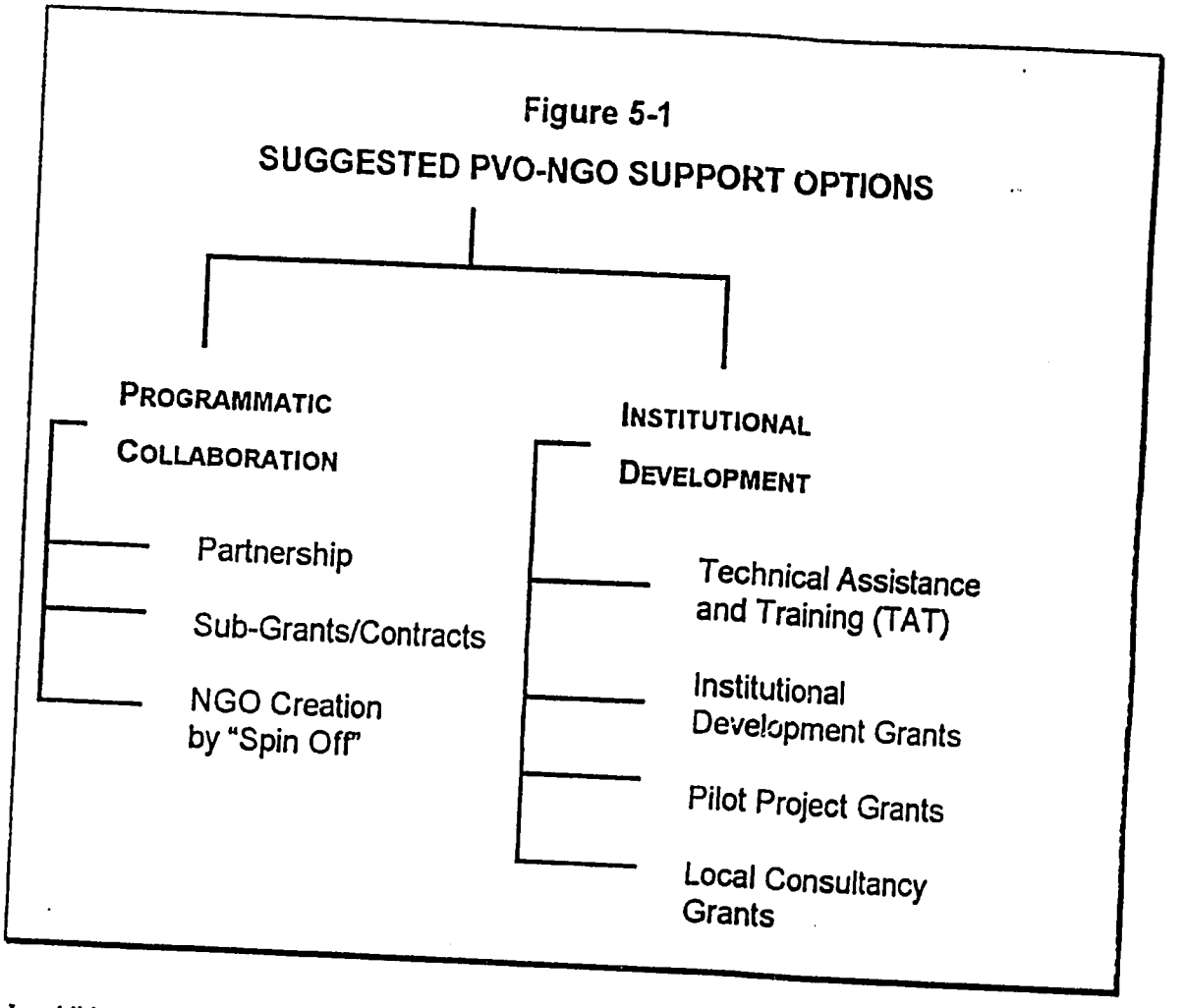
achievement. The Grantee will presumably demonstrate capacity and experience with NGO promotion and institutional development, which has emerged as a particular specialty in the development arena. As such one can expect better linkage between the various components of a NGO strategy: training, technical assistance, and grants as well as a more coherent approach to organizational development and capacity building. The disadvantages of Option 3 are its high cost and possibly slow start-up. Should one of the existing PVOs in Mozambique not be awarded the grant, the costs of establishing country operations as well as representation in several provinces may be quite high. And because experience shows that NGO promotion is based on the building of relationships with local NGO leaders and staff, one can expect that a new operation will require at least a year to develop an adequate basis for action. On the other hand, if a PVO already present in Mozambique would be awarded the grant, these problems would be diminished.

4.2.4. Conclusion: Summarizing Suggested PVO-NGO Strategies

Figure 5-1 shows schematically the range of strategies and mechanisms identified for NGO promotion and institutional development under PVO II.

Evidently, the Programmatic Collaboration Strategy--including PVO-NGO partnerships, sub-grants or contracts, and PVO creation of NGOs--is consistent with current trends as well as being seen as desirable by USAID and, with some reservations, by PVOs. At least half of currently active PVOs have experimented with various forms of collaboration with Mozambican NGOs and while experiences have not been entirely positive, they are encouraging. Various models for collaboration have been tried and none has been universally rejected: much depends on the nature of the PVO program, the capacity and orientation of the NGO, and the "comfort level" of both PVO and NGO leadership with entering into collaborative relations.

USAID should encourage and support experimentation in PVO-NGO collaboration in several ways. In the first place, the PVO office and Mission finance and administration personnel should assist PVOs in developing agreements, contracts, accounting and reporting systems, etc. which are as simple and flexible as possible for both NGO and PVO and still meet USAID standards and regulations. Among other concerns, PVOs voiced uncertainty regarding the limits on their organizations' liability for irregularities in resource use by an NGO sub-grantee/contractee. USAID can facilitate collaboration by specifying how legal mechanisms can be employed to support, and not impede, a fruitful balance between delegation of responsibility and assurance of accountability.



In addition, USAID should be receptive to proposed changes in PVO implementation arrangements during the life of projects based on experience with NGO (as well as other institutional) partners. Because the success or failure of collaborative relationships depend largely on behavior of the collaborators, and not merely on *a priori* compatibility of objectives and philosophical "like-mindedness", the outcome of collaboration cannot be known beforehand. It can be expected that some PVOs will feel a need to reformulate projects based on experience in the field. USAID's willingness to entertain proposed changes will be an important factor in a PVO's decision whether or not to undertake speculative or even risky collaboration with local partners. Without the confidence that USAID will be flexible and supportive, PVO managers will be inclined to organize project operations "internally" and avoid the complications and potential headaches of collaboration with an NGO.

Finally, throughout the project cycle USAID and its PVO partners should explicitly take into account the demands of NGO development via PVO collaboration. In general, institutional development should be considered an ancillary output of sectoral programs rather than merely as an input needed for the achievement of beneficiary

impact (which it obviously also is). By treating the PVO-NGO collaboration as a means for the achievement of the end defined as a sustainability/institutional development objective, one can more easily discuss the approach proposed by the PVO as well as the resources required to implement it. The staff time, training, and other investments associated with building NGO capacity should not be absorbed by PVO program "slack;" they should be budgeted in a similar way as those directed to community and beneficiary-level training and animation. And institutional development/NGO capacity building should be monitored and evaluated just as would any other important project output.

The right side of Figure 5-1 portrays the suggested Institutional Development Strategy for PVO-NGO programming and the four associated mechanisms identified for its implementation. In order to decide to what extent these proposed mechanisms are desirable in the context of PVO II, a broad and fundamental question needs to be addressed:

> *Does USAID see NGO development under PVO II as a means for increasing participation and sustainability by incorporating more local institutions in the projects it supports?*
>
> *OR*
>
> *Does USAID see NGO development as an objective in itself of PVO II, alongside its potential contribution to PVO sectoral development activities, and thus worthy of more systematic treatment and more targeted allocation of resources and effort?*

To the extent that USAID adopts the latter position, the proposed mechanisms for NGO institutional development will be worthy of consideration. Options for organizing this assistance have been discussed above, as have the identified need for, and explanation of, each of the suggested mechanisms for promoting NGO development, both organizational and programmatic.

USAID/Mozambique's Country Program Strategy includes an institutional Strategic Objective, to increase government accountability to its citizens, within which effective institutional pluralism is seen as an important means. This recognition motivated the financing of AAI's NGO promotion initiative. Making the link between NGO promotion in sectoral and rural development and this strategic institutional objective is not necessary, but it does provide for complementarity and integration among USAID's program efforts in the NGO arena.

In addition, broad-based NGO development can be seen as a contribution *at the Purpose Level* to the developmental objectives of PVO II. Increased organizational capacity, participatory governance, and technical competence among development NGOs contribute to the ability of Mozambicans to undertake and sustain activities related to increasing incomes, improving health status as well as strengthening civil society. At this juncture, the relationship between PVO II and the broader development process in Mozambique must be considered. NGO development promises qualitative change in the dynamics of rural development in Mozambique: both by increasing the competence of non-governmental development promoters and by opening the development process to more actors, more voices, and more perspectives.

This study recommends that PVO II consider NGO development an end as well as a means in relation to Project Purpose. It suggests that a specific NGO development component be financed and implemented under PVO II, alongside the various forms of PVO-NGO collaboration within PVO sectoral programs. And it suggests that given the existing development agenda and institutional environment in Mozambique, an investment in NGO capacity building would be a significant contribution by USAID to increasing Mozambican potential to address Mozambican problems in the medium term.

4.3. Working with Local Government Institutions

4.3.1. Basic Strategy and Principles

The creation of decentralized local governments represents a significant change and an opportunity for PVOs to increase local capacity to support grassroots development in rural Mozambique. While decentralization may indeed liberate local initiative for social and economic development, new local governments might also become a significant bottleneck in the management of local investment and public service delivery initiatives such as those undertaken by PVOs.

PVOs and other development assistance implementors will play an important role, implicitly or explicitly, as influences on the unfolding rural local government reform. Because much of the role of district government will be in the areas of social service delivery and infrastructure improvement/maintenance as well as promotion and facilitation of private investment for production in agriculture and small enterprise sectors, PVOs can be expected to have significant functional relationships with district officials. These relationships can provide opportunities to influence the nature and operations of rural governance.

The fundamental principles which orient PVO programs are among those of concern in the development of local government: broad and inclusive participation, empowerment of community institutions and leaders, appropriateness and quality of services which respond to beneficiary needs, etc. PVOs can promote the engagement of these principles by district officials by working with them in coordinating and collaborating relationships linked to development projects.

In this context, it is important that PVOs undertake to encourage and support effective development management by district governments, rather than dismiss them as irremediably ineffective and unresponsive. In addition to operational capacity building, clarification of the role of district goverlment and promotion of productive working relations with other development actors in the rural milieu is an essential part of this endeavor. Even in cases when PVOs choose to support the development of non-governmental institutions for operational service delivery, they should use their influence to facilitate effective relationships among community-based institutions, local NGOs and district government. Encouraging and helping local government to "let go" of some roles which can be better undertaken by NGOs, while increasing its effectiveness in other appropriate roles, may be one of the most significant contributions PVOs can make to the development of sound public sector development management in rural Mozambique.

4.3.2. Collaboration and Strengthening within PVO Sectoral Programs

In the context of sectoral programs in agriculture, health, and infrastructure PVOs can contribute to increased public sector effectiveness at district level.

In the first instance, emphasis on the district as the key operational level of program implementation implies more systematic collaboration than that characteristic of some PVO programs at present. As discussed above, some PVOs focus their coordination and collaboration at the level of provincial directorates, and work with districts only as implementing agents. A stronger focus on planning and managing programs with district officials--including the dissemination of project designs and agreements, the joint development of annual workplans, and collaborative field supervision--should be encouraged. In general, PVOs should be encouraged to formalize programmatic agreements with district governments in order to ensure that adequate information is available for local government to perform its key responsibilities of coordinating external assistance and overseeing field activities.

Whether PVOs choose to implement their programs by collaborating with local government and sectors at the operational level, or whether they choose to promote non-governmental mechanisms for service delivery and infrastructure provision, district administration will play a part. In the latter case, PVOs can facilitate agreements and coordinating mechanisms between communities, local NGOs, contractors, and district government. For example, contract agriculture extension networks and NGO or community managed health posts will function as part of complex sectoral systems, within which essential support such as technology dissemination and clinical referral are implemented through public sector institutions. In this context even NGO managed local service delivery requires effective working relationships with relevant public institutions such as agriculture research and training centers and district hospitals and vaccination programs. PVOs can use their technical legitimacy and their resources to facilitate effective government-NGO role allocation and collaboration at local, district, and provincial levels.

In cases where PVOs choose public sector agencies as the mechanism for delivering and sustaining grassroots services, the role of PVO strengthening of local government capacity will be correspondingly greater. Systematic training and technical development of local government sectoral personnel by PVO staff should be a priority. Operational support and field supervision complement such skill enhancement and provide the means for putting knowledge into practice in the service of rural beneficiaries.

In addition to technical training and program support, PVOs may contribute to effective local sectoral services by developing district-level planning and management systems. Experience has shown that skills and logistics are not the only constraints on the effectiveness of local government agencies: so is general organizational capacity. The tendency of PVOs to "internalize" the management of program activities and focus planning and administration at provincial levels limits the extent to which the systems and capacities which will be needed to sustain rural operations can be developed. While admittedly difficult and time-consuming, the development of planning, operational management, and reporting capacities at district level is essential to complement technical skills among service deliverers.

Some PVOs already take seriously the institutional dimensions of sectoral collaboration with local government through formalizing their operational programs with district administration; through collaboration with and training of district directorates in planning, management, and reporting as well as field and technical operations; and through facilitating district-NGO and district-community role allocation and collaboration in service delivery and infrastructure provision. USAID should under PVO II encourage that these capacity-building elements are more systematically included in PVO sectoral programs.

4.3.3. Proposed Mechanisms for Institutional Development and Strengthening under PVO II

Alongside the strategies for role definition and corresponding capacity building targeted on district directorates in the context of sectoral programs, USAID and PVOs may consider a more direct approach to supporting the development of capable and responsive local governments in the context of PVO II. By focusing more explicitly on the rural municipality (district) as a key institutional agent for delivering public services, providing and maintaining local infrastructure, and promoting economic development, PVOs can contribute to the creation of general institutional conditions conducive to effectiveness and sustainability of sectoral activities.

Several bilateral donors and foreign NGOs have begun to design programs which will, alongside sectoral development efforts, invest directly in district administrative capacity. Training of district personnel and establishment of planning and budgeting, financial management and accounting, monitoring and evaluation, and information management systems are contemplated. In addition, the rehabilitation and furnishing of district infrastructure and the organization of grassroots civic education and local governance training are typically included in these programs. The objective of such interventions is to create conditions conducive to the effective implementation of district decentralization and local government reform in rural areas.

Linking local government reform to rural development offers several advantages. In the first place, it reinforces the primacy of improved service to citizens as the justification for investment in local government. In the second, by contributing to the strengthening of specific districts through existing rural development projects, donors can help alleviate the severe resource and capacity constraints which threaten the success of Mozambique's local government reform initiative. And finally, investment in local government development promises to improve the prospects for sustainability of many of the investments in service delivery and infrastructure being made by USAID and its PVO partners.

Investment by PVOs in strengthening local government in selected districts within existing program areas should be considered for financing by USAID. While some PVOs will prefer to maintain their sectoral foci and limit their work with new district governments to coordination of sectoral programs, others may choose to address the institutional development needs of local governments themselves. Such an intervention--which contributes both to USAID's democracy strategic objective and to its economic and social development ones--offers a way for PVO II to support broader PVO involvement in governance and to contribute measurably to the strengthening of public sector capacities to respond effectively to the priorities and aspiration of Mozambique's rural population.

4.4. Working with the Local Private Sector

4.4.1. Basic Strategy and Principles

To the extent possible, the purchase of goods and services and the marketing of produce by PVO program participants should be undertaken through private commercial channels. However, given the weaknesses discussed above of Mozambique's rural private sector, PVOs will need to assume a gradual and consistent approach to implementing this basic principle of role allocation and may consider using their resources to encourage the development of private sector capacities.

Here it should be noted that this study does not concern itself with rural enterprise promotion *per se*. USAID has commissioned a specific study on this subject. Rather, this study discusses the role of private sector institutions in the implementation and sustainability of PVO sectoral development promotion efforts. As suggested above, private enterprises play a part in the institutional arrangement which support agricultural development, health care service delivery, and infrastructure provision. It is the PVO's stance vis-à-vis these private actors in sectoral arena which is at issue here.

Destroyed infrastructure, poor roads and transport links, lack of working capital, excessive regulation, poor price and quality information, and relatively weak and dispersed demand from rural residents all represent impediments to the development of commercial links between rural settlements and the broader economy. The demining and rehabilitation of rural roads, some undertaken by USAID supported PVOs, represents the most fundamental contribution to facilitating commercial contact. But even when trucks do reach rural communities, these other constraints may still limit availability of the commodities upon which PVO supported rural development initiatives depend: agricultural seeds and tools, pump spares, agro-processing and other productive inputs, and basic medicines.

Three basic approaches are suggested. First PVOs can contribute to alleviating the resource or capacity constraints which limit market effectiveness. Second, PVOs can buy services rather than providing them internally. And third, PVOs can promote the development of graqsroots intermediaries which link rural producers and consumers to the wider economy.

While, some aspects of this problematic are discussed in the context of sectoral diagnoses and analysis, they are synthesized below in the context of PVO-private enterprise collaboration in sectoral programming. Because a specific study is being undertaken regarding enterprise promotion, no general institutional strengthening mechanisms for private businesses are proposed here.

4.4.2. Collaboration and Strengthening within PVO Sectoral Programs

Resource and capacity constraints limit the effectiveness of private enterprises in providing the goods and services, including marketing services, upon which rural populations will increasingly rely as they are integrated into the monetized economy. PVOs and other development organizations, given the scale of the resource flows they provide, powerfully influence the structure of rural markets in Mozambique. By employing commercial channels, in some cases supported by indirect subsidies such

as transport assistance and soft inventory credits linked to specific goods and stocks, PVOs can promote market development.

While it is unlikely that PVOs will provide credit or otherwise directly support the rehabilitation and re-establishment of rural shops, they may facilitate their growth by using them as distribution links to project beneficiaries. For example, voucher schemes allow participants to purchase productive goods such as seeds and tools at rural shops for symbolic prices. Vouchers would then be redeemed by merchants to PVO (or PVO-supported private) "wholesalers, " thus supporting the reintroduction of rural commercial services during the period when inadequate buying power exists to make rural trade profitable. Alternatively, PVOs can provide inputs to rural merchants on a no-risk basis by guaranteeing to buy-back unsold stock or even by putting PVO-owned stock on merchant shelves, as has already been tried in the case of pump spares. In these ways, PVOs withdraw from retail relations with beneficiaries and communities while facilitating the availability of technically appropriate inputs at fair prices through commercial channels.

Externalizing operational services is another approach to PVO-private sector relations. Instead of employing construction teams, PVOs hire small contractors to undertake aonstruction. Instead of buying trucks, PVOs hire private haulers to transport commodities. Instead of buying and operating drilling rigs, PVO hire specialized firms to dig bore-holes. During the last few years, many PVOs have moved significantly to engage private enterprises to build and to transport, others have employed contracts to develop communication and promotional materials and to organize training courses. USAID should support this trend especially for service procurement at district levels, even in cases where costs may increase somewhat. To the extent that contractors produce outcomes of adequate quality and contribute significantly to the development of local capacity which may broadly benefit sectoral development beyond the scope of PVO projects, they may merit such a price differential.

