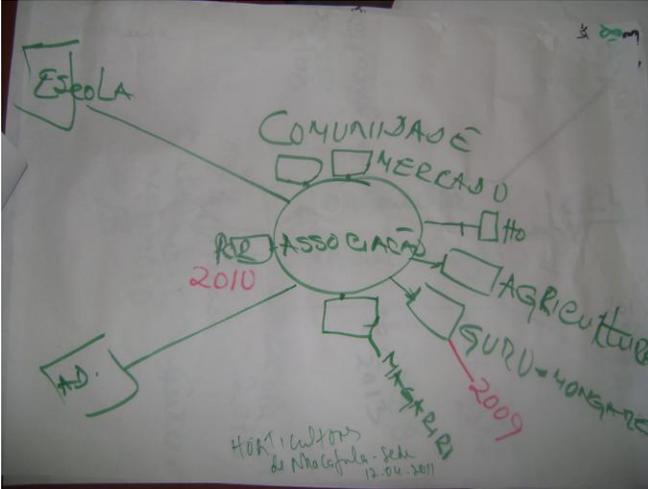


Report

Final Participatory Evaluation of the Manica District Development Project



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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AKSM	Association Kwaedza Simukai Manica
AP	Administrative Post (administrative level below the district)
ASCA	Accumulative Saving and Credit Association
CCD	District Consultative Council (Portuguese abbreviation)
CCL	Local Consultative Council (Portuguese abbreviation)
CLGRC	Local Committee for the Management of Risks of Emergencies (Portuguese abbreviation)
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
ETD	Technical District Team (Portuguese abbreviation)
FDD	District Development Fund (Portuguese abbreviation)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
INGC	National Institute for the Management of Emergencies (Portuguese abbreviation)
IPCC	Institution for Participation and Community Consultation (Portuguese abbreviation)
LOLE	Law on Local State Organs (Portuguese abbreviation)
MAPS	Multi Annual Programme Scheme (Irish Aid)
MDDP	Manica District Development Project
Mts	Meticais (Mozambican currency)
PESOD	Socio-Economic Plan and District Budget (annual) (Portuguese abbreviation)
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SDAE	District Service for Economic Activities (Portuguese abbreviation)

Executive summary

Since 2006, Concern Worldwide with its partners Magariro and Associação Kwaedza Simukai Manica implemented the Manica District Development Project (MDDP).

This is the report of its final evaluation, which was done in a participative way by a team composed of representatives of Concern, representatives of the implementing partners, representatives of the local government, some community facilitators supported by the project and coordinated by an external consultant.

The main objective of the MDDP is to improve the livelihood options for the poor families in Manica province, specifically in Tambara and Machaze district, the most remote districts and with serious disaster and food security problems in Manica province.

The project aimed for four specific outcomes:

- Communities in Machaze and Tambara have improved their capacity to organize themselves, to expand their livelihood options and to participate in the district development process
- Consultative councils have increased their influence in the district development process
- The district administration and the district technical team have improved their capacity to assume their responsibilities in the district development process
- The project actors have contributed to the further advancement of pro-poor decentralization strategies, policies and (NGO) support for district planning at provincial and national level.

These outcomes are to be achieved by a range of activities which can be grouped in the following way:

1. Direct support to community groups, accessible to the poor, which includes promotion of animal rearing, promotion of horticultural production, promotion of saving and credit schemes and emergency relieve.
2. Indirect support to the poor via the promotion of local economic development through the support to small traders and “agrarian bank” and the “animal bank”.
3. Indirect support via technical assistance to public institutions in order to improve the public services (IPCCs and CLGRCs). This support mainly included training of Local Consultative Councils, Local Disaster Committees and the District Technical Team. Besides support of their operations of these entities.
4. Advocacy was done at a local level for example via the organisation of “round tables”, but also at provincial level for example via the local NGO forum.

The project included three crosscutting issues which were to be considered during the analysis and implementation of the activities namely, gender, HIV/AIDS and Disaster Risk Reduction.

Regarding the implementation, the main change during the project was the decision of Concern to withdraw from direct implementation of activities and a reorientation towards concrete community activities and less emphasis on decentralization.

The main conclusions of the evaluation are:

- The relevance of the project is reasonably good. The project managed to reach the poor and vulnerable and their communities. The activities (both at the concrete level as on the political level) are relevant to reduce the vulnerability, a determining in poverty. The relevance could have been improved by more involvement of the communities in their situational analysis and the decisions regarding potential solutions.
- With regard to the efficiency and effectiveness, the project had mixed results. The activities which required relatively more funding, achieved less concrete results (CCLs, Agrarian Bank). An important aspect of the explanation for this lies in the fact that the project used methodologies which limited its understanding of capacity mainly to technical aspects. On the other hand it is very difficult for a NGO to work with state institutions, which on one level can commit them selves to project objectives, but on another level have to follow the logic of the state hierarchy.
- The impact of the project can be mainly seen on an individual household level. The groups are (still) too weak to have an impact at community level.
- The sustainability of the results is questionable given the dependency of the groups on the Project, to ensure their functioning (lack of ownership of the groups). This is the result of methodologies which tend more towards “assistentialism” rather than to development. The savings and credit groups might prove to be the most sustainable groups of all.

The main recommendations are:

With regard to the direct support for the target group, it is recommended the look for ways of working with the communities and the groups which enhances the assuming of responsibilities by the groups/community for the solving of their problems and which at the same time ensures that the implementers avoid assuming the responsibilities which belong to the groups/community. The role of the implementers should be more to facilitate the communities to find solutions rather than to bring solutions to the community, avoiding creating patterns of dependency.

With regard to the decentralization process it is recommended to concentrate less on the strengthening of the technical capacities of the institutions (IPCCs and ETD) and invest more in the role communities should play in the process.

1. Introduction and context of the project

This is the report of the final participatory evaluation of the Manica District Development Project (MDDP). The MDDP started in 2006 and will end this year (2011). The project was implemented by Concern Worldwide with two local partners, Magariro and Kwaedza Simukai Manica Association (AKSM)¹. The project was active in two districts in the province of Manica, Machaze and Tambara (see map 2). The project was financed by DEPFA Bank and MAPS (Multi Annual Programme Scheme of Irish Aid).

The final evaluation was carried out in two parts, the first phase being collecting quantitative data by the implementing project partners and the second part the collection of more qualitative data. The latter part took place in April 2011 and was done by a team composed of staff representing Concern, and the local partners, local government staff and community facilitators, which are supported by the project. This team was coordinated by an external consultant.

There were several reasons for the evaluation:

- ❖ To measure the impact of the Project interventions
- ❖ To draw lessons learned of the Project to use these for future livelihood programmes and/or projects
- ❖ To provide a space for analysis and reflection on programme management.

It is hoped that the report is useful for Concern Worldwide and particularly for Concern in Mozambique, its partners and funders.

1.1 Context of the project

Mozambique is still one of the poorest countries in the world. According to the UNDP ranking based on GDP and HDI Mozambique occupies respectively the 169th and 172nd place (UNDP 2009). According to official estimates², 55% of the population lives in poverty³. This percentage has been stable the last couple of years, but there are signs of growing economic inequality especially in the rural areas (Hanlon 2010). The country is predominantly rural, with 70% of the population depending on agricultural production (which includes agriculture, livestock rearing, fisheries and forest management)

Extreme weather occurrences like droughts and floods can partly explain the poverty in certain areas of Mozambique and represent a direct threat to the development agenda of the country. It

¹ Magariro means "Way of being" while Kwaedza Simukai means "Wake up! Morning has broken".

² The official method of determining poverty levels in Mozambique is contested (see Hanlon, 2010 and van den Boom, 2011). According to the critics poverty levels are probably higher.

³ In Manica province the official poverty level stands at 55% (2008/09 data), a regression compared to the 44% in 2002/03, probably partly caused by the deteriorating situation in Zimbabwe.

Levels of schooling and literacy of women are significantly lower than those of men, which to a large extent is explained by the different social status of boys and girls. As a result girls, much more than boys, are obliged to help in household chores like for example fetching water⁵. The table below shows clearly that the differentiation between boys and girls starts in the age group of 10 to 14 years.

Levels of illiteracy	Total	Men	Women
Tambara	84,4%	71,8%	94,6%
Tambara 5 – 9 years	92,8%	89,8%	95,9%
Tambara 10 -14 years	71,3%	59,9%	84,7%
Machaze	86,3%	75,3%	94,0%
Machaze 5 – 9 years	97,8%	97,3%	98,3%
Machaze 10 – 14 years	86,7%	81,9%	91,6%

Source: District Profiles of Tambara and Machaze district, Ministério de Administração Estatal, 2005

The remoteness of the districts and the low production levels, as well as the lack of money in the districts limit commercial activity and increase the costs of the products imported into the districts.

Since the General Peace Agreement of 1992, the Government of Mozambique, with a lot of foreign support embarked on a process of decentralization⁶. The formulation and the start of the MDDP occurred at a moment when the law and its regulations (LOLE (Law 8/2003)) (Decree 11/2005) were approved, which define and clarify the legal framework for community participation with regard to governance⁷, and when two important donors UNCDF/UNDP and the World Bank, decided to support the process of decentralization.

Thus since 2006 each district has a District Development Fund (FDD, also known as “the 7 million”)⁸ to strengthen decentralization and community planning. These “7 million” Meticaís should be used to generate income, to produce food and create employment⁹. At the same time a separate budget of 2,5 million Meticaís per district was allocated for investment in infrastructure (but which few mention).

⁵ However this does not mean that schooling levels of boys is high. Often boys stop studying when they migrate abroad (from 15, 16 years on).

⁶ Decentralization in Mozambique is mainly “de-concentration” of state functions to lower levels of public administration, rather than handing over authority to elected local organs.

⁷ In 2008, a new “guide on the organization and functioning of local councils” with the aim of “guaranteeing the participation of local communities in the identification and resolution of problems at local level” was published.

⁸ Formerly know as OIIL or FIIL (Budget/Fund for local investment and initiatives)

⁹ Later criteria for differentiation of budgets were introduced, based among others on the population size, poverty levels and geographical extension of each district

With these legal instruments, at least in theory, the conditions were created for an effective participation of the population in the decisions which directly affect their lives. Unfortunately, from the onset there were many obstacles to achieve this objective.

