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USAID/Mozambique

FY 1993 - 1995 War-To-Peace Transition Program

Assessment of Program Impact, FY 1993 - 1994

**USAID/Mozambique
Assessment of Program Impact, FY 1993-94**

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USAID Mozambique FY 1993 - 1995 Transition Program

Goal

Successful War-to-Peace Transition

Objectives

Avoid Drought-Related and War-Related Famine and Death

Contribute to Successful Implementation Of the Peace Process

Contribute to Reintegration of Populations into Stable and Productive Social and Economic Activities

Activities

Emergency and Market Food Aid
Airlifts

Essential Drugs
PVO Grants for Health, Water, Nutrition

Support for Demobilization
Support for Elections

Participation in U.N.-led Commissions

Land Mine Clearance
Provision of Seeds and Tools
PVO Grants for rural infrastructure and agricultural recovery

Road and Bridge Rehabilitation
Civic Education Activities
Reintegration of the Demobilized

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Since October 1992, Mozambique--the world's poorest country--has made important progress toward what many thought an impossible goal: a successful transition from 16 years of devastating civil war toward democratically elected government and social and economic recovery. USAID was instrumental in this unprecedented achievement, providing vigorous policy leadership and \$230 million of assistance during FY 1993-94.

I. Special Factors Affecting the USAID/Mozambique Program

When the peace agreement was signed in October 1992, Mozambique was suffering the effects of one of the worst **droughts** of this century, and was uncertain whether the drought would continue for another year. Of a total population of about 16 million dispersed unevenly across a territory twice the size of California, 1.6 million were **refugees** in neighboring countries, nearly 4 million others were **internally displaced**, and millions more were severely affected by war and drought. Two-thirds of the population were living in **absolute poverty**. The potential for widespread famine and death was high. Economic activity was at a standstill except in a few safe pockets and corridors. Virtually all **rural infrastructure had been destroyed by war**, and **roads were impassable** either due to lack of maintenance or because suspected of being mined. Life was so uncertain that rural Mozambicans could not plant a field and expect to harvest it; they could not sleep in their own homes, but fled at sundown into the bush to escape brutal attack. Outside the few secure areas it was impossible for Mozambicans to take advantage of recent economic, political, and social liberalizations. The people of Mozambique survived, thanks to their own strengths and to humanitarian aid, but they lived in indescribable isolation and misery.

USAID's rapid, flexible, and targeted response to this desperate situation was both a humanitarian imperative and vital to stabilizing the political and military situation to enable the peace process to proceed. Massive drought-relief and other emergency assistance was well underway by late 1992, and USAID resources were both increased and redeployed to meet war-to-peace priorities. The Mission broke new ground in innovative programming, particularly in use of the Development Fund for Africa. Mozambique's previous significant political and economic liberalizations (decentralization, privatization, freeing of agricultural prices, and others), supported by USAID, provided a firm foundation for the success of the peace.

The significant effective international assistance was a crucial factor in the successful transition. The U.N. role in supervising the whole process--including the presence of 7,000 peacekeepers--ensured the terms of the peace agreement were met, and precluded a return to arms. Bilateral and multilateral donors provided massive assistance--about \$800-million--

and, importantly, collaborated closely to set priorities and maximize effectiveness. USAID's strong, knowledgeable, policy-oriented, in-country presence gave the Mission a particularly influential voice in this donor coordination effort.

Success was also due to the 80 international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and private voluntary organizations (PVOs) already operating humanitarian aid and development programs in Mozambique at the time of the peace agreement. These were highly effective implementing partners during the transition period. Programming through PVOs/NGOs maximized impact and also reduced a high potential for political hijacking of aid dollars first as long-isolated zones opened up and later as the election campaign got underway.

An additional factor affecting USAID's contribution and influencing the overall process was the successful **USG inter-agency collaboration**. The convergence of interests and cooperation in programming among USAID, Embassy, DAO, and USIS strengthened all USG efforts and mobilized additional support for the transition (for example, from the Department of Defense for land mine clearance and from the Department of State Bureau of Refugee Programs for refugee repatriation activities).

Finally, the desire for peace of the Mozambican people themselves was perhaps the most important positive factor in the process. Their unwillingness to support a return to arms, their readiness to take risks in returning to their homes, and their hard work to reestablish the basic conditions for future recovery, contributed immeasurably to stabilization.

The war-to-peace transition proceeded successfully but not always smoothly. Massive population movements as people returned home complicated the delivery of emergency assistance under already extremely difficult logistics conditions. Natural disasters, such as localized droughts (for example in Gaza province) and Cyclone Nadia (in March 1994 in Nampula province), impeded post-war recovery. Political maneuvering by both parties to the peace agreement resulted in delays that extended the original timetable for demobilization and elections by a year.

