The Periphery as the Centre: Trajectories of Responsibility and Community Support in Contemporary Maputo, Mozambique

University of Cape Town

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Abstract:

Development researchers have long held a belief that developed states use their power to provide Aid or other forms of external assistance such as private philanthropy, assistance of Non-Governmental Organisations, and other private financing to underdeveloped, or developing, nations to achieve global economic and political stability. Development scholars (including geographers) have largely attributed this to a sense of responsibility. Many have assumed this assistance to travel in one direction, i.e. from Global North to Global South, thus overlooking the modalities of care and hospitality among individuals within countries of the Global South. In this thesis, I posit that looking at everyday modes of assistance at the community level would challenge scholars to re-think the ways in which place matters in development. Analysing qualitative data gathered through interviews and focus groups in two neighbourhoods in Maputo, Mozambique, this study is ultimately an investigation of proximity. I argue that the closeness of people in these complex community relationships matters in three ways: (i) the everyday practices of assistance in these communities are modes of resistance to an oppressive state; (ii) forms of assistance serve as expressions of local (as opposed to national) identity; and (iii) religious institutions play a significant role in fostering public discourse, rather than motivating assistance itself. In speaking more specifically about how proximity matters, this study contributes uniquely to the growing realisation that development must come from within.

Chapter I: Introduction

Over the course of two years of study, this qualitative research project examined two communities in Maputo and how the local infrastructure of community assistance was understood, enacted upon, and conceptualised by its people. It analysed and examined the relationships that exist between ideas of responsibility, and the ways in which these ideas challenged notions of identity and development. The analysis and examination focused on paying attention to local voices and actions across both research sites to develop a comprehensive picture of local life through community giving. As a qualitative study, the project relied on the narratives and experiences of the people themselves to tell stories of space and place in a part of the world that is rarely analysed or examined.

Background of the Study:

The complexities of relationships of assistance between the Global North and Global South are ones that challenge us to think about what it means to want to help others, how this help might be important to our senses of self, and why this matters in a postcolonial world. It is not enough to simply understand that help 'should' be provided to 'others' for a variety of reasons; it is critical that those who enact this help understand the wide variety of issues at play that contribute to the complexity of assistance in the modern day. This doctoral research study came about as a continuation of research conducted at New York University from 2011-2013. My initial interest was in learning about who was already thinking about African communities and how they have been surviving and thriving for centuries without any outside intervention. I was also interested in the ways in which community members enacted assistance on a broad scale[1]. This research posited that lessons could be gleaned from looking at ways in which communities in the Global South engage in their own activities of 'self-development.'

This dissertation study focuses directly on the issue of responsibility: how people at the community level rather than state level conceptualise responsibility for others in their communities, and what this means to many Development practitioners who have focused on the impact of external intervention. It also attempts to provide a more specific analysis at the micro level of community attitudes and assumptions about ideas of 'help,' rather than a

[1] The 'broad scale' referred to refers to refers to scale beyond immediate family units

broad-based view of African philanthropy[2], as some scholars have done previously. The initial literature review, conducted about the scale of philanthropy in southern Africa, showed a thriving discussion on what it means to give; how to encourage a more structured approach to helping others based on the southern African philosophy of *Ubuntu*[3], and how this is increasingly possible because of the African continent's recent wealth. Absent were the voices of Africans in the debate – particularly poorer Africans who, in a variety of contexts across the continent, were asked by the wider 'development' and 'philanthropy' community to abandon traditional modes of support in their own localities for a more nationalized and even global mode of giving. An analysis of the idea of 'philanthropy' as defined in the Development discourse and why it was found to be inadequate in the research sites for this study is further detailed in the Methods chapter of this study.

This absence is precisely why looking at the driving force – responsibility for others – matters in its formation and manifestation at the community level. It is this kind of community engagement that challenges the one-directional, top-down assistance narrative. Additionally, notions of a ubiquitous responsibility amongst Africans is also tested, and it forces scholars to acknowledge that place matters greatly in understanding grassroots assistance. Connecting two somewhat separate conversations about Development and community responsibility creates an opportunity to analyse behaviour within a context and offers a solid contribution on responsibility and its meaning in the Global South[4]. The conversation must be steered, it is posited, from the distant caring of 'others' to one of proximity: careful examination of practices at the local level provide insight, not previously analysed, into why responsibility matters in Maputo and elsewhere.

Contribution to Literature:

This dissertation utilized and synthesized several bodies of literature, mainly within Geographic and Development disciplines, to adequately contribute to a rich discourse on responsibility, assistance, identity, and the complex socio-political realities of Development discussions. Undertaken in Geography, the study situates itself at the intersection of ongoing

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[2] The term 'philanthropy' when used in this text is describing a more organised, structured and strategic giving strategy where wealth is transferred from those perceived as 'wealthy' to those perceived as being 'in need.'

[3] This philosophy, originating in the Xhosa community in southern Africa, loosely translates in English to "I Am, Because You Are."

[4] For the purposes of uniformity, the term Global South will be used when referring to locations within developing countries. The same will be true of using the Global North, rather than West to refer to developed country contexts.

conversations about the relationship between Development and geography's 'ethical turn.' Geographic studies have looked at the ways in which space and place matter to concepts of care and 'the everyday' in community settings.

However, these settings are predominantly in the Global North. Additionally, scholars have looked at the idea of 'geographies of responsibility,' where ideas about place govern who people might have concern for and why. Some work has been done on addressing how caring for the 'distant other' has problematically been attributed solely to people of the Global North, however more must be done to identify what drives responsibility notions in the South.

Development studies discourses provide a mainly one-directional narrative within which to view interventions for the sake of outcomes. Focuses include effectiveness of aid interventions, complexities surrounding political and economic motivations for the Development project writ large, and a growing amount of literature that expresses the challenges with implementing aid projects in the face of growing security challenges globally. However, the underpinning construct here is that, regardless of the motivations for the Aid being distributed, a sense of responsibility is what is causing these actions to take place. Even Development geographers who have highlighted the 'shifting geographies' of donor countries, as states such as Brazil and South Africa become economically powerful enough to begin to contribute to Aid as opposed to receive it, have paid less attention to what is happening more locally within communities in the Global South. Geographical research on 'moral geographies' and 'geographies of responsibility' provide important theoretical tools to analyse local communities with more specificity than traditional Development Studies narratives. They ground the discussion in space and place in a way that the scholarship of traditional Development has not. This is important for understanding the contextual realities that inform Development as well as the relationships that are critical to advancing any social, economic, or philanthropic aim.

This study contributes a nexus point using both important bodies of literature to understand how local communities function. That is, looking at these giving practices allows for an understanding of the geographies of responsibility at work in the Global South, and how or why they have been misunderstood or ignored by scholars discussing Development. While some work has begun to develop concepts of African 'philanthropy,' (Mahomed 2014; Moyo & Akin Aina 2013; Habib & Maharaj 2008) and even the giving practices of low income communities (Wilkinson-Maposa 2005; Murenha & Chili 2011), the work tends to fall into two main categories of academic inquiry.

The first is that explaining African philanthropy within a traditional framework of the Northern concept of 'philanthropy' reflects an organised or structured charitable giving process driven to achieve certain outcomes, and is sometimes motivated by tax benefits for wealthy individuals or groups. The second is broad-based studies on community practices of 'help,' which focus primarily on the processes and motivations for giving rather than the ways in which this giving may be reflective of understandings about community members. Additionally, because these large-scale studies are concerned with developing explanations for assistance that can be broadly applied, the nuances of cultural experience and physical place in a community are not paid enough attention to. Without this attention, there is the potential to replicate narratives about assistance that do not do justice to those who enact it, and who receive it.

Purpose of the Study:

The aim of this project is to demonstrate the problematic absence of attention paid to local communities in discourses of responsibility and the ways in which this responsibility is manifested. It also will demonstrate the critical role identity plays in influencing assistance at the community level, rather than the simplified notion employed by some that survival in poverty may be one of the only driving motivations (Sachs 2005). Narrowing the focus of the study itself to communities and the institutions formed within them provides a perspective from which to examine how self-development and its practices relate directly to the identity that these community members ascribe to themselves. This study demonstrates that self-development and assistance at the community level is both directly influenced by community identity rather than national identity, as well as a type of resistance to state authority. What was initially a discussion around giving and responsibility becomes a discussion and vantage point from which to look at national and local senses of self, and how these identities are born out of a historical and social context that is complex and diverse.

Research Objectives:

Several research objectives guided the execution of this study.

The objectives utilized in support of the research aim discussed above were:

- To understand and analyse the ways in which geographical and development studies have imagined and theorised the idea of local responsibility as a motivator for assistance at the community level to identify where the theoretical gap remains;
- To describe and define local concepts and practices of assistance through examining local community organisations within communities in Maputo, Mozambique;

- To explore the motivations and conceptualisations behind acts of support among community members in the field research sites and what types of complexities are at work in developing them;
- To shed light on behaviour in two Mozambican communities that may speak to Development literature about how assistance is perceived and enacted, as well as in the Geographic literature about the relationship between identity and 'geographies of responsibility.'

Methodology:

Much like other African cities, Maputo presents challenges to any researcher. Access to populations may require authorization from a wide array of government authorities, which may or may not be clear at the beginning of the study, language barriers, and few or no records for local institutions. To address these challenges, qualitative approaches were used to gain further information about individuals and communities in the study, but also to document deficits in information on civil society in Mozambique generally. This includes individual interviews, and participant observation alongside focus groups alongside textual and transcript deconstruction and analysis. To maximize the depth of research, the study focused on identifying and working with local institutions from the two research sites, the people who are affiliated with these institutions, and important figures in Mozambican life as indicated both by literature-based research as well as recommendations from other interview subjects. Data was collected using focus groups with supplemental interviews to engage the maximum number of participants in a community group setting. The supplemental interviews allowed for further investigation based on the results of the focus groups themselves, but also on recommendations from community members and other stakeholders. The included institutions were faith-based, grassroots, and formal and informal groups such as women's groups and small business organizations.

During the process of identifying and working with each institution, the study unearthed both a sense of what types of institutions are organically formed and sustained in the two neighbourhoods chosen, as well as the priorities and values of those who are involved with them. One particularly strong restriction to the choice of involving institutions in the study was that each institution must be locally managed and funded by local people or organisations. This limitation is imperative to the study, as many international nongovernmental organisations operate in neighbourhoods; however, with international funding, they have less relevance to a discussion about community giving than those operating within the community itself.

The field research sites were chosen for several reasons which will be covered in-depth in the Context & Methodology chapter. The two neighbourhoods, Mafalala and Zimpeto, are considered part of the Maputo urban periphery. Mafalala is an old neighbourhood located in the *suburbios*, or area of the former colonial city where mainly poorer Mozambicans tend to live. It was chosen both for its location – closer to the city centre and accessible via local transport – as well as its historical resonance. Mafalala is considered the birthplace of the liberation movement of Mozambique against the Portuguese colonial power[5]; several key government leaders were born and raised in Mafalala and it is given relative importance in the narrative of the country. Zimpeto, on the other hand, is located on the periphery of the city, demonstrating the realities borne by increased urbanisation in Maputo over the past decade. The neighbourhood has been created out of a dwindling housing stock in more established areas, causing newer arrivals to settle further out from the central business areas. As a geographical area that is still emerging in many ways, Zimpeto provides an interesting contrast to the established place of Mafalala.

In-depth discussion of participant recruitment will be detailed in the methodological chapter. However, as explained here, institutions provided a critical entry point for study. They allowed for access to community members that may have otherwise been challenging, and helped to host focus group discussions, encouraging participation by a greater number of people. Additionally, they tended to attract a wide variety of age groups and genders, as well as other differentiating characteristics among the research sample. The commonality shared by those members was a familiarity, if not affiliation, with the institution. Developing relationships with the community-based organisations also built credibility of the project amongst other agencies peripheral to the study focus, including local government agencies. Both focus groups and individuals interviewed answered distinct predetermined questions that were uniform across the study.

The development and assessment of these questions will be discussed further in the Context & Methodology chapter. Individual interviews were conducted through snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldrf 1981), which encouraged participants in focus groups to recommend and provide suggestions regarding who might be important to interview. This was yet another opportunity to observe not only the responses of participants to interview questions, but also give thought to how recommendations might demonstrate something about perceptions related to the research objectives around responsibility and assistance. The

[5] Note: When reference made to ‘liberation’ in this text, it should be clear that the author means liberation against colonial rule, rather than a particular group of people

questions for focus groups were slightly different than questions designed for individual interviews. Copies of both interview tools are included as appendices to this dissertation.

Limitations & Assumptions in Research Design

This qualitative study had several operating limitations and assumptions that are important to understanding the overall research process. Some are shared across many studies conducted in the Global South (Heer 2015; Jenkins 2009), and others are more specific to the experience of this work. The overarching factors include:

Language: Though the official language of Mozambique is Portuguese, and rate of Portuguese speakers in the south of the country is quite high,[i] there are still several language groups present. Translation from Portuguese to English was unnecessary, as I am fluent in Portuguese, however translation from any other language such as Xironga into Portuguese was a crucial step. It was not a dominant limitation in the results of this study, however, as post-independence Mozambique has only recently begun to mandate instruction in non-colonial languages in public schools. Several post-independence generations speak only one language fluently, and that language is Portuguese.

Government Access: Mozambique has been, and is increasingly becoming, restrictive in dissemination of government information, and access to archival documents and to government institutions was critical, albeit a challenge. Throughout my doctoral research, I worked with several government members and developed working relationships in the Maputo municipality. I also could facilitate access to staff members from government agencies through connections made with grassroots organisations who participated in the study. Ultimately, the issue of government access goes beyond methodological limitations. This will be addressed in the data analysis chapters of this dissertation.

Positionality: In the human geography discourse, looking at 'positionality' or potential 'operational bias' is integral to discussing the methodology of any type of qualitative study (Ganga & Scott 2006; Rose 1997).[6] Acknowledging my own role as a foreign female

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[6] 'Situation' on the part of the researcher is also thoroughly discussed, particularly as it relates to geographers' ideas of bridging the divide between researcher and participant. Ganga and Scott's work on positionality has been particularly relevant to this study, as it directly addresses how power dynamics between 'insider' and 'outsider' interviews both affect the data coming out of a study, but also how the data can thus be understood. They term 'insider' research to be 'social interviews conducted 'between researchers and participants who share a similar cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national and religious heritage.' (Ganga & Scott, 2006) For these scholars in particular, having an insider researcher provides a way to look at aspects that bind people together as well as dividing people across communities (or even 'imagined communities' that may not exist.) The idea of being a 'cultural insider' thus affects

researcher who has lived and worked in Mozambique for several years, and who is married to a Mozambican, is a critical component to assuming and understanding my own positionality. In a study like this, which was focused on looking at community life in urban Maputo, positionality and the willingness of people to discuss their lived experience with me was critical. In some ways, my connections with Mozambique provided credibility, and in others I was still viewed through the optics of an outsider. This will be further elaborated upon in the Methodology chapter.

Thesis Outline:

This study is organised into a comprehensive literature review, a context and methodology discussion, and several analytical chapters that weave together both historical context information and the results of this qualitative study. Chapter Two, the literature review, will examine the main bodies of scholarship that have contributed to a discussion on responsibility, its relationship to space and place, and the contribution its understanding makes to Development literature through the lens of community giving in the Global South. The review identifies a critical gap in our understanding of what motivates community giving in these localities, and more specifically how these realities inform ideas about postcolonial identity and responsibility for the 'other.' Through the utility of reviewing these related bodies of literature together and analysis of these sometimes-separate dialogues, a third point of discussion emerged: assistance and responsibility ultimately leads to a discussion of identity. This is not just a sense of self, but also a sense of self in relation to others, tying the threads of members of a community to each other through actions motivated by the desire to assist or take responsibility.

Chapter Three serves as a Context & Historical Background chapter. This chapter contextualises the study geographically with a discussion of the political and social history of the country, examining briefly the colonial period and the subsequent fight for independence, civil war, through to present day. Chapter Four is the Methodology chapter, addressing the challenges and opportunities presented by working in a context like Mozambique, including how recruiting participants – individual and institutional – provided a diverse array of participants in the in-depth focus groups and individual interviews at both field sites. It explains the rationale for the field research choices, the process of conducting the focus

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positionality, and ultimately, can provide easy access to subjects with a caveat that content of qualitative interviews may be affected.

groups and interviews, and the ways in which the sampling methodology helped to bring a more well-rounded picture of community life in these two neighbourhoods.

Chapters Five through Seven are the analytical chapters of this dissertation, which will look at the culmination of 18 months of field research that took place during 2014-2015. Chapter Five looks at the issues of national versus local identity that were borne from the data and their important relationship to community assistance. Local identity, per data collected in this study, plays a much more dominant role in community lives than national identity despite a long history of crafting a national identity by the dominant political party in power. This local identity unifies community members beyond divisions of religion, ethnicity, or geographic origin and serves as a critical component of conceptualising and enacting assistance locally. Chapter Six looks at the concept of 'Assistance as a form of Resistance,' where data points to community members using forms of help not only to address challenges in their neighbourhoods, but more directly to resist the dominant state apparatus. In Chapter Seven, I examine the role of faith-based institutions, and how their contribution to this discussion may not be where some Development scholars may traditionally expect: religious institutions in these two communities provide safe space to engage in behaviour that circumvents state dominance and suppression, rather than provide motivation for assistance and grassroots giving mechanisms.

In the conclusion, I will look at how this study challenges narratives of one-directional assistance in Development scholarship, and make the case for contextualisation and understanding of space and place when looking at communities in the Global South. I will also discuss the need for further research in the form of community studies that conduct 'on the ground' empirical data collection and analysis to better understand the opinions and identities of those development actors are attempting to help. These communities are resource-rich in their own unique ways, and it is imperative that an understanding of their position join the Development debate. I also make the case for why geographers are, among other social scientists, particularly poised to take up this research because of their keen interest in linking issues of responsibility with space and place.

Chapter II: Review of the Literature

As a field of study, Development operates as a discourse grounded in issues related to responsibility. Scholars from several disciplines, including Economics, Sociology, and Anthropology are present in many forms in this work, analysing the notion that nations in the world have a responsibility to 'develop' other underdeveloped states. This bilateral relationship is a complex one, and it is one that has deepened over the course of the twentieth and early twenty-first century. One of the problematic aspects of this relationship is the constructed narrative that Development is mainly one-directional, representing outside interventions that converge upon an issue, area, or context for a specific aim or objective. The neglect of the voices of the Global South, and most specifically their importance in understanding Development more broadly, has crafted a perspective that removes issues of community and identity from the discourse. Even Development geographers who bring to bear Geographic theories on aid flows are examining the Global South from a macro lens. There is a definitive gap between those who feel this responsibility to enact 'Development' and those who live in the communities on the receiving end of these actions.

Geography does, however, provide helpful theoretical tools for examining why local voices are needed in understanding the development trajectory. The work scholars have done on geographies of care, proximity, and responsibility have all shown a distinct ethical turn in the field. Geographers themselves are paying close attention to how ethics matter in relation to space and place. This discussion of 'moral geography' provides a prism through which to see community giving in the Global South, and to analyse it in a way that directly counters the dominant Development narrative. It asks the scholar to pay attention to issues of proximity and closeness in physical space, obliging the analysis to contextualise itself more specifically and concretely.

This literature review will begin with a discussion of the themes in Development studies that have crafted a problematic narrative, the latter of which describes most forms of assistance coming from North to South, motivated by responsibility for distant 'others.' The idea that developed states assume certain practices out of a sense of responsibility, has propagated a view of interaction with Global South actors that is imposed from the outside. This chapter will also address the way a wide variety of Development actors have perceived help and assistance, and how this has added to the construct of passivity by southern actors in their own lives. The chapter will tackle the issue within this discourse around 'shifting geographies of development,' a term referring to economic realities which challenge the

notion that wealthy nations with the capacity to assist others only exist in the North. The chapter will then address the themes drawn on in geography of proximity and space, and how they have failed to speak directly to issues facing Southern actors who find themselves in vastly different contexts to those in the Global North that have not been adequately analysed. It will also look at how geographers have dealt with issues of responsibility and care. Finally, the chapter will explore how community giving, and more specifically the themes drawn out in analysing this practice in developing country contexts, can be a very helpful lens through which to have this important cross-disciplinary dialogue between Geographers and Development scholars. Looking at community assistance provides a frame for further analysis of identity, community politics, and themes of organising and resistance at the community level.

Aid as Development:

Development, as noted with a capital 'D' in most scholarly work, is a distinct field that has greatly influenced the context of my study. One problem with Development studies has been its relative isolation. While covering vast amounts of scholarly territory with its content (Human Geography, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, and Political Science), the discussions between those practicing Development, known as 'development practitioners' and those analysing it from the macro level tend to be relatively limited. As put by James Ferguson in his critique of interventions in Lesotho in 1990, '…it appears self-evident that debtor Third World nation-states and starving peasants share a common "problem," that both lack a single "thing:" "development"' (Ferguson 1990). Additionally, the area of 'Development Studies' and its meaning varies across locations globally; many western contexts understand this subject area to be an analysis of the Global South in relation to the Global North, assuming a power relationship that situates the agency firmly in the North (Parnell 2014). However, it is this exact spatiality that must be challenged firmly and decisively. The idea that one must study Development from the perspective of the developed, that is Global North, removes all action and even responsibility from countries that are still developing.

Development as a discourse has assumed the Global South's need of the North's assistance, both in terms of the financial support given to achieve certain socioeconomic targets, but also in designing interventions. Jeffrey Sachs, author of several books on Development since 2006, is one of the ultimate symbols of this type of discourse. In works like *The End of Poverty*, Sachs describes and ascribes a long list of potential development interventions that states can adopt to avoid continuing along a debt-ridden path to success in

the international economic space (Sachs 2006, 2008). What is missing here? Firstly, the issue of motivation: why should more wealthy actors find development a concern to their own path? Secondly, the issue of autonomy: how can we assume as practitioners, scholars, and even global citizens that the aspects needed for intervention can be standardized and imposed? One of Sachs' own suggestions, the development of what came to be known as 'Millennium Villages,'[7] are a somewhat glaring example of this: locations chosen by Sachs and other 'experts' where interventions to improve nutrition, agricultural output, education, climate change preparedness, sanitation practices, and more were put into place. Millennium Promise and The Earth Institute at Columbia University in the United States, Sachs' academic home, funded the Villages themselves under the ambitious aim of 'ending extreme poverty worldwide.[8]' It is precisely this type of intervention that reinforces the notion that Northern states have responsibilities to generate outcomes from their Development activities that will satisfy a sense of accomplishment or progress that is determined at a distance.

The process of 'doing development' has been heavily influenced by economists, such as Sachs, who have utilized their macro view of the world order to predict the success and failure of different economic and social interventions. While the synthesis of many ideas scholars have about the trajectory from 'developing' to 'developed' is challenged, it is widely agreed upon that this path must come from a capitalist model of free-market economics (Seers 1969; Dang & Pheng 2015). Notions about the utility of capitalism in providing universal explanations for social or economic progress should be challenged, and more specifically, should be interrogated using a lens that pays attention to how this agenda is enacted on local communities (Gibson-Graham 2006). However, what is most interesting about some scholars challenging the idea that capitalism creates Development in the Global South, is what it has inspired: a crafted narrative where what matters is not the overall philosophy, but its implementation. This idea means that capitalist growth is the ultimate indicator, and Development may be as simple as wide variations on how we get there.

The assumption of the capitalist model has produced a proliferation of literature analysing macro-level empirical data in developing countries, painting a picture of a

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[7] The Millennium Villages project budgets investments of $120/year per estimated beneficiary, collected through private donors and philanthropists, foreign governments and aid organisations, and in some instances the participation of national governments in the countries involved. It is evaluated by contracted program evaluators who measure the impact of the interventions against the Millennium Development Goals developed through the United Nations.