Since the start of the decentralization process and before the identification of the MDDP, Concern was heavily involved in this process (for example in Machaze district and in Nampula province) and it is acknowledged that Concern has had considerable success in the democratization of this process. However an evaluation of the project in Machaze shows that progress was difficult and slow, while there was very little impact on the poor (Bockel, 2004).

In the beginning of the MDDP, Concern was responsible for the implementation of the decentralization component of the project. For several reasons (partly financial partly strategic considerations) it was later decided that Concern would cease direct implementation, leaving Magariro in Tambara and AKSM in Machaze as directly implementing partners of this component of the project.

2. Methods

In order to maximize the usefulness of the evaluation Concern decided to organize the evaluation in such a way as to guarantee the participation of the different stakeholders. Together with its' direct partners (Magariro and AKSM), it was decided to invite to the evaluation team, besides staff from Concern, Magariro and AKSM, representatives from the local government and community facilitators. The present report is based on the work done by the team, but also makes use of the quantitative data previously collected.



The team, which participated in the final, analytical workshop

This report makes use of two sets of quantitative data: one (base-line) study was conducted in the first quarter of 2010 and a second study in the first quarter of 2011.

These studies sought to establish in a more quantitative way the economic levels of the group members (direct beneficiaries), as well as returns on the supported activities. Besides these

more economic data, information on levels of satisfaction and knowledge with regard to the activities and cross cutting issues were gathered. Interviewees were randomly selected based on a pre-determined sample size.

Study	Number of groups	% group members interviewed
Machaze 2010	Horticulture 6	12%
	Animal breeding 7	12%
	ASCA 4	12%
Tambara 2010	Horticulture 8	30%
	Animal breeding 4	30%
	ASCA 4	30%
	Agrarian Bank 2	30%
	Cattle Bank 2	30%
	Traders 2	30%
	Carpenters 1	30%
Machaze 2011	Horticulture 5	10%
	Animal breeding 4	5%
	ASCA 3	7%
Tambara 2011	Horticulture 4	28%
	Animal breeding 2	29%
	ASCA 2	4%

The present evaluation can be divided in several phases:

The first phase was to get familiar with the project partners and the program by collecting and reading of documents relevant to the project and interviews with key informants within the MDDP partner organisations.

The second phase consisted of the fieldwork and its preparation. In this phase a preparation workshop was prepared and held (see annex 3 for the workshop program). In this workshop it was defined which issues and questions to explore, interview protocols were prepared, field teams for each district were defined as well as which entities (groups and councils etc.) were to be interviewed (see annex 2 for the fieldwork program and field teams and annex 4 for the protocols).

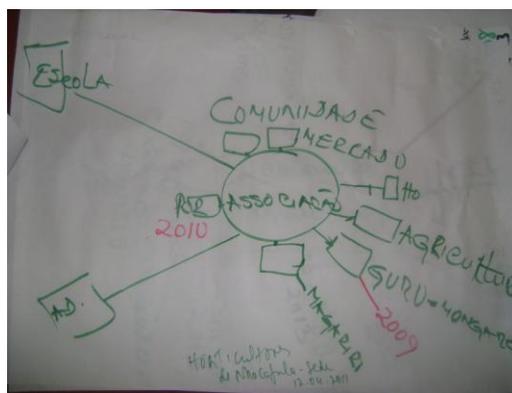
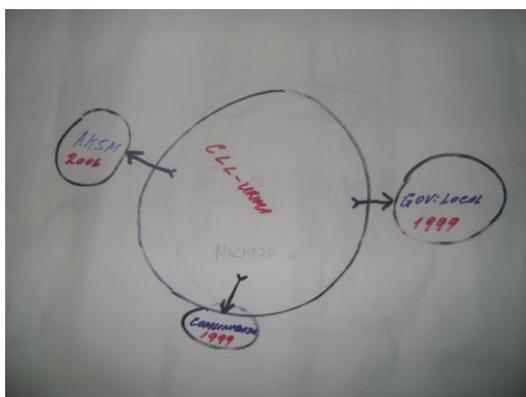
The last part of this phase consisted of the actual fieldwork with two different teams. One team, including staff from AKSM, representatives of the local government in Tambara, the partnership

coordinator of Concern and the consultant worked in Tambara, accompanied by a representative of Magariro who facilitated the work process and also helped out as translator¹⁰.

In Machaze a different team was deployed consisting two staff of Magariro, 3 community facilitators from Tambara district, the Concern staff responsible for the water program and the consultant, accompanied by the local coordinator of AKSM to facilitate the process and help out as translator.

It was decided to “swap the districts” of the partner staff and community facilitators in order to have “fresh eyes” analysing the activities and their impact as well as maximize learning opportunities during the evaluation and to avoid bias and socially desirable answering because of familiarity between the evaluation team and the different groups to be interviewed.

For the fieldwork several tools were applied like group interviews, in which several PRA techniques were applied, like mapping, as well as individual interviews and direct observations.



Examples of the mapping exercise

The third and last phase consisted of data analysis and the reporting of the obtained results. The first step of this phase was the preparation and holding of a workshop to analyse the findings (see annex 5 (for the workshop program) annex 6 (results) and annex 7 (evaluation of the evaluation)). The results of this workshop served as a basis for the present report.

2.1 Limitations of the Participatory Final Evaluation

This report has its limitations. In the first place the evaluation was in some ways limited by the loss of institutional memory of Concern in Mozambique. The clearest example of this is that less than two weeks before the arrival of the consultant the livelihoods coordinator ended his contract without substitution (for the time being). Besides, none of the staff of Concern who participated in the mid term evaluation is still working with Concern. At this moment the one who has most

¹⁰ The community facilitator of Machaze, who was to join the team to carry out the fieldwork in Tambara, did not participate in the fieldwork due to illness.

direct contacts with the implementing partners is the Partnership Coordinator, who started working with Concern about a year ago.

All evaluations are the result of balancing the available time on the one hand and the sample size and amount of information to gather at the other hand. However by its nature a participatory evaluation requires more preparation time in order to really make use of the observations and experiences of the team members compared to an “ordinary” evaluation, especially when dealing with teams composed of members of vastly differing experiences and capacities. It is felt that the quality of the work good have been improved by more preparation time for the teams.¹¹.

Part of the lack of time can be compensated for by an effective and efficient planning, however in several instances it became clear that the coordination between participants and the planning left much to be desired, which had its influence on the preparations for the fieldwork.

One of the consequences of this, were multiple simultaneous activities in which different team members were involved, which compromised their physical and psychological availability, especially during the workshops.

The selection of the communities had to be done in function of the available time and means of transport, limiting the options for selecting groups and communities to be visited and interviewed. This means that the selection of groups was not randomly done but on the basis of the knowledge of the field of the implementing partner. There were also some difficulties in getting the correct information for the meetings to the groups on time.

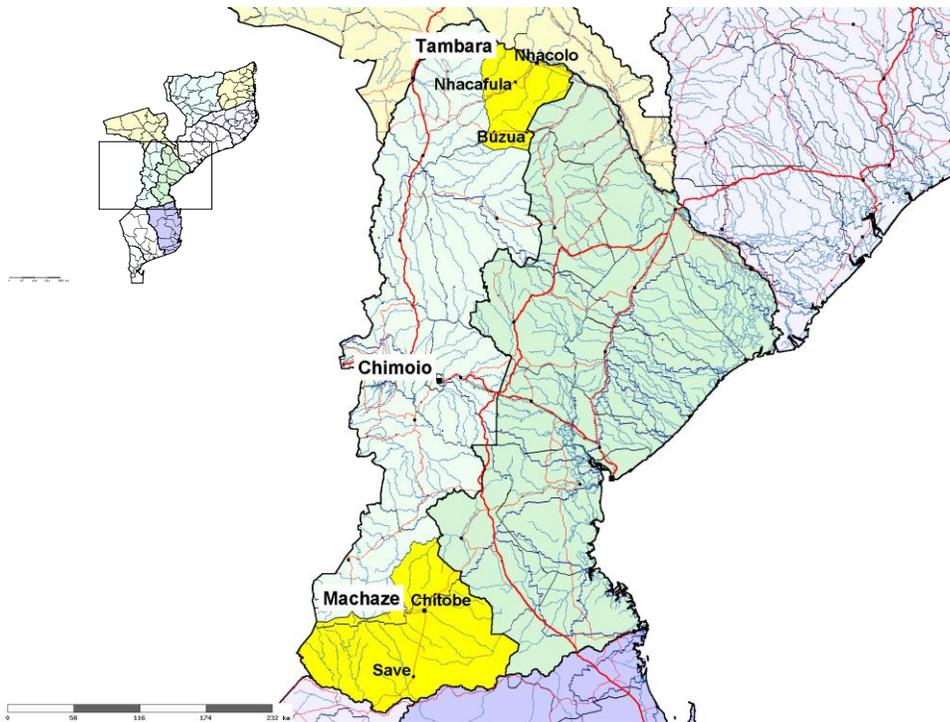
Besides these organizational issues, the analysis was also limited by a lack of baseline study with concrete field data. Unfortunately, the interval between the present evaluation and the mid term evaluation was only one year, which makes it more difficult to discern certain trends.

Quantative data of the mid term evaluation and the quantative study conducted more or less a month before the fieldwork for this evaluation was available. Unfortunately, for these studies no random sample of the population of the communities was included, nor of people who do not participate directly in the project activities, which makes a comparison between the groups impossible. For example it is difficult to say much specifically about the relative changes of the group members compared to the rest of the community. Furthermore the data need to be treated with some caution because data collection has not always been consistent and in some cases sample size is quite small. Specific limitations will be mentioned in the particular where sections the data are analysed.