Mozambique's successful war-to-peace transition is an example of what joint commitment can achieve. By October 1994, Mozambique was a different country.

II. Progress toward Overall Program Goals

The goal of USAID's Transition Program is a **successful war-to-peace transition**, during the period from the peace agreement (October 1992) through elections (October 1994) and one year more (October 1995). USAID has: (i) provided emergency food, nutrition, water, and medical assistance to the war-affected and drought-affected population; (ii) supported the implementation of the peace process through financing of demobilization and election support; and (iii) supported the reintegration of the population into stable and productive social and economic activities through financing of land mine clearance, road/bridge

rehabilitation, agricultural recovery, and other activities. This transition is a prerequisite for the perhaps generations-long process of social, economic, and political recovery and normalization that will follow--or, in other words, for Mozambique's development.

Important progress toward this goal was achieved during FY 1993-94:

WARRING ARMIES SUCCESSFULLY DEMOBILIZED: Over 91,000 soldiers, 88% of those under arms at the time of the peace agreement, were demobilized. The planned 30,000-strong new joint army mustered only about 12,000 volunteers. Although with many problems, the demilitarization of Mozambique has truly begun.

FIRST-EVER MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS FREE AND FAIR: 6.4 million Mozambicans--81% of the estimated voting-age population--registered to vote, and 85% of these actually voted for president and legislature. In a year that saw democratically elected governments installed also in neighboring South Africa and Malawi, Mozambique's elections were described by the U.N. Secretary General's Special Representative as "The best elections ever held in an African country."

LARGEST VOLUNTARY POPULATION MOVEMENT IN THE WORLD: More than 1.5 million Mozambicans, virtually all of those chased into asylum countries by war and drought, returned to Mozambique, most of them spontaneously. More than 3 million others, about 82% of those internally displaced by war and drought, also have returned to their homes.

FAMINE AND DEATH AVERTED: Mobilization of massive food aid, improved access and mobility, increased commercial activity, and two normal agricultural cycles combined to improve food security. Famine-risk indicators such as malnutrition rates, which were at an alarming high in 1992 due to the combined effects of drought and war, fell dramatically during 1993, and then remained stable during 1994. The number of Mozambicans dependent on food aid for survival dropped 50% from 1993 to 1994.

ECONOMIC RECOVERY: Growth in GDP is continuing in the post-war period. During 1994, growth is estimated to have been 5.4%, comparing well with other southern Africa countries. This followed an initial unprecedented spurt of 19% in 1993, the first post-war year. Mozambique's growth was attributed to initial agricultural recovery, enabled by macroeconomic reforms made previously and spurred by improved stability, security, and access to markets, as well as good rainfall.

The statistics cited above are drawn from secondary sources (including U.N. agencies) which did not disaggregate their data by gender, so there is no statistical basis for discussing progress for women and girls separately from general progress in the war-to-peace transition. It is important to note, however, that women are particularly vulnerable to war and drought effects. Female-headed households not only comprised the majority of the refugees and displaced persons, but also form a high proportion of Mozambique's poorest in general. The

discussion below provides some insights about how women may have been particularly affected during this period.

III. Progress toward Strategic Objectives and Related Indicators

Determined to make the most of USG resources for peace in Mozambique, the Mission identified three objectives for the transition period: (i) Avoid drought-related and war-related famine and death; (ii) Contribute to successful implementation of the peace process; and (iii) Contribute to reintegration of populations into stable and productive social and economic activities.

USAID was an important player in achieving these objectives, although the Mission did not act alone. **However, it is no exaggeration to state that key activities, such as demobilization and elections, would not have been successfully completed if USAID and the U.S. Mission in Mozambique had not provided both significant financial support and vigorous leadership.**

USAID developed and used **innovative approaches to monitor progress and impact of the peace process.** These included systematic observations and a photographic archive which captured people's stories and opinions regarding the end of the war, the coming of peace, and the outlook for recovery. These were complemented by statistical information from secondary sources where available, and general information obtained through news reports, publications, and discussions.

III.A. Objective One: Avoid drought-related and war-related famine and death.

Indicator: Global acute malnutrition rates among children less than five years old stable or decreasing in monitored populations.¹

Famine was averted and thousands of lives saved during the post-drought, post-war period. USAID emergency food aid reached 1,200,000 people in FY 1993 and 680,000 in FY 1994, while therapeutic feeding and emergency health and water services ensured the survival of thousands.