[8] http://millenniumvillages.org/

developing world that was desperate to keep up with its more developed counterparts. Theorists posited that Development was more than its impact on labour flows and economic growth overall; it required improvements in income distribution, the built environment, healthcare and education (Stiglitz 1998). Scholar Amartya Sen, among others, assisted in the mid-1990's in creating the Human Development Index, a measure adopted by the United Nations to measure the indices of Development that could be measured and calculated (Fukuda-Parr 2003). This measurement added an 'Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index' in 2010, which claimed to measure the 'potential for development' in addition to the status quo in certain country contexts (Klugman 2010).[9] Additionally, the World Bank has created algorithms to synthesize its own data into a report on 'World Development Indicators[10]' from each of its member states. Increasing in sophistication over the course of a decade, this mechanism allowed Development scholars and practitioners access to real-time data as measured by national governments and bilateral aid agencies. Factors on the World Development Indicators include 1,410 measurements of Development, as defined by the World Bank. These indicators include everything from access to electricity to death rates, to fossil fuel consumption.

They also helped give birth to a Development sector that was increasingly captivated by and motivated to act because of data. This was data measured by institutions in the Global North about countries worldwide through a lens of definitions agreed upon by Development experts. Academics reacted to this positively across the discipline, further integrating numbers and measurement into their assessments that countries – particularly postcolonial states – had a lot of catching up to do. What was not obvious, however, was the path forward. How would these postcolonial nations get there, and what was the responsibility of those countries with incredibly high scores to help them along the way? The dividing line is a stark one: Development economists have placed themselves firmly on opposing sides of whether Aid in Development is inherently good or problematic. The important thing, however, is that the narrative of responsibility remains intact. Developed states bear responsibility for developing ones, according to this thinking; yet, we will come to learn that the nature of this responsibility is contested.

[9] http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/270/hdr_2010_en_complete_reprint.pdf
[10] http://databank.worldbank.org/data/

In recent decades, developed states that agree with the positive impact of Aid have been forced to justify in metrics the exact benefits enacted by the humanitarian system.[11] Even Sachs, as illustrated by his Millennium Villages Project, has argued in influential venues such as the United Nations and halls of government, that 'the first cut at the problem—the simplest but still eye-opening—is to ask how much income would have to be transferred from rich countries to poor countries to lift all of the world's extreme poor to an income level sufficient to meet basic needs' (Sachs 2006). This idea is simple enough: wealth transfers from one economy to the next in the form of Aid. Sachs' reinforcement of a status quo in *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*, albeit with further attention paid to the conditions on the ground, has been the text utilised by Development practitioners to justify interventions over the long-term. Sharing in the view that Aid is utilised improperly and that outside intervention and assistance continue to be the answer is economist Paul Collier, whose works have detailed significant steps in this regard.

Much of Collier's response to the need for Aid is related to conflict and to the political obstacles that perpetuate it, rather than the humanitarian sector itself (Collier 1998). He searches for solutions in stemming ethnic conflicts (1998), and in the need for Aid to continue economic growth, which will ultimately end civil war (2004). His seminal and most widely read work, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It* focuses on the need for Aid to not only stimulate economic growth, but to sway public opinion in favour of progressive economic and political policies (2007). The responsibility for intervention, per these pro-Aid thinkers, still lies with developed nations; however, the populations affected and their realities must now be consulted.

Beginning in the mid-2000's, scholars such as William Easterly of New York University, who co-founded the school's Development Research Institute,[12] levelled serious critiques at the economics of Aid publicised by the likes of Sachs and Collier. This has included challenging the positive effects of Aid on free market production in-country (Moyo 2009; Easterly 2001), as well as the overall notion that Development agencies sufficiently understand the implications for high stakes economic intervention. The idea pervading these

[11] The phrase 'humanitarian system' refers to the complex infrastructure that exists to deliver humanitarian relief and assistance during periods of emergency, disaster response, and over time to enact Development in the Global South. This term is sometimes used as a synonym for the United Nations' 'cluster system,' which describes an infrastructure in place to deliver Aid through international non-government organisations (NGOs) and grassroots organisations.
[12] http://www.nyudri.org

works, as summed up nicely by a reviewer of the Easterly text, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*, is that 'the West – from colonial days through to the modern era of aid – has favoured "planners" rather than "searchers,"' (Maxwell 2006). These planners represent Aid agencies of all sorts; however, the critique is particularly harsh against NGOs. This view is shared by several other academics, who have directly countered the Aid reality (Andrews 2009; Riddell 2014; Burnside & Dollar 2000, Abuzeid 2009). New discourses emerged on the need for new ways of thinking about the Aid system, and the ways in which it has failed to bring about the equity promised in the post-colonial era. Laid against the backdrop of the economic crisis of 2008 in the West, these shifting opinions reflected one major claim: Aid has done little, and while we, the Global North, have a moral imperative to help, we no longer are seeing 'value' for money – particularly in contexts where authoritarian regimes and corruption are the norm (Deaton 2015; Marriage 2015; Fantini & Puddu 2015). More specifically, scholars, such as those cited above, that view Aid as 'problematic' have been convincing in their portrayal of the humanitarian actors (United Nations agencies, NGOs, and other private donors) as operating ineffectively. They do not, however, offer much in the way of an alternative path (Easterly, 2007).

Interventions and their successes and failures have been documented by a wide-ranging variety of authors, including non-academics in reports by international NGOs and other important development players, such as the United Nations, International Monetary Fund, and World Bank. Many ways that developed countries have tried to assist in developing others has been through the introduction of economic interventions Western economists have deemed sound; that is, the interventions themselves will integrate the developing marketplace into the rest of the modern economy (Ferguson 1990). The promises of the results, however, go far beyond the economic. Words such as 'values and alternatives,' 'improved self-reliance,' and 'contribution to national quality of life' are not uncommon when describing the potential outcomes for these initiatives (Ferguson 1990, Thurow 2013). Much as the development index sought to measure much more than economic growth as development studies evolved, so did critics begin to level further attacks on these promises. Could raising a GDP ensure that all development factors were addressed? Critics of the humanitarian system decisively countered that no, they could not (Munk 2013). Some believed that the question of Aid effectiveness could only be tackled by making it more like a scientific experiment with hard data reinforcing outcome decisions.

Leading the way in this field were scholars Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo, whose work *Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty* promoted the use of randomized case trials to test the effectiveness of Development interventions (Banerjee & Duflo 2011). They paid attention to the need for data to speak for itself, and ultimately for these results to fuel the creation of Development benchmarks. They explain, 'It might therefore be better for the decentralization to be designed by a centralized authority, with the interest of the less advantaged or less powerful in mind. Power to the people, but not all the power.' Responsibility was still recognised as something coming from the outside, but the specifics of action taken would come from analysing hard empirical data. As previously discussed, the use of data to justify external intervention has become the problematic norm for those engaged in these types of discussions on Aid effectiveness.

Other scholars asserted that politics and the fates of the political systems in specific countries were critical to improving the Aid structure. This idea assumes that there is more involved in the decisions to provide Aid than just a sense of responsibility or postcolonial guilt. In fact, 'Self-interest, as opposed to rhetorical support of democracy, is an obvious donor rationale that explains assistance to authoritarian regimes' (Hagmann & Reyntjens 2016). The idea that Aid is governed by self-interest of donor states is nothing new (Morten Jerve & Selbervik 2009; Uvin 1992; Coughlan 2014; Civelli, Horowitz & Teixeira 2014). Self-interest may mean several things, including a desire to exert military or economic power, as well as an overarching need to exert 'influence,' if loosely defined (Wohlgemuth 2008; Kevlihan & Biglaiser 2014). Some contend that the idea that Aid comes from anything aside from self-interest is an 'illusion' (Baron 1997), adding yet another layer to the reality that conceptualising Aid as a fundamental exercise in responsibility should be contextualised and contested.

Despite the two distinct sides that the Aid debate in Development has taken, the unifying factor has been that Aid is something that should be improved, rather than torn down completely. Even Aid's biggest critics advocate for improving and streamlining it, rather than taking it apart (Nussbaum 2011; Deaton 2015). The harshest media accounts of how Aid 'is hurting Africa' concede that '…few will deny that there is a clear moral imperative for humanitarian and charity-based aid to step in when necessary' (Moyo 2009). It is precisely this impetus, which drives the one-directional narrative. Taking expert opinion in lieu of community ones, and listening to institutions formed on the outside rather than indigenously created, have also formed and propagated this. Critics of Development studies have expressed to a certain extent the ways in which Aid is used to exert political and

economic agendas (Korf 2007), while also continuing to use the same actors in their discussions. These actors are typically Western governments, foundations, UN agencies, and NGOs (Mawdsley 2011; Rowlands 2008) who may need improvement, but should remain involved. Here, I contend that the core debate is whether Aid should be eliminated – I do not believe that it wholly should. I also am not arguing for a specific methodology of assistance based on data or other measures of effectiveness. While these debates are important, they serve to reinforce a distinct narrative. I am arguing that what is critical to a more nuanced discussion in Development discourse is the overall impression that responsibility guides these actions, and that the responsibility at the local level matters little, if at all, in achieving goals dictated from outside entities.

Shifting Geographies:

Although the world economy has made significant shifts in the postcolonial era, countries in the Global North continued to focus on Development steadfastly using the one-directional narrative. It is around this narrative that other realities began to take shape. Developing postcolonial countries such as India, Brazil, and South Africa became known as booming economies, throwing the hegemony of what it means to be 'developed' into transition. Emma Mawdsley is one of the scholars who has been formulating an explanation about the geography of Aid and how it is shifting. She, among others, is interested in how the international Development world is changing because of altered economic geographies. That is, countries that were former recipients of donor Aid are now in economic positions to become the donors themselves. These scholars, who have looked at the way in which the world is changing in terms of who participates in Development through Aid and why, continue to focus on larger issues at the macro level. This includes looking at the topics at work, including the rising economies of developing countries, and the development of stronger institutions in the Global South (Mawdsley 2014). Mawdsley delves into the potential 'moral imperative' that countries may feel to help one another through her analysis of Marcel Mauss' early 1950's work 'The Gift,' and explains that this might contribute to the current - and shifting - international Aid structure (Mawdsley 2012; Mauss 1925). This idea is an interesting one: the donors and recipients are changing, and therefore the decisions about who needs help, what type of help should be provided, and why are also up for debate.

What is apparent from this thread of Development scholarship is that it cannot be separated from the overall Aid debate. To understand the ways geographies of Aid are changing, the one-directional narrative is still critical. This means that even though economic

structures are empowering states in the Global South to generate money that may be used for Aid, the perceptions among most scholars remain locked into the notion that the moral imperative of North to South remains a driving motivator (Lambert & Lester 2004). These so-called 'territories of guilt' (Hay 2013) remain at the forefront of conversations about foreign responsibility, and though the donors may be changing (Mawdsley 2014), the impact of this financial reality on the discourse is still to be determined. In fact,

> 'Foreign aid and development cooperation constitute a relatively small element within this turbulent sea of global change, but it is an arena that is revealing of wider patterns and trends in political, economic and cultural power' (Mawdsley 2012).

If the shifting geographies here matter as much as Mawdsley contends, the question becomes how they matter and how long it will take before the overall conversation shifts dramatically to reflect these schisms.

This important Development work within Geography suggests that as complex relationships emerge in a new Developmental context, geographers would do well to pay closer attention to what is happening at scales other than those traditionally studied. While advocating for the analysis and appreciation of a shift to more 'South-South Cooperation' in her article 'Changing Geographies of Foreign Aid,' Mawdsley explains, 'For many in the South the word 'donor' is burdened with associations of paternalism, hierarchy and neo-colonial interference. Some of the (re-) emerging actors prefer to call themselves "development partners" in a conscious promotion of a discourse of horizontal relations of mutual benefit, non-interference and respect for sovereignty, rather than the vertical hierarchy invoked by the terms "donor" and "recipient."' Scholarship around this new type of Aid is still evolving, and authors rely on the idea of a changing geography to explain the ways in which international intervention has evolved (Fowler 2015 & 2016).

Some have also begun to develop theories to challenge the North-South trajectory, preparing fertile ground on which to lay the current study's claims. South African anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff in their text *Theory from the South, or How Euro-America is Evolving Toward Africa*, go one step further to not only suggest that the current spatial leanings are wrong, but that they are inverted (Comaroff & Comaroff 2012). They explain, '…what precisely is north and what is south becomes harder to pin down.' They go on to contend, 'It is not that people in the global south "lack modernity." It is that many of them are deprived of the bounty of modernization by the inherent propensity of capital to create edges and undersides in order to feed off them.' It is in this vein of new understanding

about how Global South and Global North relate to one another that Development must advance its interdisciplinary discussion.

The 'Everyday,' Care, & Proximity: The Role of Space & Responsibility

As synthesised above, Development studies have struggled to break free of this notion of assistance as coming from the Global North to those in the Global South. While the nature of this assistance, and how it might be effective has had significant responses from scholars, many fail to address this issue of responsibility and how its dominance as a Development reality must be challenged. To do this, I will examine the breadth of literature available in Geography on issues of proximity, and how these may relate to the overall 'ethical turn' visible in the discourse. Some have termed this focus a type of 'moral geography,' wherein scholars apply a lens to a wide variety of issues being discussed in the field. The connective tissue between responsibility and ideas of place has been approached through many empirical entry points, including consumption, hospitality, and other issues present in everyday life (Barnett, Cloke, Clark, & Malpass 2011; Freidberg 2003; Birdsall 1996) that dominate much of the discussion about the choices people make to exercise their responsibility towards one another. While all moral Geographic discourse does not fit cleanly inside one of these issue areas, it has not looked enough at Development and how it might relate.

In this discussion, I argue that there is serious space available to look at issues, such as care and ethical consumption, moral geographers have determined to be important and figure out how to apply them to the challenges and assumed responsibilities dominating the Development discussion. One of these issues is that of using the 'everyday' as it relates to actions imbued with meanings of a moral or ethical nature. Birdsall makes a serious contribution to why this matters in his work 'Regard, Respect, and Responsibility: Sketches for a Moral Geography of the Everyday.' He explains, 'As members of human society, the most important choices we make are those that guide how we behave toward each other…through our everyday interactions, we trace the moral geography of our lives' (Birdsall 1996). He goes a step further and explains that Western[13] culture views their place in the world as inherently 'exceptional,' and that having 'regard' for others is what contributes to the everyday actions that express care and concern. His theory of the meaning of 'regard' sets up the conviction that '…all [behaviours by westerners] share the impulse to privilege the here and now over other places, other times, and other people' (Birdsall 1996). Here, the everyday interactions and the proximity within which they take place seem to carry

[13] This is a term Birdsall uses, which is why it appears instead of 'Global North.'

the reason for caring about others at all. Sharing a particular place or environment with others allows for a precedent to develop: the proximity is determinant of caring about others.

This is echoed by several studies of varying contexts, examining how the daily actions by people perceived to be of the 'same community' allows a window into moral decision-making (Gombay 2010). Moral Geography and its manifestations in everyday life become a critical part of what makes us human. Some scholars have taken a more nuanced approach to what it means to study the everyday, and how that may further this discussion. Ash Amin's work *Land of Strangers* analyses interactions between strangers in everyday life to broaden the definition of what people might feel about others in a more theoretical sense. The 'politics of care' and 'imagined communities' that he discusses provide a way for dealing with a world of difference and separation that the urban Northern context assumes: most people we are interacting with in shared public spaces are strangers, and we must analyse our own sense of what it means to be 'strange' or 'other' in order to navigate the everyday effectively (Amin 2012). The construct of the 'other' is a fundamental part of identity creation (Dikec, Clark & Barnett 2009), as the identity of oneself is created in relation to who one is not.

Amin also adds into the discussion of 'strangeness' the construct of concepts of community, which seek to give shape to others in our increasingly crowded world. He believes that a community can be as much about people's perceptions as it is about distinct geographical realities. His idea is that '…A thin European public sphere exists, without an intimate public' (Amin 2012). He shares this view with Gombay, whose study of the Inuit in the Nunavik region of northern Canada has cemented her belief that '…although non-Inuit living in their settlements share the same location [as Inuit people], many Inuit do not consider them socially to be part of their communities' (Gombay 2010). Simply stated: communities are much more complex as entities, and go far beyond simple geographic location. Utilising Gombay's rationale, the affiliation of oneself within a specific community says things about care and responsibility that reflect one's desire for inclusion in that group. While Gombay does not make the leap that to care about people within a specific group, one must be a part of it, she does assume that *not* identifying with the Inuit makes one unlikely to understand their moral codes and conduct. This provides a direct link between the understanding of feelings of responsibility and identity as part of a community. This concept will become even more important as I examine the data gleaned in later chapters of this dissertation.

Birdsall and other early explorers of ethics in Geography believed that 'moral geography' was about tapping into the everyday desires of people to care about what was happening in their present reality; however, it is not that simple. Scholars such as Lawson (2007) have bridged the gap between those who discuss belonging and stranger relations, and those who discuss responsibility and care. Relations between and among strangers in the same physical location are also needed to understand what 'community' might mean, and how this ideal is manifested. Geographers thus lend another tool that may help Development scholars understand its context further: the concept of 'care' for both the 'other' and the self is something that matters, yet it matters in complex ways (Thompson, 1995; Silk, 2004). It is Silk who carries this important discussion in his work 'Caring at a Distance: Gift Theory, Aid Chains and Social Movements.' He takes previous Geographic work and brings it close to the discussion on North-South and South-South relations, a discussion point usually reserved for the Development discourse. While he does not necessarily dwell on what is missing in southern research, he looks at the Geographic tools that scholars have at their disposal to begin to 'change the paradigm' in the Development Geography discussion. He explains,

> 'Mismatch between those in the more affluent First World or North and those in the very much poorer Third World or South can- not be righted by those in the South alone, even if they are as partial to their friends and family or others in their social network as they possibly could be, as they lack the resources to care for them adequately' (Silk, 2004, 231).

He utilises two main techniques to shift the discussion of 'care' to one of 'assistance.' The first is to look at the Resource Transfer Paradigm, wherein Northern donors give to Southern beneficiaries, creating '…relations that are not only unequal in terms of resources, but also in terms of accountability and legitimacy.' The second analyses motivation, which is characterised by "moral motivation based on humanitarian impulses,' as well as '[predominating] commercial and political interests.'

Silk uses these two ideas to discuss much of what is being simultaneously talked about in Aid literature directly: what do we do when geographies are shifting, when Development interventions are not working the way we think they should, and how might this be used to explain a new idea of whether 'care at a distance' achieves much of anything at all? While this is a true contribution to bridging discussions of morality and responsibility with ones of defining and executing Development, Silk does still attest that 'care' from North to South is a major component of how assistance should be framed. He does not negate arguments made that colonialism and the complex relationships it has left behind has

generated a 'legacy of geographic morality,' wherein assistance comes from the North while the North is exercising the same amount of control over power negotiations as during the colonial period (Ala'i, 2000). The one-directional narrative of assistance and power dynamics remains relatively unchallenged.

What then, of proximity? If we can 'care at a distance' in a way from North to South, why does proximity even factor in at all? Do we care more effectively in close proximity, or is this just a misconception, propagated by our inability to create more 'imagined communities' alongside the strangers among us (Amin 2012)? Scholarly work on proximity and its relationship to assistance and responsibility has been incredibly diverse. This has included the contemporary inclusion of different aspects of social theory, and analysing how proximity might matter in navigating theories of societal norms (Barnett 2014), the proximity relationship between carers and their constituencies (Brickell 2012; Milligan 2007), and even how neighbourhood boundaries might play a role in directing assistance (Amara & Ayadi 2013). It has also included a more historical navigation of colonial relationships (Lambert & Lester 2004) and discussing ways in which to address '…A need for greater recognition of the diversity within and between social groups, and to consider the implications for our understandings of who cares, why and how' (Milligan, Atkinson, Skinner, & Wiles 2007). All this diversity of research attempts to address the 'morality as practical action' that can occur because of a wide variety of motivations (Smith 2000).

Additionally, postcolonial research on responsibility has also factored into the discussion of proximity and distance. Several scholars attribute the ability to care about certain nations from far away as remnants of a haunting sense of connection that comes from former colonial ties. For example, Diana Brydon's work '"Difficult Forms of Knowing:" Enquiry, Injury and Translocated Relations of Postcolonial Responsibility,' asks the question: are colonial relationships even valid in a postcolonial world? (Brydon 2010). She determines that they are, but that the universe of thought must be expanded to include globalised notions of 'post-colonial actors,' which include those with roots in former colonial territories and 'Geographies of Colonial Philanthropy' analyses the British Empire's role in shaping the geography of social inequality in former colonies, and how this created new discussions of morality in the humanitarian space (Lambert & Lester 2004). In their work on postcolonial responsibilities and care, Raghuram et al. (2013) characterise the postcolonial relationship as '[having] traces from the past and implications for the future,' which describes the responsibility line between the former coloniser and formerly colonised as decidedly blurred. Their scholarship also borrows significantly from postcolonial theory, remarking that it is not

simply a question of caring about the formerly disenfranchised, and therefore being connected to them in some way. Shared history and shared experience are concrete realities that form communities versus the obtuse idea that a former coloniser should 'feel responsible' for those previously colonised.

Postcolonial realities may inform aspects of a relationship in a specific space and place, but the linear notion of responsibility is not that simple. In further scholarship, this idea is evoked as 'unsettled' and 'messy,' two terms used by scholars to look at '…an awareness of the importance of allowing for a politics of disconnection, even if that is an uncomfortable and difficult terrain for the academic geographer' (Noxolo et al 2011). What makes it messy and unsettling? The answer to this question is simple: each postcolonial context is different, and universally applying notions of responsibility to any one of them no longer works to explain actions, particularly at the local level. Noxolo and other scholars' work reflect this understanding quite well, and bring the moral geography discourse to the precipice of saying that without contextual understanding, we can draw no conclusions about what a postcolonial sense of responsibility truly is. Additionally, we cannot make determinations about where a person is in space and place based on how responsible they feel. This has been pushed in the postcolonial studies context, particularly because there is evidence that former colonial powers act on senses of responsibility for the inequities rendered during the colonial period (Madge 2009; Noxolo 2011).

Even the framing of postcolonial states within a Development or responsibility discourse are particularly geared towards either reinforcing the ideas that globalisation has eclipsed identities formed during the colonial period, or that nation states are actively in problematic relationships with former colonial powers (Loomba, Kaul, Bunzl, Burton, & Etsy 2006). These definitions leave postcolonial nations in a tricky situation: how do the relationships they now hold with former colonial powers manifest – and do these relationships contribute at all to an understanding of responsibility in Development? Along this vein, Ferguson contributes one of the most helpful understandings of this by saying that what matters is not in fact the responsibility the West feels for former colonies, but the rush that they feel for Development to 'be over' (Ferguson 2005). He brings this to bear most specifically in Africa:

> '…the developmental narrative is increasingly visible as a failure not only in the domain of academic theory but in practical economic terms as well…This may not be the 'end of development,' as some have perhaps overreached in claiming. But the absence of economic convergence in Africa and some other parts of the world is indisputable, even as living standards have indeed risen sharply in some parts of the

> third world, thereby sustaining continuing dreams of an ascent to first world levels of wealth and security. If development is over, it is apparently over in some places, but not in others' (Ferguson 2005).

This is an interesting point shared by many others in the volume *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond* (2005). The idea is mainly that the typical postcolonial narrative is not enough to explain Development's trajectory and evolution in the academic realm. It may not even be something that can be 'finished,' in terms of a process. Ferguson's idea about Development and the postcolony is intriguing; however, it still leaves us with a view of one-directionality that requires further investigation. It also requires a more comprehensive understanding of defined identities within particular spaces in the post colony.