¹¹ For a more profound analysis see annex 7

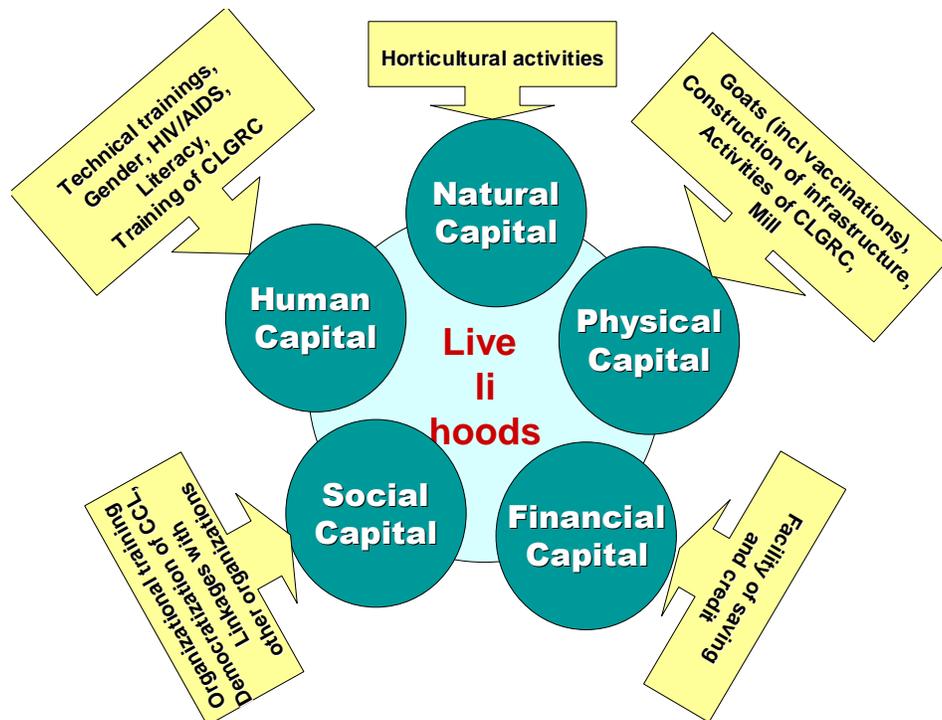
3. Short description of the Project and its evolution

The objective of the MDDP is to enhance the livelihood options of poor households in Manica province and more specifically in Tambara and Machaze, the two most remote districts, most prone to natural hazards and food insecurity in Manica province. Based on the 2007 census Tambara has approximately 44 thousand inhabitants and Machaze 105 thousand inhabitants.



Map 2: Manica and Sofala province, with the MDDP districts highlighted and the administrative posts indicated

In order to achieve the objective of the MDDP the Project partners implemented a range of activities, which (in the interpretation of the consultant) aim to enhance the livelihood capitals in the following way:



The project activities can also be presented in function of how they are related to the target group:

1. **Direct support, accessible by the poor** (Animal breeding, horticulture, Savings and Credit, Emergency relieve)
2. **Indirect support to the poor by promoting local economic development** (Support to small commerce, (banquistas), Agrarian Bank)
3. **Indirect support by providing technical assistance to public institutions in order to improve public services** (IPCCs and CLGRCs)
4. **Advocacy**

Both Magariro and AKSM have an operational base in the district where they implement the activities with 3 to 4 program staff, besides support staff. Program staff usually comes once a month to the respective head offices in Chimoio and Manica. Currently the team of AKSM in Machaze doesn't integrate any woman, the Magariro team is composed of two women and two men.

Besides staff of partner organisations, the project worked with community facilitators and promoters. The MDDP counted on community veterinarians, promoters of ASCAs, agricultural promoters and facilitators for district planning. Magariro worked with 24 community facilitators (of which 8 are women) often covering several community functions (e.g. promoter of ASCA and facilitator of district planning). AKSM works with in total, 55 facilitators, each with his/her specific function, the majority being community veterinarians.

The budgets of both organisation show that compared to the total budget, staff and logistic expenses are highest¹². Between 2009 and 2010, there is a relatively big difference in direct activity costs: in 2009, almost 40% of the budget was spent on project activities supporting groups; in 2010, this was not even 20%. If one were to include Concern's project cost these percentages would be even lower. The high staff and logistics costs are explained by the location of the districts and by the fact that most activities like trainings etc. are done by project staff rather than by specifically contracted outsiders.

There is a difference between Tambara and Machaze: it appears that Tambara has had more trainings, workshops, meetings etc. while Machaze appears to have had more material support for the groups (vaccines, mesh wire for chicken runs etc). In both districts a relatively big part of the budget (and of the time) is dedicated to the decentralization process (30-50% depending on the year and organization).

Both Magariro and AKSM indicated that in the beginning Concern insisted in concentrating on a small number of groups (which should serve as a model). Later this policy was abandoned and the number of groups increased (especially the ASCAS).

Both organizations "inherited" a big part of the groups, AKSM from the previous Concern Project and Magariro stayed with agricultural groups formed by Caritas in the context of an emergency project. ASCAs are new and were initiated by the implementing project partners.

AKSM supports 22 groups of direct beneficiaries, along with 9 CCLs and 9 CLGRCs. Magariro supports 36 groups (including agrarian banks and animal banks) as well as 8 CCLs and 9 CLGRCs. Both organizations work with the district technical team (ETD, which was created to provide technical support to the district consultative council) in their respective districts.

The exact number of beneficiaries is unknown as there is overlap of members of different groups. Nevertheless, without deducting these duplications AKSM supports more than 1500 direct beneficiaries and Magariro supports approximately 750 direct beneficiaries (excluding the CCLs and CLGRCs).

In April 2009, Concern, together with its partners conducted a participative internal mid-term evaluation. The general conclusion of this evaluation was that the project was heading in the right direction. It was concluded that different community groups were formed and in many cases provided with technical know how in order to function properly. At the same time it was recommended to avoid expansion of groups in order to maintain the quality. While the groups demonstrated to be satisfied with the support, especially with regard to agriculture and

¹² To calculate the percentages, budgets rather than expenditure was used, because not all expenditure data were available. Nor were the financial reports of Concern available. However, comparing the available data expenditure was very close to budget.

HIV/AIDS, it was also found that the work on the other cross cutting issues should be improved, especially the Committees for risk management (CLGRC).

It was furthermore recommended to keep up the improvement in information flow between the implementing partners and local institutions. Another suggestion was to make use of the good coordination between partners for the benefit of the project, for example in making use of the existing human resources and organize exchanges of experiences. At the same time it was concluded that innovation and research into economic opportunities and agricultural potential were not well done.

The recommendations can be summarized as follows (see also annex 9):

- Strengthen the technical capabilities, both of beneficiaries as of partner staff (for example on how to make business plans),
- Strengthen the role of the community facilitators
- Make sure that poor people benefit of the project activities
- Reinforce the efforts to improve capacities with regard to HIV/AIDS
- Look into ways to actively influence the functioning of the IPCCs and ETDs
- Recommendations which demonstrate that (according to the evaluation team) the MDDP should bring solutions to the groups (e.g. the introduction of new crops, investigate changes in the agricultural calendar etc).

Generally speaking the recommendations were followed by the project.

3.1 Presentation of quantative and qualitative findings per activity

What follows is an analysis of the quantative and qualitative findings. The quantative data are presented in tables. As mentioned previously it is necessary to be cautious when interpreting the data for several reasons (sample size, inconsistencies in the data). Thus, the data are merely used as indicators and no deeper analysis was done. For example one should take into consideration in the interpretation of the data that men significantly are better off than women (more wealth and bigger fields). Such a correction was not introduced to calculate changes in wealth between the baseline study and the end-line study.

3.1.1 Groups of horticulture producers

Currently, Magariro supports 8 groups of horticulture producers with approximately 230 members. The number of beneficiaries went up from 8 groups with 196 (81% women). In Machaze, AKSM supports 6 groups with all together 507 members. The number of beneficiaries decreased from 40 groups with 1040 members (40% women).

Comparison of the data from 2010 and 2011

%	Machaze			Tambara		
	N=73 12%M	N=50 18%M		N=70 17%M	N=65 17%M	
	Baseline	End line	Dif	Baseline	End line	Dif
Improved house	10	6	-4	26	22	-4
Bicycle	57	68	11	71	76	5
Radio	34	36	2	55	68	13
No goats nor cattle	33	28	5	36	21	15
Size of cultivated area average/pers. (ha)	1,9	3,2	1,3	2	2,2	+0,2
Quantity Average / person						
Goats	7	8	1,0	11	10	-1,0
Chickens	11	9	-2,0	10	11	1,0
Cattle	4	8	4,0	5	4	-1,0
Average size of vegetable field (m ²)	251	68	-183,0	131	458	+327
Returns (Mts)	1450	3000	1550,0	1309	8310	+7001
Consumption (% Total Prod.)	24	21		13	66	

N= Number of interviewees, M = male

Source: Quantative base-line and end-line surveys, Concern

It should be taken into account that the data collection both in 2010 and 2011 took place (in April and February) just before the actual horticultural production season (May to August), which implies that the interviewees provided data on the previous production year. Thus the reliability of the data is drastically reduced as it is difficult to remember exactly what was produced a year ago, how much was sold etc. In Machaze the number of groups reduced significantly, but without knowing the weight of the groups that left in the first study, it is impossible to interpret the changes between 2010 and 2011. It seems that the average returns in the end-line study for Tambara are extremely high.

Despite these doubts, one can probably conclude that there was some improvement in returns. One can also note that almost all wealth indicators improved.

Within the groups interviewed there was almost no change in membership, not only since 2010 but since the start of the groups. At the same time there were a number of members of the horticultural production groups which joined the ASCAs.

One can observe, based on the surveys and the interviews that in general members are satisfied with the activity in which they participate and attribute to it results their possibilities to acquire animals for breeding, keep their children in school, buy new clothes, household goods and agricultural inputs (in order of importance).



Group of vegetable producers of Nauchenge (Tambara district)

When analysing the returns it important to remember that the amounts are earned in 4, 5 months of production. A striking example was a widow in Mavende (Machaze) who, declared that after the death of her husband she didn't have anything, but by joining the group, she now manages to buy whatever she needs as well as keep her children in school. Another interesting example was a woman in Nauchenge (Tambara) who declared that she bought clothes for her husband, which was contrary to her usual situation in which she depended on her husband to get new clothes.

Most commonly tomatoes, onion and kale are produced. There didn't seem to be major problems in marketing of the produce. In Machaze the producers receive traders at the farm gate for direct sale. In Tambara producers seem to be selling to institutions (like for example hospitals/health centres), besides selling locally at the market and to traders.

Levels of home consumption of the production or in other words the contribution of the production to the family diet, are not very clear, but are estimated to be between 15 and 25% of total production.

It was noted that some groups charge entry fees to potential new group members (varying between 10 and 250 Mts).

The organisation level of the groups doesn't seem to be very high. Reasons for organising themselves or joining the group are mainly individual or to get access to external support/funds. Meetings (although there are differences between the groups) are irregular and there are several

examples in which problems which could easily be solved by the group are solved individually as is the case for example with foot pumps for irrigation in Nhacafula and the issue of buying production inputs (seed, pesticides) in Chipopo.