A third approach to promoting private sector development through sectoral programs is the development of commercial intermediaries such as buyers associations (as in the case of revolving drug funds). producers' groups, farmers' associations, and marketing cooperatives which pool resources and information and reduce transaction costs. These beneficiary-based institutions link individual buyers and sellers to private merchants, service providers, and markets thus reducing reliance on government, PVO, or other project support. Another potential advantage of beneficiary associations is that they provide a basis for "privatizing" service delivery by organizing community members so that they can contribute to the subsistence of the providers--extensionists, nurses, midwives, builders etc.--from whose services they benefit. In sum, the organization of small-scale economic actors promises to increase the efficiency of commerce through economies of scale, expertise, and information; thus further supporting the integration of rural producers and households into wider markets and decrease their dependence in the medium-term on PVOs and other outside donor-based institutions.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Characterizing the Institutional Challenge of PVO II

This study suggests that substantial change in the economic, social and political environment of rural Mozambique requires corresponding changes in the means by which USAID supported PVO programs promote development. On the basis of sectoral and institutional assessments it proposes ways to put recommended changes into practice by encouraging and financing new PVO program elements and new relationships between PVOs and Mozambican institutions under PVO II.

The fundamental precept of the study's recommendations is that Mozambicans at all levels should assume increasing responsibility for the management of both development and the development assistance efforts. Complementing this precept is the recognition that at all levels the capacity of Mozambican individuals and institutions needs to be built in order to assure that this assumption of greater local responsibility does not drastically diminish program effectiveness and reduce the social and economic benefits which PVO projects are intended to produce.

Few rural Mozambican individuals possess a combination of the vision, skills, and experience and few rural Mozambican institutions possess the necessary leadership, technical and management systems, and field-proven capacity to effective organize development promotion efforts under the challenging conditions characteristic of rural Mozambique. Thus whether working with community based-institutions, Mozambican NGOs, local government administration and sectors, or local private sector institutions, PVOs need to invest in institutional development as well as technical and material inputs in order to assure the "ownership," effectiveness and sustainability of their project activities.

Below, the findings of the study are synthesized and summarized. After a brief overview of the institutional environment of rural Mozambique in which PVO II will be implemented, broad guidelines for orienting and assessing the institutional dimensions of PVO programs, as well as specific strategies for the institutional aspects of PVO II in relation to key institutions and key sectors are presented.

5.1.1. Opportunities for Program Sustainability in Rural Mozambique under PVO II

In many ways, the environment for promoting economic and social development which can be sustained by Mozambicans and Mozambican institutions is increasingly favorable. Key features of this conducive context are outlined below:

- Increasing integration of rural communities into markets, creating opportunities for rural income generation and access to commercial goods/services.

- Greater opportunities and incentives for rural leadership ("traditional," political, economic, and social/cultural) to emerge, articulate community concerns, and mobilize grassroots resources and initiatives.

- Accelerating public sector decentralization and management reform, both in sectoral regimes and local (district) government.

- Increasing openness of government policy to private initiatives at all levels: family community, NGO, and entrepreneurial.

- Gradually improving human resource base, including better trained technical staff (public and NGO sector) and mid-level NGO staff with program and management skills.

- Likelihood of continued medium-term (5-10 years) donor financing available to support well managed and effective Mozambican rural development initiatives.

5.1.2. Constraints on Program Sustainability in Rural Mozambique under PVO II

However, one must acknowledge that many of the conditions necessary for effective "ownership" and management of development efforts are weakly met, rare or absent at many levels and in many sectors of the Mozambique's rural society, economy, and government. Some of the most significant limitations on capacity for effective and sustainable local development are presented below:

- Severely limited purchasing power among rural participants/beneficiaries and limited financial flows among most rural and regional institutions.

- Limited skilled human resources in rural areas, both in technical and management/administrative skills and relatively high competition among employers (especially NGOs) for them.

- Low public sector salaries and highly constrained public sector management flexibility; therefore limited capacity of government agencies to attract, retain, and effectively deploy quality personnel.

- Limited social cohesion and limited legitimacy of local leadership (both "traditional" and "formal") in many rural regions/communities due to impact of Portuguese colonialism, FRELIMO policies, RENAMO destabilization and government military response, and post-war politicization resulting in weak and compromised grassroots institutions.

- Continuing problems of opportunism and corruption by public sector officials as well as lingering attitudes favoring statist solutions to local problems.

- Difficult living conditions in many rural districts including: poor quality of housing, sanitary infrastructure and schools; limited commercial availability of consumer goods; and difficult transport and communication links to provincial and regional centers.

In sum, while the prospects for rural development in Mozambique have not been better in over a decade, they still do not permit a "minimalist" approach to development assistance, i.e. one which focuses merely on financial and material support. Training, technical assistance, and institutional development as well as broadly based systemic transformation based on policy change and promotion of new visions of the development process will also be essential contributions to program effectiveness.

5.2. Recommended Institutional Strategy and Mechanisms for PVO II

5.2.1. Introduction: Fundamental Principles for PVO Institutional Approaches in Rural Mozambique

In addition to the recommended program elements linked to specific types of institutions and specific sectors, a set of basic principles for guiding and assessing PVO institutional strategies are presented below.

Clearly there are no universal formulae and no blueprints for organizing PVO programs in contemporary Mozambique. The variety of field conditions, technical strategies, and PVO philosophies and approaches requires a variety of institutional arrangements for program implementation. USAID should not attempt to impose a particular model for the way in which PVOs position themselves vis-à-vis the local and wider Mozambican institutional system. The diversity of PVO approach and experience is one of the strengths of the USAID/PVO partnership. Some may propose strongly community-based programs, others implementation through collaboration with local government, some a focus on joint implementation with Mozambican NGOs, and others may engage the local private sector as key service deliverers or intermediaries. Each of these approaches may offer advantages under specific conditions and should be assessed based on their "fit" to the PVO program objectives and context.

But while it would be counter-productive for USAID to demand any particular institutional approach, **it is important for USAID to require that PVOs do articulate some institutional strategy for their programs.** PVO proposals should clearly explain how they plan to organize their rural development field efforts, and in what way this organizational approach will promote local "ownership" and create the conditions for improved sustainability. In this way, USAID and its PVO grantees can undertake a clear dialogue concerning the feasibility and expected effectiveness of the ways PVO II supported programs work to promote local "ownership" and sustainability.

The principles, some strategic and some operational, which have emerged from this study are suggested as guidelines for the development of and the assessment of such PVO program institutional strategies. Regardless of which particular organizational arrangements PVO grantees propose, they should respond to the environmental conditions and should address the fundamental constraints which may threaten the institutionalization of project activities and outputs. By employing such a set of basic principles, USAID and its PVO partners can focus their discussion on key institutional elements and strategies and move toward more effective implementation of their projects in Mozambique's rural communities and regions.

Suggested principles for assessing PVO institutional approaches are presented below:

Elements of a Sustainability Strategy for PVO Supported Rural Development in Mozambique

◊ Create and improve the human resource and skills base, among both participants and Mozambican technical and support personnel, needed to sustain essential activities, outputs, and impact.

- Aoncentrate on the development of organizations and "systems" alongside the production of beneficiary outputs and impacts in order to build and accumulate the "institutional capital" needed to sustain service delivery and growth in production and marketing beyond the period of large-scale project assistance.

- Develop an institutional arrangement which is suitable for long-term financial sustainability (even if not capable of full financial autonomy in the medium term) through promoting cost-recovery and other local resource mobilization capacities as well as through diversifying the program's operational resource base.

- Create management and administrative systems based on local personnel and local institutions, suitably decentralized so that field-level (district and below) personnel develop the capacity to solve the operational problems which may compromise continued service delivery/program performance.

- Implement human resource strategies, including remuneration systems, which can adapt to the reduction of external resources without collapse while acknowledging the realities of PVO operations in the short term by providing adequate incentives, mainly through salary subsidies and allowances for field personnel..

- Select and promote appropriate technologies and appropriate levels of service delivery--including service mix, technical standards, and logistical systems--so that they can be sustained when PVO project/external resources are decreased or removed.

- Promote "ownership" of operational units and personnel by local institutions including: community leaders, beneficiary associations, Mozambican NGOs and local government agencies by collaborative project implementation based on joint management and complementary resource mobilization.

- Increase the role of Mozambican organizations (as above) as operational implementors of program activities and systematically move toward the role of PVOs as sources of financing and material support, technical assistance, and management oversight.

- Emphasize the role of the district as the key operational and management unit, and of the province as the technical support, training, and oversight unit in order to build capacity in the field and supportive (not dominating) relationships with urban centers and project headquarters.

- Invest in improving the living conditions of personnel based in remote posts (typically below the level of district seats, but sometimes also in difficult district towns) in order to retain them in the field, through improved housing and adequate visits with families living in regional and provincial towns.

- Increase the reliability of USAID support for institutional development through longer grant periods and increased investment in local-level training and capacity building, including that targeting "partner" institutions such as NGOs, district-level public agencies, and community associations.

- ◊ Provide flexible funding and other assistance mechanisms for specific, often "one-off" interventions in support of NGO and community initiatives, both for training and TA and for substantive development activities.
- ◊ Develop transitional strategies for the last phase (typically 1-2 years) of project activities including gradual management hand-overs and "endowment" systems which cushion the shock of withdrawing PVO financing.

PVO project designs which take serious and address these sorts of institutional issues and principles will be much more likely to create the conditions for local "ownership" and sustainability than those that do not. While there can be no guarantees of success in meeting the challenges of institutional development in rural Mozambique, a clear, consistent capacity building effort with sufficient financial, human and technical resources is necessary. Unless PVOs identify their local partners, define their present and future roles, and implement a process by which these partners will gradually increase their capability to fulfill these roles, the likelihood of "post-project collapse" is greatly increased. The general principles listed above and the more specific strategies presented below provide ways of avoiding this regrettably common phenomenon by addressing this challenge of institutionalizing PVO II supported rural development activities.

5.2.2. Recommended Institutional Strategies Supporting "Ownership" and Sustainability

5.2.2.1. PVO Institutional Issues

<u>Recommendation:</u> **PVOs should focus greater attention on development of their own Mozambican personnel** aimed at enabling them to assume key leadership and management roles. More consistent staff development programs, balancing management and technical skills, and counterpart relations between expatriate and Mozambican professional staff are needed to build the human resource base for PVO/NGO program sustainability.

5.2.2.2. Community-Based Institutions

<u>Recommendation:</u> **Existing PVO emphasis on community animation and organization in the context of sectoral programs should be supported and consolidated.** Local leaders and institutions should play increasing roles not only as intermediaries between projects and participants/beneficiaries but also as agents of governance which determine priorities and oversee implementation, including resource use, by local government personnel, PVO field staff, and community-based paraprofessionals. PVOs should systematically assess skill needs associated with community governance and management of sectoral programs and develop training programs to increase capacity in key areas.

<u>Recommendation:</u> **USAID should finance and organize (through PVOs) a Community Development (CD) Micro-Projects Fund** in order to promote community and associational action for development in PVO project areas. A simple mechanism for rapid appraisal and response by USAID (or an institutional intermediary) should be implemented which would provide small self-help grants, administered through PVOs to complement their sectoral activities. PVOs would engage existing field staff to help design, facilitate and oversee implementation, and report on small self-help schemes financed by USAID which promote the

development of local-level leadership, governance and management capacity il rural communities. Modest overheads should be associated with CD grants to cover PVO expenses incurred during their implementation.

5.2.2.3. Local NGOs

Recommendation: The development of local NGO capacity should be considered by USAID an output in itself under the design of PVO II. The PVO II logframe should specify that PVO II will increase NGO staff skill levels and improve NGO institutional systems in the areas of project management, accounting, monitoring and evaluation, and project design and proposal development. The design of PVO II should allocate specific financial and institutional resources to the achievement of this output.

Recommendation: PVOs should continue to increase the role of local NGOs in the implementation structures of their sectoral projects as a way of promoting local "ownership" and enhancing the prospects for sustainability of key project activities beyond the period of direct PVO involvement. USAID should encourage and finance the costs associated with PVO-NGO partnerships, PVO grants or sub-contracts to NGOs, and PVO creation of local NGOs as ways of constituting and strengthening local institutional capacity. Systematic and explicit emphasis on training of NGO staff (including on-the-job skills transfer) and on the strengthening of NGO management and program systems and capacities should be an key element of PVO-NGO collaboration and should typically be budgeted for in PVO project design.

Recommendation: USAID should finance and request PVO proposals for the implementation of an NGO Support and Strengthening Project under PVO II as a mechanism for increasing NGO institutional capacities. by. This project should be modest in scale, planned for at very least 3 years, principally focused at provincial and district levels in selected regions of Mozambique, and should aim primarily at building NGO capacity rather than at financing NGO field programs. The project would finance the establishment and operation by a PVO grantee of small provincial NGO support offices which would administer the following programs:

a) Technical Assistance and Training Facility,
b) Institutional Development Grant Fund,
c) Pilot Project Grant Fund, and
d) Local Consultancy Grant Fund.

The objective of the NGO Support and Strengthening Project would be to increase the effectiveness of Mozambican NGO organizations and programs by strengthening planning, management and accounting systems; increasing the skills and capacities of NGO personnel; improving the technical quality of NGO field programs; and increasing NGO responsiveness to beneficiary needs and priorities. Such an NGO Support and Strengthening Project should be planned and implemented in close coordination with USAID's existing grantee in NGO development: the African-American Institute (AAI).

5.2.2.4.Local Government

Recommendation: USAID should encourage PVOs to work more closely with district administrations in planning and managing service delivery and maintenance activities, especially to the extent that they are being transformed into rural municipalities with elected governments and greater management autonomy.

PVOs should clearly define their operational programs at the district level and formalize them through agreements with district administrators. In cases where PVOs collaborate (rather than merely coordinate) with the public sector in program implementation, field resources should be managed jointly with district officials, and not merely at the provincial level.

Recommendation: **PVOs and USAID should consider "sponsoring" selected rural municipalities (districts) in their project areas as a contribution to Mozambique's rural local government reform program.** Investment in basic public infrastructure should be complemented by capacity-building support to create the conditions for effective assumption by local officials of rural service delivery and development management. Emphasis of assistance to rural district governments should be on improving planning and management skills in priority sectoral areas and on the development of productive role definition and collaboration between local government and community institutions, local NGOs, and the local private sector linked to basic health and education provision, infrastructure maintenance, and the promotion of small-scale rural production and marketing.

5.2.2.5.Local Private Sector

Recommendation: **PVOs should increasingly rely on commercial channels for the distribution and sale of inputs for productive activities** such as agriculture, agro-processing, and artisanal micro- and small enterprises. PVO projects should assess the barriers to the development of adequate private input provision networks and consider providing facilitating support or indirect subsidies such as voucher schemes, stock guarantees, and transport assistance to promote the sale of inputs by private merchants in remote areas. PVO should not, as a rule, directly subsidize the price of productive inputs.

Recommendation: **Organization and development of producers' associations and marketing cooperatives should become an increasing focus of PVO agriculture programs** as farmers exceed subsistence production. In order to promote the sale of produce, improve terms of trade, and facilitate input provision, PVOs should invest in the development and strengthening of such member-governed institutional intermediaries between farmer and market.

Recommendation: **PVOs should increasingly explore the feasibility of "privatizing" rural service delivery by promoting cost-recovery linked to community-based para-professionals** such as midwives, primary school teachers, and agriculture extensionists whereby beneficiaries contribute to the subsistence of service deliverers. In addition PVOs should promote the development of private contract workers in rural areas, especially in rural road and other infrastructure maintenance, who are paid for work performed rather than salaried by government, in order to increase the efficiency and reliability of maintenance and service delivery schemes.

5.2.3. Recommended Sectoral Strategies Supporting "Ownership" and Sustainability

5.2.3.1.PVO Institutional Issues

Recommendation: **PVOs should increasingly redefine their role away from being operational service deliverers** and toward being sources of financial and material

support, of technical expertise, assistance and training, and of management oversight and support for operational local partners. Operational sectoral activities such as service delivery, beneficiary training, input provision and distribution, etc. should increasingly be implemented and managed by local institutions--associational, NGO, governmental, or private sector--through capacity-building partnerships with PVOs.

Recommendation: **PVOs should carefully structure their remuneration and field support systems for local staff** in order to increase the chances of their field personnel being integrated into local institutions after the PVO project ends. Consideration should be given to dividing payments into salaries and allowances, the former more or less in line with local norms (typically less than 100 USD/month for field personnel) and the latter providing the extra supplement necessary to motivate and adequately remunerate staff. By creating this precedent, staff may be more likely to continue to work for local salaries when PVO "allowances" end.

5.2.3.2.Agriculture

Recommendation: **Extension, farmer training, marketing promotion, input provisions and other farmer support activities should increasingly be organized at the district level**, where most PVO institutional development effort and resources should be focused. PVOs should support provincial institutions in specific and limited areas such as research, training, and coordination roles and activities.

Recommendation: **District-level extension networks and local extension workers should gradually be institutionalized outside of PVO structures.** Contract extension networks linked to district agriculture departments or local NGOs should be employed to ensure that a local institutional basis exists for continuity of efforts to support farmers beyond the project period.

Recommendation: **Greater attention is needed to ensure the development of adequate systems of agricultural input provision outside of PVO logistic and extension networks.** Private shops and itinerant traders should play primary roles in making appropriate seeds and tools available to farmers. PVOs should explore voucher schemes, the provision of indirect subsidies by transporting materials to remote districts or guaranteeing buy-back of unsold stocks, and the provision of import assistance to local merchants in order to promote the development of trade networks for farm inputs. Organization of farmers into producers associations may also contribute to ensuring demand, reducing transaction costs, and otherwise achieving the economies of scale which will engage the private sector in input provision.

Recommendation: **Market development should play a greater role in programs supported by PVO II.** Organization of producers association/marketing cooperatives and facilitation of contacts between producers and buyers will become increasingly important as farmers begin to produce surpluses, as will provision of price information to producers and promotion of reliable weights, measures, and grading. The development of local agro-processing enterprises and facilities to add value, increase durability and simplify transport, and increase marketability should also be encouraged to support market development.

5.2.3.3.Health

Recommendation: **Rural health posts should in general not be "owned and operated" by PVOs but rather by local institutions.** Communities themselves, local NGOs, or local governments should manage health posts and their personnel even in cases where PVO funds sustain them. PVOs should work to establish models for local level governance and management of health delivery units, complementing their technical training and supervision, provision of staff and working materials, and logistical support with capacity building to create the conditions for sustained service delivery beyond the project period.

Recommendation: **PVO II should continue support to PVOs for the development of community-based preventative MCH institutions and paraprofessionals such as *socorristas* and midwives.** In addition to education and animation, PVOs may want to explore promoting the role of community institutions in the governance of health posts and the management of local health-related resources such as revolving drug funds. PVOs should continue and expand collaboration and partnership with Mozambican NGOs in community health education and animation and in this context systematically assess and address the institutional development needs of their local NGO partners.

Recommendation: **Cost recovery for basic health services should be promoted as much as possible in keeping with government policy and local conditions.** Effort should be made to ensure that funds collected are managed at the health post level, ideally managed jointly by staff and a community institution, and are available to be used to respond to specific resource constraints which limit operational effectiveness. PVOs should assist in the development of bookkeeping and management models appropriate to the conditions of rural health posts.