The gap here is in figuring out what is different about responsibility and proximity in the traditionally 'receiving' location of the Global South. We may be able to 'care at a distance,' and even feel good about our ability to do so (Korf 2007), however scholarship does not address this reality from a Global South perspective. The proximities of care within this distinct context have been largely ignored, reinforcing the paradigm that while Aid may be shifting in new and different ways, we are still continuously identifying 'care' as a western quality – one that is manifested again and again in the West's constant desire to assist the 'other.'

'Philanthropy' and 'Assistance' in the South

Development discourse, and even to an extent discussions of moral geographies, have paid attention to one manifestation of responsibility: Aid. Denoted with a capital 'A,' Aid has become a symbol for the most expensive way in which a country can 'care at a distance.' In its purest form, Aid is defined mainly as the assistance provided from one state to another, usually in the form of loans and grants given by Western agencies. Both the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, while essentially financial institutions, come about in the Aid discourse as often as organisations like USAID (United States Agency for International Development) or DFID (Department for International Development) in the United Kingdom. Even the Development scholarly discourse, as evidenced from discussion earlier in this chapter, is focused primarily on large Aid mechanisms, and less so on other forms of assistance given from the North to the South each year in a myriad of ways. Private philanthropy – at both the large and small scale – has become the neglected pillar in academic analysis of Development. Even more specifically, local acts of assistance at the

community level are even further disregarded as potential sources of information on why people assist and how they might do so in relation to their place in the world.

The literature that relates to these subjects is vast and diverse, reflecting the need for more bridges to be constructed between what we learn from communities at the local level and how they can inform debates at the macro level. From even the earliest anthropological analyses on giving and help regarding gift exchange and reciprocity (Mauss 1954), to the more modern reality of the role of philanthropy in modern constructs (Fleishman 2007; Ostrower 1995), the idea of giving and helping has been discussed and analysed to great extent. Much of the literature that does exist has been written within the last 15 years, demonstrating a marked increase in both analyzing philanthropic giving through several disciplines such as Economics, Psychology, and Sociology (Wiepking 2008), as well as a desire to develop best practices around what makes philanthropy successful (Korten 2009). Additionally, many major private foundations from North America and Europe have commissioned region-specific studies on different types of philanthropic giving, including in the Middle East (Ibrahim & Sherif 2011) and Africa (Aina & Moyo 2012).

It is taken for granted across the literature on giving that most of it happens in the West, and most of it happens for the benefit of the South. Harkening back to the 'geographies of Aid' that Mawdsley described so acutely in her work, it is hard to feel that the scope of scholarship is satisfactory. The philanthropic discourse is itself so new in the academic world that it is hard to generalise, however early assessments indicate that it too has followed the assumptions dictated by the Development literature; responsibility by the West for the South have been what give rise to international philanthropy and giving (Friedman 2007). Looking at the act of giving, however, is the very factor that allows this gap between responsibility and Development to begin to be filled. Giving is an action, one that can be both local and global, motivated by proximity or not, and practiced in a myriad of different forms that can tell us a wide variety of things about the people who are both giving *and* receiving (Mauss 1950). However, current scholarship on global philanthropy has been almost entirely about the notion of 'caring at a distance,' which creates even more of a gap between beneficiary and donor over the long term. Though the donor-recipient relationship may be changing economically (Mawdsley 2014), the narrative remains that organised philanthropy is a construct that is western made, and most likely implemented along North-South power lines.

On the continent of Africa, this appears to be even more the case. As Aid continues to come to the continent in a variety of forms (though the effectiveness is, as we have seen, contested), philanthropic dollars have as well. Statistics from Giving USA, one of the only

research firms utilising metrics similar to those at the World Bank and other government agencies, show that international giving has been up 17.5% in the past two years, reflecting the increase in providing assistance outside of geographic proximity.[14] The same is reflected in the Charities Aid Foundation's World Giving Index of 2015,[ii] which even breaks down charitable donations by those who 'helped a stranger,' accounting for giving money or time away from ones' geographic living space. Not a single African country enters their top 20 for acts of 'charity,' which account for 'helping a stranger,' 'donating money,' and 'volunteering time' (Law 2015). While this might not be surprising in the narrative constructed around giving and Development, there is still not enough of a contextual understanding of African giving to say anything else definitively. It is hardly fair to assume that philanthropic tendencies in their many forms have passed Africa by entirely.

Communities in Africa, as everywhere, have not only contributed to their own success, but also made critical decisions that have informed what behaviours will govern that success. They are motivated by a wide variety of factors, not least of which is the ability to stay healthy, get an education, and participate as a full member of the community (Coyne 2013). However, scholarship on these realities has been late to catch up and recognize these diverse practices of 'self-help' and giving within African communities (Moyo 2009). There have been attempts to examine volunteerism on the African continent (Jennings 2016; Kirsch 2016; Sullivan 2016) both by international volunteers but also by more local ones. Some of the first institutions to acknowledge giving practices on the continent were the very same Western institutions that had been funding projects in the region for decades (Commonwealth Fund 2010; Rockefeller Foundation 2008; TrustAfrica 2008). Many of these studies were somewhat self-serving: by analysing whether philanthropy was even a familiar concept to Africans, institutions could design projects that would both continue to enhance their impact while engaging wealthy Africans in adopting similar models to their own. This model of giving (Fleishman 2007) included the formation of grant making institutions and tax incentives for donors began to take root throughout some countries in Africa, including South Africa and Egypt (B. Moyo 2008).

As the dialogue between Western philanthropists and their Southern counterparts began to include Africans, institutions emerged to support this trend. The African Grantmakers Network (AGN) and East African Association of Grant Makers (EAAG) were both founded to support African philanthropy efforts. EAAG came first in 2003, and was

[14] https://www.nptrust.org/philanthropic-resources/charitable-giving-statistics/

founded in part by one of the largest private foundations in the world, the Ford Foundation. AGN came later in 2009 as an offshoot of three prominent NGOs and think tanks operating in Africa, all of whom have received funding from Western sources. These included the Southern Africa Trust, TrustAfrica, and the Kenya Community Development Foundation. While the goals, governance, and organisational structures of these organisations differ slightly, all have stated goals of facilitating philanthropic 'networks' and opportunities for 'collaboration.' Most of the memberships for these groups consist of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), Development actors from the World Bank or other related agencies, interested high net worth individuals (HNWIs) or administrators of private grant making foundations from both the Global North as well as Africa. These groups for the most part also neglect the potential role of Africans in the Diaspora, about which much has been written (Akesson & Eriksson Baaz 2015; Bornstein 2009; Ngwenya 2010).

Many institutions being created around the idea of philanthropy remain both dominated by Western influence and funding, as well as somewhat detached from the practices of communities across Africa, and globally (Akin Aina 2013). Additionally, there is a conscious intent on the part of institutions to directly link the African practices of assistance and giving to that of the Western concept of philanthropy. In a 2013 report released by the Southern African Trust, entitled 'Sizing the Field: Frameworks for a New Narrative of African Philanthropy,' the authors contend, 'Africa's people share deep-rooted values of social solidarity, human dignity, and inter-personal connectedness. This corresponds to the Western notion of philanthropy – the desire to promote the wellbeing of others or, put simply, "to love people"' (Moyo, 2013). This description does not consider responsibility beyond a certain sense of camaraderie among fellow Africans, and does not explain how far the geographic reach of this camaraderie extends or what role any spatial divisions play in shaping the regulations themselves. Acts of generosity and enacted responsibility, however, are now being considered by new actors at the local level.

These actions, and most specifically giving, is an effective lens through which to learn about morals and responsibility of any community; we have already seen this through the work done on complex Aid relationships, and the meaning attributed to them. However, at the community level – and in different, non-traditional Southern contexts, there is little empirical data. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, fewer than ten full-scale studies have been conducted on the role of community assistance, or philanthropy, in sub-Saharan Africa. These studies are crucial, because they begin to explore communities in the

Global South as agents of responsibility within their own contexts, and show how proximity and place matter in better understanding communities.

The two most significant recent studies on giving practices are nearly identical in methodology, but not in context. The first, entitled 'The Poor Philanthropist: How and Why the Poor Help Each Other,' was conducted with funding from The Ford Foundation in 2005, and continued in partnership with the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business for several years (Wilkinson-Maposa, Fowler, Oliver-Evans, & Mulenga 2005). The study looked at four countries in sub-Saharan Africa and their practices of 'local philanthropy,' translated for the purposes of the study, as 'help.' Utilising a broad-based approach, researchers conducted qualitative interviews across countries, including several provinces within each national context. The researchers focused on five core questions. Results of the study, and its several follow-up iterations where researchers further analysed the substantial amount of data, were disseminated to an audience of practitioners and others with social and development interest (Wilkinson-Maposa et al 2009). One of the greatest limitations of the study is, in fact, its broad-based nature. While the researchers could cover a great deal of territory geographically, the responses of the participants to the five questions asked naturally leads to less community emphasis, and less attention was paid to geographic location as an influencing factor (Wilkinson-Maposa 2006).

The second study, conducted by researchers from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Centre for Civil Society utilised methodology directly taken from 'The Poor Philanthropist.' Entitled 'How and Why the Poor Help Each Other: A Perspective from the Maphumulo Rural Community in KwaZulu-Natal,' the report looked at how concepts of help and community giving were manifested in a rural South African area (Murenha & Chili 2011). This is inherently problematic, as the limits of 'The Poor Philanthropist' were not discussed, and the same exact methodological techniques were used in this study as in the original. While it is important to build on the work of the original study, scholars, like Paul Jenkins, (2001, 2012) explain the challenges behind replicating methodologies across different community contexts, particularly across urban and rural communities. Without changes to the methodology and study techniques, results may not reflect the differences in contexts.

When looking at the vast landscape of moral geography and Development, it is quite easy to begin to connect ideas. Perhaps it is as simple as Aid, in all its complicated forms, may be a manifestation of a person or group of people's true desire to help. However, the possible answer is more complicated, bringing together issues of religion, community ties, nationalism, and a sense of identity, as well as various cultural practices that are tied to place.

Delving into the real discovery of this ‘why’ leads to an encounter with one term that has been used to describe the southern African sense of responsibility and connection: *Ubuntu*. Loosely translated from the Xhosa as “I am because you are,” the philosophy has been credited by many as forming the basis for why Africans help each other (Moyo 2008; Willkinson-Maposa, 2005 & 2007). The idea, while easy to understand and contextually appropriate, falls short of addressing the complexities that truly exist.

There is growing cynicism about the way in which many westerners treat Africa as a monolith, and this idea of Ubuntu explaining away the complexities of care and responsibility should be met with the same feeling. Ubuntu can no more explain the complexities of varied country and community contexts in Africa than a single idea on organised philanthropy can explain giving in the United States (Zunz 2011). This does not stop scholars and other relevant stakeholders from trying. Explaining why Africans give, when they have been framed as the recipients for centuries, continues to be dominated by one line of reasoning. This is that

> ‘Philanthropy [in Africa] is no longer about narratives of passive, poor and miserable Africans receiving help from rich, fortunate, and often Western outsiders. The emerging narratives about philanthropy in Africa are about an increasingly confident and knowledgeable assertion of African capacities to give only to help, but also to transform and seek to address the root causes of injustice, want, ignorance, and disease’ (Ana 2013).

While this is uplifting in some ways, speaking to the ‘self-reliance’ touted as necessary by many development academics, it still neglects analysis of anything but capacity. In other words, now that Africans can give, they are. Once again, a product of outside agency, the world has successfully ‘developed’ segments of Africa’s population, little consideration is given for what might serve as the deep motivators for how a person exercises their abilities and desires to help others. Additionally, the framing of assistance in Africa has had a strong root situated in the Diaspora. That is, many scholars have looked at how and why Africans who live geographically far from the continent assist in ‘developing’ the areas where they are from, or where they have some type of connection or sense of obligation and responsibility (Mercer, Page, & Evans 2009). This brings to bear an area of inquiry around location, and more specifically transnational connections that frame a person’s moral compass around a place in space.

Theologian Benezet Bujo[iii] has authored several books on his understanding of the African moral compass, which incorporates a history of Ubuntu with the underpinnings of colonialism, missionary zeal, and contextualisation that scholars of giving in Africa should

consider. His work *The Ethical Dimension of Community: The African Model and the Dialogue between North and South* examines the intersection of the ideas outsiders have about African morality and the many variations it truly has. He argues, 'A new ethical model is needed, which is no longer satisfied with a private or even privatized ethics of virtue, but where the communal and dialogue-oriented dimension will play an important role' He also explains,

> 'Contrary to this statement, it is exactly the community which enables the self-realisation of the individual. According to the African representation of values, it is not possible to achieve the ethical ideal individually or as a strictly personal achievement' (Bujo 2000).

This idea of needing a new ethic or understanding that ties the individual to the community and vice versa may not be new in terms of an understanding of African theology (Olupona 1998), but does provide concrete reasoning for the importance of understanding motivations beyond Ubuntu. Here, a philosophy or understanding beyond Ubuntu would provide for the fact that each community is different, and impacts and affects the individual in different ways.

Along the same reasoning, and borrowing from Bujo's use of the word 'communal,' it is important to define the barriers of a community and how far they extend. If the relationship between individual and community is the underpinning of an 'African' morality, and perhaps even of many types of moral compasses that geographers and others have examined, then it is this exact dynamic that factors into decision-making and other crucial activities that make up community life in Africa. It also relates indisputably to issues of identity of those individuals who make up these groups. This area is largely neglected by scholars of both giving and the moral geographies that may come into play when looking at giving practices. There are entire schools of thought on issues of identity and its relationship to the self, as well as to nationalism, but for the purposes of this study the focus has been on *how* these senses of identity have been formed and shaped by a code of morality and ethics, or vice versa (Bujo 1998). The identity ascribed to by believers in Ubuntu, as well as by Bujo and other African theologians, is that community makes the identity of the individual as much as the individual contributes to the identity of the community (Bujo 2000, 2006).

Additionally, the role of community connection and religion also come together to lend depth to how people self-identify beyond the philosophies ascribed as being comprehensively 'African.' Contributions to writing on the formation of religious identity in Africa abound, including how this influenced formation of civil society groups and identities

(Mati 2013; Shankar 2014). While the formation of these religious institutions is not the focus of this study, one thing that cannot be denied is the presence religious institutions have across the African continent, and how their roles and influence in affairs loom large. In some cases, scholars credit these institutions with ‘fundamentally transforming development in Africa,’ (Obadare 2014) as well as feeling safe for citizens in relation to state power entities. Religion and its accompanying map for community life has provided structure for many in situations where their state and political structure feel decidedly unstable.

It is also important to note that those philosophising on the state of community relations in Africa cannot contribute to this discussion on morals and ethics without looking at postcolonial effects on these senses of identity. Much of this work comes from those looking historically at the impact of colonisation on the psyche (Emerson 2013; Newitt 2009). This work is critique-laden, looking at both the damage that colonialism has done to the independent sense of identity in many colonial contexts, as well as the ways in which this deprivation has continued over the long term, even as many countries move into majority rule in the postcolonial era. In his work *A Flawed Freedom*, Saul levels accusations against state entities across the continent from Angola to South Africa, bringing everything back to the local level. The colonialism that people endured for centuries is reformulated into distorted ideas of identity that begin in the local communities where people live, and continue up through channels of power to the revolutionary governments that worked to give them freedom (Saul 2014). While much of Saul and other scholars’ critique of the postcolonial identity is economic and political, it lends itself well to looking at the disconnect between the moral framework at the community level versus what many see as a lack of morality at the top. As he writes in his chapter on Mozambique,

> ‘…the ordinary Mozambicans are not so easily convinced, sickened by and angry at the dramatically escalating corruption and rampant greed they see to be everywhere around them in the ‘new Mozambique’ – while also both holding on to their own memories of a more promising time and manifesting their continued expectations of a state that protects its citizens’ (Saul 2014).

The reality that corruption and inequality are at the heart of the new Mozambican identity is one that is disappointing but is the reality that the nuances and complications of community life respond. Many communities in Africa utilise their geographically close relationships to determine a sense of identity that has been denied by the country that surrounds them.

The conversation is deepening, however, and it is imperative that the discussions of moral geography and its ramifications for social welfare are brought in. There are new attempts to place civil society discourses specifically focused on Africa in conversation with

those happening more broadly (Edwards 2011). Through looking at ideas of citizenship, power, and conflict, Obadare's volume *The Handbook of Civil Society in Africa* helps break down the layers of what 'civil society' might mean in a variety of contexts (Obadare 2014). Another of the key pieces of evidence for this is the collection of perspectives canonised in 'Giving to Help, Helping to Give: The Context and Politics of African Philanthropy' (Akin Ana & Moyo 2013). The collection includes both scholars such as Alan Fowler and Susan Wilkinson-Maposa, as well as development strategists, lawyers based in Africa, international funders, and NGO practitioners. While no human geographers are specifically featured in this volume, several contributors discuss philanthropy in Africa as something intrinsically tied to the continent, to physical space, and to location. While some scholars make the argument that philanthropy in Africa has formed as a response to Development and Development's actors (Akin Ana 2013), others bring the discussion back to roots of giving in morality, and ultimately, to one's 'homestead,' where giving and assistance '…is an instrument that establishes the orbit and direction of social energies of the receiver' (Muponde 2013).

While these writers do not lay claim to participating in the debate over moral geographies, or even the 'Geographies of Privilege' discussed by Twine and Gardener in their volume published in 2013, they do attempt to break down African practices of giving by nation state, or at the very least, region. Asante culture (Asante-Darko 2013), Francophone West Africa (Sy & Hathie 2013), Tanzanian Muslims (Yahya-Othman 2013; Bakari 2013), and Nigerian corporate involvement (Samuel 2013) are all touched upon as making up a diverse kaleidoscope of interests that make up the discussion of philanthropy and moral imperative to give in the African context. Even Kwaku Asante-Darko makes the distinction that 'It is not easily discernible that different cultures perceive philanthropy differently… [as well as] different socio-economic customs and practices…respective environmental and experiential realities…' (Asante-Darko 83). There is an understanding that the giving is not just informed by where the giving is taking place, but under which auspices the exchange is happening. Is it happening among community members? Is it a transaction between a wealthier and a less fortunate individual? Is it institutional? The variety is seemingly endless. Overall, the conversation expands at the hands of these writers, encompassing the importance of looking at African philanthropy as not just a development tool (though it arguably might be one), but as a social one: the reflection and reverberation of giving is examining how people connect with where they are, with what they have. When they do this type of giving and exchange of 'help,' be it financial or through tasks performed by fellow community members (Wilkinson-Maposa 2005), they are making choices about whom they are

responsible for, whom they feel a sense of obligation to be hospitable to, and why they feel this way. Utilising community assistance to explain these issues of responsibility, ethics, and even identity deepens the conversation while remaining contextually appropriate.

The Mozambican Reality:

For all the work done to advance the conversation around these issues, Mozambique remains somewhat of a mystery, both to academic scholars and to those who look at Geography and issues of responsibility. It is, by many accounts, one of the more under researched areas of Africa. This is attributed to a variety of factors, including language access compared to Anglophone countries for researchers, a high degree of control on the part of the government by access to information, and a large amount of bureaucratic regulations to conducting research in the country. Further details on this are included in Chapter Three of this study. There is, to date, no literature written about Mozambique in the context of philanthropic giving. There have been studies on donor corruption (Hanlon 2004, Flaherty 2002), poverty and its politicisation (Oppenheimer et al 2007; Zimba et al 2005) and how Mozambican activism has emerged post-civil war (LeFanu 2013). Additionally, Mozambique has entered the discourse on urban realities in the Global South (Bertelsen et al 2013; Jenkins 2009 among others). However, these discussions have lacked a bridge connecting Mozambique to the rest of the conversations on giving. Reasons for this are not entirely clear, although much of the funding for studies such as 'The Poor Philanthropist' and 'How and Why the Poor Help Each Other: A Perspective from the Maphumulo Rural Community in KwaZulu-Natal' are funded by Anglophone donors, who have made it a priority to research in certain geographic locations. The absence of other countries here is important, as Mozambique shares a regional position within Anglophone Africa, and yet has not been compared in this sense to the rest of its counterparts, particularly on issues of Development and community discourse.

The participation Mozambique has enjoyed in the analysis of giving was as a site for 'The Poor Philanthropist' study, which looked at Mozambique in addition to Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. The study looked at nine districts in three provinces – Maputo City, Inhambane, and Nampula. While the results are interesting and provide a good base from which to examine the issues of morality, responsibility, identity and culture, what they do not do is contextualise. The researchers explain, 'Differences in both socio-economic activities and cultural networks of social organisation were considered important, as was the need for diversity in terms of language, population density and religion' (Wilkinson-Maposa et al.

2005). However, the ways in which various social groups were accounted for in the interpretation and dissemination of data are unaccounted for. This does not allow for interpretation about *how* the ways in which people answered the questions posed in The Poor Philanthropist study speak to issues of morality and identity. It opts for larger geographic reach instead of more detailed accounts of communities within the four countries it looks at, Mozambique included.

Additionally, Mozambique has been experiencing increasingly contentious political and economic forces both from outside and within that may provide a shift in perception in terms of Development overall. This will be discussed at length in Chapter Four, where the historical context of the country will be explored. One thing is sure: Mozambique has become increasingly dependent on international aid, while simultaneously experiencing political challenges that increase authoritarian pressure on its people (Perez Nino & Le Billion 2016). This problematic situation is framed as a 'contemporary democratic deficit' which has eaten away at the Development trajectory of the general population. Alongside other 'donor darlings' such as Rwanda (Marriage 2016), Uganda (Anderson & Fisher 2016), and Ethiopia (Fantini & Puddu 2016), Mozambique seems to be at the beginning of a contemporary struggle about what Development has done, and where the direction forward might be. It is because of this challenging context that the empirical work conducted in this study and the tools provided through the geographic discourse become important in putting together a true picture about this place.

Concluding Thoughts:

The scholarship on Development has given birth to a discourse – and even a widely-held perception – that the trajectory plotted by Aid agencies outside of developing countries is one imbued with notions of postcolonial responsibility and moral obligation. Because of this basis, scholarship within the Development studies literature has limited itself to thinking about responsibility as something coming from the outside – be it effectual or not. The wide variety of assistance measures, including governmental and nongovernmental aid, private philanthropic dollars, and notions of 'caring at a distance' are all serving to bolster this ideal. However, it is precisely this concept of responsibility and the weighty meaning that it evokes, that allows us to use other work to begin to challenge this one-directional assistance pathway. The questions around relationships between space, place, and responsibility that have been brought to the surface by geographers have provided language through which to examine what it means to feel responsible for another as well as how this responsibility may be

invoked. What remains then is the need for connective tissue between these realities: communities in the Global South, particularly in Africa, can provide a voice for how responsibility is carried out. One way in which to analyse this effectively is through looking at community giving practices: literal manifestations of care in a context many have written off as merely a recipient of help from the outside world.

This research project fills a distinct gap in the literature on Development, the discussions of geographies of responsibility, and provides a counter narrative to notions of a uniform philosophy that dictates acts of assistance in contemporary postcolonial African cities. In Chapter Three, I will look at the Research Context & Methodology of my study. This will provide an opportunity to delve into the specifics of how this location contributes to the knowledge gap described in Chapter Two. It will provide the historical background necessary to both understand the Mozambican context and the communities focused on in this research project. It will also provide a discussion of important methodological considerations undertaken in a context that has been under researched overall. It will examine how the empirical research conducted in this study carefully studies communities in a way that captures their own voices to challenge the one-directional Development narrative that has become so problematic.