With regard to external relations, one can see that the implementing partners are closer to the groups than the district services for agriculture (SDAE). Generally speaking there do not appear to be strong linkages between the horticultural producers and the CCLs. The groups in Tambara describe more direct external relations with other entities or personalities than the groups in Machaze. The activities of the horticulture groups are known to the local authorities.

3.1.2 The groups of goat and chicken breeders

AKSM supports 12 groups of breeders (of goats and chickens) with a total of 644 beneficiaries (75% women). This number changed considerably compared to 2008 when there were 295 individual beneficiaries (86% women). Magariro always supported 2 animal banks and 4 groups of breeders with a total of 75 members (21% women). The project also created a network of community veterinarians to promote proper treatment of the animals and be able to provide vaccination in the villages. In total 50 people were trained as a community vet.

Comparison of the data from 2010 and 2011

%	Machaze			Tambara			
	Breeders			Breeders			Animal Bank
	N=42 14%M		N=33 15%M	N=23 83%M		N=22 59%M	N=12 50%M
	Baseline	End line	Dif	Baseline	End line	Dif	Baseline
Improved house	7	3	-4	21	18	-3	42
Bicycle	62	63	1	92	91	-1	100
Radio	17	28	11	90	81	-9	82
No goats nor cattle	19	9	10	8	18	-10	33
Size of cultivated area average/pers. (ha)	2,0	3,0	1,0	3,0	2,9	-0,1	2,0
Quantity Average / person							
Goats	4	5	1	15	12	-3	11
Chickens	9	11	2	14	13	-1	9
Cattle	2	3	1	6	8	2	2
Average amount/pers in Mts							

Return on goats	3100	1279	-1821	8047	6181	-1866	
Return on chickens	1068	450	-618		997	997	

Animals	Machaze		Tambara	
	Baseline	End line	Baseline	End line
Number of animals at the beginning of the year	4	4	36	36
New born animals during the year	5	6	9	8
Dead animals during the year	3	3	5	4
Animals sold during the year	6	7	8	23
Net number of animals	0	0	32	17
Reply in interview	5	5	29	12

Vaccination and mortality	Machaze		Tambara	
	Baseline	End line	Baseline	End line
% of persons who vaccinate their animals	44	39	64	46
Average number of animals vaccinated / person	14	18	8	17
% of persons with dead animals	79	90	80	77
Average number of dead animals / person	8	6	6	9

N= Number of interviewees, M = male

Source of above tables: Quantative base-line and end-line surveys, Concern

As the tables above show it is notoriously difficult to get the correct number of animals people might have (on the one hand the number they provide depends on the time of year, but on the other hand people often prefer to provide a number below the actual number of animals they have. It would be expected that the number of animals at he beginning of the year plus the

newborns and deducting the dead and sold animals (= net number of animals) would be equal or superior to the actual number of animals in the household (superior because one doesn't know whether there are animals used for home consumption). This is not the case in Machaze. In Tambara the figures seem to be more correct, despite the fact that an average of 5 animals for home consumption seems to be quite high. At the same time, in the base-line data from Tambara the average number of goats per breeder is 15 (first table) while the actual accounting results in more or less double that amount (second table).

The number of group members or direct beneficiaries almost doubled in Machaze. This was confirmed in the meetings with the groups: in Thewere (Machaze) a new group of 30 members was formed because the first group passed on all the animals due to create a new group and in Sambassoca (Machaze) the groups started with 16 members, while currently the group has 32 members. This increase together with the relative small sample size makes it rather difficult to evaluate the evolution of wealth of these beneficiaries in Machaze.

From the tables above one cannot conclude that there has been any effect from the vaccination campaigns, nor that the beneficiaries decided to treat their animals, nor that the mortality of the animals was reduced.

With regard to eventual improvements to the livelihoods, there seems to be a difference between Tambara and Machaze. It appears that in Machaze group members slightly improved their livelihoods. From the present data the same cannot be concluded for Tambara.

Despite that one cannot definitively conclude that incomes improved, overall group members commented that they were happy with the activity from which they benefitted and that they achieved what they hoped for when joining the group, like improving the house, increase the cultivated area, buy cattle, keep children in school etc. An illustrative example is a blind woman in Thewere who declared that AKSM tried to alleviate the problems of vulnerable people, she herself didn't have clothes, nor blankets, but now she has and on top of that she manages to keep her children in school. Somebody else remarked: "goats are security, I don't have anymore fear of dying from hunger".

On many occasions local authorities and/or traditional leaders (fumo, regulo) had a significant influence on the selection of group members. And not always were the reasons clear why some could enter a group and others not. This becomes an important issue when actually there are more people who want to join than the number of places available. In Sambassoca the team met a man who was raising two orphans (of his deceased brother and sister-in-law) who had applied to join the group to receive goats but for unclear reasons was not selected. At the same time one

man in the meeting represented an orphan member, but who himself had 11 goats and also benefitted from funds from the FDD¹³.

The groups don't function as an active organization, up to the point in Sambassoca where there isn't even a leadership. This in itself seems rather logic if one understands that the motivation to join the group is to receive animals and not to work together to achieve something.

The vaccines are not usually given (according to the data not more than 40% applies vaccines on his/her animals). Some even say that the only care is given to animals when they are about to be sold. The data don't allow for an exact calculus on the mortality, but in Machaze the mortality seems higher than in Tambara, which can be explained by the fact that in Tambara the groups are more engaged in marketing of goats rather than in breeding goats. Anyhow it is also not possible to establish a correlation between vaccination and mortality rates.

The groups of animal breeders have less external relations when compared to other groups.

3.1.3 Accumulative Saving and Credit Association

Magariro supported 2 groups with a total of 25 members (44% women) in 2008; these days Magariro supports 20 groups with a total of 448 members (63% women). In 2008, AKSM supported 6 groups with a total of 251 members (73% women). Today AKSM supports 311 members divided in 11 groups (61% women).

%	Machaze			Tambara		
	N=28 50%M	N=23 35%M		N=18 72%M	N=16 31%M	
	Baseline	End line	Dif	Baseline	End line	Dif
Improved house	48	43	-5	28	75	32
Bicycle	82	78	-4	89	94	-9
Radio	82	42	-40	94	75	-19
No goats nor cattle	21	35	-14	11	38	- 27
Average cultivated area /person. (ha)	3,8	2,7	-1	2,0	2,7	0,7
Quantity Average / person						
Goats	7	6	-1	17	9	-8
Chickens	13	11	-2	9	14	5
Cattle	6	8	2	3	7	4

¹³ As we will see later on, to receive FDD funds can be seen as na indicator of the relative position of the recipient in the community

Average amount/person (Mts)						
Amount of loan (Mts)	11813	6629	-5184	3900	2270	-1630
Return on loan (Mts)	2018	2391	373	1687	1757	70
Redistribution of funds (Mts)	8784	7844	-940	2032	3455	1423

N= Number of interviewees, M = male

Source: Quantative base-line and end-line surveys, Concern

It is not easy to interpret the data presented in the table as the number of members of the ASCAS increased significantly. Thus the changes in wealth as shown in the table can as much mean a change in wealth of the members because of the activity as a change in average wealth because poorer or richer members joined the groups and thus influence the averages. Nevertheless the impression remains that on average more less well off members joined the ASCAs (see for example the average loan value and the % of people without goats or cattle). This might be a sign that more poorer people join the ASCAs Unfortunately the sample size is small, especially in Tambara (less than 20 interviews on a total of 448 members).

What can be observed both in Machaze as in Tambara, is the spontaneous increase in number of ASCAs. In Tambara the number of groups increased from 8 to 20 in the last 2 years (to 448 beneficiaries, 63% women) in Machaze during the same period the number of groups increased from 8 to 14 (to 311 beneficiaries, 61% women). Another striking observation was that contrary to other groups (including CCLs and CLGRCs), ASCAs didn't allege to need external support to develop further. As mentioned earlier quite a number of people already engaged in other groups chose to also join an ASCA.

There is a big difference between the smallest and the largest amount saved (between 200 and 24.000 in a cycle, i.e. between 20 and 250 Mts per week), which goes to show that an ASCA is not necessarily an activity for better off people in the community. There are no data available to demonstrate whether these differences occur within an ASCA or whether there are wealthier and poorer groups. However several groups established rules, like a minimum amount to be saved per week, which effectively can exclude certain people to join (which however doesn't need to stop these excluded people to create their own ASCA).

A comparison of average wealth of the different groups shows that the ASCAS are not exclusively composed of better off people. However, some people are obviously well situated (some for example received funds from the FDD and in AP Save a member of an ASCA owns a car). Relatively to their numbers men are more often in leadership positions than women.

The ASCAs have relatively less linkages with CCLs and local authorities than other groups. This could be an indication that to be able to join a group is less influenced by these institutions.

The issues ASCAs face are often related to the amount of the loans¹⁴ (which depends on the amount saved by the group) and the short loan period (one month extendable to two months). This short period is not adapted to the agricultural cycle, where one typically would need loan periods of 6 to 8 months. The indicators of profitability vary between Machaze and Tambara (see annex 8), but both districts have on a yearly basis higher returns than the inflation rate. There are more differences between Machaze and Tambara, the application rate of the savings, the number of loans and the average value of the loans in Machaze are all much higher.

The use of the loans varies a lot. A loan is often, as one would expect, used for small business and trading of food and animals (because of the short period). The profits after each cycle are more used to improve the house or buy consumer goods for the household (pots and pans etc). This shows that the members of the ASCAs are able to make a distinction between the money from the loans and the profits.

Overall the members of the ASCAS are happy and proud. As one ASCA in AP Save stated “We now have a bank here!”

Several members initiated new income generating activities, like for example small businesses a local bakery and the production of local (alcoholic) drinks.

While other groups, when asked what they had learned, or responded “nothing” or mentioned trainings organised by the MDDP, some ASCAS replied that they learned how to make the money stay in the community.

As observed by Carrilho and Teyssier (2010) there are certain risks to the sustainability of the ASCAS. The main risks are related to the role of the promoter of the ASCA. It is just and helps to improve the sustainability, when the promoters are being paid for the work they are doing. The question however is what should one pay? One way would be a fixed amount per group per visit payable by the ASCA, but this could negatively affect groups with less money and profits (probably the groups with poorer members); on the other hand to pay a percentage of the profits or of the money saved could encourage the promoter to dedicate more time to the groups with bigger funds, as they are more interesting to him/her.