Recommendation: **Development of institutions which distribute and provide essential medicines outside the MEDIMOC/MOH channel should be explored by PVOs,** at a pace consistent with pharmaceutical sector reform by government. Non-profit pharmacies at provincial or district level, employing social marketing techniques for promotion and distribution of basic drugs, may provide alternatives at the wholesale level. Community/health post level revolving drug funds and/or small-scale private pharmacies appear desirable at the retail level in order to ensure that health workers and facilities in remote areas have access to the materials they need to be effective providers of curative services.

5.2.3.4.Rural Infrastructure

Recommendation: **PVOs should continue their emphasis on community-based management and maintenance of pumps and other water points.** Participatory governance and local cost recovery should be joined in order to increase community capacity to sustain the operation of rural water systems with limited reliance on projects or government.

Recommendation: **PVO projects should consider supporting the availability of pump spare parts through the rural private shop network** by offering indirect subsidies such as transport assistance and stock guarantees. Without such support, it appears unprofitable for some merchants to maintain spares characterized by slow turnover.

Recommendation: PVOs, in collaboration with district administration and traditional authorities, should promote the development of *cantoneiro* (linemen) systems for rural road rehabilitation and maintenance whereby local residents are contracted and paid to maintain a given length of track. Experience with different organizational approaches to remote road rehabilitation and maintenance--such as individual, community-level, NGO, local government and private sector contracting--should be documented and analyzed for future reference.

5.2.4. Recommended PVO Grant Proposal Guidelines to Promote Local "Ownership" and Sustainability

Recommendation: PVO grant proposals/project designs should include an "Institutional Capacity" output specifying how the PVO project will strengthen specific local institutions linked to the achievement and the sustaining of planned substantive outputs and impacts. Associated with this institutional output, the proposal should detail the resources and interventions (inputs and activities) which the PVO will employ in order to achieve this enhanced capacity.

Recommendation: USAID should require a brief Project Sustainability Assessment annexed to each PVO grant proposal (or as part of its social or institutional analyses) which clearly identifies:.

a) Which important project supported activities or functions are expected to continue beyond the period of PVO intervention?

b) Which institution(s) are expected to continue to deliver services, provide needed inputs, support or monitor community or household level activities, function as intermediaries with outside agencies or markets, etc. and which specific roles are expected of each?

c) What infrastructure will the project build or rehabilitate and how will it be maintained: who will maintain it, how will needed resources be mobilized, and where will materials or other specialized inputs be obtained?

d) What capacities will these sustaining or maintaining institutions require to fulfill their prospective roles: technical, financial, organizational, and logistical?

e) How will the PVO II supported project contribute to ensuring that these sustaining capacities will exist after the end of the project period?

f) What is the likelihood of and the specific constraints on the sustainability of activities and functions identified above as important? And how have the recognition of these threats to sustainability influenced the project design?

Recommendation: USAID should create under PVO II a program environment more conducive to PVO projects using local partnerships and promoting sustainability by:

* being receptive to longer term PVO proposals which are more conducive to partnership with local institutions,
* accepting the importance of allocating specific resources to institutional development,

* being realistic in its expectation of the rate of feasible institutional development and hand-over to local partners, and
* demonstrating flexibility in response to PVO proposals to change institutional approach based on experience during project implementation.

5.3. Conclusions and Final Considerations

This study has examined the environment within which USAID supported PVOs undertake their development promotion activities in rural Mozambique in order to identify challenges to and opportunities for increasing their effectiveness and sustainability.

While consensus exists that Mozambican actors--individuals and organizations, beneficiaries and intermediaries--need to play more significant roles in orienting and undertaking development efforts, there is less agreement about how this objective should be achieved. PVO managers, expatriate technicians, Mozambican field staff, local NGO personnel, local government officials, rural merchants, community leaders, and village residents, as well as public sector technicians, government policy makers, international NGO staff, and USAID officials each offer particular perspectives regarding how foreign and Mozambican resources can best be used to create the conditions for efficient, effective, and sustainable service delivery and infrastructure provision in Mozambican rural areas.

Some argue for community-based service delivery, others for market solutions. Some favor local NGO service deliverers and others public sector provision. Some recommend different arrangements for different sectors, others propose general prescriptions. The more sophisticated suggest mixed systems with coordinated division of roles and responsibilities. Here again the mix varies widely.

While this study has suggested some particular strategies for organizing sectoral development programs and for strengthening certain classes of institutions, it cannot be said to have produced definitive solutions to these thorny questions. The reason for this "failure" is simple: there are no universal and definitive solutions. The severe resource and capacity constraints which PVOs confront in rural Mozambique as well as the complex environment, rapid change and the variety of local conditions in various parts of the country mitigate against such formulae.

What has emerged from the study is the importance of systematically linking PVO activities to local institutions which may be able to sustain them after the project period. Without the incorporation of Mozambican institutions into the implementation arrangements of PVO projects, the likelihood of successful "handover" or even successful maintenance of PVO sponsored infrastructure and service delivery units is very remote. Experience has shown that there is a clear relationship between responsibilities assumed during project implementation and the commitment to carry on field operations, and to mobilize the resources necessary to do so, which characterizes "ownership" by local actors.

In order to promote this sense of ownership, beneficiaries must be participants. To the extent they are capable of sustaining and maintaining the outcomes of PVO assistance, beneficiaries must feel themselves to be responsible for those outcomes. Promotion of this sense of responsibility is no easy task in the face of the widespread dependency and social uncertainty characteristic of rural Mozambique. Consistent and effective rural animation, leadership training, and collaborative program planning

and implementation at community levels are indispensable if USAID and PVOs want to achieve participant/beneficiary "ownership" and governance.

And to the extent that rural residents and communities alone are not capable of sustaining and maintaining PVO program outcomes; to the extent that rural Mozambicans will continue to need material, technical, and organizational assistance from beyond their narrow boundaries and extremely modest resource base; local intermediaries who will play critical roles in sustaining and maintaining PVO supported initiatives and services, must also feel a sense of ownership. The Mozambican NGOs and local government agencies upon whom rural communities will rely to assist them in continuing the improvement of agricultural production, processing and marketing, the provision of basic rural health care, and the maintenance of rural infrastructure, must feel that the responsibilities are theirs, and not the PVO's, if these activitieq are to be sustained. And the rural enterprises which will provide important goods and services to rural communities need to feel that their clients are not PVOs but rural residents and associations.

"Ownership" needs to be complemented by capacity. Both communities and intermediaries need to possess adequate and appropriate technical skills and management systems. In order to make sustainability possible, USAID and its PVO partners must invest systematically in building this capacity throughout the project period. Staff time and other project resources need to be dedicated to the development of community and intermediary capacities; they will not "rub off" through contact with PVO field personnel.

To effectively increase capacity that will translate into improved performance in the field, both training and organizational development are needed. PVOs must work with their local partners to enhance individual staff skills as well as to implement appropriate planning, management, supervision, and monitoring/reporting systems. Training workshops, while necessary, will not be sufficient. Technical assistance in the workplace--whether that be under a shady village tree, at an NGO meeting after hours in a schoolroom, or in a district office--is required to support the changes in work practice upon which effective beneficiary support, service delivery and field-level maintenance depend.

This is the study's fundamental finding. Without clearly articulated strategies for implementing PVO programs through local institutional partners and without systematically designed and implemented capacity building for those partners, it can be expected that many of the services and infrastructures which USAID and PVOs have developed and will develop during PVO II will be in disuse soon after the project ends.

Local governance and institutional development are the keys to effective Mozambican participation and responsibility. Whether through community institutions, NGOs, local government agencies, or private enterprises; project operations should be handed over to Mozambicans who are supported in their efforts to assume them. PVOs should provide the training, technical assistance, and oversight as well as some of the resources these Mozambican institutions will need to produce results in the field which respond to beneficiary priorities.

This study clearly indicates that the conditions do not now exist for the effective transfer of those functions which PVOs and other donor financed projects now perform. It also suggests that the environment is more favorable and steadily

improving, albeit with some caveats, for gradually placing the responsibility for the future of these functions in Mozambican hands. The PVO effort associated with project implementation under conditions of reduced control and the resources of all kinds associated with building local capacity are part of the cost of establishing a basis for the continuing development of rural Mozambique after PVO II.

If the promotion of Mozambican rural development warrants USAID and PVO investment today, it would seem equally valuable to invest in the institutional basis for its continuation beyond PVO II. It is recommended that the design of PVO II explicitly address this institutional development and sustainability agenda.

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Annex A - CALENDAR OF FIELDWORK

12 March	Travel Maputo to Beira
13 March	Travel Beira to Buzi District, Interviews in Buzi
14 March	Posto Administrativo Nova Sofala, Interviews in Buzi District
15 March	Farmers Meetings, Travel Buzi to Beira
16-18 March	Meetings and Interviews in Beira
19 March	Travel Beira to Chimoio
20 March	Meetings in Chimoio, Interviews in Gondola District
21 March	Travel Chimoio to Barué District, Posto Administrativo Nhampasso
22 March	Posto Administrativo Choa, Interviews in Chimbonila
23 March	Posto Administrivo Honde, Travel Chimbonila to Chimoio
23-24 March	Meetings in Chimoio
25 March	Travel Chimoio to Beira to Maputo
31 March	Travel Maputo to Quelimane
1 April	Travel Quelimane to Morrumbala District Sede, Interviews
2 April	Travel Morrumbala to Posto Administrativo Derre, Interviews
3 April	Interviews in Derre and Localities
4 April	Travel Derre to Quelimane
5 April	Interviews in Nicoadala District
6 April	Meetings in Quelimane
7 April	Travel Quelimane to Maputo

Annex B - LIST OF PERSONS CONTACTED

Persons Contacted In Maputo

Name	Organization
Mozambican NGOs	
Ema Mossa	ACTIVA
Pedro Miguel Francisco	ADEMO
Sanida Fulano	ADEMO
Maria dos Anjos Rosario	AMDU--Ass. Moç. de Desen. Urbano
Anastasia Tsambe	AMODEFA
Julio J. Nimuire	AMODEG
Bernardo Tomas Guija	AMODESE-Ass. Moç. de Desempregados
Luisa Matola	AMRU
Amelia Zambeze	AMRU
Julaio Munhequeia	ASSANA
Elisabeth Sequeira	Associacao Progresso
Jeremias Langa	AVEL
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Timoteo Doropa	CCM
Marta Cumbi	FDC-Fundacao de Desenvolvimento Comunitario
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Marcelo Rufino Kandu	Kulima
Daniel Trinidade	Kulima
Guy Mullin	LINK
Francisco de Assis A. Joao	ONP
Jose Mossiane	Prolide
Samuel Fornquila	Sotemaza
Ismael Ossemane	UGC/UNAC
PVOs	
Celia Diniz	AAI
Maria Farinha	AAI
Dwight Taylor	ADRA
Sandra Clark	Africare
Bill Noble	Africare
Stephen Vaughn	AICF
Nina Bowen	CARE
Carimat Juma	Food for the Hungry
Peter Macy	MCDI (mail response)
Steve Gloyd	MHC
Clayton Davis	PSI
Jim Wright	Save the Children
Karen Siegler	Save the Children
Trudy Schwartz	World Relief
Jonathon White	World Vision
Anne Henderson	World Vision
Walter Middleton	World Vision

Maputo Contacts (Con't)

Name	Organization
Government of Mozambique	
Costodio dos Mocudos	INDER, Nat'l Institute of Rural Development
Casilda	PRONAR
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Costodio Mutavele	Ag Extension Department, MINAG
Jose Elias Guambe	Local Administration Directorate, MAE
USAID	
Jay Smith	Deputy Director
Cheryl McCarthy	Program Office
Modupe Broderick	Program Office
Julie Born	Projects Office
Gregg Wiitala	Projects Office
Sidney Bliss	Program Office
Robin Mason	Projects Office
Sue Nelson	PVO Support Project
Andrew Krefft	PVO Support Project

Persons Contacted In Sofala Province

Name	Organization
Beira - ONGs	
Américo A. da Costa Zindega	AJUDER
Domingos F. Lopes Macubele	AJUDER
Tomasse Lisboa	AJUDER
José Fernando Luo Tito	AJUDER
Domingos Bata	AMODEG
José Ohaco	AMODEG
Maria Cândida Matavele	AMODEG
Maria Alberto Companhia	APB
Cecília Mutiwati	APB
Adelino de Jesus Bernardo	APM e APB
José Martens	APM e APB
Charles Chamba Rafael	C.C.M.
João José Custódio	C.V.M.
Lucas Jackson	KULIMA
Domungos Mboa	KULIMA
Ana Maria Madeira	O.M.M.
Emília Vicente Mando	O.M.M. - Bairro de Esturo
Amélia S. de Jesus	O.M.M. - Bairro dos Pioneiros
Maria António João	O.M.M. - Bairro Nhancojo
Maria das Dores	O.M.M. - Cidade
Jeannelles Laj	Programa RRR
Beira-Governmen	
Orlando Chaves	D.P. das Finanças
Jane Andersen	D.P. de Saúde / IBIS
Imaculada Castelo Branco	D.P.O.P.H.
José Machenguana	C.D. de Emergência
Agostinho Barreto	D.P. de Eduacação
João Baidue	C.P. de Emergência
Simões Augusto Zalenhesse	D.P.A.P. - Sofala
Miguel Luís Coimbra	D.P.A.P.
Beira- PVOs	
Stephen Gwynn-Vaughn	A.I.C.F.
Dr. Claude Prost and Arminda Prost	Africare
John Swett	Africare
Buck Deines	F.H.I.
Niall Watson	FHI

Name	Organization
Buzi District-ONGs	
Paulino Vicente	A.S.
Albino Magarira	AMODEG
Samuel Cufene	C.V.M.
Edoardo Mauloneui	CKS
João Vitorino Mariano	F.H.I
Mark Marrioti	F.H.I.
Lúcia José	O.M.M.
Luísa Ndenga	O.M.M.
Buzi District-Government	
Bachir Zaide	Administração Marítima
João Chibante	D.D. Agricultura
Lopes Mangate	D.D. Saúde
José Mussenga	D.P.C.C.N.
Lourenço M. Changanane	Administração do Distrito
João Cabral Patrício	Administração
Juvêncio de Jesus	INDER
José Muchuranhe António	D.D.O.P.H. - Búzi

Persons Contacted In Manica Province

Name	Organization
Chimoio-Government and Projects	
António de Vasco Leitão	Director da D.P.Plano
Dr. Saraiva Simão	Director da D.P.Saude
José Cinturão	Director da D.P.Apoio e Controle
Rosário Filipe Silveira	Chefe do Depto, D.P.Educacao
Carlos Alberto de Carvalho	Chefe do Depto da D.P.Saude
Sr. Sérgio	Chefe de Extensão da D.P.Agricultura
João Domingos Mussona	Comissão Provincial do Plano
Rosa Pedro	Comissão Provincial do Plano
Augusto Resende Ribeiro	Serviços Provinciais de Acção Social
Jorge J. Lampião	UN ICEF - oficial assistente de programas
Professor Queirol	Director do Centro da C.V.M.
Sr. Naisson	ACNUR - assistente do oficial de programas
Lucas Leonardo	Repart. Admin e Finanças, DPSaude
Steven Gloyd	MHC
James Pfeiffer	MHC
Sr. Trinta	MHC
Gondola District	
Albano Caranguira	Director distrital da Saúde
Sr. Francisco	Supervisor de extensão na D.D.Agricultura
Barue District	
Gabriel Mirção	Admistrador do Distrito
Guerra Machado	Admistrador Adjunto do Distrito
Sr. Luciano	Director Distrital de Agricultura
Raúl Miricino	Director Distrital a Ssúde
António Domingos	Director Distrital das O.P.H.
Sr. Bila	Coordenador da ACNUR
Eduardo Singane	Chefe do Posto Administrativo de Nhampassa
Monteiro Francisco	Presidente da Localidade de Nhassacara
João B. Nhamulando	Presidente da Localidade de Chuara
Herbert Nhakapanga (Magodo)	Agricultor, Curandeiro e Líder Comunitário de Paraúlo (Uma localidade de Chôa)
Manica-ONGs	

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People Contacted In Zambezia Province

Name	Organization
Quelimane-Government and Projects	
Baisamo Marcelino	Director da Comissão Provincial do Plano
Roberto O. da Silva	Director da D.P.Agricultura
Américo Muinga	Director da D.P.Obras Publicas
António Alvaro Francisco	Chefe do S.P. da Acção Social
Agostinho Xavier Júnior	Chefe dos S.P.Agricultura e do Projecto IBIS
Mateus Mapore	Funcionário da D.P. de Saúde
Josefa Afonso	Funcionária da D.P. das Finanças
Ossifo M. Mário	Assessor do PRR / INDER - CP Plano
Bente Jensen	Assessora do projecto IBIS na D.P.Agricultura
António João Madeira	Responsável das Cáritas - Zambézia
Lucas Govine Ernesto	Delegado adjunto do Kulima - Zambézia
Quelimane-PVOs	
Jimmy Dios	Provincial Director, Wolrd Vision
Leslie Sitch	Agriculture Coordinator, World Vision
David Sperling	Agronomy Advisor, World Vision
Brain Hilton	Ag Project Specialist, World Vision
Sra. Jeanine	Extension and Social Specialist, World Vision
Sra. Veronique	Health Program Coordinator, World Vision
Dr. Titus	Health Program Specialist, World Vision
Nicoadala District	
Sr. Ferro	Admistrador do distrito
Castigo Faife Mussacate	Directir distrital da saúde
Raúl Escrever Qualquer	Director distrital de Agricultura
Sr. Fernando	Responsável pelo Viveiro da VM.
João Scanso	Extensionista da VM em Monhacua
Ramos Paulino	Extensionista da VM em Julião
Sr. Obra	Téc. de Saneamento e Abastecimento de água da VM.
Coutinho Viegas	Camponês de Monhacua
Grupo de 20 camponeses	Na zona de Julião

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Name	Organization
Morrumbala District	
António Alfãndega	Admistrador do distrito
Sr. Paulo e Sra Sabrina	Técnicos da ONG Inter-SOS
Jorge Bande	Enfermeiro chefe do centro de saúde
Sr. Nomeado	Chefe do Posto Admistrativo de Derre
Alberto Pais	"Fumo" do Regulado de Galove - Derre
Sr. Caminho	Régulo de Galove
Sr. Charles	Extensionista da VM - Derre
João Nomeado	Director da Agricultura de Derre
Equipe de Enfermeiros de Derre	Visão Mundial

Abbreviations and Translations for Organizations Contacted

A.I.C.F.: Acção Internacional Contra a Fome
ACTIVA
ADEMIMO-Associacao de Deficientes Militares de Moçambique (Military Disabled Persons)
ADEMO Associação Moçambicana de Deficientes (Disabled Persons)
ADRA- Adventist Development and Relief Association
AJUDER: Associação Juvenil para o Desenvolvimento Rural (Assoc. of Youth for Rural Development)
AMDU--Associação Moçambicana de Desenvolvimento Urbano
AMODEFA- Associação Moçambicana para Desenvolvimento Familiar
AMODEG: Associação Moçambicana dos Desmobilizados de Guerra (Demobilized Soldiers)
AMODESE- Associação. Moçambicana. de Desempregados (Unemployed Persons)
AMRU- Associação Moçambicana da Mulher Rural(Rural Women)
APM e APB: Apai Apa Banda and Amai Apa Mudzi = Associação da Mulher Dona de Casa
ASSANA- Associação De Amigos E Naturais De Nampula (Friends and Natives of Nampula)
AVEL- Associação de Apoio de Velhice (Older Persons)
C.C.M: Conselho Cristão de Moçambique (Christian Council)
C.P.E.: Comissão Provincial de Emergência
C.V.I.: Cruz Vermelha Internacional (International Red Cross)
C.V.M.: Cruz Vermelha de Moçambique (Mozambican Red Cross)
D.P.A.P.: Direcção Provincial de Agricultura e Pescas
D.P.E.: Direcção Provincial de Educação
D.P.O.P.H.: Direcção Provincial de Obras Públicas e Habitações
F.H.I.: Food for the Hungry (Fundação Contra a Fome)
FDC- Fundação de Desenvolvimento Comunitário
INDER- Instituto de Desenvolvimento Rural, (Nat'l Institute of Rural Development)
L.W.F.: Lutheran World Federation (Federação Mundial Luterana)
MCDI -Medical Cooperation and Development International
MHC- Mozambique Health Committee
O.M.M.: Organização da Mulher Moçambicana
Programa RRR.: Programa de Reabilitação e Reintegração Rural
Prolide-Progresso, Liberdade e Desenvolvimento
PRONAR- Programa Nacional de Agua Rural
PSI-Population Services International
Sotemaza- Sofala, Tete, Manica, and Zambézia Association
UGC- União Geral de Cooperativos
UNAC- União Nacional de Associações de Camponeses (Nat'l Union of Peasant Associations)
Visão Mundial-World Vision

Annex C - RURAL SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ASSESSMENT (in Portuguese)

BREVE RESENHA
SOBRE AS INSTITUIÇÕES RURAIS

NOS DISTRITOS DE
BÚZI, PROVÍNCIA DE SOFALA,
BÁRUÈ, PROVÍNCIA DE MANICA E
MORRUMBALA / NICOADALA, PROVÍNCIA DE ZAMBÉZIA

Por Simeão Lopes

Maputo, Abril, 1995

1. INTRODUÇÃO

Três anos depois do fim da guerra civil que durante (quase) duas décadas assolou o país, levando-o a uma situação de emergência devido principalmente a inviabilização (reforçada pela seca) de vários projectos de desenvolvimento sócio-económico, a USAID querendo tirar partido das transformações sociais, económicas e institucionais decorrentes do processo de paz que se vive no país, está a repensar o seu actual sistema de apoio aos programas de desenvolvimento rural no país através das ONG's Americanas.