Chapter III: Historical Context

Introduction:

Mozambique is, much like many former colonial states, a place of deep complexities. As a research location, it straddles several important geographic areas that make it a significant regional player in southern Africa. However, its realities past and present are often subsumed in written discourse by the more dominating narratives of its Anglophone neighbours of South Africa and Zimbabwe. Conducting field research in contemporary Mozambique means understanding how the country has been shaped by its colonial past and subsequently affected by it, as well as recognising the country's own economic development trajectory.

This chapter will serve two important purposes. The first will be to provide a comprehensive overview of Mozambican context and historical background. While this information also helps to inform the discussion chapters that come after it, it is critical to understanding the methodology chosen for the project and recognising the contextual realities within which the study took place. This is particularly important for aspects such as participant recruitment and access to documents that are discussed subsequently. The second purpose will be to lay a groundwork for an understanding of the subsequent chapter on methodology. This dissertation is rooted in not only an understanding of place, but of the forces that have shaped those places involved in the study. Therefore, a great deal of attention is paid in this chapter to understanding the historical and contemporary realities of the country. Finally, because this research study focuses on the ways in which identity relates to concepts of assistance and the everyday, I believe it is critical to reflect historically on how Mozambican nationalism has changed and evolved both pre-and post-colonial Portuguese rule.

The Colonial Context:

Contemporary Mozambique is very much still a reflection of its colonial past. Outside of southern Africa, Mozambique's complicated history is somewhat less well known. In 1975, Mozambique was one of the last nations to finally free itself from the strong and determined yolk of Portugal, which also let go of Sao Tome & Principe, Angola, and Cape Verde in the same year. This makes its history *incredibly* recent; the relationship of Mozambique with its former colonial power remains at the forefront of any understanding of contemporary Mozambican life. One of the only comprehensive histories of Mozambique in

the English language was written by Malyn Newitt, entitled *A History of Mozambique*, spanning the period from the sixteenth century through the post-independence period before the civil war, ending in 1992 (Newitt 1995). It is followed thereafter by scholarship from mostly western authors highlighting complications surrounding Mozambique's civil war (Emerson 2013) and economic reforms (Dinerman 2001; Hanlon 2009; Pitcher 2002 & 2006). Geographically, the country's strategic location along the East African coast has made it an important settlement and trade hub for centuries. Per Newitt, it is exactly this fact that makes Mozambique one of the keys to understanding southern African history and colonial impact. The "Portuguese expansion was a direct by-product of Portugal's poverty, not its wealth." (Newitt 1995) Occupying the coast of Mozambique at the time were Muslim traders who relied on their own networks to transport goods from the continental interior to the port cities like Sofala and Pemba along the coastline. The Portuguese's entry point was in Sofala, which is still a province steeped in conflict to this day. It is in central Mozambique, and essentially divides the country into two.

Figure 1.1: Political Map of Mozambique, 2015[15]

One of the most interesting and complex aspects of the colonial history of Portugal that becomes important for the understanding of contemporary Mozambique is the fact that Portuguese settlers were very much interested in settling. This differed dramatically from

[15] http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/mozambiq.pdf

other colonial superpowers such as the British Empire, whose subjects were more consistently separated from the 'native populations' that they found across the globe. Even economic relationships were not necessarily steeped in inequality by design; many Portuguese settlers in the middle of the sixteenth century felt their presence was in fact simply a matter of supply and demand. The Portuguese had demand for arable land that Mozambique had in great quantity, and the local population supplied it. In fact, many of the initial Portuguese settlers mirror those of modern-day Mozambique: farmers from northern Portugal who "came from a society not very dissimilar in its organisation and cultural level from the one they found in Africa." (Newitt 1995) This affinity, and perhaps true similarity, created a designation known colloquially as the "Afro Portuguese," which comes into discussion in later scholarship on Mozambique's independence struggle. Many argue that in fact two different societies existed: one of the formal Portuguese colonial empire structure and hierarchy, and one of the informal Afro Portuguese, which "encouraged the upstart and the entrepreneur," distancing itself from the traditional colonial power grid[16]. The Portuguese desire to colonise large swaths of land to achieve an empire beyond Mozambique and Angola illustrate a mind-set of permanence: the land grabs by colonisers in the Portuguese case were designed to be for the long term. This was true even as independence movements began to gain momentum in other parts of Africa. The 'Mapa Cor da Rosa,' a famous illustration of Portuguese colonial ambition, shows that the main concern was the movement of commerce between oceans on the continent; there was little regard for the challenges potentially posed by controlling vast lands of different ethnicities, language groups and other identities. It was in this vein that the Portuguese Empire began to consolidate and formalize their control over the Mozambican people and their territory in a far greater way than before. Despite the Afro Portuguese relationships that had developed over the past three centuries, the Portuguese were learning from their imperial counterparts that control must be exerted, and revolution and independent thinking reigned in (Newitt, 1969; Emerson, 2013). During the period between 1890 and 1913, several important infrastructure investments, including railway lines, were made by the Portuguese and the British to utilize Mozambique's positioning to achieve economic success. It is only after this period that modern day Maputo (with the colonial name of Lourenco Marques), became an important urban hub.

The impact of colonialism on the people of Mozambique is not uniform, nor is it directly in line with other types of colonial influence on the continent. Two important things

[16] See Appendix 1 for a more detailed account of the colonial power structure and its aspirations

remained true throughout the early 20th century that set the stage for the society that this study examines in detail. The first is that forced labour, a common occurrence under Portuguese control, did not result in a loss of land. Land rights in Mozambique are a complicated contemporary issue, and these challenges arise from historical precedent (Knight 2010). Colonial enforcement of land rights was less of a concern than ensuring labour continued to benefit the Portuguese Empire. Secondly, Mozambicans were emigrating. Though this seems a simple enough answer, it is in fact quite distinct from other colonial territories. Mozambique's easy access via land to both Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe) and South Africa set a precedent for more fluid movement of labourers across these borders in search of economic opportunity and, perhaps, a degree of freedom not experienced under the Portuguese. This movement was complicated, and resulted from both organic flow of migrants beyond Mozambique's borders as well as arrangements under Portuguese colonial powers for laborers to be shipped to South Africa to be used in various industries (Harries & Worger 1995, Harries 1994). This differentiation is evidenced in population census information collected at the time, which shows a decrease in population between 1908 and 1930, resulting from emigration.[17]

One of the final key aspects to Portuguese colonialism that requires mentioning for the purposes of this study is that of social categorization. Beginning at the turn of the twentieth century and continuing through until independence in 1975, Portugal followed the lead of many other imperialists at the time, and divided up its 'indigenous' population. The distinction became that of *indigena* (native) and *nao-indigena* (non-native), which could also be referred to as *civilisado* (civilized) and could encompass Portuguese and non-Portuguese white-skinned foreigners. (Newitt 1995; Morton 2013) As pressure on the Portuguese power structure increased, so did the categorization and marginalization of local populations. While in the beginning of their reign, the Portuguese seemed almost unconcerned about local people compared to their British or French counterparts, the middle of the twentieth century saw a decisive uptick in attempting to make sense of how to dominate the local populations. This was particularly challenging in Mozambique, as geography of the state itself made for large swaths of land populated only sporadically, and many of the groups within these areas were equally diverse. It was these groupings that ultimately laid the groundwork for attitudes of the liberation movement itself, and manifested themselves geographically in Lourenco Marques. The *nao-indigena* or sometimes *assimilados* (lighter skinned and assimilated populations)

[17] http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BGC/BGC-N050&p=124

could live closer to the centre of the city itself, while the other 'Africans' were forced to live further out. Essentially, the structure of Maputo "…lends further confirmation to just how rigid a social hierarchy can be once it has been reinforced in concrete." (Morton 2013) From this type of division, the two neighbourhoods analysed in this study are created and grow.

Independence and the Frelimo Identity:

The *Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique*, or Frelimo, grew its roots in Dar es Salaam, where many important figures of Mozambican prominence gathered in exile (Newitt, 1995). This was a freedom movement born out of refugees, which "allowed for a temporary break from norms and customary duties," leaving the identity open to influence and interpretation (Panzer 2013). Initially, the identity of Frelimo was created out of the merging of three nationalist movements: Mozambican African National Union, the National Democratic Union of Mozambique, and the National African Union of Independent Mozambique in 1962. (Nuvunga & Sitoe 2013) Subsequently, this formed into one major party known as Frelimo. The recruitment of Frelimo members was somewhat less systematic than accounts since have indicated. (Emerson 2013) Many of the initial members of the party were refugees who fled to Tanzania to escape the violence erupting in Cabo Delgado in the centre of the country beginning on 25 September 1964.

This idea, per scholars like Panzer, left Frelimo with a golden opportunity: vulnerable and impoverished refugees were exactly the type of population on which to imprint an activist and liberationist identity. They received great attention in the Tanzanian press at the time, only solidifying the plight of the refugees and the importance of a regional strategy that empowered Frelimo. While Panzer's view is cynical, and Frelimo is a marketing strategy that worked for liberationists to garner international support, it brings to light certain truths about the Frelimo identity. Being affiliated with Frelimo served a purpose, and ultimately solidified the idea that Frelimo represented not only freedom from colonialism, but a *true* Mozambican identity. If you were not on the Frelimo side, you were a refugee – a victim of displacement and ultimately, of external forces beyond your control.

Independence was finally achieved from the Portuguese officially on 25 June 1975, with the signing of the Lusaka Accords on 20 September 1974.[iv] The Accords themselves, while ending Portuguese colonialism, did not provide Mozambique with an environment free of conflict; surrounded by regional strife, newly independent Mozambique was decidedly vulnerable. What remained, however, was a faith and certainty in the capacity of Frelimo to deliver on its promises of liberation and wellbeing for its people. This came from the

displaced people that had remained in Tanzania or elsewhere during the independence war, but also from regional movements such as the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, which saw an opportunity to gain support from another postcolonial state (Emerson 2013). During the period of 1975-1990, Frelimo "created and ran a constitutional one-party socialist state, banning the formation and activity of political parties." (Nuvunga & Sitoe 2013; Lundin 2005) With this new identity, Frelimo took on a type of authority not uncommon when looking at liberation movements and their subsequent transitions to political parties. (Spiess 2015) Nuvunga and Sitoe go one step further and identify Frelimo as containing a type of 'hegemony,' one which informs the actions they take over the course of the formative years of Mozambican history post-independence.

Accounts of Frelimo members themselves are few and far between, however several of these memoirs have been written in the past ten years, indicating a desire by the Mozambican populace to remember a Frelimo that was – and in many ways, is no more. Several of these accounts point directly to Mafalala, one of the neighbourhoods looked at in this study, where founding members Samora Machel, Joaquim Chissano, and Marcelino dos Santos draw roots (Emerson, 2013). In one of the most recent memoirs written by a Frelimo member engaged in the independence movement, entitled *Mafalala: Memories of 7 September, the Big Operation,* Aurelio Le Bon paints a picture of the formation of the movement, as well as Mafalala's role in it (Le Bon 2015).[18] He explains that Frelimo "…wanted to create a struggle on all fronts – not just militarily." This was a war of culture and identity, as much as it was a military assault, and those deeply invested in the Frelimo movement were as invested in it as an identity as well as a mechanism for defeating the Portuguese rule. Involving the young people of neighbourhoods like Mafalala allowed Frelimo to gain a foothold in the south of the country, extremely far geographically from the leadership in Dar es Salaam. Le Bon credits Mafalala with representing "o povo," the term used to refer to "the people," those who would truly benefit from liberation and freedom.

Scholars who have documented Mozambique from a historical perspective also credit this identity formation with the experiences of Frelimo members in exile; that is, to be Mozambican was to represent shared experiences of independence fighters both in exile and in Mozambique (Newitt 2017). Unfortunately, there is definitive imbalance in terms of information about the historical narrative in Mafalala versus Zimpeto. This is partly because

[18] Translated from the Portuguese, Mafalala: Memorias do 7 de Setembro: A Grande Operacao

Zimpeto still is perceived, in terms of regulation and demarcation, as a relatively informal settlement. This will be expanded upon in Chapter Four when the research locations are discussed in further detail.

Frelimo's leadership and competency was to be tested right away. The apartheid state of South Africa, bordering Mozambique to both the south and west, was beginning to crumble. Uprisings in Soweto in Johannesburg began on 16 June 1976, bringing to a head tension between youth in South Africa and state police.[v] Scholars and historians credit some of the initial trouble Frelimo had in governing because of "willingness of Mozambican opposition elements to actively work with pariah minority regimes in Rhodesia and later South Africa…" (Emerson 2013) Additionally, the global environment posed a threat to stability in the region. The Cold War manifested itself in Africa through several proxy conflicts, including in Angola and Mozambique. Mozambique aligned itself initially with the Soviet Union, which spoke to as well as informed directly the philosophy of Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel. The influence of the Cold War in Africa has been written about extensively, and the ways in which the Soviet Union's influence continues to pervade Mozambican identity[vi] will be explored further in the context of this study.

The Cold War, however, was not Frelimo's primary problem: issues surrounding opposition to the methodology of Frelimo post-independence gave rise to opposition, whose history has permanently shaped the Mozambican narrative. The opposition party, Renamo (Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana) "…and the resulting insurgency also reflects the chaotic times immediately before and just after Mozambican independence that gave rise to multiple anti-Frelimo groups and Rhodesia's role in prompting many of these competing interests." (Emerson 2013) Many historians at the time have confounded these historical events and claimed that Renamo was founded by Rhodesian officers, rather than Mozambicans who were against Frelimo's rule. What *is* true is that the financial support of Rhodesia and their communications and technology allowed a resistance movement to shape itself into a proper military power (Carbone 2005).

Geographically, the escalating liberation movements in Rhodesia and South Africa surrounded the tension between Frelimo and Renamo. A newly independent nation state was not only being divided internally, but was having its own identity significantly shaped by external forces. This period, from the end of 1976 through the beginning of 1979, saw the rise of the Renamo leadership and the consolidation of power on the opposition side in the form of establishing permanent bases in the Gorongosa region of Mozambique. These bases remain today an important source of on-going conflict between Frelimo and Renamo, and

essentially divided the country in two. Much like the Portuguese's attempts to separate north from south when first colonizing Mozambique to control trade and economic activity, military destabilization of the country during this period came through creating barriers and restricting movement (Emerson 2013). This growing 'regionalism' was certainly exploited by Renamo, as it attempted to gain support of the masses in central and northern Mozambique, leaving the south to become a Frelimo stronghold. Thus, Frelimo's identity as a power was born out of this geographic divide.

First president Samora Machel was faced with unprecedented postcolonial circumstances. He faced domestic opposition, was helping to destabilize two racist states bordering his own, and was simultaneously utilizing eastern bloc relationships to try to create a free and independent Mozambique. His attempts to negotiate with the powers around him were somewhat fruitful, as some credit Machel with bringing Robert Mugabe and others to the negotiating table at Lancaster House, where freedom of Zimbabwe was achieved (Mlambo 2005). He also participated in talks with the South African apartheid state in 1984 to slow the support of Renamo by P.W. Botha himself. Renamo's technique of crippling critical infrastructure, including railway lines and transport convoys, as well as land mines, left the population of Mozambique vulnerable from the south through Sofala and Tete provinces in the north of the country. These divisions thus carved up the region. Those in the south of the country were aligned with Frelimo and were more likely to flee to South Africa to seek a respite from the fighting; those in the north of the country were more likely to align themselves with Renamo, or at least to align themselves with Renamo's dynamic commander Afonso Dhlakama, who would go on to lead the movement – and remains the leader of Renamo today.

Accounts abound of refugees and internally displaced persons crossing into Malawi, South Africa, Rhodesia, and Swaziland during this period, fundamentally changing the makeup of the region and creating a cultural mixing that has become important to this study's work (Emerson 2013; Panzer 2013; Sideris 2003). This displacement occurred at an even higher rate than what occurred during the independence war (UNHCR, 2000). Renamo strongholds in the centre and north of the country continued to grow, and threats they posed to freedom of movement were dire. Transport from north to south had essentially halted by 1986, and became a consistent military response by Renamo – crippling the Frelimo attempt at building a socialist economy.

Costs of the civil war itself were great: scholars cite death counts of up to one million people between 1981 and 1992, when a peace accord with Renamo was eventually signed

(Hanlon & Keynes 2010). However, equally profound in many ways were the effects on the emergence of Frelimo and its identity led by Machel as a party that speaks for Mozambicans. The war "created a crisis in the relationship between Frelimo and society as it challenged the leading role claimed by Frelimo in relation to the masses. Frelimo had to negotiate with the rebel movement." (Nuvunga & Sitoe 2013) This crisis was both a military one and one of leadership identity, as Frelimo struggled to explain to its supporters just how an opposition had emerged out of the so-called 'hegemonic bloc' that had previously been so united when fighting the Portuguese colonial oppressors. Machel's main support system during the civil war was made up of other socialist states, resulting in a heavy economic dependency and somewhat stunted economic development (Braathen & Orre 2001). The de facto one party state of Frelimo resulted in nationalization policies and use of state funds for private gains during the war, creating a separation between Frelimo leaders and the rest of the Mozambican people that has persisted through present day.

It is important to look at how the economics of socialism manifested during this period and catapulted Mozambican leadership into a particularly vulnerable negotiating position. The policies themselves matter less than their perceived impact on leadership, which was clearly dire. Nationalizing main companies such as electricity, water, railway, and certain food distribution systems were among the primary steps that caused Mozambique to weaken in terms of its own production capacity (Pitcher 2006). Additionally, the Frelimo slogan of "A Luta Continua!" or, "The Struggle Continues!" came to symbolise much of what was unable to be achieved through the "socialist modernization" that Machel took as inspiration from Soviet leaders (West 1997). Without a socialist state that functioned properly, economic pressure began to mount – and the concern Frelimo had about keeping a grip on national identity began to grow. This made promises the government made in 1981 – a 17 per cent annual growth rate, for example – incredibly hard to keep. Mozambicans in rural areas had trouble reconciling their newfound 'independence' with the poverty they were continuing to experience on a regular basis (Dinerman 1994). Though some scholars such as Dinerman see this disconnect as 'cultural' in addition to economic, it is in many ways geographic: those close to Frelimo's strongholds in the south of the country were more likely to identify with Machel's notions of nation building and have more of a distaste for the 'Renamo guerrillas' that were causing the state to destabilise further. This is particularly true for those in the rural centre and north of the country, who followed Frelimo instructions to construct communal villages to celebrate the new socialist regime, only to find those villages destroyed soon thereafter with Renamo's arrival (Dinerman 1996).

Samora Machel: Death and Mozambican Identity:

Amongst the chaos, a central theme was developing in the Mozambican narrative. This theme was one of unification under one party (Frelimo) and essentially one man (Samora Machel). In Sarah Lefanu's biography on Machel, S is for Samora, the author includes as an appendix the transcript of the doomed Tupolev aircraft. It is clear from the transcript that the pilots themselves thought they were in a completely different geographic location given the readings of their radar system and the instructions of air traffic control. Two separate commissions, the Margo Commission of Inquiry (South Africa) and a Soviet inquiry (the pilots were themselves Soviet Union nationals) came to two completely different conclusions about what occurred. The former concluded pilot error was responsible, while the latter explained that a decoy beacon had been deployed, causing the pilots to follow incorrect bearings and crash 170 kilometres away from Maputo. Rumours abounded among Frelimo members, particularly because 24 people aside from Machel were also killed – including several members of his cabinet. There was no shortage of actors to blame: Renamo, the South African apartheid regime, the Rhodesian secret military police, and others. The reaction was immediate: the country who had only seen 11 years of independence was now in the throes of both a civil war *and* a leadership vacuum, the destabilising effects of which may have been devastating. However, the coalescence around the legacy and memory of Machel served to unify a country deeply divided and deeply fatigued by the challenges facing it.

While there has been much controversy surrounding the death of President Machel, I will touch only briefly on this aspect. What I believe is much more crucial to the narrative and to the communities in this study is the impact of the death of Samora on the Mozambican psyche, and on the transition of power from one president to the next over time. Much has been written about Machel himself, including the way in which he grew from a young boy in the rural village of Chilembene to a leader of revolutionary thought and practice. Originally trained as a nurse, Machel's understanding of socialism as a topic of intellectual thought came early in his career, reflecting his desire to understand the inequality faced by black Mozambicans under the Portuguese (Lefanu 2012). His desire to grow a revolution from this hostility is one that still shapes the way Mozambicans remember independence. He sought independence through a unity under the Portuguese language – one that would eliminate tribalism and regionalism. Independence and Samora Machel are not separate in the hindsight of many Mozambicans, particularly those of the same age as Machel who took initial seats of leadership in the first independent government.

His leadership has been described by many as 'autocratic' and 'potentially dictatorial,' however one would be hard-pressed to find a Mozambican today who finds Machel exemplified these terms (Lefanu 2012). Rather, unification of a divided people seems to be the overall legacy. Machel is known for having instituted re-education camps in the north of the country, where anyone found breaking the rules of the new socialist revolution was sent. Among the few and far between films featuring Mozambique is one from 2012 entitled "Virgin Margarida,"[19] which looks specifically at gender roles and re-education camps under the Machel regime. He was also particularly notorious for enforcing unity through racial and ethnic diversity, encouraging marriages among his cabinet members between different races. It is not uncommon to hear Machel described as an 'homem do povo,' or 'man of the people,' and much of this identity ascribed to Machel comes after his death in 1986[20].

Neoliberal economic policies were already under construction for Mozambique when Machel was killed, symbolised most acutely by his visit to the United States in 1985. Political analysts at the time explained,

> This week's visit of Mozambican ruler Samora Machel, a pro-Soviet Marxist, to the White House symbolizes the Reagan Administration's pursuit of a highly questionable policy is a high-stakes gamble with thus far little evidence of success, and it is inconsistent with the Administration's self-proclaimed doctrine supporting anti-Marxist insurgencies The State Department and the White House seem to be hoping to "wean away" Machel from his close ties to the Soviet bloc and his disastrous Marxist economic policies.[vii]

This visit was controversial indeed; Machel allowed intervention by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank into Mozambique's economic affairs[viii] – a relationship that has persisted ever since (Dinerman 1992). Some have seen this as a way of "…build[ing] a political economy that [Frelimo] could not only use to its advantage but which would also inhibit other political groups from entering the economy." (Nuvunga & Sitoe 2013)

[19] http://www.filmafrica.org.uk/virgin-margarida-virgem-margarida/

[20] See Appendix 2 for further information on Samora Machel's death and subsequent controversy

Figure 1.2: President Samora Machel & President Ronald Reagan, 1985

The challenges faced by Frelimo post-independence and throughout the life of the Mozambican civil war were not erased by the death of Machel, but there was a moment of national unity that can only be described as crucial to the Mozambican psyche. Because of this transformative figure, the nation reflected Machel's identity back at his family, and at the rest of their nation.

What Comes Next: Peace and Return:

President Joaquim Chissano took office on 3 November 1986, as things were just beginning to settle down following Machel's death not one month earlier. This important transition and stabilisation of power was crucial to leading to Mozambique's future growth (Lefanu 2012; Morton 2013; Armon, Hendrickson & Vines 1998). The Mozambican peace process was complicated, with both sides beginning talks to end the war in 1987, and a peace accord reached in 1992. The cessation of fighting and signing of the treaty was completed in Rome in August of 1992, where Chissano and Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama signed on behalf of their parties. History demonstrates that a peace accord does not solve every problem, and ultimately what this process does for Frelimo's identity is as consequential as the military impact. It forced Frelimo to acknowledge the legitimacy of other political groups besides its own; prepare its own strategy for competing with these groups; and develop capacity for ensuring control in the presence of Renamo, which had developed a significant approval rating in the north of the country (Sitoe 2015).