The significant improvement in malnutrition rates during 1993 indicates the overall

¹This indicator is defined as the percent of children aged 6-59 months with low weight-for-height (below -2 standard deviations from the international NCHS reference). This rate is highly responsive to situations of severe food and medical deprivation, and is the most biologically and statistically correct of the nutrition indicators for which data are available in Mozambique. Data on this indicator are not comprehensive or nation-wide, but because they are drawn largely from PVO/NGO surveys they were expected to be available for locations and populations most at risk, i.e., those in drought-prone and/or highly war-affected areas. In selecting this indicator, the Mission realized that the widespread massive population movements expected to occur during the transition period would complicate and limit any analysis or interpretation of the data.

improvement in food security for the population in general. **Malnutrition rates stabilized or dropped** throughout the country in the first year of peace, despite population flows which brought drought-jeopardized families into feeding centers and refugees who had been relatively well-nourished while in asylum countries into areas inside Mozambique where access to food, including emergency distributions, was unreliable.



USAID's Target Population – February

1993 This family fled their home two years ago due to war, and have lived since then in the bush. They came to Sena a week ago because they heard food was being distributed here, thanks to USAID-funded airlifts. The girl is permanently blind due to malnutrition and infections. The whole family, severely malnourished, went immediately into World Vision's therapeutic feeding program. More than 34,000 people in Sena are wholly dependent on USAID/World Vision food distribution for survival.

[Photo: J. Born]

The food crisis situation facing Mozambique was a **two-stage crisis**. First, massive post-war relief in the wake of drought was needed simply to save lives. By 1994, however, the situation was more complex: some families (particularly those near population centers) had already become relatively self-reliant, while many others (especially those who left population centers to return to their widely dispersed rural villages) remained at extremely high risk of hunger.

By the end of 1993, the overall emergency situation had improved to the point that many of the therapeutic feeding centers set up by PVOs to deal with hundreds of severely malnourished children and adults carried caseloads of only a dozen or two; some began to close down. Distributions of food rations to the population in general were ending. Instead, distributions were targeted to recent returnees and the vulnerable (female-headed households, the elderly, the disabled). For other families, free rations gave way to food for work and, quite soon, as markets began to function, to small-scale cash for work activities such as road clearing or school and clinic rehabilitation.

The improved nutrition situation was maintained throughout most of 1994. In August-September 1994, the "second stage" described above was evident: as planting season approached and 1994-harvested household stocks became exhausted, malnutrition rates began to creep up again in areas with high numbers of recently returned refugees or where harvests had been poor or where access to both markets and food aid was difficult because populations were extremely dispersed.

The table below shows rates of global acute malnutrition in children under five years of age, in selected locations in the **Zambezi River Valley in central Mozambique**. This area was

extremely hard-hit by the 1991-92 drought and was also one of the most war-affected and -isolated areas in the country. During 1991 and 1992, these locations received airlifted food aid but nearby populations within the districts were not accessible. The huge increases in malnutrition rates which occurred in these sites in the immediate post-war months were due to: (i) the new ability of war-isolated people in very poor condition to reach locations where food and treatment were available once the shooting stopped, and of PVOs to reach formerly isolated populations; and (ii) the effects of the annual pre-harvest hungry season, amplified due to drought-reduced harvests in 1992, coinciding with the rainy season which impeded regular food aid delivery to these sites even by airlift. **That such a quick improvement followed the 1993 harvest, and that the improved rates were sustained over the course of 1994, when vast population movements occurred in these districts, demonstrate the impact of the food aid and other emergency assistance provided during this period.**

The situation in these districts at the end of 1994 illustrates the "second stage" of need described above. In Mutarara district, for example, while the rates in larger population centers remained low, in the dispersed rural villages where returnees were settling they rose. Malnutrition rates thus aggregated to 7.1% overall in the district based on 30 sites surveyed. While not yet alarming, the higher rates indicate the degree to which rural Mozambicans in the post-war period are still vulnerable to hunger and dependent upon food aid.

**Prevalence of Global Acute Malnutrition
Selected Sites in the Zambezi River Valley, Nov 91 - Nov 94**

	Nov 91	Apr 92	Nov 92	May 93	Nov 93	Aug 94	Nov 94
Mutarara District, Tete Province							7.1%*
Mutarara Town	5.4%	2.1%	8.6%	12.7%	2.4%		
Inhangoma	10.7%	5.3%	30.1%	19.2%	2.0%		
Caia District, Sofala Province							
Caia Town	10.3%	3.5%	10.3%	12.3%	1.1%	1.1%	
Murraca		4.9%	10.7%	9.9%	2.5%	2.5%	
Sena		2.0%	22.5%	18.8%	1.5%	1.5%	

*Aggregated rate from 30 locations in the district, of which 5 were in Inhangoma and 3 in Mutarara Town; this data from MSF-CIS (Medecins sans Frontieres).
Source: World Vision

USAID contributions, provided largely through PVOs, were crucial to the post-war improvement in nutritional status nationally. The impact of USAID activities was particularly important in the Zambezi River Valley districts reported on above:

- **Reliable monthly distributions of basic rations stabilized food consumption.**
- **Seeds and hand tools enabled families to restart their own food production.**

- **Opening up road access** to these long-isolated areas--by clearing land mines and rehabilitating key roads and bridges--led nearly immediately to new **markets in small goods and foodstuffs.**
- **Availability of clean water sources, vaccination campaigns, therapeutic feeding for the malnourished, essential medicines, and basic health services improved health status.** In particular, an expected **cholera epidemic was successfully averted:** in 1993, hundreds were hospitalized and dozens died of cholera in this area, while in 1994, not a single case of cholera was diagnosed. Other severe health risks, such as an outbreak of bubonic plague in 1994, were quickly resolved.

The war destroyed families. Death and displacement left women, especially those with small children, particularly vulnerable to starvation and disease. The improvements in food, water, and health described above have particularly benefited women, who are the principal farmers, water gatherers, and food preparers in rural Mozambican households.

In sum: In October 1992, Mozambicans were still at high risk of starvation due to drought, and this risk was exacerbated by population resettlements in the immediate post-war months. USAID assistance was critical in avoiding famine and death during this period, both nationally--as part of a massive multi-donor effort--and in specific high-risk locations and populations. **The result is that Mozambicans' household food security and health status has stabilized, and a base has been laid for further improvement as post-war recovery reduces food aid dependency.**

III.B. Objective Two: Contribute to successful implementation of the peace process.

USAID led in two activities whose failure--or even significant delay--would have jeopardized the whole peace process: demobilization of the armies, and free and fair national elections. Progress in both these areas proceeded successfully, profoundly influenced by USAID's direct project assistance, contributions to U.N. activities, and strong policy leadership on U.N.-led commissions.

III.B.1. Indicator: Perceptions of personal safety and security of property stable or improving among populations in monitored areas.²

The successful massive demobilization of the warring armies strengthened and deepened the

²Government policies before and after independence, and the rural orientation of the 16-year civil war, forced repeated displacements of millions of Mozambicans, and severely affected the normal social and economic activities even of those who were not displaced. The degree to which Mozambicans began to feel more secure was a very strong indication of a successful peace; the difficulty was how to understand, and then measure, such perceptions. USAID's impact monitoring includes: (i) tracking secondary data, such as demobilization progress and incidents of armed attack (banditry), to provide a backdrop to perceptions of personal security; and then (ii) through observations and interviews during site visits, finding evidence of people's returning confidence.

climate of returning safety and trust among the population. The demobilization numbers are impressive:

Mozambique Demobilization Summary

	TOTAL	FAM	RENAMO
Registered by U.N.	103,931	79,750	24,181
Demobilized	91,478 (88%)	70,959	20,519
Joined New Army	12,453	8,791	3,662

Source: UNOHAC

The soldiers themselves, tired of war and poverty, became **eager to demobilize**. By mid-1994, with elections and planting season approaching, soldiers of both armies awaiting demobilization became fed up with delays and mutinied in dozens of locations to demand immediate demobilization and transport home. The process was accelerated and completed before the elections in October. USAID financed immediate transport for the demobilized and their families to destinations of their own choosing, thereby giving an early boost to their transformation from military to civilian life. Once demobilization was completed, and in particular during the electoral campaign and voting, remarkably few incidents of threatening behavior or armed attacks occurred.

As the post-war months passed without major incidents, and especially as demobilization proceeded, Mozambique witnessed a **massive and overwhelmingly spontaneous repatriation of refugees and return of internally displaced persons**. Mozambicans conquered their doubts and voted with their feet.

Return of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons, 1992-94

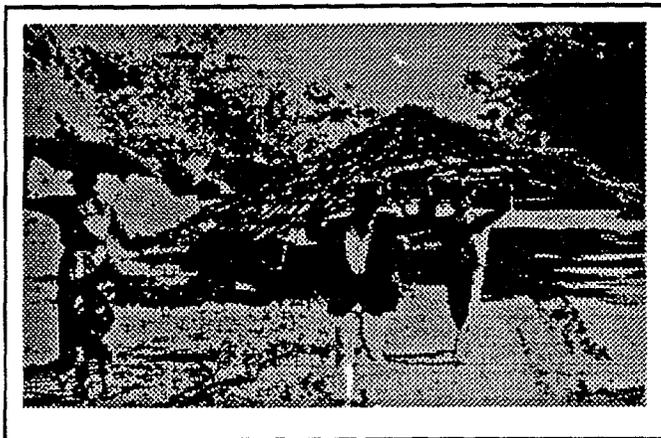
	Oct 1992	Oct 1993	Oct 1994
Total Estimated Population	14,285,000	14,600,000	15,989,241
Internally Displaced Persons	3,737,000	954,500*	684,000
Internally Displaced Persons as % of Population	26.2%	6.5%	4.3%
Refugees in Asylum Countries	1,603,000	1,158,052	100,000(est.)
Returned Refugees	0	444,948	1,579,785

*As of February 1994.