It is however important to have someone (and this could be the promoter since they are independent from the ASCAs) with a role as arbiter to unlock a stalemate in the case of internal conflicts.

In general groups and this holds also true for ASCAS work better when the group is more or less homogeneous, which implies that one needs to develop strategies to avoid too big differences in income within the same group. On the other hand this could mean that ASCAS with a poorer

¹⁴ This should be seen in each particular context e.g. in Tambara the application of the savings is only 50%.

membership will grow at a slower rate than groups with richer people. One could also study the possibilities to inject funds into the ASCAs in order to accelerate the growth (however the big risk of course is that this destroys the perspective that the money comes from the members of the group and not from outside).

3.1.4 Agrarian Bank

Data from the 2010 survey

Tambara		
	Agrarian Bank	Small traders
	N=5, 80%M	N=5, 100%M
	Baseline	Baseline
Improved house (%)	60	25
Bicycle (%)	100	100
Radio (%)	80	33
Cultivated area (ha)	3,0	9
Goats	33	8
Chickens	24	14
Cattle	7	11

N= Number of interviewees, M = male

Source: Quantative base-line survey, Concern

The above table confirms (albeit with a very small statistical base) the impressions from the interviews that the members of the Agrarian Bank do not belong to the poorer groups of the community; the same can be said of the small traders (banquistas) who were supported.

The effect one might expect from this activity, with regard to the livelihoods of the poor, would be more indirect by improving the local economy especially by improving access to markets, both for selling as for buying agricultural products.

The creation of the Agrarian Banks was an initiative of the CCLs, after the idea being suggested by Magariro. Thus, both banks feel controlled by or consider themselves to have a close relation to their CCL. The members of the Agrarian Banks were selected based on their position in the community and their relations with the (traditional) local authorities. It is therefore no surprise to have relatively many men at the banks (> 70%) and in its leadership >85%. Commercial experience or capacities do not appear to have been a selection criterion for these members.



Warehouse of the Agrarian Bank of Nhacafula

(Tambara district)

The banks received relatively large amounts of money. Up to now they never applied all their funds. There don't appear strict criteria regarding operation and control of the activities. Till to date substantial amounts of the initial investment fund have been lost.

There are only a few years in which the banks actually manage to buy local produce. At the Nhacafula Agrarian Bank it was decided to start selling hoes, notebooks and other items, which are being sold at prices below the local market rate. In its operations the Banks seemed to have suffered from unfair competition through food aid, distributed by the government, in response to emergencies in the district.

With regard to the small traders, at the moment they are only pressured to repay their loans to Magariro. It was confirmed both in Sabeta and in Nhacafula that traders are regular beneficiaries of the FDD.

3.1.5 Local Consultative Councils (CCLs)

There are no quantitative data available regarding the CCLs, which means that it is impossible to compare the current situation to any previous condition.

The approval by the government of new regulations, at the end of 2010, resulted in a process called "re-vitalization" of the CCLs. By the new regulations a CCL should now have 20 members of which a minimum of 6 (30%) should be female and their mandate is limited to two years. The reform also seems to have clarified the selection mechanisms for the members of the higher level CCLs (AP and district). From now on these members should be selected out of the pool of CCL members from the localities. In all but one CCL in Sambassoca, where four women were elected member, the number of women encountered was 6¹⁵.

¹⁵ Ironically the "re-vitalization" measures, which guarantee 30% women in the CCLs, resulted in Machaze in an actual reduction of the participation of women in the CCLs. According to data from AKSM, before, 40% of the members of the CCL were women, while after the re-vitalization less than 30% are women, because not all CCL comply with the rules. There are no data available on women participation in Tambara

The interpretation as of who should be eligible for a CCL varies. According to some to be a member of the CCL one should be member of an association of representative of a professional class (for example traditional healers, carpenters, traders, teachers etc.) others state that it depends on the actual status of the person in the community. According to some comments, in the selection process it is tried to ensure as much as possible a geographical representation in the CCLs. By direct observation one can conclude that the members are slightly better off than for example the members of the horticulture or animal breeding groups.

In general the CCLs interpret their role to be to take the concerns and issues of the population higher up while some add that they also pass on information from the government to the people. Control or supervision of the local government was not being mentioned as a role of the CCLs.

In the mapping exercises the CCLs show themselves to be well integrated in the government structure, in order to account for their work to the authorities. While the community appears on the maps the relation between the CCL and the community appears to be more of a communication channel for the concerns and issues. There were no comments in the sense that the CCL felt a need or obligation to account for their actions to the community.

The work of the CCL is organised around the reception, analysis and approval of project proposals coming from members of the community. The CCLs don't have their own operational budget. As stipulated in the law the CCLs have 2 ordinary meetings per year. Normally the CCLs have several extra-ordinary meetings (4 to 6 per year), often linked to the proceedings of the approval and payment of the proposals.

According to the provided information, the districts first divide the money over the administrative posts and localities. After this the proposals are analysed according to criteria of feasibility of the project.

The districts, formally or informally, have defined minimum (30-50.000 Mts) and maximum (250.000) amounts for the projects to be approved. So from the start these limits exclude poorer people, as they typically don't have the capacity to manage, nor a need for such large amounts of money to improve their living conditions. Even so not all the money is channelled to the AP and localities. In Machaze the ETD confirmed that 10% of the total amount is withheld 10% to "pay for Revenue taxes"¹⁶.

In practice who benefits most of the FDD are traders (in Machaze ca. 60% of the fund is for income generation) and well connected people, with very few women (17% in Machaze, CIP 2011). One government staff when queried on the impact of the FDD replied that some

¹⁶ This seems to be a rather creative explanation.

“managed to very much improve their housing” referring to how the funds are often used in practice.

Officially, the funds are loans payable with 6% of interest over the nominal value without a fixed term. However with reimbursement rates at less than 5% of all the money provided since 2006, this seems more of a badly told joke. Informally, there are people within the system who acknowledge that there are fictional associations only created to receive funding and split the money after reception among the “members”; there are also some members of the CCLs who acknowledge that .members of the CCL accept money in order to approve proposals. Furthermore it is recognized that within the system there is no capacity to prepare and monitor the projects to ensure proper implementation.

ANO	FIM RECEBIDO	PERCENTO APROVADO	Nº DE MEMBROS DOS SERVIÇOS BENEFICIARIOS	SALDO EM 2009
2007	250.000,00	30	500	
2008	250.000,00	30	500	
2009	250.000,00	30	500	
TOTAL	750.000,00	85	1500	500.000,00

Reimbursements to the FDD in AP Save, Machaze district. Note that the table is up-dated only till 2009

Nevertheless there are some active CCLs, which go way beyond the analysis and approval of project proposals, as for example is the case with the CCL of Nhacafula, which helped in the construction of the local school, is concerned about how to resolve the drinking water issue and proposed to construct a home for the elderly.

The opinions of the members of the different groups regarding the CCLs varies, but in general they are not very satisfied with the performance of the CCLs, some groups in Machaze even deny knowing the local CCL, even though they obviously know them. In Tambara the situation is better.

What the CCLs do, according to the interviewed groups is channel information while some also mentioned the approval of proposals. No group member thought that the way of working had improved over time and the opinions on what should be improved in the functioning of the CCLs referred to the approval of projects and the communication with the community (it seems that in Machaze the CCLs lost some of its status with the end of the direct implementation by Concern).

It was found that the work of both Magariro and AKSM concentrated on the strengthening of the CCLs via training modules which mainly deal with issues of decentralized planning, local

governance, internal functioning of the CCL, planning, prioritization, evaluation of proposals etc. Besides these capacities both organisation finance (partly) the operational costs of the CCLs and ETDs. Up to now the government doesn't foresee a budget for the operational costs of the CCLs. Members to the ETD perform their tasks on top of their regular tasks at their respective district services.

The MDDP provided very little support directly to communities in the context of decentralization, although in Tambara, some community facilitators have organized meetings in the community to talk about the CCLs.

3.1.6 The Local Committees for the Management of Disaster Risks (CLGRC)

The committees were created on impulse of the INGC in order to be better able to respond to the emergencies regularly affecting the districts. In Machaze the CLGRC was created, in response to the earthquake of 2006 and in Tambara in response to the regular floods of the river Zambeze and its tributaries. In Machaze the CLGRCs were set up by the INGC and sub-committees were created (for example for warnings, evacuations, shelter and transport). In Tambara it was the local government which created the committees. Magariro and AKSM took over the support to the committees after Concern withdrew from direct implementation in 2009.

The selection of the committee members is often done by some geographical logic. In some areas, they aimed at selecting representatives from the different areas within the locality or sometimes local authorities are charged in selecting representatives, in other cases it is preferred to select people living close to the centre of the locality in order to facilitate meeting. In some cases representatives of district services were included in the committees.

Besides the kits most committees received¹⁷ and some training provided by the INGC and the project partners, the committees don't have any means of operation. Their meetings are irregular. After an initial phase in which the committees were created the INGC doesn't seem to follow up on the CLGRCs. The committees don't have strong relations with the district service, like for example agriculture or health.

¹⁷ The committee of Nauchenge is an exception. It was the community which created the committee, but as this was not foreseen in district plans they didn't receive a kit.



Droughts are one of the issues of concern of the

CLGRCs

The committees are proud of what they achieved, despite their lack of means. In Tambara they managed to warn people of the coming floods and lives and goods have been saved. In Bassane (Machaze) they were proud to have been able to help people who lost their homes because of bushfires.

Besides their role in acute emergencies, the committees take on a role in transmitting information and providing council on droughts, sanitation, bushfires, AIDS etc, mainly by giving lectures in the communities.

3.1.7 Cross cutting issues

Planned or un-planned the project activities had some effect with regard to the issues of HIV/AIDS, Gender and Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR).

There seems to be more awareness regarding HIV/AIDS and gender for example. Specifically there are some positive examples of women in leadership positions.

An analysis of the survey data shows that women have relatively fewer assets, less land cultivated and less animals than men. This can be interpreted as a justification to target women specifically as beneficiaries.

There seem to be more women in leadership positions in the groups in Tambara. Two factors might have contributed to this: the first one is that Magariro has two women in its team, the second one is that the associations have been legalized, which helps to have more reflection and discussion on the functioning of the organisation. However there is still a lot of space for women to have a stronger role in the groups and consequently in their communities.