Nesta perspectiva, realizaram-se pesquisas que abrangeram os Distritos de Dondo (Sofala), Báruè (Manica), Morrumbala e Nicoadala (Zambézia), cada um com as suas especificidades, e cuja análise dos diferentes elementos decorrentes e intervenientes no processo de desenvolvimento rural naqueles pontos do país, tentativamente apresentamos a seguir.

2. OBJECTIVOS

As deslocações e encontros realizados, tinham como objectivos:

2.1. Geral

É objectivo da USAID definir novas politicas e estratégias que se ajustem á nova realidade do país e que sobretudo tornem efectivas e sustentáveis os seus projectos e programas de desenvolvimento rural em Moçambique, bem como corresponderem aos anseios dos seus principais beneficiários, a população rural.

2.2. Específicos

a) Auscultar as experiências existentes na coordenação e colaboração a vários níveis entre as ONG's, governo / sector, comunidade, bem como auscultar as suas perspectivas;

b) Solicitar o ponto de vista das ONG's e das comunidades em relação ao seu relacionamento com as instituições governamentais a níveis Distritais e Provinciais, bem como em relação aos papeis e responsabilidades de cada uma das partes;

c) Solicitar no terreno opiniões, recomendações e perspectivas para um bom relacionamento das ONG's, comunidade e governo com o sector privado no ramo de desenvolvimento rural;

d) Identificar e analisar a posição e o papel social e económico dos líderes comunitários no processo da dinâmica comunitária dos Distritos em análise;

e) Identificar na óptica do grupo alvo em análise, o tipo (métodos e estratégias) de desenvolvimento que seria mais sustentável para as respectivas comunidades; e

f) Decorrente das anteriores, avançar uma proposta de metodologia para a implementação do programa de apoio da USAID nas comunidades beneficiárias, através de estratégias de desenvolvimento que sejam mais condicentes com a realidade sócio-cultural e politica das diferentes zonas rurais do país.

3. METODOLOGIA

O método utilizado na recolha de informação consubstanciou-se, numa 1ª fase em pesquisa documental sobre o assunto e, na 2ª fase entrevistas abertas com:

a) Entidades oficiais provinciais e distritais (responsáveis provinciais e distritais sectoriais e administradores distritais);

b) Responsáveis de programas das ONG's estrangeiras e moçambicanas; e

c) Indivíduos conceitualizados nas comunidades, tais como chefes religiosos, tradicionais, políticos e simples cidadãos.

As entrevistas abertas permitiram-nos apresentar os assuntos nas suas partes específicas para os entrevistados, deixando estes abordá-lo de maneira que achassem mais conveniente. Noutros casos, colocamos questões mais pontuais com o fim de obtermos respostas concisas sobre determinado aspecto.

Encontros colectivos com as direcções provinciais e ONG's nacionais, bem como a observação, constituíram outra forma de pesquisa que, nos permitiu ter uma visão qualitativa sobre a problemática.

4. PROVÍNCIA DE SOFALA, DISTRITO DE BÚZI

4.1. Breve Informação Geral

A província central de Sofala, com 68.081 km^2, até o período *p-1X de recenseamento de 1980 possuía cerca de 1.500.000 habitantes e cuja densidade populacional é de 15,7, distribuída em 12 Distritos e a cidade capital, Beira. A agricultura e pesca constituem actividades principais desta província que, deprecaria com o comércio e algumas indústrias, bem como á sua posição geográfica estratégica, junto a costa e com porto que constitua única alternativa para alguns países da região austral de África, contribuem para a alternativa de emprego dos cidadãos residentes.

Os povos que habitam esta província são maioritariamente de etnia **Shona**. Entretanto, existem outros povos de origem diferentes (caso dos **Shona** e os **Vandau**), com particularidades sócio-culturais em relação a ideologia, sucessão e herança, direito de uso de terra, manutenção da ordem social e resolução de conflitos distintas.

O Distrito do Búzi, com três Postos Administrativos (Búzi, Sofala e Estaquinha), predominantemente **de população Sena**, ocupa uma área de 7.409 km^2 e localiza-se a sul da Província de Sofala. Segundo os dados do censo de 1980, este Distrito possuía na altura uma população de cerca 414.276 habitantes[1], número que terá decrescido para cerca de 125.882 habitantes em 1992[2] nos 10 anos subsequentes, devido á guerra e seca que dilaceraram a economia e o tecido social desta região, continuando mesmo assim como o 2° mais populoso depois da cidade da Beira.

Contudo, é de realçar o regresso massivo das populações anteriormente refugiadas em locais mais seguros e dos desmobilizados dos dois exércitos antes beligerantes que, constituem neste momento uma grande preocupação para o governo local no tocante a sua reabilitação e integração social.

Presentemente, as actividades económicas mais importantes do Distrito do Búzi são a agricultura e em menor escala a pesca (no Posto Administrativo de Nova Sofala). De referir a grande

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[1] Censo de 1980, in: Os Distritos em Números, 1983.
[2] PILILÃO, 1987.

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contribuição dada pela empresa Agro-Búzi na área de produção agrícola, mais concretamente na produção de algodão.

Segundo informações no local, em tempos, a extensão territorial do Distrito de Buzi estava subdividida em pequenos territórios (as povoações) cuja população não excedia a 250 pessoas e estes por sua vez podiam se dividir em pequenos pedaços de terra com chefes menores, **Nfumo,** que se subordinavam ao chefe linhageiro, o **Mambo** (que os portugueses denominaram de **régulo),** de quem possuíam quase sempre uma relação de afinidade familiar por consanguinidade ou casamentos.

Estes **Mambo** eram (são) os "guardiões da terra" comunitária e asseguram(vam) a produção agrícola e a manutenção da ordem social com base no seu domínio cosmológico que lhes confere "capacidade" de comunicação com os mortos. Por isso, as populações locais, são unânimes a afirmar que todo aquele que penetra naqueles territórios com qualquer que seja o interesse, mesmo que seja para beneficiar a comunidade, deve ou deveria aproximar-se ao **Mambo** que se encarregará de introduzí-lo na comunidade e garantir o sucesso dos seus objectivos.

Em caso de incapacidade ou morte de um **Mambo,** o seu sucessor é escolhido, entre muitos outros elegíveis, pelos conselheiros que se asseguram que o visado possui capacidades para exercer o cargo.

Em relação a organização comunitária actual, dizer que o escasso tempo de permanência neste Distrito, não nos permitiu ter uma grande percepção do tipo de organizações comunitárias existentes e o seu nível de funcionamento. Contudo, é de referir que verifica-se uma certa tendência de se reactivar a organização comunitária tradicional, principalmente na região de Nova Sofala, que tem vindo a apoiar as autoridades formais em diversos áreas onde a sua intervenção é fundamental. Também encontramos uma certa tendência para o papel que é atribuído aos professores e agentes da saúde para dirigir assuntos comunitários.

Associação Moçambicana dos Desmobilizados de Guerra (AMODEG) e a Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (O.M.M.), são as únicas associações existentes que procuram resolver, com apoio da organização não governamental estrangeira, Food for the Hungry (F.H.I.) e governo / Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento Rural (INDER), dar corpo a certas actividades que possam atenuar a situação delicada em que praticamente se encontra a maioria da população do Distrito.

É neste contexto onde encontramos iniciativas ligados ao reflorestamento da região, através do plantio de plantas de rendimento económico, coqueiros e cajueiros na região de Nova Sofala, através de um programa governamental, via INDER e os serviços provinciais de cajú.

O programa agora financiado pelo INDER, de construção de tanques caracicidas no Distrito do Búzi, e que será executado pela AMODEG, sob forma de contrato, é um dos exemplos de uma iniciativa local, pois esta organização, conhecedora da situação no terreno, dessiminou a ideia junto daquela instituição e ofereceu-se (como forma de proporcionar emprego para os seus membros) para executar o projecto.

Encontramos também na zona de Nova Sofala uma escola/centro, albergando cerca de 250 alunos, construída pela igreja católica e dirigida na sua essência pelo pessoal comunitário, irmãs de caridade locais e professores provenientes da Direcção de Educação. O padre responsável pela referida escola, afirmou que a comunidade deverá dispensar uma maior atenção àquela, pois são

Neste momento, a O.M.M. é a única organização não governamental Moçambicana em Buzi que possui um projecto (financiado como já foi referido pela F.H.I.) em condições de arrancar com obj *p-1Xectivo de posteriormente auto-sustentar e auto-financiap os seus membros. As suas actividades centralizar-se-ão no sector comercial de pequena escala, através da venda de roupa diversa que será confeccionada pela organização e na prestação de serviços no seu salão de chá.

As restantes, estão ou ainda em formação (caso da ADEMIMO), ou numa fase de definição dos seus projectos, caso da AMODEG (se bem que tenha já um acordo com o INDER para um projecto de construção de tanques caracicidas), ou ainda numa fase de crise e desnorte devido a cessação de apoios externos que vinha recebendo, caso da C.V.M. que, pelo que se observou no terreno, e confirmado pelo seu representante, de facto ela, em Buzi praticamente "morreu" com o fim das actividades no país do seu parceiro internacional, a Cruz Vermelha de Moçambique (C.V.I.).

Apesar de algumas iniciativas de base e vontade de modificar o nível de vida comunitário, o quadro que se nos foi dado observar no Buzi em relação as ONG's Moçambicanas, poderá ser o reflexo da fraca capacidade (administrativa / organizativa, financeira, técnica e logística) que em geral enfrentam, por motivos históricos óbvios, agravados pela fraca preparação académica da maioria dos seus membros integrantes. São exactamente estes aspectos que constituem o ponto forte que permitem ás ONG's estrangeiras materializarem com certo sucesso os seus objectivos.

Para terminar, é um facto real que o sentimento geral das ONG's é de que ainda há muito que percorrer entre o desejo / sonho que elas tem, nesta luta pelo desenvolvimento rural do país, e a realização desses mesmos sonhos, devido sobretudo aos motivos acima referidos.

4.2.2. ONG's Estrangeiras

A província de Sofala possui várias organizações não governamentais estrangeiras, que trabalham em diferentes programas de assistência e desenvolvimento nas zonas rurais, tais como a AFRICARE, Food For The Hungry (F.H.I.), Federação Luterana Mundial (L.W.F), ARO, Arquitetes Sans Frontieres, CIDAC, Cooperation For Development, DVS, Medicina do Mundo, Molisv, Redd Barna e a C.I.C.S., para além das várias agências bilaterais de Desenvolvimento, casos do Alto Comissariado das Nações Unidas para os Refugiados (ACNUR), o Fundo das Nações para Infância (UNICEF) e GTZ (?).

Especificamente no Distrito de Búzi, até ao momento do estudo, eram três (3) organizações não governamentais que operavam normalmente, nomeadamente a F.H.I., L.W.F. e C.I.C.S..

As actividades da F.H.I. no Buzi, basicamente circunscrevem-se em programas de assistência e desenvolvimento junto ás populações necessitadas, através de distribuição de alimentos básicos, vestuário e sementes, bem como de extensionismo que garante o sucesso das actividades agrícolas das populações; alternativamente, pequenas acções de formação técnica ao pessoal das associações Moçambicanas, a construção de escolas com material precário, bem como apoio a micro-projectos (fornecimento de equipamento de costura e loiça para um salão de chá à O.M.M.), constituem outra base de apoio desta ONG naquele Distrito.

De referir ainda que a F.H.I. possui uma rede de extensão própria que tem demonstrado uma grande rentabilidade e impacto para as comunidades camponesas beneficiárias. A rede de extensionistas da F.H.I. no Distrito de Búzi é constituída por cerca de oito assistentes de campo e

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um supervisor; Cada assistente de campo possui 6 grupos de camponeses (24 pessoas por cada grupo) cuja assistência processa-se de forma alternada uma vez por semana para cada grupo.

Também uma vez em cada semana o grupo reúne-se na sede do Distrito para troca de experiências, bem como para junto do supervisor resolver situações deparadas no campo. Por sua vez, mensalmente, o supervisor Distrital reúne-se com o coordenador provincial de extensão para deliberarem sobre as diferentes situações enfrentadas nos Distritos.

Basicamente, o apoio agrícola da rede da F.H.I. ás populações daquele Distrito consiste em aulas práticas de plantio de viveiros e respectivo transplante de plantas de diversos tipos, conservação dos produtos, preparação da terra, bem como selecção de melhores espécies de sementes para a sementeira.

Entretanto, há vozes que discordam do método de actuação do F.H.I., sugerindo que ela deveria apenas financiar esta rede dos extensionistas através da Direcção Provincial de Agricultura, de modo a garantir a sustentabilidade da mesma, mas, a F.H.I entende que o governo ainda não está suficientemente preparado para o efeito e **"neste momento é preciso agir rapidamente e eficientemente para salvar as populações que estão a enfrentar uma situação bastante difícil".**

A C.I.C.S. apenas opera no sector da saúde, onde constrõe e reabilita hospitais e centros de saúde, bem como formar agentes de saúde que entretanto, não pertencem ao sector governamental da saúde, mas sim recrutados no seio da comunidades para servir a mesma e, portanto, não recebem salário do Estado Moçambicano. Eles tem a função de disseminar junto da população alvo, os ensinamentos sobre os cuidados primários da saúde materno infantil, educá-las no sentido de seguirem as orientações emanadas pelos postos de saúde, bem como prestar serviços como enfermeiras da organização junto da comunidade.

Enquanto isso, as actividades da Federação Luterana nesta mesma região, consubstanciam-se na reabilitação de escolas e centros de saúde com matérias convencionais, abertura e reabilitação de poços de água, extensionismo agrícola, programa de reflorestamento (que consiste no plantio de árvores em viveiros pelos alunos que posteriormente transplantam nas suas residências) e apoio para a implantação de micro-projectos (pequenas carpintarias, latoarias, pequenos empreiteiros, etc.).

De um modo geral e em todos os sectores de intervenção, para além do apoio institucional (reabilitação e construção de infra-estruturas, bem como o apoio logístico), constitui papel das ONG's estrangeiras no Distrito do Búzi, a responsabilidade técnica dos programas, a formação e treinamento técnico ao pessoal das ONG's Moçambicanas e das comunidades alvo, alocação de especialistas nos diferentes sectores, o fornecimento de medicamentos e outros insumos necessários para o funcionamento dos sectores governamentais.

5. PROVÍNCIA DE MANICA, DISTRITO DE BÁRUÈ

5.1. Breve Informação Geral

A província de Manica, com uma extensão de 61.661 km^2, está também localizada no centro do País, tal como a província de Sofala, é rica em história colonial, uma vez que o seu território faz parte dos lugares onde houve a primeira tentativa Europeia de colonização através dos chamados prazos e da Companhia de Moçambique.

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Em termos de população, esta província possui cerca de 650.000 habitantes, maioritariamente **Shona,** se bem que com origem diversificado, com destaque para os **Tonga**, mais a norte da Província, dos **Manyika** e os **Matewe**. A agricultura é a sua base económica, com a produção de madeira a figurar entre as actividades mais importantes. Para além da riqueza da sua flora, é também rico em fauna bravia.

O Distrito de Báruè que se localiza a norte, é um dos nove (9) Distritos que fazem parte desta Província, famoso pelo carácter guerreiro da sua população e tem uma superfície de 5.750 Km^2, três Postos Administrativos (Catandica, também Sede do Distrito, Nhampassa, Chôa), com uma população estimada em cerca de 58.943 pessoas, distribuídas em 11.750 famílias[3],

Os **Barwé**, povo aguerrido que fez frente aos invasores **Nguni** nos anos 1822-35 e aos Portugueses por volta de 1905 e em 1925 na grande ofensiva do governo colonial contra aquela região, também fazem parte da etnia **Shona,** vivendo numa região geográfica situada entre os rios Luengua ao Norte e Pungué ao Sul, ao longo do rio Zambéze até Tambara na Província de Tete a nordeste, englobando a região montanhosa de Gorongoza e as planícies a Oeste até a fronteira com o Zimbábwe.

A guerra recentemente terminada também deixou as suas marcas nesta região, provocando uma depravação económica e social semelhante ao que se assiste em muitas outras regiões. Neste momento o azáfama é pela reabilitação e reafixação dos regressados (em diferentes lugares mais seguros) e dos antigos soldados / guerrilheiros recentemente desmobilizados aos milhares das partes beligerantes.

Em relação aos refugiados, é de referir que a maioria é proveniente do Zimbabwe e que ganhou uma certa experiência e mentalidade positiva de se posicionar em relação a situação enfrentada, sendo o seu lema **"queremos apoio, mas também queremos participar no processo para melhor controlar e exigir o cumprimento do programado"**. Os provenientes doutras zonas do país, especificamente de Macossa apresentam uma característica diferente e que urge combatê-la, que se resume no seguinte, **"queremos, mas façam-nos"**.