Sources: UNOHAC, IOM, UNHCR

The U.N. High Commission for Refugees estimates that the number of female-headed

returnee households is between 30% and 40%, considerably higher than the average (10-20%). Virtually all of the returnee female heads of household are illiterate, monolingual, and with little or no formal education or training, which makes them particularly vulnerable during the post-war recovery. The vast majority return to rural areas and farming. Confidence in the security situation was crucial in their decisions to return.



Returning home -- April 1994 -- near Sena

This family, long displaced by war and drought, head home to their village about 25 kilometers away, now accessible again thanks to USAID-financed land mine clearance and road rehabilitation in this area. She carries the door and her father and son carry the roof frame for their home. [Photo: J. Born]

Increasingly confident Mozambicans began to mobilize their own resources--cash and other capital, labor, and know-how--inside Mozambique:

- Makeshift cane and thatch shelters, constructed upon initial return, gave way to more stable structures, sometimes even clay brick houses, by the second year.
- Crowded encampments of the displaced depopulated and self-destructed rapidly during 1993, as families moved back to their homes.

- As months passed, chickens and ducks became common again in the villages; soon afterward, goats; and finally, cattle, as returning refugees began to bring back their small herds from asylum countries.
- The number of post-war births at health posts increased significantly in some of the districts monitored, raising serious issues for the future but implying renewed hope and reunited families.
- Households significantly increased the size or number of fields they cultivated, by returning to land long inaccessible or left fallow due to war.
- Quite aside from donor- or NGO-financed rehabilitation, Mozambicans themselves, in line with their means, increasingly established or rehabilitated enterprises such as roadside stalls and teahouses, shops, small mills, and churches.

These facts are evidence not just of returning confidence but of first steps toward the more general and longer-term social and economic reintegration discussed under Strategic

Objective III below. It is clear that even the most profoundly war-affected Mozambicans, those in rural areas, believe that the war has ended and that they and their property are safe. Nonetheless, people in Mozambique are still afraid of men with guns; while more than 100,000 guns and many other weapons were collected during the demobilization process, secret arms caches are still frequently rumored and informal estimates of automatic weapons in the countryside range as high as a million or more. Thus, while a significant degree of security has been achieved, there is much room for improved political and legal protections that will solidify the start that has been made.

III.B.2. Indicator: Perception that the electoral process, including voter registration, campaigning, and elections, was free and fair.

Mozambique, with U.N. supervision and more than \$60 million in donor assistance, successfully and peacefully executed its first-ever multi-party national elections, which were deemed free and fair by the U.N., international observers, and virtually all Mozambicans. USAID, a major donor to the electoral process, took a lead role in multi-donor advisory commissions and financed civic education materials and activities; training of Mozambicans as elections officers and political party monitors; other support for party monitors; and logistics.

These elections were a **triumph over seemingly unsurmountable obstacles:** Mozambique's adult literacy rate is estimated at about 30%. The percentage of the population that even speak Portuguese, the national language, is roughly the same. Mozambicans had had little experience with formal election procedures, none with multi-party politics and electoral choices. At the time of the peace agreement, many thought the elections would be virtually an urban exercise due simply to logistical limitations. Furthermore, given the terrible difficulties of access and communications and Mozambique's political history, coercion by various parties to control individuals' participation in the election process was a real possibility.

By March 1994 even rural Mozambicans were increasingly aware and interested in the coming elections; when questioned whether they knew about elections and intended to participate, most responded with requests for more information. The importance of successful elections to stabilizing the peace was increasingly clear to the potential voters, who often stated that **the election would allow them to vote for peace.** Indeed, one media account reported that a village in southern Mozambique, repeatedly attacked by both sides during the war, held a meeting and jointly decided that half the villagers would vote for FRELIMO and the other half for RENAMO, thereby ensuring that peace would be elected and forestalling any post-election retribution.

Men and women walked long distances, up to 20 kilometers, and waited long hours when voter registration began in mid-1994. More than 1,600 registration brigades covered the

countryside. The civic education that preceded and accompanied the registration process effected a sea-change in voters' understanding and intentions to participate. By July-August 1994 people proudly showed their registration cards and declared that each had his or her own idea who to vote for (that is, the principle of a secret ballot had been conveyed). Political parties established offices in rural areas; RENAMO and FRELIMO flags flew side by side in some towns. It was clear that in most of Mozambique there was **increasing interest in participation, and little or no evidence of coercion or fear.**

The principles of open campaigning and free secret vote inspired office-seekers, voters, media, and the election authorities alike. Of course the process was not perfect. But where the rare incidents of constraint in civic education, registration, and campaigning occurred, they were reported by the press, investigated by the elections authorities or the U.N., and publicly condemned by all parties. This treatment certainly contributed to limiting the spread of such incidents, and as campaigning proceeded, fewer and fewer occurred.