However, these issues have been dealt with mainly as isolated activities and preferably by holding “trainings”, workshops etc. There were e.g. some people who remembered trainings on HIV/AIDS, but in fact the trainings or workshops on business practices were better recalled.

In this context, what probably was most successful (although not spontaneously mentioned in any meeting) is the methodology “changing the course of the river” applied by Magariro in Tambara. The methodology dealt in an integrated way with HIV/AIDS, domestic violence, gender and traditions.

The methodology consists basically of a series of meetings with different groups in the community (men, women, elderly, youth, culture bearers etc) and tries by promoting discussion to analyse issues and proposes activities or concrete alternatives. In this concrete example the result was that a custom called Piticufa, in which a woman whose husband has died, is supposed to have intercourse with a family member of the deceased in order to be “cleansed”. At first sight this methodology has two strong points: the first one is that an issue is debated and analysed without the facilitating agency determining what the solution should be, but leaves the solution to the community, in other words the responsibility is returned where it belongs; the second point is that a practical and concrete solution (or draft solution) is sought which obliges to a verifiable commitment in stead of slogans without much consequence to the daily reality of peoples lives. In this way the methodology distinguishes it self from other approaches applied in the majority of activities of the project.

As already mentioned the project didn’t deal with the cross cutting issues as real cross cutting issues. E.g. no relation was established between horticulture production and AIDS via the relation of diets and health, no analysis was done on the impact of horticulture on the workload of women, a risk analysis on droughts was not included for the selection of activities to be supported in the communities (e.g. Agrarian Banks could have tried to guarantee a market for millet and sorghum in order to try to encourage the production of these more drought resistant crops) or even more concretely no analysis was done on the function of animals and savings in the years droughts occur.

4. Relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability of the project

The five criteria for success of the project (relevance, effectiveness, efficiency etc.) have to be assessed with the 5 core elements of the livelihood concept (Human capital, Social Capital, Natural Capital, Physical Capital and Financial Capital). In this analysis also the cross cutting issues should be included.

4.1 Relevance

Relevance: Consistency with the beneficiary requirements, country needs, global priorities and donors and partners policies.

The MDDP and its activities fit very well into the priorities of Concern, as well as the vision and mission of the partner organisations and the needs of the target group.

Basically what the project tries to achieve is reaching the poor (without being exclusive) and provide means to improve their livelihoods in the local context. As already mentioned, to have women as an important target group makes sense, given the data which show that in general they are poorer and more vulnerable than men.

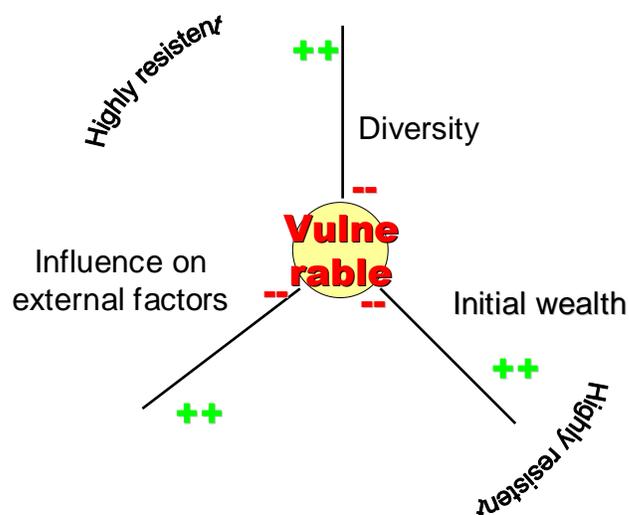
Poverty has many facets, but it is clear that direct investment in the livelihoods of the poorer sections of the population is a relevant way to fight poverty. It is considered relevant to reach the poor by favouring them and encouraging them to take part and to benefit from the activities of the project, without necessarily excluding less poor people. It might actually be even an advantage [to have less poor people included] because people are part of social networks which go beyond strict economic divisions.

The selection of cross cutting issues is relevant. As mentioned both districts bear the effects of AIDS and the occurrences of droughts and floods, which threaten whatever potential gains at a social economic level. Exposure to these threats continues to cause serious economic losses, as demonstrate the regular flooding in Tambara. On the other hand, health expenditure¹⁸ together with food expenditure is the main expense of households.

Poverty and vulnerability to disasters coincide. One way to approach the issue is to analyse the factors which increase vulnerability. One can distinguish 3 main factors to determine the vulnerability of a system (e.g. a household): initial wealth, capacity to influence external factors and the diversity of the system.

¹⁸ When the costs of treatments by traditional healers are included (Bakker e Teyssier, 2010).

Relation between livelihoods and vulnerability



Concretely the project worked on increasing the initial wealth (providing animals, promoting savings). By introducing animals and promoting the production of horticulture the diversity of the system was increased; besides it seems that also ASCAs contribute to a diversification of economic activities at household levels. The development of knowledge, the activities in the decentralization process and advocacy can all be considered elements which contribute to influencing external factors.

The analyses show that women on average own less means while there is also quite a lot of resistance against the idea that women can and are able to take decisions and manage activities. The strict division of gender roles causes an excessive burden on women and in the context of AIDS increases their health risks. The excessive time women (and girls) spend on simple household chores like fetching water goes at the expense of childcare and their education as well as being a loss of potential economic productivity.

Besides the cited reasons in the context analysis and the declarations of the beneficiaries, one can conclude that the interventions are relevant for the following reasons:

1. A high retention of group members.
2. The application of profits from the activities is reinvested in other similar activities, like animal breeding, increase of horticulture production etc.
3. The spontaneous formation of ASCAs.

Beyond the issue of citizens' rights, the fight for the government, at its different levels, to provide services to the population and to oblige the government to better take into consideration the interests of the poor, especially in a context in which relatively large amounts of money are being

distributed in the districts with the explicit objective to stimulate production create employment and fight hunger is also considered relevant.

The target group of Concern and the project beneficiaries

The project identifies explicitly the poor as its target group. To directly reach the poor is also an important concern to Concern Worldwide. The selection of the two poorest and most vulnerable district of the province of Manica is an important first step to reach the poor and vulnerable. Nevertheless for several reasons it is difficult to assess to what extent the project met its goal [of reaching the poor] in the context of the two districts. No baseline study was conducted which defined who are the poor and most vulnerable communities. Also no assessment was made of the living conditions of a sample of the beneficiaries in order to be able to analyse the economic evolution of these people. This being the case one has to resort to indirect indicators to analyse whether the poor really benefit from the project. The indicators used are the following:

1. Comparison of the participants in the meetings and the other members of the community based on direct observations;
2. Percentage of women in the beneficiary groups;
3. Composition of the beneficiary groups and changes in the composition.

Ad 1). The observations are on how people dress, presence/absence and types of cell phones, capacity to express oneself in Portuguese, comments from the participants during the meetings and access to FDD funds. The appearance of the people at the meetings showed that the majority of the participants are people with little means. We already mentioned some comments, but the comments given during the meetings with regard to the use of the results of the activities (buy clothes and food, pay for school etc) indicate that the results are used for the most basic necessities of the beneficiaries, another poverty indicator.

Ad 2). It is a common assumption in Mozambique (which is confirmed by the data from the 2 surveys done by the project) that in general women are poorer and more vulnerable than men. The participation of women is quite high in different activities, especially in the horticulture groups in Tambara and the animal breeding groups in Machaze. Although less articulate, also in the ASCAs the majority are women. It were exactly these groups which gave the team the strongest sensation of poverty.

Ad 3). The data on the group composition give some indication on the beneficiaries. First of all there is quite some variety with regard to the poverty levels of the different members. On the one hand this indicates that the activities are not only accessible by poor people but at the same time it shows that the activities are also accessible for the poorest people. The strong increase in membership of ASCAs resulted in a reduction of average savings as well as reduced average wealth levels, which shows that despite initially members being not so poor, nowadays poor people increasingly join these groups too.

We should distinguish between the activities mentioned above, which are direct support activities and the activities which provide indirect support. The activities of direct support in general manage to reach the poor (although not exclusively). Nevertheless there are two factors negatively influencing this: first the influence of local leaders which influence the selection of beneficiaries and secondly the very groups which once established create barriers which make it more difficult for poor people to participate (e.g. entry fees).

The activities classified as indirect support are less successful in involving directly the poor in their activities. On the one hand this has to do with the selection mechanisms in the community (e.g. in the case of the CCLs) and on the other hand it has to do with the influence of local leaders (see e.g. the Agrarian Banks in Tambara). With regard to the results of the groups, there are very few indications that the activities which indirectly aim to support poor people do benefit the poor.

4.2 Effectiveness and efficiency

Effectiveness and efficiency: The extent to which the interventions objectives have been met or are likely to be met taking into account priorities and how efficiently resources (money, time, people etc) are converted into outputs/results.

The expected outcomes of the project and the original indicators were:

- Communities in Machaze and Tambara have improved their capacity to organize themselves, to expand their livelihood options and to participate in the district development process
 - Level of community organisation
 - Socio-economic initiatives elaborated, implemented and sustained by community organizations
 - Level of capacity of local forums
 - Level of social and geographical representativity of local forums
- Consultative councils have increased their influence in the district development process.
 - Consultative council members level of Awareness of rights and responsibilities in the district planning process of council members
 - Level of capacity of IPCC members/fractions
 - Quality of IPCC meetings
 - Level of social and geographical representativity of IPCCs
- The district administration and the district technical team have improved their responsiveness towards their communities in the district development process
 - Technical team performance
 - Level of knowledge regarding community consultation

- Community satisfaction with government performance
- Vulnerable group satisfaction with government performance
- The project actors have contributed to the further advancement of pro-poor decentralization practices and policies
 - Pro poor policy and strategy changes, influenced by the project
 - Provincial and national level coordination between government and civil society organisations, regarding decentralized district planning
 - Increased engagement of local partners to engage with the district development process

During the project, some changes occurred in which most emphasis was shifted to the groups and away from the decentralization process. The consultant didn't have access to documents which clearly redefined the objectives and indicators. Also the project doesn't have very specific indicators and indicators are difficult to measure and without a clear time frame. Besides, there was no baseline study at the start of the project.