A experiência e mentalidade adquirida no Zimbabwe está a surtir efeitos muito positivos no Posto Administrativo de Chôa, onde técnicas de produção agrícola não usuais no país estão dando muito bons resultados. É de realçar o esforço e abnegação das populações da localidade de **Baraúlo** que, apesar do difícl contacto e escasso apoio que recebem do Distrito, devido entre outros aspectos á distância e difícil acesso, estão conseguindo resolver os seus problemas alimentares, com base na união e apoio mútuo nos trabalhos agrícolas.

A actividade agrícola continua a ser a esperança das populações do Distrito de Báruè que, apesar de condicionada pela escassez das chuvas, problemas ligados á aquisição de sementes de boa qualidade e outros insumos agrícolas, bem como o problema de minas aparentemente espalhados pelas zonas mais férteis, continua a ocupar o tempo da maioria dos seus habitantes.

A situação comunitária desta região praticamente não difere em nada da de Sofala, pois encontramos o mesmo tipo de organização social, bem como as mesmas funções e percepção em relação as autoridades tradicionais e outros líderes comunitários.

Por exemplo, no Posto Administrativo de Nhampasa, **os Mambo** e os **Nfumo** são os intermediários entre o governo, ONG's e as comunidades, mobilizando e organizando as

[3] Fonte: Administração do Báruè, Março de 1995.

populações sob sua influência para alguns trabalhos comunitários, bem como resolvendo todo tipo de possíveis conflitos que envolvam pessoas das suas comunidades.

Entretanto, em algumas regiões do Distrito, casos de Baraúlo em Chôa, as comunidades vivem sob influência de um líder espiritual, concretamente um curandeiro que, exerce de facto uma forte influência sobre a "sua gente". Ocasionalmente tem organizado as mesmas para comparticipação em casos de infelicidades e ou dificuldades de um membro comunitário, bem como apoio na lavoura das machambas, sementeira, sacha e colheita de produção.

É de ressalvar aqui o papel desempenhado pelo UNICEF na promoção de iniciativas comunitárias e na resolução dos seus problemas educacionais e sanitários, pois o método por ele aplicado, o chamado **"Community base program"**, que consiste na planificação e implementação dos projectos a partir da base, permite um incremento da capacidade de decisão das comunidades em termos de definição de prioridades para a solução dos seus problemas, bem como permite também a criação da noção de propriedade nas comunidades.

O UNICEF financia também redes de extensão do Distrito, através de um fundo que deposita no Fundo de Fomento Agrário, e que serve para o pagamento de salários aos extensionistas. Cerca de 70% do financiamento desta agência para o Distrito é destinado para a área de formação, para as brigadas móveis da saúde, compra de equipamento diverso e pagamento de despesas de supervisão das actividades, sendo os restantes 30% para as construções de infra-estruturas sociais necessárias para a reprodução social das comunidades beneficiárias.

A Administração local, parece-nos ter o controlo da situação, pois a maioria dos seus membros, desde o próprio Administrador, passando pelos directores da saúde, agricultura a até o das obras públicas e habitações, é bastante experimentado, com longos anos de trabalho em diferentes distritos com problemas similares e até piores, como referiram.

O Administrador, apesar de novo no Distrito, é experiênte no oficio, procurando incentivar as diferentes organizações e instituições, no sentido de manterem um diálogo e coordenação não só entre eles, mas sobretudo com as comunidades. Aliás, a própria Administração tem procurado auscultar e estar sempre ao lado das populações, através dos Presidentes das localidades e chefes dos Postos que, quinzenalmente são obrigados a dar um informe ao Administrador sobre a situação da sua zona.

Daí que em termos de esquema de colaboração e coordenação, o da Província de Sofala enquadrar-se-ia perfeitamente para esta região, pois o método de funcionamento não difere do de Manica.

5.2. Tipos de ONG's e Sectores de Intervenção

5.2.1. ONG's Nacionais

Durante a nossa estadia em Báruè, praticamente não sentimos a presença de ONG's Moçambicanas, tendo apenas sido feita referência ao Programa de Desenvolvimento Rural de Manica (?) (PDRM) que num determinado momento financiou um projecto de apoio aos camponeses através da disponibilização de um tractor para aluguer, a União Nacional de Cooperativas Agrícolas (UGC) que teria ali passado para uma breve visita, na qual fez uma promessa não cumprida, de implantação de um programa / projecto agrícola de apoio ás mulheres viúvas e, a acção de irmãs de caridade, pertencentes a igreja católica, que tem servido de

intermediário entre as comunidades e a UNICEF, na gestão de iniciativas comunitárias financiadas por aquela agência das nações Unidas.

A nível da Província, grosso modo as ONG's da província de Manica são ainda emergentes, carecendo de uma organização que permita no mínimo o conhecimento da existência de cada uma delas e sua localização, bem como á necessária coordenação e colaboração das suas actividades e / ou intenções.

A pesar de tudo, especial menção poderá ser feito as seguintes organizações e associações que, no meio de obstáculos de vários tipos estão a lutar para contribuir para a resolução dos muitos problemas sociais e económicos que grassam naquela Província:

Matsatsi[4], associação para apoio a criança da rua que tem envidado esforços para a minimização dos problemas da criança desamparada. Já construiu uma escola, financiada pela ACNUR e que está sob responsabilidade da comunidade, estando neste momento empenhada na obtenção de um outro financiamento para a construção de infantários e abertura de uma alfaiataria onde as crianças poderão aprender o oficio nas horas livres;

Associação dos Desmobilizados Militares de Moçambique (ADEMIMO), cujos membros pagam regularmente as suas cotas, possui uma moageira fornecida pelo governo Provincial mas que ainda não funciona por falta de um edificio apropriado para o efeito; Entretanto, a solução do referido problema do edificio será brevemente sanado quando o governo Provincial conceder o prometido valor para a sua construção.

Associação do Deficientes de Moçambique (ADEMO), que ainda está numa fase de procura de apoio para a satisfação das suas necessidades básicas;

P.A.C., grupo fundado para levar a cabo acções de divulgação e educação sanitária e de saúde primário. Inicialmente financiado pelo UNICEF, mais tarde foi aconselhado a associar-se a uma parceiro, o Mozambique Health Committee (M.H.C.), que refere estar satisfeito pelo trabalho levado a cabo por esta organização.

Associação Moçambicana dos Desmobilizados de Guerra (AMODEG), que procura ser a ponte entre o governo e os Desmobilizado, por forma a que o segundo crie condições para formação profissional dos seus membros, financie e promova micro-projectos (carpintarias, criação animal, etc.), bem como para o enquadramento dos seus membros nas diferentes empresas da Província; e

SOTEMAZA, cujo programa de desenvolvimento rural integrado (através de um programa de crédito e poupança e abertura de lojas para o seu auto-sustentm), aparentemente peca por falta de uma maior acutilância e agressividade dos seus membros para a sua implementação.

De um modo geral, contrariamente aos métodos e formas utilizados pelas ONG's estrangeiras, as Moçambicanas não só procuram direccional as suas actividades prioritariamente para os seus membros, como também a sua implementação praticamente apenas é feita também pelos membros activos; i.e., as acções e programas das ONG's Moçambicanas, se bem que em alguns casos enquadrados no contexto de desenvolvimento rural, não contemplam uma área vasta de acção e muito menos uma população mais abrangente.

5.2.2. ONG's estrangeiras

[4] "Estrela da manhã"

American Friends Service Commitee (A.F.S.C.), MARPP, MOLISVI, Moçambique Health Committee (M.H.C.), CONCERN, REDD BARNA, Agência de Apoio para o Desenvolvimento de Povo para Povo (ADPP), Médicos Sem Fronteiras (M.S.F.), AFRICARE, Miss *p-1Xão Cristã de Maforga e recentemente a DISVI, são as ONG's estrangeiros que, em alguns casos com apoio dos financiamentos de algumas agências das nações unidas (UNICEF, ACNUR) e de alguns governos europeus, casos do Suíço, Italiano e Alemão, este último através da GTZ, têm envidado esforços para o incremento da agricultura (de modo a elevar o nível de segurança alimentar das populações), dos níveis quantitativos e qualitativos de educação comunitária, bem como no alargamento do nível de prestação de serviços médicos ás populações da Província de Manica.

No caso concreto do Distrito de Báruè, apenas o MARPP, com financiamento da GTZ e ACNUR (no sector de construção e reabilitação), M.S.F., M.H.C. e recentemente DISVI (no sector da saúde), com apoios da UNICEF (nos sectores agrícola, saúde e educação) e ACNUR, são as ONG's estrangeiras que de um modo geral se responsabilizam pela construção e reabilitação de escolas, postos de saúde, estradas, abertura de poços, formação e capacitação de extensionistas agrícolas.

As actividades do MARPP (financiado como já referimos pela GTZ e ACNUR), que apoiou na elaboração do programa de desenvolvimento para os próximos três anos, circunscrevem-se na reabilitação de infra-estruturas, construção e abertura de poços, bem como um pequeno apoio na capacitação de extensionistas agrários. De referir que em geral o MARPP prefere usar brigadas contratadas para a execução das suas actividades, pois na sua óptica, deste modo garante-se o cumprimento do programa traçado, na medida em que há maior eficiência e rapidez nos trabalhos a serem executados.

O M.S.F., procede ao apoio logístico e de medicamentos aos postos de saúde do Distrito, bem como a disponibilização esporádica de um médico para o centro de saúde de Catandica.

Enquanto isso, a acção do M.H.C. em Báruè cinge-se especificamente na supervisão aos postos de saúde do Distrito e respectivo centro em Catandica, no apetrechamento em equipamento e transporte, no apoio em pagamento de salários a algumas enfermeiras afectas em alguns postos de saúde e no apoio na formação de conselhos de líderes e parteiras tradicionais que têm função de divulgar nas comunidades a importância da observância dos conselhos médicos benéficos á comunidade em geral.

A implantação dos programas destas últimas ONG's, bem como da agência das nações unidas, Unicef, obedece á chamada "área base program" que consiste na planificação e implantação dos projectos a partir da base e com a participação total da comunidade beneficiária.

Sobre a ONG's DISVI ainda não há muita informação, visto que apresentou-se há muito pouco tempo naquele Distrito, sabendo-se apenas que pretende desenvolver as suas acções no sector de saúde.

Como se pode depreender, o número das ONG's estrangeiras que intervêm em diferentes sectores sócio-económicos deste Distrito é exíguo, mas como referiu o Administrador local "elas são suficientemente fortes e marcam diferença"

6. PROVÍNCIA DA ZAMBÉZIA,

6.1. Breve informação geral

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A província da Zambézia, cuja superfície é de 105.008 Km^2, com uma população de cerca de 2.500.000 habitantes predominantemente da etnia **Lomwé** e uma densidade populacional de cerca de 23.8, possui 16 Distritos. Agricultura, pesca e mineração constituem actividades básicas de rendimento da província que, possui grandes plantações de coqueiros, sendo por isso o maior produtor de cocos ao nível do país.

Em relação a esta Província, famoso pelo seu passado muito ligado com a corôa Portuguesa que instituiu o sistema de Prazos na sua tentativa de efectivar a sua ocupação em Moçambique, dizer que foram visitados dois Distritos, cada um com características organizacionais, sociais e políticas distintas, os quais tentativamente passamos a seguir a analisá-los.

Distrito de Morrumbala

O Distrito de Morrumbala possui uma área de 12.972 Km^2 e até 1980, altura do censo nacional da população, tinha cerca de 197.500 habitantes, maioritariamente de origem **Sena**. Na sua divisão Administrativa, apresenta quatro Postos Administrativos (Morrumbala, Chire, Derre e Megaza).

Este Distrito apresenta índices bastante elevados de devastação da guerra que, deixou a população praticamente sem nenhuns recursos, daí a existência de muita gente dependente dos programas de emergência. De facto a região está a enfrentar sérios problemas de rede sanitário, comercial, escolar e de saúde, para além de outros tantos problemas que enfermam aquela sociedade.

Durante a nossa estadia naquele Distrito, sentimos que o movimento associativo comunitário é bastante fraco, aliás praticamente inexistente, especialmente na Sede. Ainda na Sede, contrariamente a Búzi e Báruè, não se sente sequer a força da autoridade tradicional junto das comunidades, se bem que se tenha feito referência sobre a sua existência por exemplo na zona de Pinda. Aparentemente, os líderes comunitários da Sede de Morrumbala são os chefes religiosos cujas igrejas registam uma certa aderência das populações.

Contudo, o Posto Administrativo de Derre, onde se produz razoavelmente bem feijão, mandioca e amendoim, talvez devido a grande influência do Partido RENAMO, apresenta características de funcionamento diferentes dos da Sede do Distrito, pois há grande influência dos chefes tradicionais, os **Nhakwawa** que estão em constante contacto com as autoridades políticas locais, nomeados pelo partido RENAMO.

Em Derre ainda, encontramos ideias para iniciativas comunitárias numa tentativa para a resolução dos seus problemas na altura em que a única organização não governamental estrangeira na zona, Visão Mundial (V.M.), acabar com as suas actividades; É o caso da ideia da contribuição comunitária em alimentação e construção de casas para professores e enfermeiros (desde que se construam escolas e postos de saúde) que neste momento estão a dispensas da V.M.; Aliás, um dos chefes tradicionais por nós contratado, acredita que é capaz de influenciar a sua comunidade a contribuir para a compra de medicamentos do posto de saúde local caso seja necessário.

É de referir que o governo da Sede do Distrito praticamente não tem nenhum poder sobre o Posto Administrativo de Derre, que depende inteiramente da RENAMO de quem recebe ordens para qualquer assunto que se relacione com a região. Em termos de direcções sectoriais, Derre apenas possui dois indivíduos, por sinal filho e genro do Chefe do Posto, que compõem a direcção da agricultura, sem nenhuma ligação com a Sede.

Aliás, o governo do Distrito de Morrumbala, pareceu-nos estar a encarar sérios problemas organizacionais e metodológicos, pois aparentemente a vida do Distrito parece girar em volta da

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figura do Administrador que, infelizmente parece que os seus métodos de trabalho não lhe estar a granjear nenhuma simpatia por parte da população local e das organizações que lá trabalham.

Como resultado dessa situação, o governo Distrital vê-se incapacitado para incentivar um espírito de colaboração e coordenação entre as diferentes organizações não governamentais que trabalham no Distrito.

Distrito Nicoadala

Anteriormente pertencente ao Antigo Concelho de Namacura, passou para o estatuto de Distrito pela Resolução nº 6/86 de 25 de Junho. Ocupa uma área de 3.582 km^2, com cerca de 134.264 habitantes, predominantemente de origem **Chuabo.** De referir que possui dois Postos Administrativos, Nicoadala-Sede e Maquival.

Dependente predominantemente da agricultura, onde a organização Dinamarquesa IBIS está a desempenhar um grande papel, o Distrito, segundo os seu Administrador, está entretanto a enfrentar sérios problemas devido as deficientes vias de comunicação, rede de transportes, falta de insumos agrícolas e reduzida população animal.

Entretanto, a Visão Mundial, a Save the Children, o Unicef e a IBIS, estão a tentar colmatar algumas situações enfrentadas no Distrito, através de aberturas de poços de águas, educação sanitária, construção de infra-estruturas (postos de saúde e escolas), bem como reabilitação agrícola.

Mas, o governo local / sectores, afirma contudo que há sérios problemas de coordenação e colaboração com as ONG's estrangeiras que lá funcionam, principalmente com a V.M., atribuindo esse facto á sua proximidade da cidade capital, Quelimane. Este factor, pensam, poderá estar por detrás da preferência das ONG's em tratar todo e qualquer assunto com as direcções provinciais em Quelimane, o que de certa forma prejudica o desenvolvimento dos seus programas.

A referida proximidade do Distrito em relação a cidade, estará também a contribuir para a pouca expressão que as pessoas dão a autoridade tradicional, pois a dinâmica sócio-económica destas populações está muito dependente de Quelimane.

Talvez devido a grande concentração de pessoas provenientes de outras regiões, situação que deriva da guerra ora terminada, há problemas de coesão comunitária neste Distrito, daí as poucas iniciativas locais, pelo menos visíveis. Fala-se de iniciativas esporádicas ligadas a comercialização de produtos na época da colheita, organizadas principalmente por mulheres que, organizam-se para alugar um carro de transporte para regiões mais distantes (exp. vendedoras de abacaxi).

Contudo, notamos uma organização com outro nível, junto dos campos colectivos onde se desenvolvem acções de extensionismo agrícola levadas a cabo pela V.M.; De facto, em redor destes campos, existem três representantes de camponeses por cada comunidade, escolhidos pela própria comunidade segundo um critério por eles estabelecido, que ajudam os extensionistas a difundir a importância da sua participação nas actividades de extensão, bem como na verificação da implementação dos conhecimentos recebidos.

Há referências de iniciativas dos camponeses, resultantes das experiências realizadas pela V.M., que resultaram num aluguer a crédito de um tractor para a lavoura e sementeira, com base num contracto com esta ONG e cujo o reembolso deverá se realizar após a campanha.

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Apesar disto, aparentemente há uma certa rivalidade entre o sector governamental local, responsável pela agricultura que, possui onze extensionistas (financiados pela IBIS) e a V.M. que também possui a sua própria rede, pois estes não coordenam na programação e metodologias a aplicar para atingir praticamente o mesmo grupo alvo. O director da agricultura afirma mesmo que a V.M. está mesmo a tentar competir com o governo e outras organizações neste processo.

6.2. Tipos de ONG's e Sectores de Intervenção

6.2.1. ONG Nacional

Definitivamente, nestes dois Distritos, a acção das ONG's Moçambicanas é praticamente nula, pois durante a nossa permanência no campo, não notamos nenhuma presença destes.

Mesmo a nível Provincial, aparentemente o desânimo se apossou das organizações. Infelizmente o encontro colectivo antecipadamente marcado com estas organizações não se realizou devido a ausência destes, onde em outros pontos auscultar-se-iam as suas dificuldades, necessidades, ideias para o seu crescimento e solidificação, bem como as suas perspectivas face a realidade que enfrentam no seu dia a dia.

Se se pensa trabalhar com estas organizações para a implementação do programa de desenvolvimento rural em Moçambique, é preciso pensar-se seriamente primeiro num programa consentâneo de formação e capacitação técnico profissional dos seus membros, bem como nas metodologias de trabalho com as comunidades.

6.2.2. ONG's Estrangeiras

Os Distritos supracitados, no contexto de reabilitação e desenvolvimento rural, estão a ser apoiados pela V.M., Svillupo e Inter-SOS, com financiamentos da USAID, ACNUR, Save The Children, Embaixada Italiana e Unicef; e IBIS financiada pelo governo Dinamarquês.

De referir que para o caso do Distrito de Nicoadala, apenas a Visão Mundial e a IBIS estão a desenvolver actividades ligadas ao desenvolvimento rural.

A Visão Mundial, que sem margem para dúvidas possui uma "máquina" administrativa e técnica muito complexa e eficiente, desenvolve actividades multiformes segundo as necessidades de cada um destes dois Distritos. Saúde e Agricultura constituem as suas prioridades, contudo o sector das águas, o fornecimento de alimentação ás populações em processo de reassentamento e a reabilitação de algumas infra-estruturas (fundamentalmente postos de saúde e estradas), também constituem o rol de acções desta organização.