Mozambique also saw itself inundated with returning refugees. This is among the aspects of post-civil war Mozambique that saw a great deal of attention from both the media at the time as well as researchers. It dominated the historical narrative that the country's ability to encourage refugee return spoke directly to its success post-conflict (Sideris, 2003; Wilson, 1994). The success was in the rate of return of refugees who had fled to Malawi,

Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and South Africa. Per UNHCR numbers, 1991 saw the return of 5,600 refugees from Zimbabwe and another 25,800 from Malawi; 1992 and the signing of the peace accords in Rome saw another 70,000 return to the country.[ix] The formal repatriation program implemented by UNHCR began in earnest in 1993. By 1994, a mere two years after the signing of the Rome Accord, 75% of all displaced Mozambicans had returned home.

Though the numbers of returnees are impressive, the return and repatriation of refugees created opportunities for cultural adjustment and reintegration that can prove challenging for even the most stable of nations. This was also the case with Mozambique, and has shaped the identity of many of the generations of returnees that brought back with them trauma from war, experiences of mixing and integrating with other cultures outside of their own, and a disenchantment with the Mozambican state model (Armon, Hendrickson, Vines 1998). Significant research has been carried out on the effects of the war trauma, particularly on women, and how this has been carried through different communities (Sideris 2003; Rogers 2009). The divide also manifested itself between rural and urban: rural communities relied more heavily on "…a wide range of traditional rituals to help them deal with the traumas of war and to open the way to reconciliation." (Vines, 1998) Urban communities became more engaged in formulating political solutions to challenges, and working within existing infrastructures to heal their own communities.

Returning to What? Frelimo's Post-war Control:

New and peaceful multiparty elections were held in October 1994, and President Chissano won re-election, as well as made gains for Frelimo in parliament. Though the elections were monitored internationally and were regarded as peaceful, the one-party dominance of Frelimo remained steadfast – despite the many years of conflict the country had endured under its supervision. The 'new' Frelimo was in many ways the 'old' one – albeit with a better understanding of *how* opposition groups like Renamo could pose a devastating threat to its stability if left unchecked. Alongside international partners such as the IMF and the World Bank, Mozambique began under Chissano's leadership to align itself more with western capitalist interest, providing a base from which to grow foreign direct investment in the future. Chissano's task was great: bringing together a divided nation that had suffered at the hands of each other for decades (Hanlon & Keynes 2010). Reconciliation efforts were described rather straightforwardly:

> Starting again meant putting aside a horrible past. Better not to open Pandora's Box with a truth commission or trials. (Hanlon 1997)

Being able to frame the war as coming from the outside helped Chissano in maintaining peace and stability through until the next election period in 2004. His legacy to-date reflects this context; he is known internationally as the peacemaker and unifier of Mozambique after its many years of bloody conflict. He is also one of the only Mozambican leaders to consistently speak out on issues of human rights, democratization, and the importance of sustainable governance.[x]

If you ask Mozambicans today what the most remarkable thing about the 2004 elections were, it is that they occurred at all. Many give the example of neighbouring Zimbabwe, which has yet to rid itself of its own freedom fighter leader, Robert Mugabe. President Chissano announced in 2003 that he would not seek a third term in office, a significant show of good faith toward the international community that placed their faith in him to lead the broken country on the 'right path' toward security and prosperity. One of the regulations in Mozambican governance law is that the person who holds the presidency *also* holds the position as head of the Frelimo political party. This meant that the party needed to pick someone who could continue to propel Frelimo to the top of the mind-set of Mozambican voters. The selection landed on Armando Guebuza, a Frelimo member from the northern city of Nampula, a first for the leaders of the country who had all previously been from the south.[xi] He had even been Resident Minister of Sofala Province for a time, a stronghold of Renamo. Nicknamed 'Gue-Business,' Guebuza's main priorities for the country quickly set a new tone: Mozambique was open for foreign investment and opportunity (Mosse 2004). Even before he was elected, his business interests covered several key sectors[21].

The alignment with the Frelimo identity, despite vastly expanding market capitalist opportunities and increasing the vulnerability of the country to external market forces, was critical to Guebuza's electability and ultimately governability.

[21] These sectors included mining, consulting, import-export, banking and fisheries

Figure 1.3: Guebuza support banner in 2013, Zimpeto Stadium. Reads: "Long Live Guebuza, The Indisputable Guide of All of Us."[22]

One critical component to the ten years of office that Guebuza held is that it represented a shift between an old and new Frelimo. The old Frelimo, who fought for freedom and recognised the need to dispel opposition to survive, and the new, which prioritised economic development over all else. Critics of Guebuza and Frelimo explain,

> Mozambican political parties never admit to the existence of internal factions. Following the departure of Joaquim Chissano and the arrival of Armando Guebuza, it was clear that there were at least two factions…these were never acknowledged publically. (Nuvunga & Sitoe 2013)

These internal divides still dominate in present day politics, and continue in anecdotal evidence collected for this study that a unified Frelimo is an illusion.

Struggle for Managing Identities: Contemporary Realities

All the historical background described in this chapter sets the stage for the particularly dynamic period during which this research took place. Elections were a dominant theme in the contextualisation of this study, as the period where field research was conducted took place directly during and after two important periods. The first were provincial elections held at the end of 2013, and the second were national elections held at the end of 2014. During both periods of time, tension could be felt throughout the country. 2013 was a particularly challenging time, as provincial elections occurred after an intense period of insecurity; kidnappings that had gone largely unaddressed by the national government (see Appendix 3) were dominating news headlines, even in the international press (Ferrari 2013).

[22] Picture taken by author, November 2014

One of the most interesting things about tension between Frelimo and Renamo is that sometimes it is as if this conflict is occurring in a distant place, perhaps even a different country entirely. Mozambican news media, while covering the clashes, does not cover the genuine apathy that can occur regarding political tensions during daily life in Maputo. Located at the southern-most tip of the country, Maputo can sometimes seem far away from the political realities occurring within the borders of its own nation. Therefore, understanding the local as well as the national is so crucial to understanding community life in a place like Mozambique. While the tensions of 2013 into 2014 were escalating, life in Mafalala and Zimpeto remained relatively unchanged. When beginning to reach out to organisations to set up focus groups for the study, I was met with surprised responses: people were surprised to see a white foreigner such as myself willing to remain in the country for the foreseeable future when so many others were leaving (Individual Interview 1, Ivan Laranjeira, November 2013). During the period from September 2013 – October 2014, no fewer than nineteen major security updates and warnings were issued from the Embassy of the United States of America, my home embassy.[23]

The last six months of 2013 saw an uptick in kidnappings occurring throughout Maputo and in other parts of the country further north. The accusations were damning: Frelimo was allowing organised crime syndicates through which they potentially had financial stakes to operate kidnapping for ransom among the nation's wealthy business community – particularly those of Indian origin. In October 2013, a 13-year-old child Abdul Rashid was found dead at the hands of kidnappers outside of Beira in the north of the country. His body was dismembered, and photos were released to the public. The demands by kidnappers had reached as much as $1 million, but were negotiated to approximately $30,000. Children were the primary targets of these attacks, being abducted on the street or outside of schools. One of the main comments of the family members of the deceased was, "My first mistake was to call the police" (Opperman, 2013). Informally, many speculated that there was a connection between the kidnappers and the police, and ultimately with members of the Frelimo government as no one whose family was directly linked to Frelimo, including some of the wealthiest Mozambicans, was affected. The tension had reached the capital; a rarity for many Maputo residents, and it was during this time that recruitment for the study had begun. The sense was that things were dangerous if you were a person perceived to have wealth in the capital, and that the state was fundamentally untrustworthy. Several times

[23] http://maputo.usembassy.gov/2014-emergency-messages.html

throughout this period I was boarding a flight to neighbouring South Africa with dozens of foreign families, particularly Portuguese, who felt they were under threat. According to one interview conducted with a member of the Portuguese Cultural Centre, approximately 300 families had withdrawn their children from school in Mozambique to return to Europe until the crisis settled down (Individual Interview, February 2014).

Almost as if on cue, a political crisis began to evolve from a criminal one. Frelimo forces attacked the military base of the opposition movement Renamo in October of 2013 at both the height of tensions around the increased kidnappings as well as tensions surrounding provincial and local elections, slated for 20 November 2013 (Dzinesa & Motsamai, 2013). This attack occurred in Sofala province, where Renamo has been based for much of its existence, particularly during the civil war of the 1980's and early 1990's. The combination of this activity alongside the criminal activities of the kidnappers that were also potentially tied to a political party gave the entire news coverage a feel of vulnerability and tension. Discoveries directly before the provincial elections in November 2013 and subsequently after the elections in early 2014 placed clearly suspicious pieces of evidence alongside each other. The first was that "During October 2013 six people, including a presidential guard member (elite police unit that protects the President [Guebuza]) and two policemen were sentenced to 16 years in prison for their involvement in abductions" (Opperman, 2013). This was confirmed in later analysis, as Guebuza claimed in late 2013, "'some of the kidnappers have been taken to court and are being tried, but it isn't enough and we have much more to do.' He expressed his 'full confidence' in the Presidential Guard and police despite mounting evidence – including the arrest of one of his bodyguards about a kidnapping syndicate – of police complicity in the crimes" (Rademeyer, 2015). This connection between organised crime and not only the Frelimo government but also the president himself gave ample content to opposition groups and to onlookers about the potential for real tension to creep in alongside an important time period in Mozambique's young democratic history.

The second piece of information that contributed to mounting distrust in the state is that there are real connections between tensions escalating and the act of voting or exercising civic duty in the country. As discussed in further detail in Chapter IV, Renamo has had a history of waves of violence that fluctuate in intensity and in impact since the peace accords were signed in 1992. Much of the time, the geographic distance from the capital has allowed people to develop Renamo as an abstract enemy in their minds, while physically behaving and remaining much the same. Policy advisors from the Institute for Security Studies warned in 2013 that Renamo's "warmongering," as described by the Frelimo government at the time,

“should not be ignored” and that their threats are “somewhat credible” (Dzinesa & Motsamai). Renamo’s demands are and were in 2013 much of what they were in 1992: that Frelimo is dominating a space that requires diversity of opinion and leadership.

Renamo headquarters abandoned in Beira, November 2013[24]

Whether it was fully paid attention to at the time or not, it is clear that 2013’s violence and crime activity paved the way for a serious revisit to the role of the state in the lives of ordinary Mozambicans and particularly the role of Armando Guebuza in shaping the future of the country.

Election March in support of candidate Filipe Jacinto Nyussi of the Frelimo Party, October 2014

[24] Reuters Photograph, Grant Lee Neuenberg

Elections went calmly on October 15, 2014, and results according to Reuters and other international sources of information including the United Nations put the tallies at 57% of the vote for Frelimo; 36% of the vote to Renamo and 7% to the relatively newly formed political party, MDM (Mucari, 2014).

The national elections of the end of 2014 were closely watched by the international community as well as regional powers and members of Frelimo who consistently feared a threat to their hegemony. It is important to note that period of instability, as it directly coincided with recruitment of participants and initial evaluation of field sites for this study. The 'get out the vote' campaign could be seen in every aspect of Mozambican life. Technically, it was a race with three parties garnering attention: MDM (Movimento Democratico de Mocambique), Renamo and Frelimo. From all the signage all around the city, it was clear that parties were exerting their influence in the places they felt mattered most: neighbourhoods like Mafalala and Zimpeto. Members of the Frelimo political party gathered in early spring of 2014 to narrow down candidates for president – in Mozambique, the president is also the head of the Frelimo party – and chose a relatively unknown figure. Filipe Nyusi was considered by many to be a choice made by then-president Guebuza to ensure that the transition of power would not mean anything problematic for his economic and business interests.

Several members of the Frelimo party who declined to be identified by name explained they had been given supplies to distribute on behalf of Nyusi, as well as introducing him to the broader Mozambican public (Individual interview with 56-year-old male and 47-year-old male, July 2014). These included traditional cloth decorated with the Frelimo logo and Nyusi's face, free flags and hats, and even bags of rice at a subsidised price that were branded as Frelimo-distributed. What were they supposed to do with these supplies? "We were instructed to distribute them in the suburbs," said one Frelimo official, using the terminology coined by the Portuguese during the colonial period to identify the areas of the city that were on the outskirts, including Mafalala (Morton 2013). One important tactic was giving out free food: a necessity for many of the impoverished people in these areas. In one instance in August of 2014, I was invited by one of the organisations I had been working with in Mafalala, Associacao IVERCA, to attend one of these gatherings at the Frelimo office on Avenida da Angola. There were approximately 200 people who had lined up to receive a basic afternoon's lunch of corn meal and a type of curry known as *matapa*. The crowd all were also given Frelimo clothing if they were not already wearing it. I was advised by the representative of IVERCA not to interview people directly at the event, but to

observe. What I saw was a government reminding its people of who was responsible for providing the basics: food and freedom.

Figure 1.4: Filipe Nyusi Campaign Poster[25]

Gains were made by Renamo and MDM in the Mozambican Parliament, which was enough for some Frelimo members to be quoted in the press as being nervous about Dhlakama's next move. After many months on the campaign trail, the Renamo leader was decidedly back as a figurehead of his party, and indeed of a movement that was both geographic (he focused on the north and many of his victories were in northern provinces), and political. After Nyusi took power in the early months of 2015, Renamo brought a proposal before the Mozambican Parliament demanding autonomous governance of the provinces it had won in the elections (Hanlon 2015). The idea, as explained by Hanlon "…calls for 'autarquias provincias.' In Portuguese, an 'autarquia' is an autonomous administrative body, such as an elected municipal administration. Thus, the bill closely follows existing law creating the existing municipalities, to ensure it would be constitutional." While a considerably bold move for Renamo, the move remained constitutional.

The idea of a governance structure that was reflective of a more diverse electorate was a difficult one for the Frelimo constituency to swallow. On social media at the time, a popular phrase circulating among Frelimo supporters was "Quem não é da Frelimo, o problema é Dele." This is roughly translated as "Whoever isn't with Frelimo, that is his problem!" Posters with this phrase were hung throughout cafes in the city and Facebook profile pictures and Facebook groups abounded with people creating images to feature and promote the phrase. This mood was decidedly divisive; those in positions of wealth, power, and with significant business interests could utilise the phrase as a show of support for a

[25] Photo taken by Author, October 2014

united Mozambique. In their eyes, this ‘united Mozambique’ could only exist under a Frelimo leadership structure, and does not leave room for entertaining other forms of governance.

Constitutional scholar Gilles Chistac, a Franco-Mozambican who specialised in constitutional law stuck to the role of promoting the legality of the proposal submitted by Renamo. His position, as well as the position of other academics at the time, was that the constitutional authority was the most important component of the Renamo-Frelimo debates after the election – not the content of the proposal itself (Pitcher 2015). On the morning of 3 March 2015, however, his opinions were silenced. He was gunned down by anonymous assassins while sipping an espresso at a local café he was known to patronise every morning before work. While the world was still speaking about the Charlie Hebdo massacre in Chistac’s home country of France and raising a call to arms against those who threaten free speech through the phrase “Je Suis Charlie,” or “I am Charlie,” in Maputo citizens were confronted with their own version.

Figure 1.5: Citizens march in Maputo[26]

In an incredibly political and socially engaged move, members of the Mozambican public organised a march to protest the assassination, utilising their own outcry: Je Suis Gilles Chistac. The response from the media was immediate: from the BBC to the French Newspaper Le Monde, everyone was speculating about Frelimo’s involvement in the murder to silence the man who was legitimising Renamo’s actions under constitutional authority. Nyusi and the Frelimo government’s response were to remain quiet and to reject the proposal in Parliament outright. By the middle of 2015, pressure only seemed to increase on the new Nyusi administration. Much of this pressure was coming from the rise of the dollar in relation

[26] Photo taken by Author 5 March 2015

to the Mozambican metical (see Appendix 3). Prices everywhere in the country were rising, which was placing the new administration in an increasingly vulnerable position. This distancing has allowed those at the centre of Frelimo to strategize and regroup, while still enforcing the idea that the party is remaining in control of the situation.

The citizenry, however, have remained less discreet. Following the announcement by the IMF in late April of the undisclosed debt burden, citizens all over the country – but particularly in Maputo – began to see a window to express further frustration with the Frelimo government. Aside from the election, this has been the most galvanising issue for Mozambicans since the end of the civil war.

Figure 1.6: Poster advertising demonstrations for May 2016[27]

[27] Translated as: "A country with 23 million people cannot be hypnotised by a group of people that are said to be owners of this country because they are part of a group of 'war veterans.' We the people should say enough! Enough Debt, Enough Assassinations of those that fight for a better Mozambique, and Enough Corruption! It is time to say enough! Let us Stop the country! We will stop the country for an entire week." 'The People Already Know the Power They Have!' Circulated by Liga dos Direitos Humanos, 2016

Powerful calls like this from nongovernmental groups in Maputo resulted in several demonstrations in the city. While this is notable, as demonstrations are not common in the city generally, what is even more interesting is that these groups did not specifically divide across party lines of Renamo and Frelimo; organisers were unwilling to identify themselves as anti-Frelimo simply because of their participation in these activities (Individual Interview with 28-year-old male, 2 May 2016). At these gatherings, many people took the opportunity to express distaste with both the management of the Mozambican economy, but also the issue of corruption and suppression of free speech, things that seem intimately connected in the Mozambican consciousness.

Figure 1.7: Demonstration in Maputo[28]

The engagement of the Mozambican citizenry, particularly in the south of the country, around the ideas of transparency and accountability of government have provided a decidedly different tone as compared to the feeling of inevitability of success under Frelimo rule that the 2014 elections were meant to solidify. The events have called into question the meaningful nature of civil discourse, and what responsibility citizens must have for each other in a time of crisis when the government that has for so long been identified as a liberator is unable to deliver on its promises.

Following a familiar pattern, tensions between the opposition parties of Frelimo and Renamo have also escalated during this period. This has been the norm, as evidenced in Mozambique's short and dynamic history. As early as mid-December 2015, UNHCR began

[28] Sign: 'Cahora Bassa is Ours (we have no electricity). The Debt is Ours! (We did not see the money). Picture taken by author, 2 May 2016

notifying the international aid community about an influx of Mozambican refugees into neighbouring Malawi (Dobbs, 2016). Reminiscent of the civil war days of the 1980's as described in Chapter IV, this news was certainly troubling to those who were familiar with the Mozambican story. Testimony from the 300+ refugees entering Malawi each day was of fear of clashes between Frelimo and Renamo and the burning and killing of villagers, particularly in Sofala Province. UNHCR announced the reopening of Luwani refugee camp, which had closed in 2007 after the lauded repatriation of Mozambican refugees post-civil war. Despite confirmation by the UN and partner agencies, the Mozambican government denied and continues to deny the need for Mozambicans to seek refugee status in Malawi (Ligomeka 2016). Governor of the western province of Tete in the north of the country, Paulo Awade, was quoted as saying ""The people in the refugee camp are Malawians, rather than Mozambicans. Don't talk to me about refugees, because there are no refugees." As such, many Mozambicans are settling in Malawi without access to basic services. With this type of denial, it is also hard for the UN to mobilise resources to ensure adequate food and shelter for fleeing Mozambicans.

Refugees allege severe acts of violence on behalf of government forces as they try to exert control over provinces where Renamo won clear majorities in 2014. This has been coupled with a simultaneous in-depth investigation of arms deals negotiated by the Guebuza administration – arms that many outsiders believe have made their way to the conflict zones where refugees are fleeing. *Verdade*, an independent newspaper based in Maputo, conducted an inquiry into activities by Armando Guebuza's own son, Mussumbuluko, who allegedly led the process of government purchase of arms from Israel in May 2014 (Tema de Fundo 2016). This investigation and its subsequent allegations draw a line between the activities of the Guebuza administration and the control the Nyusi administration is exerting to maintain civility and order in the country. This is clearly a chaotic moment for the Mozambican populace that underpins the need to understand the tension between the way local people identify with their own communities and the intense distrust of the state apparatus that exists. This type of one-party control with the appearance of multiparty participation continues in Mozambique today, with similar tensions accompanying it between Frelimo, Renamo, and a third party formed in 2009 known as MDM, Movimento Democratico de Mocambique (Democratic Movement of Mozambique).[29][30]

[29] MDM is essentially a split-off of Renamo, and was formed by Daviz Simago, mayor of the city of Beira, who broke with Renamo and formed the party. It has been the only other party to successfully challenge the electoral policy law enough to be accepted onto ballots in

Anecdotally, the dialogue among Mozambicans and among the participants in this study confirms that the peace process which ended in 1992 ended military engagement, but did not end the tension between Frelimo and Renamo that essentially writes and rewrites Mozambican history with each passing year. The emergence of MDM has had moments of great tension alongside the two dominant rivals in the Mozambican narrative, however the idea that it stands for something separate from Frelimo or Renamo is still not credible. As one scholar described, "…the MDM has new features but thus far it seems to be the "same food that the Mozambicans are used to." The difference is that this food is served on new plates." (Nuvunga & Adalima 2011) MDM as a new party has limited scope, however has continued to aid in moving dialogue locally about whether hegemony still exists for Frelimo.

Modern day Maputo has drawn comparisons to several different rapidly growing urban areas across the developing world. It is loud, overcrowded; its infrastructure is bending under the influx of new foreigners, large Range Rover vehicles, and a city that has exploded to over 1.5 million residents.[31] The number of new cafes, restaurants, shopping areas, and high-rise apartment complexes has expanded exponentially over the past decade. This is driven in part due to the economic policies of 'Gue-Business,' who negotiated several important investment deals with foreign actors. These included the discovery of massive natural gas reserves off the coast of the country in 2010, which have thus been capitalised upon by American companies like Anadarko, whose investment may reach $15 billion.[32] The IMF itself has projected $100 billion in investments in gas alone. Discovery of coal reserves, oil, timber, and other resources have brought Chinese, Indian, Italian, Turkish, American, and of course Portuguese companies to the negotiating table, placing Mozambique in a situation written about in many pieces of development literature. The so-called 'natural resource curse,' (Sachs, et al 1997, 2003) reflecting the reality that many developing nations have a hard time managing the massive wealth influx that natural resources may provide them, has been on the minds of many Mozambicans. How will a country so young be able to manage so

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Mozambique, which results in incredibly complicated legislation enacted by the Frelimo government (AfriMap 2009). It saw electoral gains in 2013 in the provincial elections, sparking news in the international press about a 'new challenger' in the political field in Mozambique.[29]

[30] http://www.mdm.org.mz/
[31] http://www.citypopulation.de/Mocambique.html
[32] http://www.bdlive.co.za/africa/africanbusiness/2016/02/05/anadarko-races-to-bring-mozambican-gas-find-on-stream

much, and how can it ensure a trickle-down effect to decrease the massive inequality that persists?

Additionally, many Portuguese have returned to Mozambique in search of better opportunities, better wages, and an ability to live a relatively good life compared to their potential in Portugal. Many Mozambicans still live below the accepted UN poverty line, and continue to struggle in seeing the benefits of the booming economy around them. (Hanlon 2010, 2013) The foreign faces so abundant in Maputo cafes create an environment all too familiar to many poor Mozambicans. However, one crucial difference is that there are additional structures to blame. The colonial administration has been dismantled, but the Frelimo administration remains; the fiercely capitalist mentality of so many upper-class Frelimo members, sometimes referred to by participants as the 'elite,' has drawn a connection between wealthy foreigners and their Frelimo counterparts in the Mozambican mind-set. This sets the stage for looking at the two communities in Maputo focused on in this study and how this historical background has had its impact on them and on the study writ large.

Chapter IV: Methodology

Introduction:

Maputo, Mozambique is a dynamic and growing southern African city. Formerly known as Lourenco Marques during the Portuguese colonial era, the city is now home to over 1.2 million inhabitants, as of 2007's census. As a field research environment, it has been both challenging and rewarding in its own ways. I have been coming to Mozambique and living there for periods of time since 2008, and got to know the city first and foremost as an inhabitant before trying to examine it from the more distant view of researcher. I was captivated by the city's mixture of the colonial (architecture, street names, lifestyle) and its more modern (newer glass constructions, thousands of cars replacing mass transit, and increasing amounts of informal settlements on the urban periphery). The mixture of these two types of places make Maputo an urban environment that is both accessible and sometimes of another time and place.