Mozambique Elections: Summary of Voter Participation

7,894,850	Estimated eligible voters	All adults 18 and over, roughly 50% of total estimated population
6,396,061	Registered voters	About 81% of those eligible, ranging from less than 55% ³ in Gaza province to over 98% in Manica province
6,148,842	Verified registered voters	96% of those registered
5,405,836	Actual voters	88% of the verified registered voters, and 68% of the total estimated electorate

Source: National Elections Commission

The majority of eligible voters cast ballots, and the vast majority of those ballots were valid votes. These statistics are the nuts and bolts of free and fair participation. The real people-level proof was demonstrated on the voting days. The balloting occurred on October 27, 28, and 29, 1994, at 7,411 voting tables. About 2,200 U.N. international observers, 35,000 Mozambican political party monitors (more than 32,000 of them trained and supported by USAID), and hundreds of credentialed staff of Embassies, aid agencies (including USAID), and the international media observed the voting and the counting of the ballots.

The observers reported that there had been a **peaceful, orderly process with no evidence of**

³Speculation continues about why Gaza's registration rate was so much lower than all the other provinces. It has always been a FRELIMO stronghold; it has a long tradition of labor migration to South Africa and Zimbabwe; and the vast majority of an estimated 250-350,000 Mozambican war refugees who sought asylum in South Africa did not (and are not expected to) return. Thus, the most likely explanation for the low registration figure is that the base population estimates here were exaggerated.

coercion or fear: the conduct of the voting table officials was correct and serious; political party monitors were in place taking notes; the voters themselves, dressed in their finest, waited many long hours in the hot sun with patience and good humor; there was no evidence of political affiliation anywhere--not a single RENAMO T-shirt, not a single FRELIMO button could be seen; balloting was slow but steady, and once the first few had voted, everyone else became even more eager to do so. **When asked what they were voting for, people typically replied, "Peace. To be left alone to farm our fields."**

The elderly, handicapped, and pregnant women were the first to vote, and after that it depended where one was in line. Voting table officials were careful to ensure no preference in who voted first; in locations where men and women formed themselves into separate lines in accordance with social tradition, the officials ensured that voters from the men's and women's lines were brought forward alternately. Observers reported from many locations, both urban and rural, an apparent dominance of women voters, in line with evidence that populations in some areas are highly skewed toward women due to male labor migration and war effects.

When the RENAMO presidential candidate temporarily withdrew from the election on the first day, people kept right on voting and RENAMO party monitors remained at their posts in all but a handful of locations. Indeed, there was a palpable effort--on the part of voting table officials as well as the voters--to protect the process despite the political crisis in Maputo, and more than one observer was told that people wanted to vote and would not go home without having done so.

The extraordinary civic responsibility and sense of purpose demonstrated during the balloting were even more evident during the counting of the ballots. This crucial task was performed at each voting table, beginning as soon as voting ended and continuing through the night and often well into the following day. The voting table officers and the political party monitors, hungry and exhausted and working through the night by flashlight, candlelight, and makeshift lanterns, worked without interference or interruption and by mid-morning on October 30th most polling stations had posted the results of their count.

Part of the Cost of a Free and Fair Election

The degree of dedication the vote counting required is illustrated by one group in an isolated area near the Malawi frontier in Niassa, in northern Mozambique. No one in this location had a radio, so the village had not heard there was to be a third day of voting. At six o'clock on October 28th, the voting table officials closed the poll and began the count. When USAID observers reached them at noon on the 29th, they were just packing up the counted ballots into sealed envelopes and posting the count on the wall of the school. This village was so poor that neither the officials nor the party monitors had found anything to eat in three days: they'd been gnawing on green mangoes and all were suffering cramps and diarrhea. They'd found no water for washing and little for drinking. They were exhausted, dehydrated, hungry, forgotten--yet they finished the job and expressed satisfaction: "Next time we'll do it better."

It was clear to observers that Mozambicans were eager and that most knew how to vote. The orderliness of the elections, the relative peacefulness of the campaign, and the broad voluntary participation of Mozambicans throughout the process have set a good precedent for continuing democratization post-transition.