É impressionante a máquina de investigação nos sectores de agricultura e saúde da Visão Mundial, bem como as suas redes de extensão agrícola (que apesar de constituírem braços de investigação da organização, estão dessiminando técnicas cujo impacto no seio dos camponeses é positivo) e de enfermeiros em zonas de facto remotas. Entretanto, há contestações no modo de actuação desta organização por parte de alguns sectores governamentais, bem como de outras organizações que actuam na Província, alegando um individualismo e metodologias que não permitem um aproveitamento da sua experiência e muito menos concorrer para a sustentabilidade dos seus programas.

A IBIS, organização Dinamarquesa, está a trabalhar com a agricultura na Zambézia há sensivelmente seis anos. É uma das organizações que estão a apoiar a direcção provincial da agricultura da Zambézia a montar redes de extensão através do fundo de fomento de

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desenvolvimento agrário (F.F.D.A.) não só em Nicoadala, mas também em Alto-Molocué e Mocuba.

O apoio da IBIS consiste fundamentalmente na formação, acompanhamento dos supervisores (dois nacionais), fornecimento de equipamento e meios de transporte e de trabalho aos extensionistas e supervisores, entre outros. O método utilizado pelos extensionistas da IBIS junto das comunidades camponesas, é o chamado **"training and visit".**

A SVILLUPO, cujo financiador principal é a ACNUR, está vocacionada para a formação de redes de extensão, reabilitação de estradas, construção de redes sanitárias e escolares, bem como na recepção de refugiados da guerra ora terminada.

A INTER - SOS, financiada pela embaixada Italiana, potencialmente está a desenvolver acções no ramo de reabilitação e construção de infra-estruturas comunitárias, exp., a construção do centro de formação de activistas dos diferentes sectores. Contudo, segundo palavras dos seus representantes em Morrumbala, ultimamente também está a fazer a distribuição de sementes e livros escolares ás populações.

Curiosamente, pelo que podemos observar, não há uma coordenação e colaboração visível entre estas ONG's, pelo menos a nível do Distrito, a pesar dos esforços da Administração local de "tentar reuni-las bimensalmente para entre outros aspectos apelar para uma melhor coordenação na identificação, planificação e execução dos projectos"[5].

7. FORMAS GERAIS DE IMPLEMENTAÇÃO DOS PROJECTOS DAS ONG's

Pelo que podemos observar, existem diferentes maneiras e objectivos de implementação dos programas de desenvolvimento naquela região, dependendo muitas vezes do tipo e natureza da organização (Moçambicana ou estrangeira).

De momento a colaboração e coordenação entre as ONG's estrangeiras e as , passa quase necessariamente dos chefes dos Postos Administrativos em sintonia com chefes tradicionais comunidades (vulgo **Mambos** ou **Nhakwawas**) comunitários, chefes das povoações (espécie de assistentes zonais dos Mambos) e ajudantes dos chefes das povoações, com anuência dos beneficiários principais e conhecimento do Administrador do Distrito.

As ONG's estrangeiras geralmente dirigem os seus programas para uma população mais alargada e fazem a ligação com os beneficiários através da organização tradicional já existente, com anuência do governo formal local. Algumas das ONG's estrangeiras contactadas, defendem que para a sustentabilidade dos programas de apoio ora desenvolvidos, é necessário responsabilizar as autoridades tradicionais em coordenação com os enfermeiros chefes, supervisores agrícolas e professores, principalmente na manutenção dos equipamentos e infra-estruturas comunitárias, de modo que paulatinamente ganhem experiência sobre a gestão dos mesmos.

Contratos directos com empreiteiros comunitários e / ou participação envolvente das próprias comunidades beneficiárias, constituem também estratégias implementadas por algumas das ONG's com vista a responsabilização comunitária gradual dos programas e projectos de desenvolvimento implementados nos Distritos em análise. Outras optam pela criação de suas próprias redes de extensão, de pessoal da saúde, do pessoal de construções, bem como a distribuição gratuita de insumos, como se de empresas privadas se tratassem, o que tem suscitado

[5] Administrador do Distrito de Morrumbala, Sr. Alfândega.

divergências não só entre as ONG's, mas sobretudo com os sectores governamentais responsáveis pelas diferentes áreas, em relação a sustentabilidade destes métodos.

De facto, depois de uma fase em que o apoio destas organizações estrangeiras ás camadas sociais necessitadas consistia fundamentalmente em doações, ultimamente, grosso modo, estas têm vindo a envidar esforços no sentido de sensibilizar essas comunidades para a sua participação e responsabilização gradual nos programas e projectos dos quais são os principais beneficiários.

Comportamento diferente encontramos a nível das ONG's Moçambicanas que actuam nestes Distritos, pois talvez devido á sua grande dependência (financeira, material e as vezes humana) que têm das estrangeiras e da sua fraca capacidade de organizar as comunidades, em geral os seus programas têm uma grande limitação geográfica de acções e de população alvo, sendo muitas vezes os seus próprios membros os principais executores e beneficiários dos "seus programas"[6]

8. CONSTATAÇÕES / RECOMENDAÇÕES

1. As ONG's Moçambicanas que actuam nos Distrito de Buzi (Sofala), Báruè (Manica) e Morrumbala e Nicoadala (Zambézia), são grosso modo ainda muito fracas tecnicamente e institucionalmente, daí em alguns casos faltar-lhes a autoconfiança para a execução dos programas e projectos que muitas vexes são da sua própria iniciativa. Contudo, pensamos também que as próprias ONG's Moçambicanas devem explorar mais a possibilidade de mobilizar recursos próprios para o seu fortalecimento.

2. Decorrente do primeiro ponto, pensamos que as ONG's estrangeiras podem e devem direccional o seu apoio nas suas congêneres Moçambicanas, prioritariamente nos aspectos de formação técnica (incluindo programáticos e financeiros) e Administrativa, bem como no apoio logístico e institucional. Pensamos que sòmente desta maneira as ONG's Moçambicanas poderão num espaço de tempo relativamente curto assumir a responsabilidade dos programas neste momento executados pelas estrangeiras.

Com base na nossa análise, pensamos também que poder-se-á aproveitar a capacidade de organização comunitária para direccional os apoios aos beneficiários, pois as experiências comunitárias anteriormente tratadas dão-nos uma base segura de que as comunidades poderão, com certo um acompanhamento, conseguir levar a cabo algumas actividades cujas iniciativas lhes pertençam.

Só que o sucesso desses programas dependerão muito do envolvimento livre e responsável da população, o que pelo que constatamos, só é possível com a intervenção da autoridade tradicional. Na verdade, esta autoridade é vista dentro destas comunidades como sendo a gestora de todos os aspectos da vida sócio-económica da comunidade; Por isso o seu não envolvimento nos programas e projectos traçados para aquelas comunidades, faz com que eles apareçam como que suspensos no ar, uma vez que a população poderá não se identificar com os seus propósitos, consequentemente, ela poderá reagir com indiferença e ou pouco entusiasmo.

Isto significa que dado o prestigio e a legitimidade que esta autoridade tradicional goza, o seu envolvimento como elo de ligação entre o governo / sectores, ONG's e comunidade, é uma estratégia a adoptar para facilitar a implementação de apoios de desenvolvimento rural.

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[6] Excepção naturalmente da C.V.M. .

3. A inserção cada vez maior e responsável de alguns técnicos das ONG's Moçambicanas e de membros comunitários nos trabalhos técnicos / programáticos e financeiros das ONG's estrangeiras, é uma das formas que pensamos serem recomendáveis para assegurar que o desenvolvimento e aperfeiçoamento das organizações e associações Moçambicanas na sua luta para o desenvolvimento rural e elevação do nível de vida comunitária, se processe de forma evolutiva e automática.

4. Como resultado da dinâmica sócio-económica que o país vive neste momento, a ideia de utilização de voluntários para a implementação de alguns programas das organizações não governamentais no país vai perdendo o seu sentido, pois estas são muitas vezes conotadas como uma fonte de angariar dinheiro cada vez mais necessário no dia a dia das pessoas.

Por isso pensamos que o governo deveria garantir que as ONG's promovessem o sector privado existente, através da contratação para a execução de determinadas tarefas (caso de construções e reabilitação de estradas, abertura de estradas terceárias, bem como no sector de transporte). As ONG's poderão também organizar pequenos grupos comunitários e capacitá-los para que a curto prazo se tornem empresários independentes e fortes.

5. A questão de redes "privadas" de extensionistas e enfermeiras das ONG's estrangeiras, caso da rede de extensionistas da F.H.I. em Sofala, apesar da sua grande rentabilidade em relação aos do Governo, levanta algumas reservas relativamente a sua sustentabilidade depois do fim dos projectos, pois não cremos que os respectivos membros manterão o mesmo entusiasmo e vontade com salários mais baixos e sem todas aquelas condições de trabalho que actualmente lhes são garantidas pelas ONG's.

Ligado á questão acima referida, o sistema em funcionamento em Manica, em que as ONG's apoiam o governo na manutenção das redes de extensionistas e enfermeiras através de depósitos de fundos para salários na caixa do F.F.D.A., apresenta-se como o que mais possibilidade de sustentabilidade possui para uma posterior integração definitiva destes técnicos nos quadros do aparelho do estado.

6. De um modo geral verifica-se a "ausência" ou falta de encontros regulares para troca de informações, coordenação e colaboração na planificação e execução de acções de desenvolvimento rural, entre as ONG's estrangeiras e Moçambicanas, entre estes e os sectores e governos distritais, bem como entre as ONG's (principalmente as estrangeiras), sectores provinciais e os sectores distritais.

7. Outro factor que constitua um nó de estrangulamento para a implementação dos programas nos distritos, locais onde se encontram os principais beneficiários, é a centralização, ao nível provincial, dos fundos destinados ao funcionamento dos sectores distritais. É verdade que esta situação por um lado é motivada pela fraca capacidade técnica disponível ao nível dos distritos, mas não é menos verdade que alguns sectores distritais visitados apresentam pessoal com capacidades mínimas para gerir algum fundo.

8. De um modo geral, as acções das ONG's aumentam o volume de actividades, mas não garantem um grande impacto e sustentabilidade pôs-projecto, devido aos métodos de acção que algumas destas organizações usam.

9. No acto da definição de prioridades, metodologias, programação e planificação, deve-se incluir representantes de base (caso de administradores, directores distritais e sobretudo os chefes tradicionais), sob risco de os programas fracassarem.

10. Pelo que se constatou durante a pesquisa no terreno, o sentimento geral é de que o papel das Administrações deve ser a de definir as áreas prioritárias, necessidades, negociador com as ONG's para a formação do pessoal moçambicano dos sectores com vista a sustentabilidade das instituições e comunidades, entre outras.

11. Aparentemente verifica-se uma espécie de negócio concorrencial entre as ONG's e sectores governamentais pela identificação e execução dos projectos, o que nos leva a afirmar que urge tomar-se uma atitude para colmatar esta situação, pois os sectores / governo devem ter um papel de identificador e supervisor de projectos, enquanto as ONG's deverão ser os financiadores para a sua implantação.

12. É preciso que o governo se preocupe em enviar técnicos qualificados para os postos de saúde que as ONG's estão freneticamente a construir, pois de contrário corre-se o risco de se ter uma grande n° de edificios sem muita utilidade.

APÊNDICE: SOBRE A AUTORIDADE TRADICIONAL

Tal como a maioria das sociedades africanas e não só, também nos Distritos em análise, e como foi já referido ao longo do presente documento, desde tempos muito remotos, possuem uma estrutura hierárquica tradicional que representa o poder.

De facto, antes do período colonial, em alguns casos mesmo durante a colonização, a dinâmica sócio-cultural e mesmo económica (exp., posse de terra) era regulada por **regras e leis tradicionais** socialmente conhecidas e aceites pelas comunidades, bem como pelo direito consuetudinário; é o chamado "**regime tradicional**" que provém desde tempos muito remotos e persiste até ao momento, com modificações e variações de acordo com os diferentes factores que vão surgindo, muito embora com eles coexista.

Este tipo de regime persiste através da transmissão hereditária dos hábitos e costumes entre os vivos e por transmissão por morte-herança (por exemplo através de sonhos, que conferem poder e autoridade a um determinado indivíduo), bem como através de mitos e lendas.

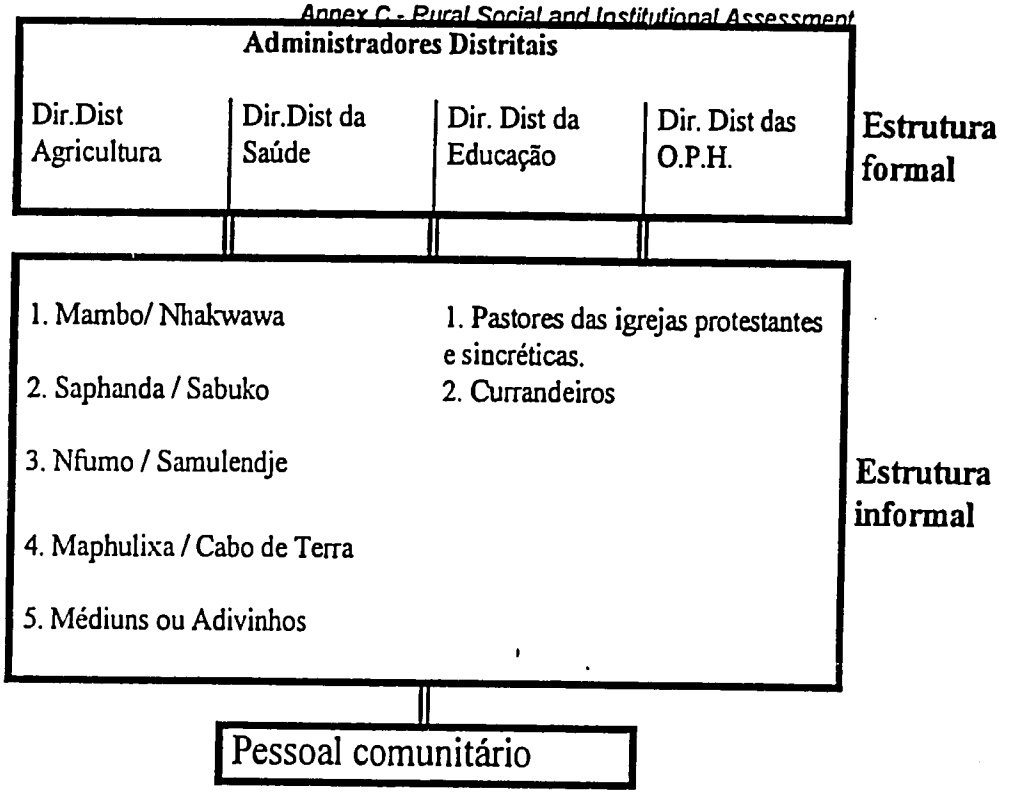
Em Moçambique, ao contrário de muitas regiões de África, houve muito pouca investigação sobre o chamado "**regime tradicional**" e suas relações sociais antes e durante o período colonial. A verdade nua e crua é de que a administração colonial Portuguesa não reconhecia as autoridades tradicionais nem atribuía igual autoridade às leis tradicionais e às suas próprias leis,(**Myers e Carrilho, 1992**), pois na realidade ela tentou menosprezar e enfraquecer as autoridades tradicionais e os seus sistemas tradicionais.

Depois da independência do país em 1975, a situação prevaleceu ou mesmo poderá ter piorado, apesar da falta de conhecimento sobre a forma como as instituições tradicionais eqtavam organizados, elas foram rotuladas de "atrasadas", "anti-progressistas" e "ineficientes".

Funcionários do governo, académicos e funcionários do Partido FRELIMO argumentavam que o Estado estava em melhor posição para gerir a vida das comunidades locais através de "leis modernas".

Uma das consequências desta política foi alienar ainda mais a população rural e as autoridades tradicionais, pois dentre outras lacunas a política da FRELIMO não foi capaz de reconhecer a variedade, o dinamismo e a flexibilidade dos sistemas tradicionais e das relações de produção locais, antes pelo contrário, tentou menosprezá-los ou enfraquece-los, bem como procurou implementar prematuramente um sistema cultural, político e económico unificado e quanto a nós bastante centralizado.

O grupo mais importante na estrutura do "**regime tradicional**" destes Distritos, é a autoridade tradicional, formado pelos **Mambos ou Nhakwawa, Saphanda ou Sabuko, Nfumo ou Samulendje e Maphulixa ou Cabo terras**, e que de forma informal dirigem as suas comunidades, visto que as normas e regras sócio-culturais que regem a vida destas comunidades e emanadas desta estrutura não estão escritas, mas sim inculcadas no subconsciente de cada um dos membros comunitários e transmitidas de geração para geração. Para além desta função, esta estrutura é responsável pelo controle e distribuição dos recursos naturais (terra, florestas e fauna), bem como pela organização das suas comunidades.



Ainda nesta estrutura, considerada informal, encontram-se os chefes religiosos (principalmente das igrejas sincréticas) e os curandeiros que jogam um papel importante na dinâmica sócio-económica, cultural e mesmo política destas comunidades, pois como em todas as sociedades do mundo, onde a maior parte dos indivíduos mantém relações com a esfera transcendente das forças impessoais e dos espíritos personalizados, através de ritos exteriorizados de diversas maneiras, por ex: casamentos, refeições, bruxaria, feitiço, etc. estas comunidades também possuem os seus próprios costumes, hábitos e mitos que, contribuem para a sua dinâmica sócio-económica.

A religião[7] **(Lundin, 1989:12)** de facto constitui no entanto o suporte moral e social mais importante nesta localidade, ainda sob efeitos da guerra e seca que se fez sentir no país nos últimos anos. Entre eles o eclectismo religioso é algo pouco comparável á apólice de seguros uma vez que não parecem ver qualquer incompatibilidade em abraçar duas ou mais religiões uma vez que cada uma poderá ter propósitos específicos. Há mesmo casos de famílias onde cada membro tem as suas religiões, não sendo raros os casos de coincidência numa e divergência noutra(s).

É de notar que grande parte de mecanismos da resolução de conflitos inter-familiares e comunitários, bem como do controle de exercício do poder está contida nas manifestações religiosas destas comunidades. Por isso, os chefes tradicionais por serem indivíduos que detém o poder de acçionar estes mecanismos, são mais respeitados do que os próprios Administradores, chefes dos postos e até mesmo técnicos dos diferentes sectores.

Estas comunidades rurais estão demasiadamente amarrados ás variáveis culturais, religião mitica e família, ao ponto de interpretarem qualquer problema pluviométrico como sendo o resultado das violações de algumas regras, normas e leis que, segundo a lógica do seu universo sócio-cultural, o

[7] Que Spiro considera ser uma instituição normativa; algo de sacro; que os rituais ou manoifestações cerimoniais estejam estritamente estruturadas; que haja consenso no seio da comunidade em relação ao ritual; que haja crença em algo de sobrenatural.

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efeito não podia ser outro senão aquele. A partir desta análise, pensamos que a execução dos programas e projectos comunitários devem necessariamente ter em conta estes pormenores culturais, sob risco do seu fracasso.

Assim, tentativamente apresentamos a seguir a estrutura administrativa dos Distritos em análise, onde a estrutura tradicional, apesar de algumas reservas demonstradas pelas autoridades formais (devido a fraca preparação técnica e académica dos seus componentes), pensamos que poderá exercer um papel importante para a implementação de programas e projectos comunitários.