I utilized a mixed methods approach, relying almost exclusively on data I collected over an 18-month period from 2014-2015, with supplemental individual interviews through the end of that year. I also had limited access to archival documents, most of which are copies of legislation regulating the registration of non-governmental organisations in the country. The primary data collection included conducting focus groups, participant observation, and individual interviews. To maximize the depth of research, I focused on identifying and working with local institutions in the two research sites, the people who are affiliated with these institutions, and important figures in Mozambican life as indicated both by literature-based research as well as recommendations of other interview subjects.

Utilizing focus groups as the primary research tool allowed me to gather together larger numbers of people to speak about community issues in a setting that was already a fixture of the community. Many of the participants, even if they were potentially not affiliated with a community organisation themselves, had a degree of familiarity with groups who did participate, creating a more open and inclusive environment that was somewhat familiar. Based on these focus groups, I conducted supplemental interviews using snowball sampling. This allowed for further investigation based both on the results of the focus groups themselves, but also on recommendations from community members and other stakeholders. These groups of people included: Religious institutions (mosques, churches, temples), local community organisations (sometimes designated as social welfare organisations), and formal

and informal groups (women's groups, small business groups, local political affinity groups). Through identifying and working with institutions, I could interrogate both a sense of what types of institutions are organically formed and sustained in these neighbourhoods, as well as the priorities and values of those who are involved with them. Many studies on civil society organisations including but not limited to ones focused on serving specific geographic areas, use this type of research design to glean richer data (Obadare 2014; Kleibl & Munck 2016). One particularly strong criteria used to regard the choice of these institutions is that each one, in whichever form, must be locally managed and majority funded by local people or organisations. This is key to the context and understanding of the study, as many international nongovernmental organisations operate in neighbourhoods like these, however come with international funding, and have less relevance to a discussion about community giving than those operating within the community itself.

Research Design:

To collect an adequate amount of qualitative data from the study, the research design followed a grounded theory research design and approach (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Grounded theory has several parts that served the research context well. The focus of grounded theory itself, has been to avoid "selection to fit preconceived or prematurely developed ideas" when both gathering and analysing data (Cowley 2004). Grounded theory informed and inspired this research design both in the choice of open-ended questions for focus groups and interviews, as well as the data analysis phase. This open research design proved particularly helpful in working and collecting data in Mozambique, where there are few examples to draw from on qualitative and in-depth community studies. Without this baseline, it was important for me as a researcher to build in flexibility in the design to meet dynamic and potentially challenging research conditions. I did this through creating a research design that reflected a desire to gain access to both groups of individuals engaged collectively in giving practices, as well as individuals who may or may not have direct connections with these community organisations.

Research Sites:

This study analysed two neighbourhoods in the capital city of Maputo, Mozambique. Deciding on the field research sites was a large consideration for me at the beginning of the research process. A total of 224 people in these sites participated in either focus groups or individual interviews. The decision to choose two research sites for this study serves several

purposes. Firstly, neighbourhoods in Maputo have experienced growth and change as the economy continues to grow, mostly from the impact of large-scale projects taking advantage of vast natural resource wealth. Therefore, looking at only one community would potentially ignore the influence of this growth. Secondly, examining only one site would provide interesting information on defining community giving practices, but would provide a limited scope of how Mozambican communities see and manifest community giving practices at the community level. I wanted to make sure that the choices of locations would provide insight into the contemporary realities of the city, and felt that looking at only one location would limit the amount of exposure I would have to these realities.

I also wanted to make sure that regardless of choice of site, I would look at a diverse array of Mozambicans through the investigation. Having lived and worked in Mozambique for several years prior to the start of the research process, I was already familiar with the fact that Maputo is a city of diversity. An important statistic that captures this diversity was the category known in census documents as “origin.” National origin itself (whether the person comes from the south of Mozambique, or from another part of the country) can only be identified in the Mozambican context by language. While Mozambique itself possesses more than twenty languages, grouped into four ‘families’ of languages, (Gadelii 2001) the government does not utilize this data to determine whether these Maputo residents originally come from the city. The only detail they utilise is that of listed birthplace.

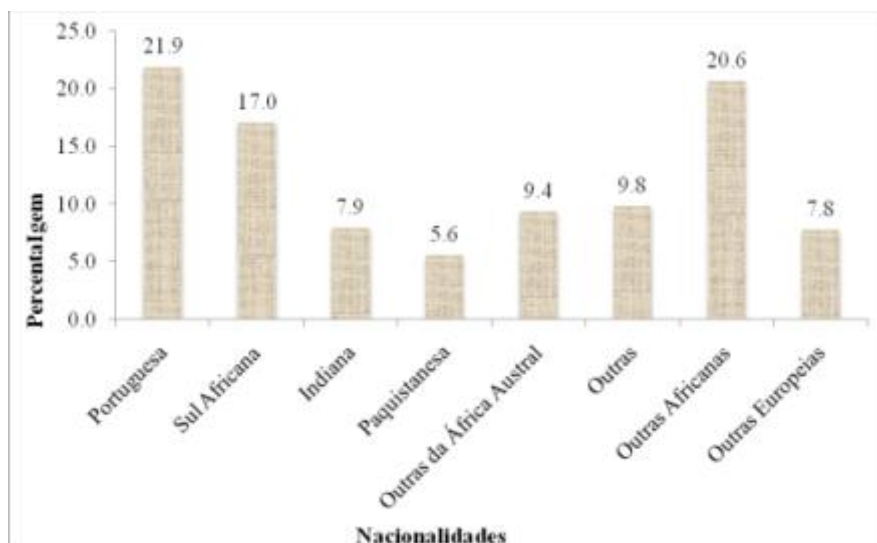

Table 1.1: Nationalities Table[33]

QUADRO 8.2 DISTRIBUIÇÃO PERCENTUAL DA POPULAÇÃO DE 5 ANOS E MAIS POR GRANDES GRUPOS DE IDADE SEGUNDO A LÍNGUA QUE FALA COM MAIS FREQUÊNCIA EM CASA. MAPUTO CIDADE, 2007

Língua que fala com mais frequência em casa	Total	Grupos de idade		
		5-19	20-49	50+
N	**959,747**	**386,180**	**479,164**	**94,403**
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Português	55.2	57.9	56.1	39.1
Xichangana	31.4	31.2	30.2	37.8
Xirhonga	8.4	7.7	7.8	14.5
Cicopi/Cichopi	1.0	0.6	1.1	2.4
Xitshwa	1.3	0.8	1.5	2.2
Bitonga	0.6	0.3	0.7	1.6
Outras línguas moçambicanas	0.8	0.4	1.0	0.8
Outras línguas estrangeiras	0.9	0.5	1.1	1.3
Nenhuma	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mudos	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Desconhecida	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.3

Table 1.2: Percentage Distribution of 5+ Years of Age by Mother Tongue[34]

I found that the methodology of interviews and focus groups allowed for an analysis of what people said the community was like, and to match that against my own experiences. Indeed, “interviews are useful for getting people to state the normative values of the community (the way that it is felt things ‘ought’ to be)” (Shurmer-Smith 2002). This idea is carried through in presenting the two communities to look at how communities talk about themselves, and how their history and identity is demonstrated through the idea of community giving.

Research Sites:

Mafalala: The neighbourhood of Mafalala stretches as one neighbourhood divided by a main road, Avenida de Angola. Located in what many would consider prime Maputo real estate; the neighbourhood surrounds main arteries leading to Maputo International Airport. Estimates based on several data sets[35] including assessments completed by other academic researchers (Goncalves 2016) show 20,000 inhabitants of Mafalala, 80% of whom are under 18 years of age.[xii] In terms of urban planning, Mafalala is one of the oldest neighbourhoods in the city, having served several purposes during the colonial period – not all of which were

[33] *Indicadores Socio-Demographicos Maputo Cidade,* Socio-Demographic Indicators, Maputo City (2007)
[34] Socio-Demographic Indicators, Maputo City (2007)
[35] Census data from the Mozambican government measures Mafalala within the Maputo population.

positive. Like many other neighbourhoods constructed during colonial rule, Mafalala assisted the Portuguese in their desire to separate and confine (Morton 2013). In the post-independence narrative, Mafalala has been deemed the birthplace of the Mozambican liberation movement, and has recently become home to an influx of "historical tourists," those interested in learning about the birthplaces of Mozambican leaders such as first president Samora Machel and second president Joaqim Chissano. Mafalala is located along the line that Portuguese colonial powers drew to mark the division between the racially and ethnically 'white' part of the city, known as the "concrete city" (cidade de cimento), and its outskirts, called "caniço city" (cidade de caniço), where the local black communities were located. This is explored in detail in the Introduction chapter, which explores the depth and breadth of the history of the Mozambican context. However, it is important to note the geographic realities here.

Mafalala appears to the uneducated eye to be a random mix of zinc-roofed houses, which exist in extreme density around several paved and unpaved roads, cutting paths through the neighbourhood. It is divided into two sections: "A" and "B," both of which have their own churches, mosques, formal and informal businesses and kiosks, and a wide range of informal institutions. The area is, for all purposes, a mix of formal and informal settlements. Some homes are renovated and well taken care of, while also having several cars parked out front, a demonstration that roots connect people to Mafalala who may have economically moved on to a more upper class neighbourhood. Others are little more than structures built to sleep a few extra family members at night. It is, however, a gross simplification of the context to *only* look at the colonial and the political. Mafalala is also home to a mixture of Mozambican cultures that come from a wide variety of national origins that contribute to its dynamic history. To the Portuguese, the citizens of Mafalala were Africans, however the pre- and postcolonial populations of Mafalala reflect firstly a deeper story of migration from north to south in Mozambique, and secondly a long and documented history of diverse languages, interests, and cultures mixing in and among the landscape of the city. Census data from colonial times indicate that of the population living in Mafalala and surrounds, the majority were from either the south of Mozambique generally, or from the far north part of Mozambique, particularly Ilha de Mocambique (Morton 2013). There were also a fair number of migrants from other Portuguese colonies that were assigned to live in the neighbourhood, including but not limited to those from Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and Goa.[xiii] This type of diversity continued throughout the colonial period, and even into the

history of post-independence, and ultimately post-civil war Maputo. Present day Mafalala reflects the growth of the city, and maintains its diversity. It is home to families that have lived in the neighbourhood for generations, putting down roots that have cemented it as one of the more established areas of Maputo. Its population has increased, though it is hard to say by how much. Evidence of this increase comes in anecdotal evidence from participants in my study, but also geographically in the sheer number of homes that now exist in the area.

Zimpeto: The second research site for the study, Zimpeto, did not exist in current form at the end of the Mozambican civil war in 1992. It is, unlike Mafalala, one of those areas that is hard to identify clearly on a map. Zimpeto greets the visitor without pretence: it is, for those in cars and riding in minibuses (xapas), a pass-through point. It is crowded, dusty, and resembles a crossroads. Minibus drivers list Zimpeto on their cars as a destination, indicative of the importance of the area in terms of workers coming into the central city of Maputo each day. Zimpeto sits on the border of the village of Marracuene, which certain participants in my study had indicated as 'far away from Maputo under Portuguese rule. It was not a place you came from to work.'[36] The centre of Marracuene village sits 30 kilometres from Maputo, with Zimpeto indicated as a neighbourhood along the way. In fact, internet searches for this area will yield more descriptions of things located *in* Zimpeto, such as the National Football Stadium of Zimpeto and the Zimpeto Market, rather than anything about Zimpeto as a concrete geographical location. It has developed as an urban-rural frontline (Jenkins, 2003), mirroring the economic migration that has resulted from post-civil war economic policies. Jenkins explores the idea that "the growth of what could be termed peri-rural areas, for instance the large villages that grow up, usually around markets and transport services, at major regional road junctions in rural areas, and the linear villages that start to appear along the main regional access routes." Rural areas like Marracuene have become pipelines to Maputo for young people searching for work opportunities, and Zimpeto's creation has been the result.

The Mozambican government does not measure Zimpeto's demographics separately; however provincial data indicate an increase in the total population of Maputo province. Many scholars attribute the growth of Maputo to phenomena that include the return of internally displaced persons (IDPs) to Maputo after the civil war (Morton 2013); the economic changes that Mozambique underwent in the early part of the 21st century; and the

[36] Rosilia, Zimpeto Resident, April 2015

continued lack of urban planning as the city develops further (Jenkins 2002). Several studies comparing urban planning in Maputo to Angola, South Africa, and other contexts have tried to explain the nature of the development, attributing it to "the non-recognition of the essential metropolitan nature of the greater Maputo area in terms of urban management." (Jenkins 2001, 2002). This mentality leaves Zimpeto out of an imagination of what Maputo is. Even today, Zimpeto is still seen as an urban 'edge city' (Garreau, 1991) that exists because of economic change and population return, rather than a community in and of itself. The decision to construct the National Stadium for football in Zimpeto even speaks to this reality. Constructed by the Anhui Foreign Economic Construction Company over a period of two years and three months[xiv], the stadium was a clear attempt by the government to create a connection between Zimpeto and the middle-class Mozambicans in the city of Maputo who would, in theory, patronize the stadium itself. It is precisely the interesting disconnect of Zimpeto as both outside the city and of the city's aspirations that motivated me to choose an area like Zimpeto for this field research.

The Zimpeto area defines itself by the stadium's own landscape, which sits at the centre of the intersection with the main national highway – the only artery through the country that goes from South to North. This makes it a bustling area that has given birth to a central market, overflowing into the roads around the stadium. It is also a major transit point: people wanting to take minibuses further north must transfer here. President of Mozambique Filipe Nyusi visited Zimpeto during his election campaign in 2014, and made his first visit there as president at the end of 2015 to assuage fears of price gauging as the value of the dollar rose.[37] It has become the largest market in Maputo, replacing Mercado Central, located in the center of the city. One of the results of this was the formation of a commission for market workers in Zimpeto, which was created at the end of 2015.[xv]

[37] http://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz/index.php/main/47378-depois-de-visitar-mercado-do-zimpeto-nyusi-quer-stocks-para-quadra-festiva

Figure 1.8: Aerial View of Zimpeto – Ministry of Transportation

Little is known about specific numbers of races, ethnicities, and nationalities within Zimpeto (much like Mafalala, but even more so), however anecdotal evidence suggests that many people in Zimpeto arrive in the community from geographically distant locations.[38] This includes, but is not limited to the provinces of Inhambane, Sofala, Tete, and others. Migration profiles compiled by the United Nations and International Organization for Migration indicate that rural to urban migration has increased since the end of the Mozambican civil war.[xvi] Additionally, of the top countries for immigrants to Mozambique, South Africa is continuously listed. There is no formal measurement of whether these numbers indicate returns of former refugees to Mozambique after long periods of time away: many of these families sought residency and ultimately citizenship in South Africa during this period (Adepoju 2008). However, through my own participant observation and interviews, I gleaned that many had spent significant time outside of their home province, if not outside the country.

This, therefore, sets the basis for the study at hand. The analysis of these two different sites which both represent a Maputo that is growing and changing provided rich material for looking at communities and their complexities. More specifically, I could interrogate two places in space that had not yet been looked at in relation to one another, and in relation to a lens focused on the everyday.

Assumptions, Limitations, and Delimitations

Several elements about working and researching in Mozambique must be discussed to best understand how the research design was implemented. As discussed earlier, there are

[38] Participant observation, 30 March – 2 April 2015

obvious challenges in working in a developing country urban context, which have been explored by several authors (Heer 2015; Jenkins 2009). The challenges did not occur equally across both research sites. They particularly manifested themselves in Zimpeto, when compared to Mafalala. This may be for several reasons, including the level of my own access to information about the neighbourhoods themselves before entering the field research phase. There were some specific limitations that affected both research sites, including:

Safety and Security in the Neighbourhoods

Both neighbourhoods present challenges for a female researcher working alone, even during the day. In both Mafalala and Zimpeto, overcrowding and lack of well-constructed roads make it difficult for police to patrol. Additionally, it is generally acknowledged by Mozambicans themselves that police tend to patrol and control assaults and other robberies in wealthier areas of the city. In Zimpeto because of the lack of neighbourhood design, police stations are located outside of most areas of deep population concentration, except for what is referred to as *controlo,* an area where police work to control the vehicles passing through to travel further to the north. The major police station in the area, or 'esquadra,' is in the village of Marracuene. There are no reports publicly available about the crime committed in Zimpeto itself, however several individuals and heads of institutions in the area have remarked that petty crime and sexual assault has been prevalent during the day, as there is little police presence in and around the dense market areas.[39]

In Mafalala, the security situation is more on par with what would be expected in field research contexts in underprivileged neighbourhoods. One of the key differences with Zimpeto is that the area is more accessible to police and is located more centrally. Residents have a much higher degree of familiarity with the presence of foreigners in Mafalala. This is particularly true for this study, as having family members in the area and knowing residents personally before the beginning of the study allowed for easier movement and introduction to the population. It was important in Mafalala to ensure that relationships were developed with institutions that were strong enough to provide a level of acceptance and security. For example, several of the groups interviewed in Mafalala offered to provide company to walk around the area and explore further.

Defining Neighbourhood Boundaries

[39] Focus Group 1: Iris Ministries, February 2015

As described in the previous sections, Zimpeto has somewhat fluid boundaries, resulting first and foremost in the primary need to define *what* area geographically would be the most practical and feasible to research. Ultimately, it was decided that the area would be defined as the neighbourhood contained by what is known as the 'estrada circular de Maputo,' a 74-kilometre road project constructed by the Chinese government.[xvii] The $315 million project has contributed to an increase in even *more* traffic flow in and around the Zimpeto Stadium. It is, therefore, easier to define the neighbourhood using the boundaries of this road.

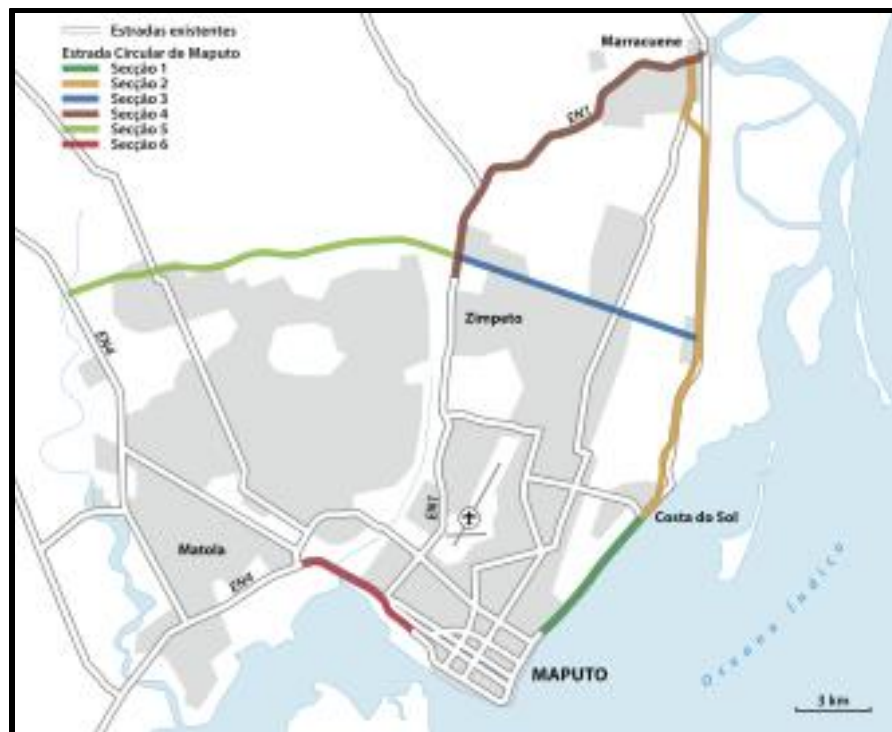

Figure 1.9: Rota da Estrada Circular de Maputo

Mafalala is also defined by road boundaries – both in how people speak about the area, as well as how it is drawn on maps. As described earlier in the chapter, Mafalala has two large roads as its natural borders – Avenida Joaquim Chissano and Avenida da Angola. Unlike Zimpeto, most maps dating back to the colonial period include Mafalala as a distinct 'suburb' of the city. Scholars have noted that Mafalala was considered on the edge of the map up until the post-civil war period (Jenkins, 2009). Therefore, the focus of the study included both parts of the neighbourhood, but sticking mainly to the area on the modern map that is designated as Mafalala. Anecdotally, this turned out to be interesting, as several individuals identified themselves as being from Mafalala *only* if they lived along a road dividing the

neighbourhood.[40] If they lived further into the settlement and away from this artery, they may self-identify as being from a neighbouring area such as Urbanizaçao or Chamanculo.

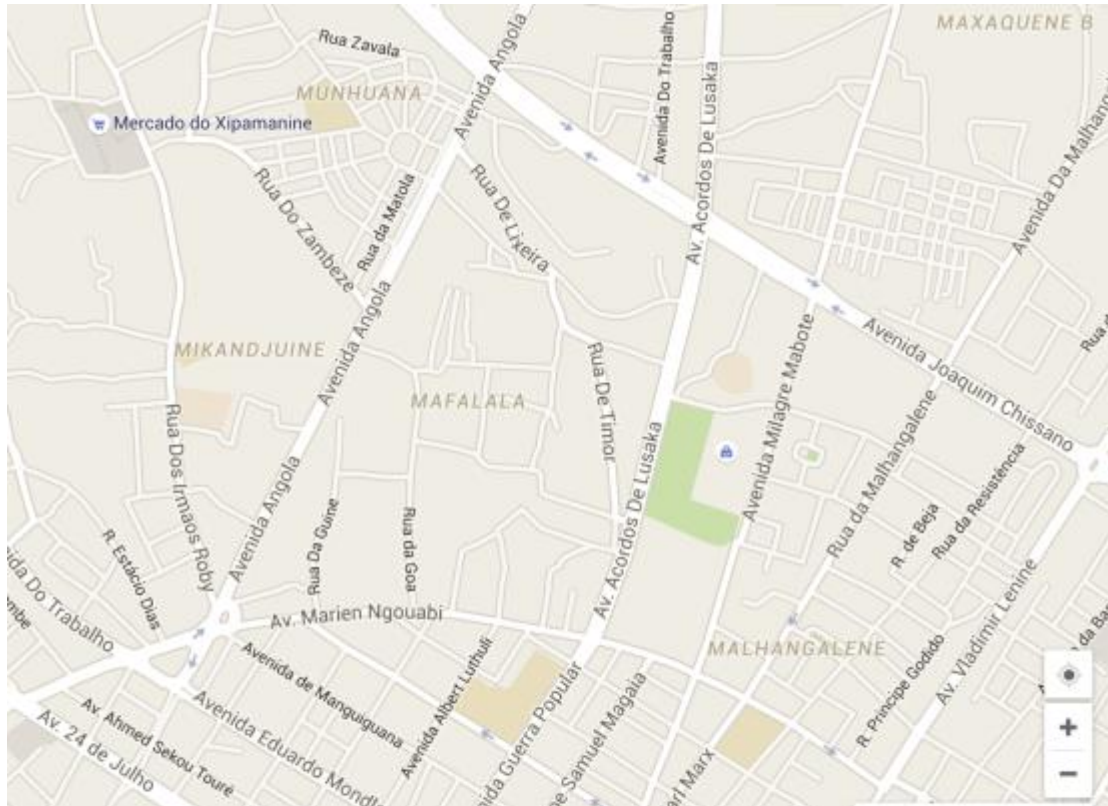

Figure 2.0: Google Maps area of interest, Mafalala

Translation – Focus Groups V. Individual Interviews

The question of translation is always important when working with mixed populations, which was the case for both research sites in this study. Though the official language of Mozambique is Portuguese, and rate of Portuguese speakers in the south of the country is quite high,[41] there are still several language groups present. Translation from Portuguese to English was unnecessary, as I am fluent in Portuguese, however translation from any other language such as Xironga into Portuguese was a crucial step. Initially, I took steps to hire and work with a research assistant that could provide the translation into Portuguese. However, there is an extremely limited pool of young people at the university level who feel comfortable translating between local languages and Portuguese. This is primarily because post-civil war Mozambique has only recently begun to mandate instruction in non-colonial

[40] Pedro, Mafalala Resident, December 2014
[41] *Indicadores Socio Demographicos Maputo Cidade 2007*

languages in public schools. Several post-independence generations truly speak only one language fluently – and that language is Portuguese.