Mozambique October 1994 Election Results Summary

Province	Presidential Vote			Legislative Vote* (Number of Legislators)		
	Chissano	Dhlakama	10 Other Candidates	FRELIMO	RENAMO	UD
Maputo City	87.5%	8.8%	3.7%	78.7% (17)	9.0% (1)	2.8% (0)
Maputo	90.0%	6.2%	3.7%	77.7% (12)	7.0% (1)	5.9% (0)
Gaza	95.0%	1.8%	3.1%	81.6% (15)	2.7% (0)	6.9% (1)
Inhambane	78.7%	10.4%	10.9%	59.6% (13)	13.0% (3)	11.8% (2)
Sofala	17.3%	74.0%	8.7%	14.5% (3)	76.6% (18)	1.4% (0)
Manica	33.9%	50.5%	15.6%	27.4% (4)	57.9% (9)	4.0% (0)
Zambezia	38.6%	47.6%	13.8%	31.5% (18)	52.5% (29)	4.5% (2)
Tete	40.8%	42.4%	16.9%	31.3% (5)	49.1% (9)	5.9% (1)
Nampula	37.6%	43.1%	19.3%	31.1% (20)	48.8% (32)	4.5% (2)
Cabo Delgado	68.0%	18.7%	13.2%	58.2% (15)	22.8% (6)	5.8% (1)
Niassa	57.1%	27.3%	15.6%	47.5% (7)	33.5% (4)	6.0% (0)
National Total	53.3%	33.7%	13.0%	44.3% (129)	37.8% (112)	5.2% (9)
			Women Legislators	48	13	1

*The balance of the legislative votes were shared among the remaining 11 parties/coalitions, none of which received the minimum of 5% of the total vote.

Source: National Elections Commission (CNE), Mozambique.

III.C. Objective Three: Contribute to reintegration of populations into stable and productive social and economic activities.

Indicator: Supply of staple food (maize) available in local retail markets year-round.⁴

Mozambicans, with much assistance from donor agencies, have taken very big first steps in rebuilding their lives and nation during the war-to-peace transition period. More than 750 primary schools, 250 health facilities, and 2,000 water sources have been rehabilitated or constructed, along with numerous private homes and enterprises. More than 3,000 kilometers of road have been cleared of land mines, and thousands more re-opened, with bridges and ferries rebuilt. USAID contributions to these efforts during FY 1993-94 included \$42.8 million for improved health, water, and nutrition and for agricultural recovery; \$19 million for road and bridge rehabilitation; \$9 million for land mine clearance; \$1.75 million for reintegration of demobilized soldiers and their families; and \$28 million in Title III corn for commercial sale.

⁴Consistent availability of maize would indicate that production and marketing activities of people in the areas monitored were normalizing; its absence might indicate production problems or marketing disruptions, and if enduring would indicate a risk of hunger and potential for new displacement. Using market availability of staple food was also a natural choice of indicator for USAID's program impact, given the huge role played during the drought recovery and transition period by U.S. commercial and emergency food aid (totaling \$132 mn in FY 1992, \$64 mn in FY 1993, and \$47 mn in FY 1994) and the Mission's successful emphasis since 1989 on policy reform to liberalize and privatize marketing and thereby spur agriculture.

The social effects of the war were huge--traditional relationships were disrupted; families and villages were broken, dispersed; violence and fear ruled; dependence and fatalism increased--and its economic effects were all-pervasive, as farms and enterprises in even relatively safe zones ceased to produce once they were cut off from their markets. These effects also had roots in certain pre-war, post-independence policies of the government (villagization, nationalization of resources and production, centralization of authority), making even more difficult the social and economic reintegration necessary to both secure the peace and permit future development.

To gauge progress in reintegration, the Mission monitored a range of qualitative indicators during site visits--mobility, market access, children in school, acquisition of clothing and household goods, and others--and also tracked market availability of staple food, for which data in selected sites was available. With improved access and security as the peace solidified, the Mission expected to find yellow (imported food aid) and/or white (domestically produced) maize increasingly and then reliably available to consumers in open retail markets.

The observations of maize availability in FY 1993-94 reflected the two stages of post-war vulnerability to hunger which were discussed under Objective One, above. Certainly **in larger markets the supply of maize became more regular**, although availability varied with the agricultural cycle once the dominant staple was no longer the yellow food aid corn (an indication of food aid dependency) but the domestically produced white maize (an indication of recovering self-reliance). It was clear that, when available, the domestic production literally chased the food aid out of the market. But in smaller towns and rural districts, the presence of maize in the market remained rare indeed, despite the enormous growth overall in small-scale marketing activity and despite the stabilizing nutritional status. The absence of maize in these markets was somewhat surprising, since harvests had been generally good in 1993 and average in 1994, and since observations indicated that women were increasingly bringing their own white maize to the mills and less often preparing the yellow food aid corn.