Assim, pensamos que nestes Distritos, os chefes tradicionais (**mambos** ou **nhakwawa, saphanda** ou **saphanda, nfumo** ou **samulendje, currandeiros e muphulichas** ou **cabo terras**[8]), constituem o elo de ligação mais importante e imprescindível entre o governo / sectores, ONG's (neste caso estrangeiras) e as comunidades.

É esta camada social que, para além da autoridade que possui para a resolução de conflitos sobre a terra, fornece informações sobre os seus limites, lugares espirituais, datas / momentos festivos tradicionais e mobiliza e organiza a comunidade para os trabalhos comunitários, daí serem o veículo por onde se implementam os programas governamentais e das ONG's.

De facto, a autoridade tradicional é que detêm uma grande influência para organizar a população naquele distrito, ao ponto de o governo / sectores estar a servir-se dela para fazer chegar diversas mensagens para as populações. Em alguns casos, como o constatado em **Baraúlo**, Distrito de Báruè - Posto Administrativo de Chôa, as comunidades optam mesmo por confiar alguns empreendimentos financiados pelas ONG's, á autoridade tradicional, neste caso um curandeiro.

Devido ao papel que a autoridade tradicional exerce naquele meio social, há quem defende que esta deveria fazer parte dos quadros do funcionalismo público e, portanto, deveriam auferir um vencimento pago pelo governo, de modo não só a demonstrar o seu reconhecimento, mas também incentivá-los a trabalhar e colaborar com o Estado nesta tarefa de reabilitação económico-social do país.

Contudo, porque tradicionalmente a autoridade tradicional deve trabalhar em prol dos interesses da comunidade que representa, recebendo desta meios para a sua sobrevivência e não só (muitas vezes como forma de reconhecimento do seu poder) e, acreditando no velho ditado que defende que **"quem faz por ti pode sobre si"**, não cremos que esta pretensão possa garantir os interesses da comunidade, pois caso isso aconteça facilmente o governo poderá controlar o sistema segundo os seus interesses.

Por outro lado, é preciso ver que falar do poder politico-social dentro das comunidades rurais em gerais, e particularmente das que o presente documento tenta analisar (sofrendo ainda dupla subordinação política, RENAMO / FRELIMO), é bastante complexo porque, ele aparece muito fluido com laços de parentesco e manifestações religiosas, o que em alguns casos poderá influenciar negativamente durante a tomada de decisões importantes para a vida das comunidades.

Um outro aspecto que consideramos importante, relaciona-se com a experiência de gestão de empreendimentos que, de facto não é vocação dos chefes tradicionais, não sendo por isso, pelo menos neste momento, aconselhável confiá-los a direcção de projectos.

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[8] Terminologias em Ndau e Shona.

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Annex D - MOZAMBICAN NGO CAPACITY AND NEEDS ASSESSMENT (in Portuguese)

BREVE APRECIAÇÃO DAS ONG's MOÇAMBICANAS: CAPACIDADES E NECESSIDADES

Por Simeão Lopes

Maputo, Abril, 1995

I. Introduç *p-1Xão

No âmbito do presente estudo em que a componente ONG constitui uma das alternativas para a implementação do programa da USAID de apoio para o desenvolvimento das zonas rurais do país, foram realizados vários contactos, colectivos e / ou privados com estes organizações a nível das províncias de Maputo, Sofala e Manica. Por razões ainda não muito claras, não se realizou o encontro antecipadamente marcado com as ONG's da província da Zambézia.

O presente anexo pretende apresentar alguns aspectos que consideramos fulcrais que, durante os referidos encontros e entrevistas foram identificados como pontos fortes e fracos no processo do seu funcionamento.

De um modo geral a situação actual das ONG's Moçambicanas é preocupante (algumas excepções naturalmente), pois verifica-se que na sua grande maioria elas são bastantes frágeis técnica e institucionalmente daí que não são capazes de desenvolverem cabalmente as suas actividades.

Ainda baseado na análise das nossas entrevistas e encontros, tentamos avançar algumas recomendações sobre o tipo de acções que deverão (poderão) ser empreendidos para o fortalecimento das ONG's, bem como garantir a efectividade e sustentabilidade dos programas e projectos que, a elas poderão ser gradualmente responsabilizados.

II. Objectivos

De um modo geral, tanto nos encontros colectivos, como nas entrevistas específicas, eram objectivos principais:

1. Recolher experiências das ONG's no processo de trabalho, em várias áreas, com os diferentes parceiros estrangeiros (colaboração e coordenação), bem como as suas perspectivas;

2. Fazer uma apreciação sobre o tipo de relacionamento que mantêm com o governo / sectores também a vários níveis, com as ONG's estrangeiras e as comunidades beneficiárias, bem como ouvir opiniões daquela sobre o tipo de relacionamento que seria ideal para se atingir a eficiência;

3. Recolher ideias sobre os métodos mais ideias para a sustentabilidade dos projectos por si (e não só) implementados;

4. Identificar os pontos fracos e as necessidades para a capacitação e desenvolvimento institucional destas ONG's;

5. Fazer um breve levantamento da sua situação actual, incluindo as suas necessidades, principalmente de formação.

III. Metodologia

Ao nível das províncias onde decorreu o trabalho de terreno, concretamente Manica, Sofala e Zambézia, os encontros com as organizações não governamentais foram colectivos, para solicitar a experiência das várias organizações.

Em Maputo, para além dos dois encontros colectivos realizados com os representantes de alguns destes organismos, conseguimos também realizar encontros privados com algumas ONG's, suficientemente consideradas experimentados e ou com um nível aceitável para aprofundarem

algumas questões colocadas nos encontros colectivos, mas que não foram satisfatoriamente tratados.

IV. Breve Análise das Informações Recolhidas

4.1. Tipos de Programas

Até ao momento do nosso estudo, deparecia com os programas de distribuição de alimentos, no âmbito da emergência, em que praticamente todas as ONG's tem uma certa relação, encontramos dois grupos distintos no seio das ONG's Moçambicanas, em relação ao tipo de programas que desenvolvem:

- As que tem os seus programas essencialmente direccionados para a construção e reabilitação de infra-estruturas sociais (escolas, postos de saúde, centros de formação, infantários e casas para professores e enfermeiros) e apoio sanitário, saúde materno-infantil, casos da C.V.M., C.C.M., PRRR, Matsatsi e outros; e

- As que os seus programas e actividades tem em vista a reabilitação agro-pecuária, pesqueira, reflorestamento e promoção de pequenos empreendimentos económicos (montagem de moageiras, de oficinas de latoarias, etc.) das comunidades rurais, através de promoção de linhas de crédito acessíveis, são os casos do Kulima, Associação Moçambicana da Mulher Rural (AMRU), da União Geral das Cooperativas (U.G.C.) e outras.

É de referir que de uma maneira geral, os programas das ONG's ora em análise contemplam sempre uma componente formação que varia segundo os objectivos de cada uma das organizações, sendo de destacar aqui, a acção de KULIMA de promoção ás ONG's emergentes através de prestação de serviços essenciais para o efeito ás mesmas.

4.2. Fontes de Financiamento e Relações com os Parceiros

Com poucas excepções, caso da União Geral das Cooperativas de Maputo que é auto-suficiente, grosso modo as ONG%s Moçambicanas sobrevivem (ou vivem), em todos os aspectos (financeiros, institucionais, formação, etc.) graças ao apoio concedido por várias agências de cooperação bilateral, ONG's estrangeiras e diferentes instituições religiosas nacionais e estrangeiras.

Contudo, é de destacar a grande contribuição dada pelo Alto Comissariado das Nações Unidas para os Refugiados (ACNUR) e pelo Fundo das Nações Unidas para Infância (UNICEF) que, permitem a efectivação dos programas de apoio ao desenvolvimento rural traçados pelas ONG's Moçambicanas.

O tipo de relacionamento existente, varia muito consoante o nível de confiança existente, os objectivos de ambas as partes, essencialmente das ONG's estrangeiras, do nível organizacional e capacidade técnica das ONG's Moçambicanas, bem como das necessidades e localização das comunidades alvo.

Portanto, dependente destes factores, estabelece-se um sistema de colaboração e coordenação que poderá ser através da gemelagem, contractos e sub-contratos, assessoria e consultoria, bem como de financiamento para acções de formação especificas.

As ONG's Moçambicanas consideradas com certa capacidade técnica e institucional para a identificação, planificação, execução de alguns projectos, bem como a capacidade de controle financeiro (casos da C.C.M., PRRR, C.V.M., PROGRESSO, AMRU, etc.), é normal o

estabelecimento de contratos com os doadores e acordos para a realização de consultorias específicas.

Enquanto para as consideradas fracas, o processo de gemelagem (por qual aliás as hoje consideras fortes também passaram) é usual, pois parece que permite uma rápida assimilação dos mecanismos de funcionamento de uma organização não governamental. Mas também, de forma gradual e independente, vão executando alguns projectos de custos não elevados e controlados financeiramente pelos seus parceiros.

Entretanto, a componente formação e capacitação técnica do pessoal das ONG's Moçambicanas em geral, tem constituído a principal forma de ligação destes, com os seus parceiros financeiros.

4.3. Organização Típica

As ONG's bem estruturadas (C.V.M., C.C.M., PRRR, CÁRITAS, PROGRESSO e outros poucos), geralmente apresentam a nível da sede / central, um director / coordenador geral (ou nacional), responsáveis da área de recursos humanos, de programas e projectos, para além de outro pessoal administrativo, técnico e de apoio (motoristas, guardas e serventes).

Nas suas representações nas provincias, delegações, praticamente tem o mesmo tipo de elenco para o nível provincial, para além de um numero considerável de técnicos de campo que, são apoiados por um grande número de pessoal eventual nas áreas de execução dos projectos ou programas, os Distritos, junto ás comunidades.

Nestes casos, até ao momento do nosso estudo, a execução financeira dos programas e projectos das ONG's Moçambicanas nas delegações, é da responsabilidade total da sede que aloca os fundos consoante as necessidades e mediante a prestação de contas, que deverá ser feita sistemáticamente pelas delegações.

Nas organizações consideradas fracas, a estrutura organizacional existente é naturalmente menos complexa e menos ideal para as exigências que elas enfrentam no terreno, pois grosso modo elas nas suas representações ou delegações ainda apenas possuem um coordenador sobre o qual gira toda a máquina administrativa, financeira e programática, para além de uns tantos técnicos com uma formação académica e técnica insuficiente para atingir os objectivos preconizados pela instituição.

A nível central, a máquina de funcionamento é mais ou menos aceitável se bem que a grandeza das próprias organizações não exija muito, pois têm um coordenador gepal ou presidente que em geral também é responsável pelos programas e um administrativo financeiro, para além de alguns técnicos com um nível mínimo aceitável e variavelmente, o pessoal de apoio (há ONG's sem uma única viatura e sem guardas).

Este tipo de organizações, não só tem pouca capacidade para montar delegações em várias regiões do país, como também os fundos para o pagamento dos salários do respectivo pessoal, são mobilizados localmente, através de gestão dos recursos que são alocados anualmente ás representações para o seu funcionamento geral.

Uma outra forma de agrariação de fundos suplementares para o funcionamento normal das delegações tem sido o recurso ás ONG's estrangeiras que operam nas mesmas áreas, estabelecendo contratos para execução de determinadas actividades.

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4.4. Capacidade Institucional

Com exepção de algumas, casos da Cruz Vermelha de Moçambique (C.V.M.), Concelho Cristão de Moçambique (C.C.M.), do Comité Nacional Ecuménico (RRR), Associação Moçambicana da Mulher Rural (AMRU), Kulima, e outros poucos, as ONG's Moçambicanas são fracas institucionalmente, o que se deve fundamentalmente pela fraca experiência e capacidade técnica e académica dos seus técnicos, falta de recursos materiais e financeiros para elevar o seu nível organizativo e operacional, o que é agravado pelo facto de não merecerem apoio por parte de ONG's estrangeiras.

Algumas das consideradas mais fortes ONG's , caso da C.V.M., C.C.M. e P.R.R.R., possuem capacidade (instalações e formadores e ou meios para contratar formadores) para a realização de acções de formação e capacitação técnica, mas os programas são direccionados para os seus objectivos, daí o seu não alargamento para os técnicos das outras organizações.

As consideradas fracas, para além de não possuírem essas condições, não tem pessoal suficiente(mente) formado academicamente para aproveitarem na totalidade algumas das oportunidades que vão surgindo para a capacitação nas áreas técnicas (gestão financeira, programática, administrativa, etc.).

De referir que em ambos os casos (tanto para as fortes como as fracas) os recursos existentes, constituídos por instalações, equipamentos, meios de transporte e financeiros, são na sua totalidade providenciados pelas organizações estrangeiras, pois em condições normais nenhuma ONG Moçambicana possui recursos suficientes para apetrechar-se suficientemente de recursos humanos, materiais e financeiros sem apoio dessas organizações externas.

Mesmo assim, as necessidades destas ONG's na componente institucional, cingem-se na problemática de meios de trabalho (equipamento e meios de transportes e instalações), para além do apoio técnico que, segundo a sua perspectiva, poderia ser fornecido pelas ONG's estrangeiras, de modo que lhes permita elevar a sua capacidade de trabalho junto das comunidades alvo e consequentemente apoiarem o governo nesta "tarefa tão difícil que é o desenvolvimento rural".

4.5. Nível de Formação e Capacitação

A maioria dos trabalhadores das ONG's Moçambicanas carecem ainda de uma formação suficiente para enfrentar as (a)diversas situações com que deparam no seu dia a dia, pois de um modo geral a média de formação dos técnicas é o nível básico (9ª classe), especialmente nas províncias, e nível médio nas sedes.

Mesmo os responsáveis máximos destas ONG's nas províncias, também não constituem excepção, daí a falta de confiança, que se reflecte no isolamento a que elas estão votadas, pelas ONG's estrangeiras, governo / sectores (provinciais e distritais) e comunidades.

Aparentemente até finais de 1993, uma boa parte destas organizações teria beneficiado de alguns cursos de formação ou capacitação promovidos pela PROGRESSO e INDER e financiados pelas diferentes agências de cooperação bilateral, casos da ACNUR, UNICEF e USAID. Contudo, no geral as ONG's Moçambicanas referem que estas acções ou cursos pecaram por um lado, devido a falta de uma adequação dos programas para as necessidades das ONG's e, por outro, pela não abragência dos técnicos afectos aos Distritos onde ocorrem de facto os trabalhos, bem como pela não continuidade dos mesmos.

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Por isso, há uma crescente necessidade de formação académica e técnica do pessoal destas ONG's, principalmente nesta fase de mudança de objectivos e contextos que nortearam o surgimento de muitos deles, i.e., de acções de emergência para os de desenvolvimento.

Decorrente desta perspectiva com vista ao futuro, numa 1ª fase, grosso modo as necessidades de formação das diferentes ONG's contactadas, convergem nas áreas de gestão financeira, programação e planificação, investigação participativa, elaboração de relatórios e línguas, deixando-se a questão de estudos de viabilidade técnico e económica dos projectos para consultorias específicas, "que poderão ser realizadas pelas ONG's estrangeiras até que as ONG's Moçambicanas tenham capacidade para tal.

V. CONCLUSÕES E RECOMENDAÇÕES

1. Na sua grande maioria, as ONG's Moçambicanas não tem instalações e condições materiais e financeiras para poderem funcionarem em pleno, mas de facto elas constituem uma alternativa no empenho nacional para a reactivação do nível de vida das comunidades.

Deste modo recomenda-se:

- Que as ONG's estrangeiras procurem apoiar na medida do possível as suas congéneres Moçambicanas, através de diferentes formas (gemelagem, sub-contratos, assessoria e consultoria técnica e financiamento de acções de formação), dependendo do nível e estágio evolutivo de cada uma delas;

- Que as ONG's Moçambicanas desenvolvam esforços e iniciativas próprias, aproveitando recursos locais (incluindo voluntários e técnicos nacionais), para melhorarem a sua situação institucional, exp., firmando contratos com privados, governo e outras agências, para a execução de algumas tarefas específicas.

Boa colaboração, abertura e compreensão é a base fundamental para se alcançar uma parte deste objectivos.

2. Aparentemente poucos trabalhadores das ONG's Moçambicanas terão beneficiados das acções e iniciativas de formação e capacitação, principalmente os de fora de Maputo, acontecendo por vezes que alguns dos poucos que se beneficiaram destes cursos, não tenham assimilado suficientemente os assuntos ou se sim, encontram neste momento a trabalhar para as ONG's estrangeiras que, lhes garantem melhores condições de trabalho e de salários.

Decorrente desta constatação recomenda-se:

- É necessário que se aproveitem os recursos humanos existentes que teriam participado em alguns dos cursos já realizados e, portanto, com alguma experiência em algumas áreas de interesse para as ONG's. De referir que, grosso modo, os referidos cursos que foram de facto de curta duração, cingiram-se nas áreas de gestão, elaboração e gestão de projectos, contabilidade básica, liderança, planeamento estratégico, desenvolvimento e crédito rural, bem como o método "rapid rural appraisal".

- Há uma necessidade de se criar condições para que os cursos e seminários ministrados ao pessoal das ONG's Moçambicanas, estejam em conformidade não só com os interesses e objectivos das suas organizações, mas sobretudo que estejam elaborados duma forma acessível para os participantes que, de uma modo geral, não possui formação académica desejável.

- É preciso que as ONG's Moçambicanas que possuem condições ou oportunidades para realizar cursos ou seminários de formação ou capacitação, larguem-nas para outras organizações sem as mesmas condições, mas necessitadas.

Em relação ao pessoal de fora de Maputo:

- Deverá se pensar numa estratégia mais barata para se atingir o maior número possível de beneficiários, avançado-se já a possibilidade de realizarem seminários e cursos provinciais ou regionais.

- Há necessidade de se estabelecer um sistema de assistência técnica e acompanhamento aos técnicos Moçambicanos, para complementar os cursos de formação a eleq ministrados.

- Urge que se reveja a situação da lentidão de alocação dos financiamentos externos.

- Deve-se criar condições para se minimizarem o mais urgentemente possível os problemas que resultam em dificuldades de inserção dos projectos nas comunidades, por não corresponderem as iniciativas locais.

APÊNDICE:

RESUMO DOS PERFÍS DE ALGUMAS ONG's SELECIONADAS

Kulima *(1989)*

Esta organização surgiu em 1989 a partir de uma ONG estrangeira, a **BIOFORCE**, mas ganhou o seu estatuto jurídico em 1991. Possui representações nas Províncias de Maputo, Inhambane, Sofala e Zambézia.

Tem como objectivos a promoção do desenvolvimento, com base em programas de reflorestamento e crédito (fundo rotativo) nas áreas de pecuária, agricultura e pesca, e apoio para a crescimento de organizações e associações Moçambicanas, apoiando (através do centro de serviço para o efeito montado) na elaboração e encaminhamento da documentação necessária para a sua legalização, cedêneia de instalações e equipamento diverso, bem como de insumos necessários para um trabalho inicial de organizações emergentes.

Para além das actividades acima referidas, o Kulima possui também um centro de formação da mulher, financiado pela ASDI, com objectivo de capacitar a mulher nas áreas de culinária, costura e agricultura.

A NOVIB, Cooperação Francesa, Cooperação Italiana e a CRS (Zimbabwe), são os principais financiadores para a implementação dos programas desta organização não governamental moçambicana que, de um modo geral apoiam na aquisição de equipamentos e materiais necessários para o funcionamento e execução dos planos da organização, na criação de facilidades para a formação técnica do pessoal Moçambicano, entre outros.