After much deliberation, I made the decision to conduct focus groups in Portuguese, with a translator present to assist when necessary. I encouraged people to speak in whichever language they felt comfortable in. All the study participants in the focus groups except for two participants decided to speak in Portuguese. In individual interviews, however, there was a higher percentage of individuals – 14 – who elected to respond to questions asked in Portuguese in another language of their choice. The languages present in these interviews were Emakhuwa, Xironga, and Shimakonde. Translations into Portuguese were done *after* the interview audio recording was complete. Though this curtailed several interviews in terms of asking secondary and follow up questions, the 14 interview subjects conducted this way expressed a desire to have the conversation be private, and did not want translators present.

Positionality

One of the critical issues to be addressed here is that of positionality in my study (Ganga & Scott 2006; Rose 1997). Ganga and Scott's work on positionality has been particularly relevant to this study, as it directly addresses how power dynamics between 'insider' and 'outsider' interviews both affect the data coming out of a study, but also how the data can thus be understood. They term 'insider' research to be 'social interviews conducted 'between researchers and participants who share a similar cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national and religious heritage.' (Ganga & Scott 2006) For these scholars in particular, having an insider researcher provides a way to look at aspects that bind people together as well as dividing people across communities (or even 'imagined communities' that may not exist.) The idea of being a 'cultural insider' thus affects positionality, and ultimately, can provide easy access to subjects with the caveat that the content of qualitative interviews may be affected.

There is another side of positionality aside from cultural similarity that matters here: racial power dynamics and how they manifest themselves in the ethnographic context. It is, as many have already identified, hard to ignore the power discrepancy and ethical consideration that may affect research conducted in postcolonial countries. Not only are there racial biases to consider, but there is also the idea that many anthropologists during the colonial era saw Africa as something to be studied – but studied from above, rather than from within (Bank & Bank 2014). Without acknowledging this history, a full picture of positionality is thus incomplete. Bank & Bank make this point in their work looking at

Monica Wilson, an interpreter from England who worked in South Africa throughout the apartheid period, and looked at the relationship she held with her interpreters. From this, comes the term 'insider-outsider,' referring again to the positionality of researchers who worked with Wilson from South Africa. These were usually educated black South Africans who could utilize their language skills to contribute to Wilson's understanding of local culture (Bank & Bank 2006). This creates a connection not only between researcher and participants, but also between participants and fellow members of an ethnic group that may contribute to the understanding of the subject being studied. It also makes the case that anthropological and ethnographic research can only be conducted with the presence of these 'insider-outsiders,' who give life and credibility to much of the data collected by the primary researchers.

For this study, positionality has been a crucial component of understanding the research process as well as data analysis. As a white American female, I am decidedly an 'outsider' in the communities of Mafalala and Zimpeto – and in Mozambique in general. General associations with Americans are that they stick to themselves, do not speak the local language, and remain in a community isolated and protected by privilege. This is not necessarily a racial association, but one of nationality. Racial associations in these communities are also distinct: for residents of Mafalala and Zimpeto, whites are representative of Portuguese.[42] This is particularly true of any white person that speaks the Portuguese language well – it is rare that an association with white people will *not* evoke colonial associations that come with the Portuguese presence. In this section, I will discuss the issues of race, gender, and family history in relation to my own positionality.

There are several layers of this assumption: the first is that Portuguese[43] have returned with the sole purpose of making money off the boom of the Mozambican economy. A 17% unemployment rate in Portugal makes former colonies Angola and Mozambique incredibly attractive for educated Portuguese citizens.[xviii] The second assumption is that as a white outsider, the positionality of the researcher will be to judge, critique, and utilize for one's own benefit. This is particularly true in the ethnographic context, where many researchers have come across challenges of accessing information about Mozambican communities *without* the presence of an 'insider-outsider' alongside them (Wilkinson-Maposa 2005). This

[42] Antonio Yok Chan, Maputo Resident, August 2015
[43] Here, I use the term Portuguese to describe both real Portuguese citizens as well as white Mozambican descendants of Portuguese. There is a tendency to categorize these two groups as one.

has also been anecdotally experienced during interviews for this study, where one subject expressed admiration for the hope for the study to eventually be translated into Portuguese. He explained, “This is very unusual; most foreigners just take. If you want to give, you’re not one of them.”[44]

A third operational assumption is that Portuguese want to control the narrative being constructed. David Morton, who analysed the geography of Maputo before and after the country’s independence, asks the question ““Post independence Maputo raises an intriguing question about race and the urban landscape: what happens to racial privilege when there is no longer a privileged race?” (Morton 2013) The evidence presented in my study creates the answer: underlying assumptions of superiority of whites representing the former colonial power and the feeling of exclusion by those living in neighbourhoods such as Mafalala and Zimpeto remain intact. Geographically, these low-income neighbourhoods remain a reflection of the inequality of the city; Mafalala residents have never nor will ever occupy the prime landscape of Maputo, and continue to feel resentment towards those whites that do. The Portuguese, however, express a desire to control this narrative. In contemporary Maputo, many Portuguese descendants have attempted to create a solidarity with the Mozambicans, expressing that they ‘share a history and a culture’ that predates many other foreign populations residing in the city.[45] They are asking to be newer versions of their colonial selves: not as brutal as the Chinese, or as self-interested as the Americans and Europeans. It is in this definition, that they attempt to exert control over what others assume about them.

Gender also played a role in my experience as a researcher during this study. This included the choice I made of utilizing institutions as entry-points to get to know community organization tactics. While there were several reasons for choosing institutions, part of this reason was to open doors to female groups that may not have been available otherwise. This shared female identity allowed members of women’s groups to feel welcome in discussing their opinions, despite the difference in race and nationality. It also allowed individual interviews to be conducted with a wide variety of female community leaders, who were intrigued by the notion that a white female would be interested in the topic of community development and giving. The investigation of a woman’s motivation for life decisions or decisions that affect her affinity group and community was new for all the interview subjects, but the positionality of both researcher and participant being female opened a space for

[44] Leonardo, Mafalala resident August 2014
[45] Participant observation, May-June 2014, Mafalala; Interview with Antonio Yok Chan, August 2015

dialogue. It also presented the usual barriers for participant observation; it was nearly impossible to wander the neighbourhoods alone without another person. The risk for assault and harassment as a female alone is high anywhere in Maputo, and this was taken into consideration. It should be noted that while I provided for accompaniment to initially explore the neighbourhoods, I did conduct focus groups and interviews unaccompanied. I could do this once I had spent time in the research areas and was more familiar to people there. Additionally, I always made sure that I had transport to and from research areas that were accessible from main roads.

Lastly, the positionality in this study was affected by my own connections and relationships in Mozambican society. My married surname is Chinese, indicative of my father in law's connections to Chinese immigrants, who migrated to the country pre-independence. He is the product of a Chinese father and Mozambican black mother, raised in the village of Marracuene, and then in the market area of Xipamanine, now known as one of the poorest markets in the city. Additionally, throughout post-independence, my father in law served as a government official, working in the areas of tourism and natural resource management on behalf of the Frelimo government. On my mother in law's side, growing up in and around Mafalala as light skinned ('mulatto') children, the family were particularly active in forming community groups, including a local mosque known as Anuaril. Both sides of the family represent a certain amount of privilege and position both before and after independence. While neither grew up wealthy because of the Portuguese control, both fell into the group of 'assimilados,' those who were given a certain amount of privilege under Portuguese rule (Zamparoni 2008; Newitt, 2009).

These connections have undoubtedly affected the outcome of the study, as they are reflected in the ways that I could gain access to certain institutions, and perhaps to the ways in which my 'outsider' identity was overlooked. This is particularly true for data collected from Mafalala rather than Zimpeto, as the relationships within Mafalala that I have are deeper than in Zimpeto. This allowed for easier access to names of institutions and individuals that would be relevant to the investigation at hand; acknowledgment and tacit acceptance of credibility of the researcher on the part of the participants; and the ability for participants to see the researcher as at least partially representative of 'insider' views, working on the assumption that there is an understanding of the community because of these pre-existing relationships. The institutions interviewed for the study included two in total that had previous connections to members of my in-laws, however no individual family members

were included in the study to avoid a conflict of interest. Additionally, no family members were used as translators for any portion of the study.

Participant Recruitment

Identifying community organisations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) more generally in Mozambique is a great challenge. This speaks to several issues that are not unique to Mozambique; NGOs at the local level consistently struggle with marketing their work, having access to adequate funding and communications tools, and access to Internet is sporadic at best. Internet access in Mozambique overall, per the World Bank, is only available to 5.9% of the population.[46] This means that identifying organisations to participate in a study must be done through personal relationships, physical contact with the organization itself, phone calls, or use of directories created by third parties. The less well established the neighbourhood or even town, the more challenging this becomes. For example, organisations or entities located in the city of Maputo are more likely to have some type of web presence; of the 5.9% of the population that has access to the Internet, the majority is in Maputo.

To ensure that the organizations and participants chosen for focus groups and individual interviews were truly local, a parameter was placed on the institutions that they be funded and supported by solely Mozambican resources, rather than international ones. This narrows the field of potential participants even further; of the third-party organizations that compile lists of institutions in Mozambique such as the African Development Bank Group, over 70% listed are local representations of international companies or NGOs.[47] One of the exceptions to this were religious institutions; in Mafalala for example, there is a Methodist church which identifies itself as being affiliated with the global network of Methodist churches. While the church would not disclose the amount of money received from this relationship, a decision was made to continue to conduct focus groups with these types of institutions, as their character and congregants are decidedly local.[48]

The Mozambican government does keep track of local and international organizations; however, records are incomplete and sometimes inaccessible. The Ministry of Justice, and Constitutional and Religious Affairs is responsible for local organizations, whereas the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation controls the presence of

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[46] Internet Users 2011-2014, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IT.NET.USER.P2

[47] *Country Operations Profile, African Development Bank 2011*

[48] Interview with Joaquina Nhanala, December 2015

international NGOs.[49] Over the course of the initial recruitment phase of this study, four separate visits to the Ministry of Justice were undertaken in order to obtain a list of organizations and businesses operating in Mafalala and Zimpeto.[50] The ministry requested documentation about the study, about legal presence in Mozambique, and at the end of the process refused to release a final number. They directed me to the "Boletim da Republica," which provides laws that regulate the formation of organizations in Mozambique, but would provide no other information.[xix]

Hence, the recruitment of participants was essentially a process of background research including online and through phone calls, participant observation, and conducting snowball sampling to find and speak with people in the communities themselves. The participant observation meant I spent a great deal of time in both research locations, journaling my formal and informal experiences. One of the most effective ways in which to observe everyday life in these places was simply to walk around the neighbourhoods; geographically mapping by foot the areas where people lived, interacted, and sometimes worked. The unemployment rate in each area hovers around 70% per World Bank numbers, the data sets of which are not as subdivided as the 'bairros' themselves. This means that during a mapping exercise such as this, there is evidence of almost everyone participating in an informal economy. The dominant businesses are hair salons; small stalls known as "barakas," which sell alcohol and basic pre-packaged food products, and religious organizations. Churches and mosques abound in Zimpeto and Mafalala, boasting representation of almost every Christian denomination, as well as social and cultural organizations affiliated with these institutions. Many of the focus group participants in the study were tied to one or more religious institution. Because of the large amount of religious diversity in Mozambique, it was quite common for families to have mixed religious ancestry, resulting in community participation in more than one religion. This was mainly a denominational diversity within Christianity as well as a large Muslim presence.

In addition to religious institutions, the small neighbourhood businesses also formed a significant coalition of community members, particularly in Zimpeto. Of the 108 individuals who were interviewed or participated in focus groups in Zimpeto, 65% of them identified as 'self-employed' or 'running a small business.'[51] In Mafalala, the percentage was slightly lower at 49% of interviewed community members. These businesses also provided important

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[49] Lei No.8/91
[50] http://www.portaldogoverno.gov.mz/por/Governo/Ministerios
[51] Zimpeto Focus Group data; January, February, and April 2015

access points to community members who may not have identified with a religious institution. To recruit participants, a multipronged recruitment approach was used to indicate gaps. Utilizing both businesses and religious institutions to recruit participants was a conscious attempt to allow participation for those who may and may not be motivated to organize by religion.

The final piece of recruitment of participants involved a type of interviewing that used grounded theory's idea that "The researcher must be able to tolerate confusion, hard work and the tedium of the constant comparative method and wait for concepts to emerge." (Cowley 2004) This involved taking suggestions from focus group participants and leaders of institutions to direct further participant recruitment. Much of the time, this was organic, indicative of the fact that some individuals perceived important by other members of the community are unaffiliated with businesses or religious institutions in their neighbourhood. However, there was some tension that emerged when conducting this type of process. Sometimes, the desire to interview other people in the area gave participants an impression that the research answers from focus groups were 'not enough' to provide a full picture of the topic of community help and assistance. On more than one occasion, participants in focus groups in Zimpeto and Mafalala questioned my need to talk to others, rather than taking the opinion of the focus group members at face value.[52] It thus became challenging to develop a robust list of further interviews based solely on the recommendations of others.

This response forced me to consider further research conducted with individuals that could be potential interviewees based on results of focus group discussions. What stemmed from this was a higher number of people interviewed in Mafalala rather than Zimpeto. As mentioned previously, Mafalala has more information available to researchers when compared to Zimpeto, because of the more formalized definition and identity it has within Maputo. Focus group participants also gave recommendations of societal and governmental officials (municipal and national) that would be key figures in the discussion of community development, many of whom traced their roots to Mafalala.

Ethical Considerations:

During this research project, I considered the ethics related to the project, and how these ethics must be accounted for and understood throughout the research period. I followed guidance from both the University of Cape Town as well as the Economic Social and

[52] Zimpeto Focus Group data; January, February, and April 2015; Mafalala Focus Group data, March 2015

Research Council[53] of the United Kingdom, which provided helpful guidelines for developing and achieving an ethical research design. I sought after and received ethical approval from the University. A letter explaining the purpose, approach and dissemination strategy (including plans to share data) of the research, and an accompanying consent form (including to share data) was prepared and translated into Portuguese. A clear verbal explanation was also provided to each interviewee and focus group participant. Commitments to ensure confidentiality were maintained by ensuring recordings were not shared; that transcripts were anonymized in the first phase of the project when requested, and details that could be used to identify participants were removed from transcripts or concealed in write-ups. A non-anonymized version was kept ensuring accuracy, and was only accessible to myself and my supervisor when requested. Subjects of interviews could request viewing of the raw data collected through their interview process and had the right to request removal from documentation. However, as is often the case, interviewees were sometimes more comfortable if some sections of their interview are not recorded or made public. In such circumstances, the recording was paused with an indication in the transcript made that this was the case.

Data Collection:

Three methods were used for the collection of this raw data: focus group interviews, individual interviews, and participant observation. This of course does not include secondary source data discussed in Chapter Two. Interviews were recorded on an audio recorder, accompanied by photos. While I anticipated some hesitation around the recording of the interviews and focus group discussions, many participants expressed understanding that because Portuguese is not my native language, recording would be helpful for transcribing and understanding the participants' responses. I offered participants in interviews and focus groups the ability to be interviewed without recording, however none insisted upon this option. Several heads of institutions in the local area suggested that I not use video recording, particularly with the religious organizations that might object. They also advised that video recording would attract attention from local police that could leave me and my participants open to harassment. The data itself from individual interviews and focus group interviews went through a two-step process. It was first translated in total from origin language to Portuguese, and thereafter to English. Transcripts were translated in this way to ensure

[53] http://www.esrc.ac.uk/funding/guidance-for-applicants/research-ethics/ethics-reviews/

continuity of the language use and accuracy of the representation in Portuguese as well as in English. This mainly stemmed from my ambitions to translate results of the study into Portuguese at completion, and this allowed for full Portuguese and English transcription.

Focus Groups:

Focus groups were organized in each of the neighbourhoods in the study. In each neighbourhood, two focus groups were conducted. In Zimpeto, the focus groups contained 25 and 22 people respectively, and in Mafalala contained 31 and 35 people respectively. The focus groups were organized in each of the cases in conjunction with an institution, both to facilitate discussion and participation, but also to utilize the institution's space located in a central location easily accessible for participants. Invitations to the focus group were distributed by print flyer, as well as orally if available through a presentation to the members of an institution. Many the focus groups were held during on the weekend to maximize the availability of working individuals and students. In Zimpeto one focus group was held during the week to accommodate members of the market cooperative who felt their time was best used when they were already engaged in market activities and could take a break to participate, rather than come to the focus group location from home. Participants were not paid for their participation in the focus group, however snacks and drinks were provided. The participants were asked permission before any photographs were taken or any audio was recorded.

To ensure maximum comfort of participants, subjects were instructed to speak in whichever language felt most comfortable to them; the clear majority still preferred to speak in Portuguese, regardless of what their mother tongue was. Questions were asked orally in Portuguese, and repeated in Xironga to the audience by the institutional leader. While recruitment was conducted to encourage participation of both women and men, many interviewed subjects in focus groups were women. This was the case in both Zimpeto and Mafalala. When asked about this, one interviewee observed that "this is usually how it is, the women seem to care more about helping others."[54] This also provided an interesting dynamic for the groups, allowing women to feel comfortable expressing their views in front of other women. One focus group in Zimpeto, one where 22 people attended, had only three male attendees. It is not possible to determine with certainty whether the researcher being a female

[54] Rosilia, Zimpeto Resident, April 2015

influenced the decision for men to attend, but it is worth mentioning that many of the women expressed a level of comfort at being interviewed by another female.[55]
Data was collected from the following organizations in Zimpeto:

- Zimpeto Children's Centre, Zimpeto
- Iris Ministries, Zimpeto (originally the founder of Zimpeto Children's Centre)
- Cooperativa Social Tsembekas (Zimpeto Chapter)
- Anglican Church of Zimpeto
- Vangano Va Infulene

Data was collected from the following organizations in Mafalala:

- Cooperativa Social Tsembekas (Mafalala Chapter)
- Igreja Jerusalem Celestial (Presbyterian affiliation)
- Mesquita Chadulia, Mafalala
- DAMBO Community Organization, Mafalala
- Associaçao IVERCA
- Mesquita Anuaril[56]

Each focus group session posed the same questions to the group and each session lasted anywhere from 45-90 minutes. Participants wrote their names on a registration sheet at the beginning of the focus group, and these sheets were then compiled to complete a master list of participants. This was particularly helpful for conducting follow-up individual interviews, and for linking together family units and building a profile of the neighbourhood. Despite an adult literacy rate of only 50.6% per UNICEF data, all but three participants felt comfortable writing their names and contact information at these focus group events.[57]

Questions at the focus group were designed to stimulate open-ended discussion, and encouraged participants to discuss the ideas about identity, morality, and community assistance among each other. Some of the lessons learned about crafting questions come

[55] Participant observation; individual interview with Maria S., December 2014
[56] See Appendix 4 for detailed information on organizations listed
[57] http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/mozambique_statistics.html

directly from the experience of Wilkinson-Maposa et al in "The Poor Philanthropist" study (Wilkinson-Maposa 2005), where much attention was given to the struggles the researchers faced in crafting questions that made sense for the type of audience they were encountering through their work. Unlike "The Poor Philanthropist," this study was not designed to produce quantitative results. Instead, the semi-structured interview process allowed concepts to emerge while trying to shape the debate as minimally as possible. The previous study indicated, "The term 'philanthropy' did not resonate locally and was not used in focus-group discussions. Rather, the word 'help' was employed. Focus groups were conducted in local language to facilitate informant participation and expression and to see how local language and idiom could deepen understanding of the values, concepts, relationships and perspectives related to 'help.'" Similarly, the word "philanthropy" was also not helpful in this study's context. While the word *does* exist in Portuguese ('filantropia'), it does not exist in the dominant local language of Maputo, and therefore was replaced by words indicating 'help' or 'support.'

Each focus group session consisted of eight key questions that were asked of the participants, which served to frame the theme of the discussion. Follow-up questions were asked as needed for clarification purposes. The questions were:

1. How would you describe the community you live in?
2. What do you do to help the people in your community?
3. How has the community changed since you moved here (or grew up; many participants were born in the neighbourhoods themselves)?
4. Are you involved in any organizations or groups in your community? Why?
5. Have you ever given assistance to someone in your community? What was it for? Why?
6. Has helping others changed over time, or has it remained the same?
7. Who do you receive help from in your life?
8. Who do you feel a close connection to in this community? Why?

Much of the time, these questions were enough to jumpstart significant conversation about help and assistance in these communities.

Individual Interviews

Structure and questioning were slightly different when conducting individual

interviews. 111 individual interviews were conducted over the course of the study. As described in the above sections, individuals were recruited both from suggestions of focus group participants, as well as from research about community and government leaders, and those who ran institutions in either of the neighborhoods. Individual interviews were also semi-structured allowing for flexibility, but there were slightly different questions depending on what capacity the interviewee was operating in. For example, those representing institutions were asked primarily about the role of the institution, rather than their specific beliefs regarding community assistance.[58] Some additional questions were added for those who currently operate philanthropic institutions to address the reasons behind their commitment to these organizations. These additions included:

1. Do you have a Foundation or Association that works on social development? What is its purpose/function, and why have you chosen to engage with it?
2. What area (geographically) do you prefer to direct your giving to? Is it where you grew up, or outside of this area, and if so, why?
3. What is the benefit you see of giving back to the community around you?[59]

Data Analysis:

The volume of data collected in this study made it imperative that systematic coding be conducted to make sense of all the information. 224 distinct voices provided a vast landscape from which to work, and illuminated several aspects of life in Zimpeto and Mafalala. The idea behind this type of collection was to follow the grounded theory approach of drawing conclusions on themes based on what was collected, rather than based on preconceived ideas of what might come out of the research.

One of the key components of this was to build on what was identified as a gap in "The Poor Philanthropist" study of 10 years ago. This was the issue of depth. Even per the researchers, themselves, "The Poor Philanthropist" is a vast study that conducted many focus groups and interviews across four countries in the region. This made it virtually impossible to delve deep into each community, and examine each community's characteristics impacted their own formation of new and different aspects of help. The desire of *this* study was to do something that showed real depth and understanding of how location and place connected with ideas of identity to form definitions of giving and how it is manifested.

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[58] Ivan Laranjeira, head of IVERCA Mozambique
[59] See Appendix 5 for full copies of both sets of questions

To make sense of the large amount of data, I was eager to identify a way of making sense of the data that would allow community voices to speak for themselves, but also draw out major themes or areas of inquiry based on what was said. Because I did both focus groups and individual interviews, I had to make sense of both in relation to my participant observation notes and my own background research. To do this, I decided on two basic methods of coding to aid in my data analysis.

- Structural Coding: This was an exercise that looked at all focus group and interview transcripts and grouped together certain practices of community help. An example of this included participant description of what types of monetary help they have provided, and why (school fees, construction of housing, food and clothing, wedding ceremonies etc.)
- Descriptive Coding: This looked at ethnography notes and drew out key themes that described and made use of participant observation notes, photos and other media, and interview transcripts.