There were changes in the functioning of the IPCCs, but these changes, ironically came from central level. They were new regulations (minimum % of women, fixed period of term etc.) and the so-called revitalization, showing with some irony that the process of decentralization continues to be rather centralized. There were some concrete changes (e.g. more transparent the election processes), but given the level of centralization in Mozambique it is questionable they were directly influenced by the project. Probably the influence was more indirect via advocacy and lobby at provincial and national level.



The CCL of Sabeta (Tambara) during the mapping exercise.

The main difficulties of IPCCs can be summarized in the following way:

- A lack of normative and orienting instruments, which allow for more control on the management;

- The IPCCs are not clear themselves on their role and don't know to apply the tools at their disposal. E.g. there is a lack of perception that the Consultative Councils have a role in oversight;
- The absence of a culture of accountability beyond accountability to hierarchical superiors;
- The educational and cultural gap between the governing classes and the rural population;
- The weak consciousness of citizens' rights;
- The creation of representative institutions with a certain power or influence creates possibilities of traffic of influence and promotion of personal interests at the expense of common interests;
- The lack of control over and the arbitrary with regard to the application of laws by the authorities;
- The temptations to use state instruments as instruments for the consolidation of political power.

In practice these difficulties have little to do with the technical capacity of the members of the IPCCs. Even so technical competencies (analysis of proposals etc) were the main focus of the work with the IPCCs. It is very well possible that the visible improvements in the functioning (and which were not instructed by superior) are mainly due to the presence of the partners in the district and not so much to an improved commitment of the actors within the system.

Another point to highlight is that in the vision of the government the poor not necessarily are the direct target of the FDDs. The government vision appears to be aiming to reach the poor in a more indirect (if not to say paternalistic) way, in which local entrepreneurs implement projects in commercial agriculture or business in such a way that indirectly the poor benefit by obtaining employment or access to certain products, which in fact is a version of the discredited trickle down theory. The government doesn't demonstrate a vision to invest more directly in the capacities of the poor. Given the relative big investment in decentralization component by the project one should conclude that this was not the most efficient and effective way to improve the livelihoods of the poor in the two districts.

The committees for the management of disaster risks, especially during the acute crises like floods, achieved positive results. With regard to the other aspects of their portfolio of tasks, results are less clear and one can even question their existence. E.g. if the farmers in Tambara don't plant millet or sorghum, because they lack a market, farmers won't plant these crops because of some speeches. Besides, one should ask if this were not a job of the SDAE. If the SDAE doesn't manage to convince the farmers with the little means at their disposal, even less so will the committees which don't have any means at all. The same goes for trying to promote the schooling of children and the education service and the issue of cholera and the health service.

Several other activities are being implemented and in fact have some positive results (horticulture, goats, ASCAs) On the basis of the quantitative surveys done (both the base-line and

the end-line) it is difficult to show objective results. There lacks a real base-line study and the time frame between the two surveys was short, besides some methodological problem in the surveys.

What is most doubtful is the level of local organisation. According to the consultant, the way of working (provide a lot of free inputs, a lot of trainings based on the priorities of the project and not necessarily on the needs of the groups, no clearly defined path where one wants to go with the groups and no timeframe for the technical assistance) makes that to a lot of groups the objective of being a group is to receive things.

The follow up seems to be so regular that it might even be suffocating any attempt to self organisation and it is at the same time a sign that the partners have difficulties in letting groups assume their own responsibilities (which includes the right to commit stupid errors). At the evaluation workshop there was talk of a lack of staff for technical follow up, but according to the consultant on the contrary there should be less but more strategic support to the groups.

Related to this point is the issue of training. A lot was invested in capacity building, refresher courses and trainings, without very convincing results. There is of course a relation between knowing and doing. But the fact that one doesn't do something doesn't necessarily mean that the person doesn't know how to do it (even if he/she says that he/she doesn't know). It might be that the offered solution doesn't have his/her preference; it might be that the issue is considered irrelevant or there may be social impediments etc. One learns best out of necessity. Thus what one is going to do in a program (including trainings) should be very much based on the analysis of the beneficiaries and less on the analysis of the intervening actors. At the same time capacity should not be understood as just technical capacity, e.g. to know how to make a business plan. Capacity can be understood in a broader sense, including capability to commit and engage, the capability to adapt etc (see annex 10).

In the present context, the groups are not encouraged to assume their responsibilities over their own organizational life. It is expected that eventual problems are solved by the project. Although it is a bit early to draw firm conclusions, it is likely that the ASCAs, where little material support is provided and where the development path is clearly defined, turn out to be much stronger organizations than the other groups. If clear limits would have been defined on the support provided to groups and communities, the project could have worked with many more groups than the actual number of groups supported.

Income generating activities (Agrarian bank, animal bank etc.) were not being dealt with as economic activities, but as activities to be supported, which means that no hard economic criteria were applied for the support. Thus the funds provided to the agrarian and animal banks in Tambara were way beyond the needs and capacity of the groups and sooner or later this money will be lost. In fact it would have been preferable if those groups would have been financed by the FDD.

The way things stand the project probably could have been much more efficient in providing much less money to these groups. This not only would reduce the financial costs, but would also have resulted in leaner for control mechanisms for these activities.

4.3 Impact

Impact: Positive and negative impacts, short term and long term, direct and indirect benefits at different levels

To assess the impact is always difficult. At an individual level some lives improved. At the community level it is more difficult to conclude, although the introduction of new activities and perspectives (like in some cases horticulture) could open new way for some producers.

If development or poverty reduction is less an issue of having and more an issue of doing and being, probably the ASCAs of all activities are going to have the biggest impact because they provoke new dynamics in people increase self-confidence and pride, besides providing financial education.

The impact of the activities which aim to promote local economic development (agrarian bank, animal bank and banquistas) is practically zero.

The work with the IPCCs has and will have little impact on the lives of the target group, especially because the support concentrated on the members of the consultative councils while their functioning is above all determined by the state system. The behaviour of an individual or entity with some power depends to a large extend on checks and balances in place and the possibilities to circumvent the control mechanisms. The control over the system of decentralization should come from the communities (to check whether the community and its interests is properly being represented). As the communities were not targeted in a process of consciousness raising on the CCLs it is rather unlikely there will be permanent changes in the functioning of these IPCCs.

The CLGRCs, in the case of Tambara, had a considerable and direct impact in the context of the flooding.

4.4 Sustainability

Sustainability: Likelihood of continual benefits after the removal of the intervention.

The sustainability of the activities is not guaranteed. The majority of the groups remained dependent on the project and wait for the partners to solve their problems. Some examples: in Sambassoca, a group refuses to pay for the treatment of the goats which only would cost 10 and 15 Mts, in Nhacafula the horticulture producer group doesn't manage to organise themselves to buy a (foot) pump, while some individual members manage to buy them, the same happens with seed, the agrarian bank in Nhacafula waits for the project to pay for a mill while (at least

according to the official data) they have sufficient money to buy one themselves, horticulture producers wait for pesticides and don't organize themselves, while also not exploring traditional methods (which according to a study by Magariro do exist) while others are always waiting for the seed.

Whatever progress achieved needs policies which support and sustain the progress in order to really have an impact. Unfortunately the institutional and political context in Mozambique is not very favourable. E.g. the relations between groups and district services (especially the SDAEs) are weak or non existent, the destructive discharges of Cahora Bassa are not going to stop, forest exploration concessions (with natural resources being very important for the survival of the poor) continue to be handed out and in practice power appears to be increasingly centralized.

Besides this political context one might wonder whether the more or less functional system of CCLs will survive the end of the project. As the project funds, facilitates and closely follows the functioning of the CCLs and the ETDs, it might very well happen that when the partners withdraw themselves from these institutions the functioning worsens allegedly because of a lack of funds for the members to participate, but also because they would feel themselves under less scrutiny.

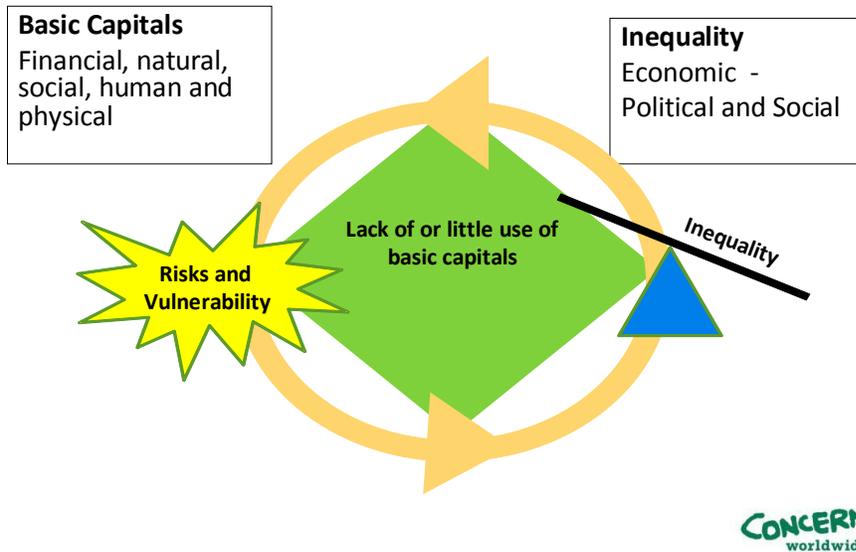


Former building of the CCL in Urima (AP Save, Machaze District). Currently the building is used by the local police.

4.5 The project and the policies and guidelines of Worldwide

The mission of Concern is to help people who live in absolute poverty to achieve significant improvements in their lives, sustainable improvements, which do not require continued support from Concern. In the perspective of Concern poverty can be visualized in the following way:

Dimensions of Absolute Poverty



Source: presentation of D. Evans, deputy director Concern Mozambique

To fulfil its mission, Concern works according to 5 basic principles:

- The target should be the people in absolute poverty
- Respect for people is primordial
- Gender equality is a prerequisite for development.
- Development is a process and not a given
- Bigger participation leads to bigger commitment of the target group.

Besides these principles, Concern developed a series of policies and themes to help translate its mission and its principles in programs and concrete activities. E.g. there are guidelines on social protection, HIV/AIDS, inequality, DRR and partnerships.

It is not always easy, within a program, to integrate all guidelines and policies of an organization, but we find that the project made a serious effort to respect all principles, guidelines and policies.

This can be seen in the partner selection, the efforts to reach the poorest and to reduce their vulnerability. This concern is also manifest in the efforts to integrate the cross cutting issues in the program and the activities which aim to increase participation of the beneficiaries, reduce economic and social inequality etc. E.g. the work with the CCLs can be understood as a strategy in the context of social protection.