Em termos de pessoal, para além de um coordenador nacional e pessoal Administrativo e técnico programático, o Kulima possui técnicos específicos e a tempo inteiro de terreno e activistas a tempo parcial, cujos subsídios correspondem a cerca de 150 mil meticais por mês.

Esta ONG defende que para uma melhor sustentabilidade dos programas e projectos, é melhor pensar-se num sistema de gemelagem das ONG's Moçambicanas com as Americanas, pois ela permite uma troca de experiências e conhecimentos mais eficiente entre os técnicos envolvidos.

A identificação de líderes comunitários para exercerem influência sobre os beneficiários dos programas de créditos, constitui na óptica desta ONG, uma das alternativas rumo a desejada sustentabilidade.

Actualmente, a falta de meios de transporte, de pessoal suficiente qualificado para cobrir as necessidades na área de agricultura, social e saneamento, bem como as dificuldades sentidas para a programação e elaboração de projectos, constituem o nó de estrangulamento.

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Associação Moçambicana da Mulher Rural (AMRU) (1991)

Surgiu através de uma iniciativa da actual coordenadora geral da organização que, com a experiência que tinha de trabalho na Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (O.M.M.) e incentivada e apoiada por amigas de uma ONG Alemã similar (Misério), procurou implementar ideias que tinha para um apoio efectivo á mulher Moçambicana em situação difícil.

Portanto, o objectivo inicial desta organização era, prioritariamente, melhorar as condições sócio-económicas, da mulher rural. Mas, nos últimos anos têm vindo também a participar no processo de desenvolvimento comunitário em geral, empreendendo acções para o melhoramento da saúde básica, saneamento e actividades económicas.

Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane e Manica, esta última ainda numa fase de implementação, são as províncias beneficiárias dos programas da AMRU que, maioritariamente consistem em pequenos projectos de crédito nas áreas de apicultura, pecuária, agricultura, moagem, bem como projectos de construções e programas de emergência.

Os líderes comunitários (autoridades tradicionais, idosos socialmente respeitados e chefes religiosos) têm sido os principais elementos utilizados para a ligação com as comunidades alvos.

- Na área da apicultura, o crédito consiste basicamente no fornecimento de cinco (5) colmeias por cada mulher, que deverá pagar em mel á organização.

- No fomento pecuário, são disponibilizadas cinco (5) fêmeas de gado bovino ou caprino por família, cuja reposição deverá ser feita logo que os animais reproduzirem, entregando a organização sete (7) cabeças.

- No sector agrícola, procede-se a distribuição de sementes aos camponeses necessitados que, em caso de boa produtividade deverão fazer o retorno das mesmas, entregando o dobro da quantidade recebida.

- A montagem de moageiras nas comunidades rurais, faz parte dos programas desta organização no âmbito do melhoramento do nível de vida das famílias rurais, especialmente a mulher. Geralmente, estas moageiras são geridas pelas próprias comunidades que, dentre outros aspectos organizacionais, velam pela sua manutenção e pagamento das letras correspondentes ao valor da máquina.

Para o funcionamento da organização na província, faz-se a alocação de fundos ás delegações provinciais que periodicamente prestam contas a central. Entretanto, é de notar que os técnicos não tem experiência suficiente, mas para o futuro a descentralização financeira é objectivo.

Os principais financiadores dos programas da AMRU são a Cooperação Espanhola e Italiana, OXFAM América, CIDAC, Misério (Alemã), CEAM (Espanhola), AFRICARE e ONG's Portuguesas.

A experiência que a AMRU tem com os seus parceiros estrangeiros, resume-se na formação e capacitaçao técnica resultante de processos de gemelagem com alguns deles, casos da CEAM, em sub-contratos para a execução de alguns projectos, caso verificado com a Associação Comunitária para o Desenvolvimento Rural (A.C.D.R.), financiamentos para a participação, no exterior, em cursos e seminários de formação e capacitação dos dirigentes da organização, bem como no apoio para o equipamento das suas instalações.

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De referir que a AFRICARE está a financiar a construção de um Centro de Formação onde vão se ministrar lições de agricultura e Desenvolvimento rural aos camponeses.

Para a desejada **sustentabilidade** dos programas e projectos, esta organização, sustenta que o processo de Gemelagem com ONG estrangeiras é o ideal, pois a experiência tida em tempos com CEAM teve um saldo positivo. Este processo, defende a AMRU, permite um debate sistemático entre os técnicos envolvidos e cria condições para se aprender tudo sobre o funcionamento de uma ONG.

Entretanto, na óptica ainda desta organização, o sistema de Sub-contrato, também fornece condições para o fortalecimento das ONG's Moçambicanas já com um certo nível de maturidade; Aliás AMRU tem tido este tipo de experiência com a cooperação Suíça e a ACDR no programa de fomento pecuário (em Moamba e Magude).

São principais preocupações imediatas da AMRU a formação (em gestão, Administração e inglês), equipamentos (computadores e máquinas de escrever), meios de locomoção, principalmente para o programa de apicultura.

Outro aspecto referido e que em nada contribui para o processo em curso, relaciona-se com a falta de colaboração do governo / sectores (concretamente o Ministério da Agricultura) nas iniciativas da organização. A título de exemplo, a AMRU refere que sempre que solicita apoio técnico ao Ministério da Agricultura, não têm merecido a devida atenção, não sendo raras as vezes em que nem sequer uma resposta recebem.

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Cruz Vermelha de Moçambique (C.V.M.)

A Cruz vermelha de Moçambique é uma organização Moçambicana não governamental, nacional, que entre outros objectivos, procura Apoiar as populações mais vulneráveis, através de programas de emergência e desenvolvimento rural.

Os principais projectos da C.V.M., são na área da saúde (primário, e materno infantil, água e saneamento, nutrição e sida/dts), área social, particularmente a situação da criança e apoio a Instituição sociais (infantário, casas de velhice).

Está neste momento em discussão a questão da cobertura (nacional) desta organização, pois com o fim da guerra e redução de financiamentos com esse propósito, já não há capacidade suficiente para o efeito; Desde modo, cada província deverá designar três (3) distritos prioritários a serem apoiados pela C.V.M. .

Os principais financiadores da organização neste momento são a F.I.C.U.; J.C.R.C.[9]; Fundo das Nações Unidas para a Infância (UNICEF); Programa Mundial de Alimentação (PMA); Cruz Vermelha da Noruega (C.V.N.); Embaixada da Noruega (NORAD), Cruz Vermelha Sueca (C.V.S.); Terre des Homens (Alemão) e o Alto Comissariado das Nações Unidas para os Refugiados (ACNUR).

Os parceiros da C.V.M., normalmente fornecem assistência técnica, em forma de assessoria e consultorias, apoio institucional (sob forma de equipamentos e viaturas) para além da concederem facilidades para a formação académica e técnica aos quadros Moçambicanos desta organização.

Em termos de pessoal, a C.V.M. emprega cerca de 125 trabalhadores (para além do pessoal eventual) cujo nível de formação académica varia, deste o básico até o superior, distribuído segundo as conveniências. A média de trabalhadores por província é de 13 pessoas.

Tem realizado cursos formação exclusivamente para o seu pessoal de campo na área de saúde, busca (tracing), bem como realiza aulas de formação de activistas e seminários para questão de planificação relacionada com a problemática do género.

Brevemente, a C.V.M. vai realizar um curso de gestão onde participará todo "stuff" (incluindo o sénior), a ser ministrada por uma empresa sueca de consultoria.

Para medir o impacto das suas actividades e proceder a verificação do seu movimento financeiro, regularmente solicita avaliações e auditorias e outras são realizadas por iniciativa dos próprios doadores.

Para a **sustentabilidade** dos projectos, esta organização recomenda uma descentralização para as províncias em relação a identificação e execução dos programas, incluindo a orçamental. Mas antes é preciso capacitá-los e exigir maior e melhor supervisão a nível central.

O sistema de gemelagem é interessante e talvez o sistema mais ideal para o fortalecimento das ONG's Moçambicanas, pois a experiência que a C.V.M. tem deste sistema com a Cruz Vermelha Internacional, é que ela permite uma melhor troca de experiência e de informação técnica.

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[9] Por motivos alheios a nossa vontade não conseguimos ter os significados destas duas primeiras organizações.

A formação e capacitação técnica é uma necessidade, poderá ser uma alternativa desejável para garantir sucesso dos programas de desenvolvimento rural em Moçambique executados pelas ONG's Moçambicanas.

A responsabilização directa dos projectos as comunidades beneficiárias (através dos seus líderes tradicionais) talvez neste momento não seja aconselhável, pois somente possuem uma boa capacidade de organizar e influenciar as populações, mas a gestão técnica e orçamental dos projectos é um assunto complicado para eles.

Neste momento, o principal obstáculo da C.V.M. é a falta de capacidade dos seus técnicos de campo de fazer relatórios de qualidade, sendo por isso a principal necessidade desta organização um curso de "reporting", depareceria com as necessidades de acções de capacitação nas áreas de planificação, identificação de projectos, finanças e línguas.

União Geral Das Cooperativas (U.G.C)

O desenvolvimento das actividades produtivas e sociais, com toda a gama de problemas e dificuldades a elas inerentes, determinou o sistema organizativo e institucional do movimento cooperativo, que nasceu em 1983, de forma a melhor responder as exigências que o crescimento ia impondo. Mas apenas em 1990 conseguiu o seu estatuto jurídico.

Com o crescimento das suas actividades e aumento de filiados, esta organização optou por alargar o leque das suas actividades, daí que em 1993 elaborou e lavrou uma escritura em que se transformava numa numa União de cooperativas Agro-pecuárias de Maputo de responsabilidade limitada.

O objectivo principal da União Geral das Cooperativas (UGC) é de representar e prestar serviços nas áreas de gestão e pesquisa ao conjunto das cooperativas a ela filiadas, proporcionar o desenvolvimento da actividade comercial e industrial, incrementar o desenvolvimento do movimento cooperativo, bem como fazer estudos de mercados para as cooperativas suas associadas ou para outras entidades. Casualmente, a cooperativa realiza operações de importação e exportação.

É condição para ser membro da UGC, pagar uma jóia de dez milhões de meticais; O actual capital social desta organização é de um bilião, oitocentos e trinta milhões de meticais subscrito e realizado.

A área de influência desta organização é a provincia de Maputo, mas esta a trabalhar com a União Nacional dos Camponeses, no sentido desta implementar com sucesso os seus programas.

Hoje esta organização é auto-sustentável, canalizando os apoios que recebe para apoio social. Os principais parceiros da U.G.C. neste momento são a CADORD na área de formação (Inglesa), a OXFAM América e Canadiana, Terres des Homens da Suiça e Alemanha, Cáritas Italiana.

Para a **sustentabilidade** dos programas e projectos, a UGC pensa:

1. promover reuniões, assembleias, seminários e troca de experiências para debate e discussões sobre a vida do movimento cooperativo e os caminhos a seguir para garantir o seu desenvolvimento em ordem a responder, a cada momento, as necessidades económicas e sociais dos camponeses;

2. Estudar a possibilidade de algumas empresas e departamentos se transformarem em cooperativas, de modo a que os seus trabalhadores tenham uma maior participação na gestão e nos rendimentos das actividades;

3. Criar uma caixa de Poupança e crédito dos camponeses;

4. Participar em sociedades com outras empresas nacionais e estrangeiras;

5. Priorizar os investimentos na reabilitação e construção de infra-estruturas económicos e sociais;

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6. Desenvolver a eficiência empresarial, priorizando o crescimento do departamento financeiro e formação dos dirigentes e trabalhadores na gestão, informação, comércio e contabilidade;

7. Continuar com o esquema que tem seguido de fazer apoios, através de fundos não perdidos educando os beneficiários a reembolsarem os valores emprestados.

8. Utilizar o sistema de Gemelagem, bem como continuar com as acções de formação técnica dos membros.

Entretanto, desde 1981 vários técnicos já participaram em vários cursos, dentro e fora do país (de carácter técnico e de desenvolvimento rural e comunitário e línguas) e tem um Centro de Formação (gestão, cultura, etc.) nas Marotas para os camponeses.

Necessidades: Apoio na promoção de alto emprego, através de créditos.

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Concelho Cristão de Moçambique (C.C.M.)

Um dos objectivos de fundo da C.C.M. em relação as comunidades desfavorecidas é empreender acções de emergência e, gradualmente, introduzir programas tendentes a reabilitar o tecido social e económico dessas comunidades beneficiárias.

Actualmente está em curso o processo de diminuição gradual dos programas de emergência que deverão ser substituídos pelos de desenvolvimento.

Os responsáveis desta organização pensam que para o C.C.M., não será viável implantar projectos de desenvolvimento a nível nacional, devido entre outros aspectos ao problema de falta de pessoal com capacidade para o efeito, visto que a problemática de desenvolvimento rural é mais complexo que o da emergência.

Contudo, pensando no futuro, em que a C.C.M. será chamado a desempenhar um grande papel na área de desenvolvimento rural, Está-se já a construir um centro de formação no bairro da Liberdade (Machava), onde se leccionarão sobretudo as disciplinas de gestão de pequenos projectos, planificação, palestras formativas sobre a transição da emergência para o desenvolvimento e o método rapid rural appraisal.

Entretanto, esta organização possui neste momento um centro (provisório) de formação e capacitação técnica (na cidade de Maputo) dos seus trabalhadores e activistas contratados e um outro em Niassa, o Conchindzidzi, que se pensa que deverá cobriri as zonas centro e zona norte do país. Geralmente, os formadores são recrutados no seio dos crentes das Igrejas Católica e protestantes, membros da C.C.M..

Os parceiros financeiros da C.C.M. são a Denis Church; Bread for the World; EZD (Alemã; Church of Sweden Mission; Australian Counsel of Church; Christian Aid (UR); Commission of Inter-church Aid of the reform Church (Holanda); Diaconia da Suécia; HEKS (Suíça); MCC (Americana); Dutch Inter-church Aid (Holland) ICCO (Holanda); Methodist Relief and found; Noried Center Church (NCA), Canadian Council of of Churches; Church World service (Americana).

É de notar que todos estes financiamentos são coordenado pela World Council of Church que, os canaliza á C.C.M. e esta por sua vez presta contas áquela.

Em geral, a ligação da C.C.M. com os seus parceiros externos circunscreve-se em financiamentos, assessorias e ou consultorias específicas, concessão de bolsas de estudos para o pessoal Moçambicano da organização, bem como fornecimento de equipamento e meios de locomoção, o que tem contribuído para a fortificação desta da organização.

A ideia de utilização de assessores nas ONG's tem dado bons resultados na C.C.M. (em relação aos relatórios, gestão de fundos, etc.).

A C.C.M. tem experiência de trabalhos em sub-contratos com o Fundo das Nações Unidas para a Infância (UNICEF) no programa de emergência.

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Entretanto, defende que a formação académica e técnica dos técnicas das ONG's Moçambicanas deverá constituir a prioridade de todos os financiadores das mesmas, pois caso se discute esta componente, corre-se o risco de os diversos programas ora em curso, não tenham uma continuidade a longo prazo.

Neste momento o grande problema desta organização, é o baixo nível de escolaridade que a maioria dos seus trabalhadores apresenta, o os limita de aproveitar algumas oportunidades de formação não só académica (bolsas de estudo dentro e fora do país), mas sobretudo técnica que, permitiria uma melhor rentabilidade dos próprios e consequentemente o sucesso pleno dos programas e projectos implementados.

Comité Nacional Ecuménico Programa (R.R.R)

É uma ONG ecuménica, criada pelo Concelho Cristão de Moçambique (C.C.M.), Federação Mundial Luterana (L.W.F) e Cáritas de Moçambique, para num período de quatro (4) anos (1992/96), servir de elo de ligação entre as três instituições religiosas no processo de repatriamento, reafixação e reabilitação , bem como para o desenvolvimento rural em geral.

Na sua essência, esta organização foi criada com objectivo de responder com eficiência a tarefa de receber os repatriados, reafixá-los e reabilitá-los, daí a sigla RRR.

Maputo (Namaacha, Moamba e Matutuine), Gaza (Massingir); Sofala (Chemba, Caia e Cheringoma) e Niassa (Mandimba, Lago, Sanga e Mavago), são as regiões de actuação desta organização.

O responsável do Programa RRR, afirma que nas áreas em que funcionam os programas desta organização, o maior parceiro / financiador é o Alto Comissariado das Nações Unidas para os Refugiados, pensado mesmo que talvez seja o maior entre as ONG's Moçambicanas, pelo menos nessas regiões.

De referir que a maior parte dos diferentes programas desta organização são financiadas através da C.C.M., L.W.F. e CÁRITAS. O processo de trabalho deste comité com os seus parceiros financeiros é praticamente similar ao da C.C.M. e com os seus doadores.

Entretanto, tivemos mais informações sobre um processo que está a decorrer neste momento, que consiste numa assinatura de um protocolo para um financiamento orçado em USD $ 1.200.000 pela ONG IZT (Alemã).

Até hoje os seus programas consistem basicamente na abertura de estradas, distribuição de alimentos e sementes; reabilitação de infra-estruturas destruídas durante a guerra (escolas, postos da saúde, estradas, etc.).

Em termos de pessoal, esta organização congrega um total de 125 trabalhadores, sendo dezassete (17) na sede e os restantes cento e oito (108) no terreno (províncias). De referir que os trabalhadores da Sede possuem um nível de formação entre o médio e superior.

Entretanto, pensa-se que haverá uma ligeira redução de pessoal nas áreas onde a organização vai fechar as suas actividades casos de Namaacha, Boane e Matutuine, devido ao fim do programa de emergência.

Em princípio o programa RRR deverá terminar no próximo ano, mas porque esta é a primeira instituição que contém interesses de duas grandes igrejas (católica e protestante) e porque já possui uma máquina administrativa forte, condições e capacidade de trabalho excelentes, está-se a estudar a possibilidade de mantê-la em funcionamento no país.

Para o efeito, está em preparação uma reunião nacional entre as partes envolvidas para uma decisão sobre o futuro da organização.

A ideia é apoiar iniciativas locais de desenvolvimento em três vertentes, desde que elas promovam empregos.

Para a **sustentabilidade** dos projectos, esta organização defende que a promoção do sector privado constitui uma das melhores alternativas. O nosso informante, acredita que método

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actualmente observado para a implementação do projecto de reabilitação e construção de edifícios, está a resultar numa boa experiência e ela consiste no seguinte:

a) Contrato a empreiteiros privados - Micro-empresas;

b) formação de grupos de pedreiros que são pagos mensalmente e incentivados para criarem empresas autónomas;

c) Participação comunitária, em que se as pessoas envolvidas são pagas metade em dinheiro e outra metade em produtos;

Outro método referido para atingir o mesmo fim é o da gemelagem, que, segundo esta organização, permite uma melhor integração e assimilação dos métodos de trabalho duma ONG, pelos técnicos das ONG's Moçambicanas, pois em relação ao Programa RRR, há uma boa experiência apenas nos programas de emergência.

Acções de formação, acessórias e consultorias são imprescindíveis, pois permitem uma aprendizagem mais segura dos métodos de trabalho e apoio ao desenvolvimento rural.

Há necessidade de introduzir o hábito de fazer auditorias e avaliações aos programas e projectos implementados pelas ONG's Moçambicanas. No caso do PRRR, Já possui experiência de auditorias realizadas pelas diferentes agências e organizações financiadoras.