The reason maize and other food staples were not commonly being bought and sold in rural markets is the **continued extreme dependency of the rural populations throughout the 1993-94 period on food aid distributions**. Families in and near population centers, who were on site, had land cleared, and received seeds and tools in time for the first post-war, post-drought planting in late 1992, were beginning to reestablish household food stocks in 1993 and 1994 and some even produced small surpluses. But families who dispersed to home villages distant from the markets and food distributions in the population centers did not recover so quickly. For the millions of families who were relocating during 1993 and 1994, household production remained low and reliance on food aid remained high.

Markets grew dramatically as soon as access and mobility improved, with nearly weekly increases in number of buyers and sellers and array of goods, even in locations where poverty and isolation had been most extreme. What was bought and sold in the markets

early in 1993 were small consumer goods: soap, sugar, used clothing, bicycle repair parts, cheap sneakers, batteries, and dried fish. Within a few months, cane-and-thatch "tea houses" appeared, and artisans such as radio and bicycle repairmen set up shop. A few months later, new cloth, clothing, and tailors appeared, although used clothing continued in importance. Seasonal fruits and vegetables such as squashes, papayas, tomatoes, and melons were marketed. Artisanal products such as baskets, tin lanterns, and wooden or clay bowls occasionally appeared. By mid-1994, expensive goods such as new bicycles and radios were for sale. In rural towns where a cash economy was emerging, such as where road rehabilitation or mine clearance crews were based, fresh bread--a luxury in rural areas--began to be available daily. While it is still rare to find staple food products such as maize, rice, or beans in many rural markets, there is evidence that buying and selling of food staples occurs among neighbors.

At the end of 1994, staple food availability in markets has not yet improved enough in rural areas to suggest that production and marketing have stabilized. Mozambicans are still highly dependent on food aid. For example, in late 1994 in Mutarara district (critically drought affected in 1992 and isolated for 10 years preceding the peace agreement): although 70% of households had no food reserves at all, 99% of them had eaten a staple food the day before being interviewed--of those who had eaten, 39.7% purchased their food, 15.3% ate food they had produced themselves, and 44.9% ate food aid rations. Changes in this situation will continue to be closely monitored during FY 1995.

To complement the market food supply indicator, the Mission's field observations provided evidence on a wide array of informal indicators of reintegration (some discussed already in Section II, above). **The single most profound factor in improving lives in the post-war period, once basic needs were met, was the new accessibility and mobility of the people as roads were cleared of land mines and reopened, and as bridges and ferries were repaired.** Near-immediate emergence of private commercial transport, for goods and passengers, worked to reunite the country geographically and economically again, as well to reunite families long-separated by war, poverty, and fear. Buses now linked major cities, and trucks linked the cities to rural districts. **Mobility was vital in spurring market activity, in supporting the electoral process, and in bringing small enterprise back to rural areas.**

IV. Other Progress in USAID Priority Areas

During their FY 1993-94 initial recovery from war and drought, Mozambicans benefited from past progress made in USAID priority areas of **economic growth and democracy and governance.** The economic liberalizations made since 1987, with substantial policy reform support from USAID, ended price and marketing controls and made possible the resurgence of informal markets serving local populations. Similar policy reform support relating to

USAID and Reintegration -- A Family, A District, A Country Reunited

In Marromeu district in the Zambezi River Valley, a U.S. PVO used food for work in early 1993 to reopen a road not traveled in 15 years. The road was needed to gain access to still-isolated villages in RENAMO zones and unite this district with neighboring ones. Food for the Hungry International, with financing from USAID, provided food rations and seed packets to hundreds of women and men who cleared trees and brush that had overgrown the old road. FHI brokered the complex negotiations--between government authorities in the district capital, RENAMO officials from the nearby base, and local traditional authorities--that were needed as work progressed from government-held areas into the RENAMO zones. A key meeting occurred on May 10 on a bridge just 15 kilometers out of Marromeu Town, described by the FHI Director this way: "RENAMO communication officer met FHI monitor on bridge and they are brothers who have not seen each other for 14 years and both thought the other was dead. Many tears of joy shed." That reunion brought together the whole district. In the months since, the gravely war- and drought-affected people of Marromeu have been a prime example of how joint commitment to peace yielded early and rapid benefits to the people of Mozambique.

improved governance, and especially to decentralization of authority and the development of civil society, allowed the growth not only of political parties but of hundreds of voluntary associations arising from local initiatives.

The changes documented above in the lives of Mozambicans since the war ended in late 1992 are dramatic but still fragile; more time and investment are needed. The orientation of donor agencies and PVOs, and of Mozambicans themselves, is already rapidly changing: from the post-war provision of emergency assistance to highly dependent people, to development assistance to people who have demonstrated their own readiness and ability to build. This offers real hope for the future as Mozambique moves down the road from war to peace to better lives.

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