4.6 General conclusion with regard to relevance effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability.

Summarizing one can conclude that:

- The relevance of the project is quite good. The project managed to reach the poor and vulnerable and their communities. The activities (both at concrete as on a political level) are relevant to reduce vulnerability a determining factor in poverty. The relevance could be improved if the communities would have been more involved in the analysis of their own situation and in the decisions on potential solutions to their problems.
- With regard to effectiveness and efficiency the project obtained mixed results. The activities which required relatively more funding achieved less concrete results (CCLs, agrarian bank). An important part of the explanation of this is that the project applied an approach which limited itself mainly to considering capacity mainly technical competencies. On the other hand it is very difficult for an NGO to work with government institutions which on the one hand can commit to the objectives of the project but at the same time have to comply with the logic of state hierarchy.
- The impact of the project is mainly visible at an individual household level. The groups are (still) too weak to have an impact at the community level.
- The sustainability of the results is doubtful given dependency of the groups on the project to ensure their functioning (lack of ownership of the groups). This situation is the result of the approach which was more guided by assistentialism than by development. The ASCAs might prove to be more sustainable than other groups

5. Analysis and conclusions on the weak and strong points of the operational structure and processes in relation to the effectiveness and efficiency of the project.

The project underwent a number of changes from the side of Concern: a decision was taken to stop direct implementation, which caused a lot of changes at the organisational level, but there were also a number of staff changes which in a certain way, put a strain on the relation with the partners and caused a loss of time because of the transfer of responsibilities to new people.

Not all staff of Concern was sufficiently qualified to provide the support partners needed. May be the changes also explain that there are no regular meetings on the activities in Tambara between Magariro, Concern and Oxfam Canada.

The current division is that Concern focuses on institutional development of the partners and the partners on the basis of their position and experience directly implement the activities in the field and maintain the relations at the district level.

The partners concentrate on the implementation of the activities and the reports on the activities. Quite some investment was made in the capacity building of the teams. One of the conclusions related to the methodological issues is that both teams (of AKSM and Magariro) showed good capacity to adopt new ideas like the ASCAs and the approach “changing the course of the river”

However there remained a gap in which both parties (Concern and local partners) should have a role. This is the part of reflection and analysis of the methodologies applied while working in the communities. The lack of this resulted in indicators which were not really operational, concepts (like e.g. sustainable agriculture) which were not profoundly analysed, a lack of integration of cross cutting issues in the analysis of the approaches and of the activities etc. For this type of reflection criteria used for evaluations could have been applied (relevance, effectiveness, efficiency etc.). Indirectly this lack of appropriate methods influenced the effectiveness and efficiency of the project.

The impression which remained with the consultant regarding this partnership is that significant investments were made into upward accountability in which all partners including Concern Mozambique tried to respond to demands from higher up, but that there is much less downward accountability, in other words that there is much less attention to the (institutional) needs of the lower levels. Thus the reports serve to satisfy certain needs, but much less as a moment of reflection on the project and its activities.

6 Strategic and program lessons for future project conception

6.1 Approaches and ways of working

To have a long term impact, one need methods and strategies which help people to take on their own responsibilities and which help them to find their own solutions. The ASCAs manage to do this (contrary to the groups of animal breeders and horticulture producers). As a strategy it could be interesting to start by supporting the formation of ASCAs and subsequently support initiatives which arise out of these groups, rather than have interventions more or less predefined.

There are several models which focus on the analytical part and on solutions developed by the “beneficiaries”. In agriculture e.g. important successes have been achieved by the Farmer Filed School Approach, which works both for general crop production as for prevention of pests or for the production of better adapted seeds and which slogan is “make the farmer expert of his own field”. The Farmer to farmer approach for sustainable agriculture systems is even less directed than the Farmer Field Schools and is based on the knowledge and interests of the farmers and is put in practice via exchanges of experience and field trials by which local solutions are

developed without predefined objectives or pre-established targets. There are studies which show that farmers applying technologies developed through this approach are more resilient when facing natural disasters (see e.g. Holt –Giménez, 2006).

Approaching the households as a productive entity is a form of analysis which allows for an analysis of the whole productive system to be able to provide effective help. One should do this analysis together with the beneficiaries and not as a study by external experts. The emphasis should be on that what the target (group) is interested in to improve in their situation rather than focus on what the project could do to improve the situation of the target (group).

The lack of such an analysis also explains why the issue of water and the issue of management of natural resources were not integrated in the project. Both issues determine to a large extent the resilience of the households (see Short 2007). Integrating these two issues would have helped to increase the relevance of the project.

Economic activities should be dealt with as economic activities. Climate insecurity, unstable markets, etc are all realities with which one should count and should not serve as excuses for continuously subsidising activities. If one decides to get involved in agricultural marketing (an extremely complicated issue in Mozambique) it is necessary to have a strict economic approach and based on loans, because if one is to make money by an activity in principle it should be possible to reimburse the starting capital. It is however very difficult for development organisation to manage such a “rural bank” approach.

It might be practical to work with groups, but this is not very easy. If one aims to work with groups, one should invest the functioning of the group and one should not presume that the people all by themselves will organize themselves in a functional group.

After all as one says, it is not easy to work in a group, one does it out of necessity and not for fun. According to the consultant, this is the main difference between the ASCAs on the one hand and the animal breeding groups on the other hand (with the horticulture groups somewhere in between). The animal breeders do not have another reason to be together but to receive goats from the project (for which one doesn't really have to do much together with the other group members), while the members of the ASCA depend on one and other in order to get loans, so they have a reason to be together. This means that the group members need a common objective for which they need each other to achieve it, being it impossible to achieve it alone.

Organisations function on the basis of institutionalized mistrust, which means that one should create control mechanisms, without this, there will be abuse and theft without fail.

Other frequent problems are emotional instability (it is necessary one learns to manage ones emotions (jealousy, anger etc) when one works in a group, the lack of cohesion (when the

members of a group have all very different interests, lives and perspectives) and the lack of communication.

The state has a very important role in the community (by its presence and by its absence too). The work on decentralization continues to be very important to the poor, although not necessarily always very visible or measurable. What needs to happen is that the state serves the interests of all its citizens (and not only of a few). This is not going to happen all by itself, it is necessary to demand and it is necessary to stop thinking that everything the state provides are favours. In other words it is needed a change in mentality in the communities. It could be interesting to analyse the possibilities to adapt the approach “changing the course of the river” for the issue of decentralization.

6.2 Themes and activities

Water

As mentioned water is an important issue in the two districts and has a big influence on the living conditions. This can be seen e.g. by the time especially women spend on fetching water. Time, which thus cannot be used for other, more productive, activities. Water in both districts came up as a priority in the discussions.

When talking about water, the first objective should be to improve the use of existing water both for human consumption (better quality) as for animal consumption (better management) and for agriculture (e.g. techniques like simple drip irrigation) to mitigate scarcity of water and improve its use.

Another way of facilitating access is to reduce the distances between the source of water and the place of consumption, not by constructing new water points, but by facilitating the transport of water, in particular for the more remote and poorer households. In Inhambane Oxfam Australia supports a project of mules for women¹⁹, which appears to function quite well. The mules facilitate transport when fetching water, but at the same time they can be a source of income. Bicycles are another very important means of transport for water.

The investment in the water sector in Mozambique has been enormous but problems continue unsolved with small supply systems and water pumps with a short lifespan and big maintenance problems.

The construction of new drinking water points is the first thought when dealing with the water issue. But often rehabilitation or construction of extremely deep and expensive boreholes and its equipment is very expensive (minimum costs are around USD 25.000 for a borehole and another USD 25.000 for the equipment). But one can also think of the construction rehabilitation of dams and cisterns which allow water to accumulate enough for 4 to 6 months (The NGO Caritas has a lot of experience with this in Machaze). The cisterns (for human consumption) can be individual

¹⁹ Mules were chosen exactly because traditionally cattle is the domain of men

or collective (schools, hospitals) there are also cisterns to catch run off water from roads which can be used for animal consumption or irrigation. In any case the construction of new water points always requires significant investments.

The issue of maintenance of water infra-structure is key and should be well analyzed. In practice a lot of communities have the wrong people in the water committees for maintenance (or sometimes there are no people at all left in the committee) and the system of regular contributions doesn't work because of a lack of trust²⁰ (justified by previous experiences). In the North of Mozambique Helvetas tries to apply the approach of ASCAs, which works very much on transparency and aims to build trust, on the formation of the water committees. With regard to the "local technicians", it would be better to change the usual system of creation of the committees. One should first train a big group from the community and after some "examination" the community should select the most best to become the technicians of the community.

Natural Resources

In both districts natural resources are threatened by concessions to loggers. The forest plays an important part in the food security of poor people (forest fruits, hunting and income generation).

Mechanisms were created for the communities to be consulted and to be compensated (among others by the famous decree on 20%).

What misses is a collective conscience for the management of these resources. There are almost no norms and regulations with regard to the management of natural resources at community level in Mozambique. Nevertheless there are some interesting experiences in community management in which the resources are demarcated, norms and regulations are agreed in the community and a system of community control is created.

There is an important project by iTC with regard to the demarcation of land in Mozambique (and Manica) and Magariro already has contacts with them (Cotula et al., 2010).

Another element of this work is to determine which levels of exploration are sustainable and to identify non timber forest products which might become a source of revenue for the communities. E.g. there are areas where the Baobab fruits are sold to companies to be used in the production of cosmetics, but without doubt there will be other possibilities.

Seed

Several groups of horticulture producers mentioned problems with access to seed. However not only for horticulture there are problems with seed. In general seed available in the market is not well adapted to the local growing conditions in Machaze and Tambara, and for some crops no seed is available in the market as is the case of millet and sorghum.

²⁰ It is easy to understand the lack of trust of the members of the community, because there have been innumerable problems with the management of the contributions.

Nevertheless seed improvement (or the adaptation of seed to the local conditions) is an important factor in guaranteeing a minimum of production and also in the costs of production.

There are several experiences around the world (often using the Farmer Field School approach), in which the farmers produce and improve their own seed. Some even manage to turn this into an income generating activity. The production and exchange (important for the development of new varieties) of seeds can be stimulated e.g. by the organisation of local seed fairs. (see Bakker and Teyssier 2010).

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Annexes