Identifying Major Themes:

This type of coding allowed for major themes to come through and organize themselves organically. Descriptive coding pulled out keywords that came through in focus groups and individual interviews as they related to help and assistance, but also the ways in which these related to community identity, national identity, and the role of government and the state. These were more easily pulled out of the data because of this technique, which clearly identified "state failure," "corruption," "no services," and "no jobs" in relation to the needs of the communities, the ways these communities have changed, and how those that live in them should adapt. The major themes thus became: National versus Local Identity; Assistance as a form of resistance; and Religious Institutions as safe spaces. These themes clearly draw a connection between a sense of self and community, and the ways in which a person manifests their own ideas of assistance and helping one another.

Using intensive qualitative methods, I collected a vast amount of data on both Zimpeto and Mafalala, two neighbourhoods with distinct character that represent both historical and contemporary key points in Mozambican life. This was extremely effective at bringing out both specific points regarding the differences and similarities of communities and their own self-definitions, but also at painting a picture of what the trajectory of community development has been for these people over time. The recruitment of participants had significant challenges, but also made for an interesting opportunity to observe the ways

in which community members self-organized, and ultimately how accessible these institutions were.

While much of the study's data was used to draw out major themes discussed in subsequent chapters of this dissertation, there is still a great amount of data that remains to be analysed that speaks to other aspects of life that do not directly relate to this line of inquiry. The methodology itself builds on previous studies conducted on issues related to philanthropy and community giving, such as "The Poor Philanthropist" study, but gleans more from looking at these communities from an ethnographic perspective, attempting to drill down into the details of the development of ideas of responsibility and ethics of these participants, rather than opting for a so-called 'birds eye view' of these themes more generally.

In Chapter Five, I will look at the first of these major themes: National Versus Local Identities. Through looking at community members and their organizations, I developed certain concrete understandings of what the perceived identities were of those participants, and how they mattered to an overall understanding of why community-led assistance is important. I did not have an initial understanding of how important identity would be, or how it would be framed when I entered this research, and it has become a dominant issue in understanding how responsibility impacts a person's sense of self in relation to others, and what that might mean for Development or community success.

Chapter V: National V. Local Identities

Development literature's one-directional narrative of assistance – and more specifically connection between assistance and notions of responsibility – is, as described in Chapter Two, problematic. It not only assumes a narrow vision of a world of donors and recipients that is changing (Mawdsley 2014), but also lacks the community level data to understand what truly motivates giving practices and how these motivations may be connected to proximities. While the discussion has been dominated by people analysing the new inverse of the donor/recipient in the Aid relationship globally, meaning that some of the countries who were previously recipients may be becoming donors, I want to shift the discussion even further down to the community level. Most obviously absent in the 'shifting geographies' discussion is the idea of identity: the specific and nuanced identities of people living in locations normally thought of as requiring development are left out (Lawson 2007; Conradson 2003). The concept of identity and how it is both understood and enacted upon by the people who embody it is the focus of this chapter. Identity, as I will discuss here, is not merely a backdrop or ethnic or racial reality that exists among the people of these two communities. It is, I will argue, the essential motivator and reasoning for why people understand the challenges they face and how to address them. I will also argue that without an understanding of why people of Zimpeto and Mafalala have chosen their local identity over their national one, we will never fully understand what shapes their concepts of responsibility. When scholarship neglects identity as an important element in a Development context, the dominant Development narrative discussed in-depth in the literature review chapter is more easily reinforced. That is, it is easier to make the case that outside forces feel a responsibility towards developing the 'other,' or the 'less fortunate.' However, when looking at specific contexts, this narrative cannot be universally applied.

Secondarily, the neglect of the issue of identity enables the bolstering of the universalised 'African' narrative. Organisations themselves and the community members who make them up are demonstrative of a counter narrative to a singular identity for all Africans that has been propagated in not only scholarship on Development, but even more specific work on African philanthropy (Moyo & Aina 2013; Mahomed 2014). This African singularity, demonstrated in southern African discussions of the concept of *Ubuntu*, but also in the overall conversation about Africa as a singular unit in Development discourse, is nuanced and the understanding of this nuance is critical. It is directly opposed by the data from this study; the identity studied here is less about an African character, and more an

understanding of oneself in relation to one's community as well as the problems and challenges communities face and how to deal with them over the long-term. One of the main points of writing on many communities across Africa is the romanticised notion that all members of that group care for one another. This is manifested in texts on the *Ubuntu* philosophy, sometimes attributed to an entire continent of people (Southern Africa Trust 2013), rather than a more complex and localised understanding of how people express their senses of care. The use of giving as a lens through which to test this notion in Mafalala and Zimpeto proved incredibly useful; it allowed a window not simply into how people give and assist others, but how they frame this giving within their own lives. This assistance is, I argue, a manifestation of the identity these people have in relation to their own local communities. It responds directly to the notion argued by some that local identity would perhaps even impede assistance or hospitality, as it is going *against* notions of *Ubuntu* (Gathogo 2007; Appiah 1994). I also argue that this tool of community giving is an important one to analyse, as it speaks both to the sense of identity that community members have, but also the ways in which they autonomously identify, conceptualise, and ultimately try to resolve the problems they have in the lives of their locality.

This chapter will look at an aspect of identity that has come through in the data, demonstrating that local identity is much more dominant in decision making and actions related to responsibility and giving rather than a national identity. This theme threads through all focus groups conducted for the study, however through the two explored here, one can truly observe the fact that national identity remains complicated in Mozambique, and in many cases, remains loosely defined. Despite the robust Frelimo project (Sumich 2010) discussed at length in Chapter Three, I observed that the identities that play a role in decision making regarding assistance are firmly rooted in local life, rather than a concept driven by nationality or national interest. While much Development discourse, and even to an extent geographic discourse on responsibility discusses the nation state as a particularly dominant character in the assistance relationship, the data gleaned from this study tells a different story. It demonstrates a truly localised identity that drives assistance and giving practices of Mozambicans. It also speaks specifically to this local identity as a key component to exercising control over a complicated social and economic context, where the assistance people provide each other in close proximities allows them to exert a type of self-development deeply connected to their local context. The case studies explored in this chapter will look at how two organisations, one in Zimpeto and one in Mafalala, both encourage participation and affiliation through a sense of local identity, but also formulate

programs, activities, values, and other important aspects of their existence based on a local identity, rather than a national one. These activities represent self-development driven by a specific notion of what matters in the local environment.

When discussing a ‘national’ or a ‘local’ identity, it is hard to determine what, if anything makes one stronger than the other, or how the two may be differentiated. Indeed, identities appear to be ever-changing, and not necessarily rooted or static (Massey, 2004). What the results of this study show is that the ‘national’ identity, i.e. identifying primarily as a Mozambican, is a declining reality in the face of a more local identity, i.e. being someone from Mafalala, from Zimpeto, or even in the case of some respondents, from villages in the north of the country where their ancestors originated. This reality is challenging two important notions of care and responsibility: the first related to care for the ‘distant other’ and how it is understood, described further in Chapter Two (Barnett & Land, 2007); the second is that care for a nation in the framework of postcolonial responsibility is important (Raghuram et al 2009).

This shows the critical need to study the local ‘on the ground’ realities in countries that are the recipients of Aid more broadly to make sense of the differences between how we understand help, as well as who receives it. The decline of the national in the face of the local says that proximity matters in the context of the behaviours being analysed in this study, and more specifically that this identity shapes the control community members can exercise over their own physical environment. Through the lens of institutions in Mafalala and Zimpeto, a decisive sense emerged that though all the respondents were Mozambican, their affiliation and affinity for an identity beyond that of their local environment was weak. This directly engages with ideas of hospitality that are built on assumptions of proximity but also identifying an ‘other,’ and how this affects assistance behaviour (Dikec, Clark & Barnett 2009). The causes for this connection to local identity may be many, including but not limited to a disconnect with the national ‘Frelimo’ identity because of inefficiencies in government service provision, historical divisions along geographic lines (the north of the country and south of the country were divided during the Mozambican civil war, which had great lasting impact), and lastly a feeling of responsibility for those physically proximate to themselves and their families, allowing them to view their own identities as being linked to those around them.

Community Self-Definition:

In this section, I will look at two case studies to explain how local identity is revealed as a driving force behind both identifying issues in the community that need fixing, and how people describe their connections to the place where they live. These two grassroots organisations, DAMBO Community Organisation (ACDM) and Cooperativa Social Tsembeka (ACST), are interesting groups; however, discussed together they reveal concretely just how much local identity shapes and is shaped by affiliations with others in close geographic proximity. These organisations are also sometimes the only access points outsiders may have in figuring out more information about the community than appears from the outside. These places are created and run exclusively by community members, making them important symbols of local life. I dedicate some time in this section to analysing their background and purpose to provide insight into how community members have conceptualised their own needs.

Associação Dambo da Mafalala (ACDM), sometimes referred to by its English translation, Dambo Community Organisation of Mafalala, is one of the oldest working in the neighbourhood, and remains one of the most well-respected groups unaffiliated with a specific faith. The organisation itself is not well known outside of the community; to access them physically, a person must *know* Mafalala – or at least have a reliable guide. The offices of the Association do not formally exist; rather, groups gather at community meeting points such as road intersections or the supermarkets to hold discussions or meetings. These informal meeting areas are also where the group begins their clean-up projects, which are the main stated goal of the organisation. My first interaction with the group came through another institution, IVERCA, which will be discussed in later discussion chapters.

ACDM was formally started in 1991 per their registration information with the Ministry of Justice, the area of government where all domestic NGOs must formally file paperwork. The organisation has achieved some outside recognition, as it has been an implementing partner for several community service projects that embassies or other development agencies have completed in the neighbourhood (Hibon 2011). This exhibits something true about most, if not all Mozambican grassroots organisations looked at in this study: despite challenges at accessing offices, formal websites, and even sometimes contact information, institutions like ACDM are somehow approached by outside constituents looking for an 'authentic' partner in the area. Per their Facebook page, which features few updates but a logo and photos of projects from 2014,[60] their goal is "promovendo o

[60] https://www.facebook.com/Associação-comunitária-Dambo-da-Mafalala

desenvolvimento da saude da comunidade, educacao, e bem estar no Bairro da Mafalala," translated as "promoting the development of a healthy community, education, and wellbeing in the neighbourhood of Mafalala."

ACDM's organisational documents are the only formal indication that they function as an institution at all; much of the leadership and activities come from different people at different times of the year with few regular programs outside of a weekly clean-up of the streets of the area known as Mafalala 'A.' (Mafalala resident Joana, 29 years old). Despite this, they have served as partner organisations for the World Health Organisation, Small Arms Survey, EvaluationSUD, ESSOR, and the French Development Agency, Agence Francaise de Developpemente.[xx] Activities have ranged from cleaning streets and schools in support of hygiene and general sanitation, to working with public schools in Mafalala and the families in the community to increase rates of attendance in students, and organising construction and rehabilitation projects on behalf of community members. This ability to reach out to different people in the community with a wide array of interests is what initially attracted me to ACDM as a potential participant in this study.

In Zimpeto, one of the groups interviewed, known as Associacao Cooperativa Social Tsembeka (ACST), is a new organisation reflecting the newer and growing needs of the Zimpeto area since the Mozambican civil war ended in 1992. This area, as described in the methodology chapter, has rapidly grown in the past decade, attracting Mozambicans from across the country, particularly those coming home after the civil war, as well as those coming from the north and settling in Maputo in search of better job opportunities. Zimpeto, therefore, has fewer formalised organisations within it, but new ones are forming regularly. ACST was formed as a formal entity in 2011[xxi], but has been conducting operations in Zimpeto since 2007. As one of the few domestic organisations in Zimpeto, they have worked in the area on a variety of projects, including those that lie beyond Zimpeto's geographic boundaries. The official registration documents for the organisation indicate that they operate out of Hulene, an area that houses one thing: the largest landfill in southern Mozambique.[xxii] This fact supports the claim that despite being a thriving neighbourhood where people live and work, Zimpeto has not been formally recognised by the Mozambican municipal authorities.

ACST, like many of the institutions interviewed for the study, has a small formal office. It is nestled among several housing units and trees alongside a road between Hulene and Zimpeto.[xxiii] The association exists formally on paper as well as in the structure of its activities, however access to members is challenging, as there is no central repository of

information available. This means that ACST members exist in a unique space: an organisation developing its own community, which has little interest in acquiring outside influence. ACST's focus is on youth, and in Zimpeto there is no shortage of young people. The open markets bustling every day of the week as well as the transportation centre and shopping areas make it an attractive meeting point for young people who both live within a family unit or are living in the neighbourhood alone. Its programs look at "developing ways to eliminate delinquency and unemployment by young people," and "promoting campaigns around issues of public health, environmental protection, democracy and human rights, HIV/AIDS, and others that contribute to poverty in Mozambique." For now, it has mainly concentrated on engaging youth who have gotten into altercations with police; this component of ACST's work has been done locally, as well as in partnership with the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI).[xxiv] The program allowed "specific trainings to be carried out for community leaders and school personnel, focusing on 398 juveniles who were at risk of getting arrested or imprisoned" because of certain activities such as petty theft or drug use. One of the reasons ACST captivated my attention for this study is that since this project with the UN ended in 2013, there has been little to no public information about ACST's activities or the gains it has made in the neighbourhood. The UN continues to promote the work it has done in the area in partnership with ACST, but nothing specific about ACST is mentioned (Fiore 2014). The President, Pascoal Manuel Nhampossa, has been working hard to maintain the areas of interest of ACST, and to make sure that it continues to receive adequate community support (Nhampossa Interview, February 2015). However, since the first UN project ended, little has been done to advertise the good work of ACST. This made it a particularly interesting case study: did the UN's relationship with the organisation affect its decidedly 'local' priorities, and if so, was this effect negative? This is explored further later in this chapter.

Understanding Common Realities

While both groups examined here have different histories and certainly different specific operating contexts, they utilise their positions within the community to give themselves a language with which to speak about the challenges they all face. The reality of these neighbourhoods is that they are, by many Western definitions, slums. Particularly in Zimpeto, the lack of formal housing structures and paved roads make the informality of the settlements even more apparent. Over the course of the eighteen months of field research conducted for this study, I observed much the same realities every day of people simply

trying to survive. As the economic stability of Mozambique declined throughout this period, little changed in these areas. For many community members, the sense of inevitability of circumstance pervaded interactions. In my participant observation experiences, I spent time frequenting the storefronts in the market, and common refrains about “here, no one buys much,” and “I think that things are just this way, and I try to deal with it” were quite common (Individual Interviews, October 2014). One critical difference from this sense of inevitability was during conversations within these organisations. Here, both neighbourhoods exhibited great passion for identifying and doing something about the challenges that affect their everyday realities. In these institutions, people could connect with the sense of self that connected them to those around them. Even more specifically, understanding that others were facing challenges in their own lives helped to unite people around a shared reality that spurred them to communal action.

ACDM’s formation in 1991 means that it was created at the beginning of the end of the brutal Mozambican civil war, which had driven the country into a state of division. The north, which had been much more heavily affected by the war’s violent trajectory, had left millions of Mozambicans scarred emotionally and physically.[xxv]The south had remained less affected, but suffered severe food and energy shortages because of flows that had been disturbed by internal fighting. ACDM’s position in the community has remained largely the same since 1992, when it began its work in earnest in scheduling training for volunteers, organising regular clean-ups, and asserting itself as an integral part of the community around it. ACST’s story is similar. The organisation was founded nearly two decades later; however, its importance in the community it serves seems equally critical (Site Visit August 2014; Focus Group February 2015). Particularly for those coming from other parts of the country, ACST was a place where newcomers to Zimpeto could truly arrive and learn a little bit about the needs of the place where they were settling, and how they could themselves contribute. “We try to make it clear right away that we need everyone,” said a 47-year-old woman who has been volunteering with ACST since 2013. For both groups, the formation of the groups and participation in them helped them “be who [they] are,” and “try to figure out the new space” for those who had not grown up in the area. What unites them here is a shared experience, and thus, a shared identity in many ways.

One focus group meeting was conducted with 27 members of the Mafalala community who were affiliated with ACDM. The formal gathering took place in August 2014. Because of its loose management structure, there are no formal ‘members’ of the ACDM, however the 27 participants in the focus group considered themselves to be a part of

the organisation, and self-identified as members of the association. The focus group was organised in partnership with the head of the garbage collection projects at ACDM, Zacarias Basilio. An interesting note about Zacerias is that he was born and raised in Mafalala, and it is his role in ACDM that he considers to be his full-time job, despite it being unpaid. At an initial recruitment meeting, he explained, “Without associations like ACDM, it would be hard for us to control our own destinies in our own neighbourhood.” The focus group attendees were majority women; 18 out of 27 of the participants were females between the age of 16 and 75 years of age. As explained by one participant, “…we all like being a part of ACDM, from the mamas to the very young. It’s why I like coming back and doing the activities over and over again” (Mafalala resident, 44-year-old male). One possible reason for the wide variety of ages, particularly from the female participants, is the fact that few women in Mafalala work manual labour jobs, which become available to male members of the community beginning at around 15 years of age. Women, on the other hand, are much more likely to be geographically present in the community during the day and week, reflecting a need to care for children, take care of the home, and prepare food.

ACST’s focus group was the largest of the study, with a total participation of 37 people. Initially there was some concern on the part of the leadership of ACST about holding the focus group at ACST’s office, as it is technically housed outside of Zimpeto; however, the decision was made to ultimately hold it there, as community members were familiar with the location and could access it from several transit points. Unlike others conducted for this study which were almost exclusively affiliated with the grassroots organisation, this focus group consisted of five people (three women and two men, all middle age), identified as formal staff members of ACST, and the rest were interested young people who had either participated in an ACST program in the past, who knew about the NGO, or who were simply interested in participating in the discussion. Of the 37 participants, there was a relatively even distribution of male and female participants; 20 participants were female, 17 were male. Only four of the participants were above the age of 20, reflecting the constituency of ACST, as well as the demographics of the Hulene-Zimpeto area, which as discussed in previous chapters, has no formal statistics available for it; however, being a relatively new neighbourhood of Maputo has attracted many younger people from outside of the city.

In both focus group experiences, the dialogue around issues of help were rich in their focus on the everyday. The atmosphere of commiseration surrounded both conversations, and provided an opportunity for people to share the things they find to be the most frustrating or problematic about their living experiences. Young people, and particularly young women,

expressed frustration in the challenges of transportation. Many of the young women, including four of the participants in the Zimpeto group, commute into the city of Maputo to work as domestic workers in the wealthier areas of Maputo. They described the minibus taxis (locally known as "xapas,") as not only being an inconvenience, but as being a waste of the precious commodity of time. One young woman, 17-years-old and living in Zimpeto shared her experience of

> "…wanting to spend more time in my own neighbourhood, helping to make my house look nice and making things better for myself and my family. So much of my time is taken up by my travel. I wait for an hour sometimes to even get onto one of the xapas, and even when it comes it is not safe. Sometimes I am lucky and get a ride with one of the truck drivers, but the roads into the city are bad and I am forced to stand most of the way" (Focus Group February 2015).

When she shared this experience, a near universal echoing of agreement and sympathy came from the rest of the focus group participants. Another young man, Artemio, acknowledged that he had seen her traveling to and from work before. He also explained, "Zimpeto is a nice place to live, but it is far, and I keep thinking to myself that I chose wrongly when I moved here. Sometimes it is our only option. This also happened in the Mafalala group, where many expressed frustrations at the lack of sanitation when it rains. The precipitation collects in large puddles throughout the neighbourhood, forcing people to move belongings, and providing an opportunity for mosquitos to gather.

What is evident from these discussions is that shared identification of problems is a bonding experience for the people in these neighbourhoods. The ways in which care can be stretched across space (Raghuraum, et al 2009) is shown here to be limited to proximate locations where people have a sense of shared identity. The data collected here supports a version of the "asymmetrical orientation towards the other" (Cooper 2007), yet changes it somewhat. This supposition Cooper describes is that 'need' is identified as something to be corrected by 'good.' In Zimpeto and Mafalala, I do see this to be true; however, I see this as more complicated. It is in the identification of the 'need' that shared identities are validated and assistance can then be enacted. Coming together to discuss assistance and practices of care was jumpstarted by a conversation around the truths that everyday lives bear witness to here. Though the experiences differ on an individual basis, the connection that is shared among these people because they understand these hardships was evident. This was only heightened because of my positionality as a relative outsider, as many participants found it particularly helpful to have others to lean on when explaining to me what it is like to live in

these places. Having each other to discuss these things with seemed to help in articulating what challenges the communities are facing.

Connections Beyond Origin: Proximity Matters

The connective tissue evident among participants when discussing the challenges that they face is an expression of a local identity: the shared experience of the everyday allows people to connect with a piece of their identity that comes directly from affiliating with and living in these distinct geographic locations. This is even further emphasised when we harken back to the differences between the communities, as described in the methodology chapter. Mafalala is an old neighbourhood with Mozambicans mainly of southern origin, and Zimpeto is a new one made up of northern migrants and former internally displaced persons who came to Maputo post-civil war in the early 1990's. Despite these differences, the narratives evident in the data are that the origins of these communities are beginning to matter less and less compared to the wealth of shared experience that those living there now cite as integral parts of their identities. Both community groups expressed direct and concrete connections between their place and their senses of responsibility towards others. This, as discussed previously in this chapter, contributes directly to countering the narrative that origin matters most in determining decisions around responsibility and care (Bujo 2001).

During each focus group, overall, I asked several times whether anyone would prefer to speak in their local language and no participants opted to do so. This is critical when speaking about the connections that extend beyond places of origin, as language in Mozambique, as in most African countries, is an indicator of geographic area of origin or even ethic identity. This speaks directly to the issue of local identity addressed here, which comes through throughout each discussion about community, giving, and senses of responsibility for others that were conducted. Under colonialism, the Portuguese language was the main communication mechanism throughout much of the country. After independence, first president Samora Machel envisioned the Portuguese language as a unifying force. He saw this as a way to avoid power conflicts that might erupt from choosing one particular local language over another. In the results of this study, even though people in these communities may be from different origins that have distinctly different cultures and histories, Portuguese remained the language of choice for each participant.

When asked to describe their community, participants gave a wide range of answers, all pointing to a deep connection to the space and place where they lived. "Our community doesn't have much, but it has a lot of history, and it's a history that I feel like I'm a part of,"

explained one 18-year-old participant from Mafalala, and another: “I am from Mafalala. It does not always have the best reputation when you tell someone that, as we are from a poor neighbourhood, but I tell them anyway.” One point of difference here is that those from Zimpeto did have a connection to the place where they lived, but moreover to the experience of the people around them. For example, respondents indicated that “I did not know where I was settling when I came here, but it felt right and the people felt right. So, I stayed.” Several members of the Zimpeto group cited settling in Zimpeto as the result of wanting to settle where they knew someone, and that they had family members or friends who had previously settled there. This was critical to them having the initiative to connect with the community there. In the beginning minutes of the ACST focus group, I was introduced to several people all belonging to one ‘family.’ When I prodded further into the familial relations that existed between the 12-year-old female, 18-year-old male and 65-year-old female, I learned that the family ties are largely informal; the older woman had lived in the same neighbourhood as the parents of the younger participants in Nampula, and had volunteered to watch over them if they could travel successfully to Zimpeto. This is a common story in many cultures across the developing world (Murenha & Chilli 2011) and is certainly not unique to Mozambique or Africa at large. These people now shared two major ‘identities’ in common: the connection to the past geographic space, and the connection to the current.

Young people in Zimpeto, many of whom came south without their families or even without connections to any individuals in the south of the country, expressed that “now my neighbours are my family, and I try to get to know them and everyone else as best as I can…” Of the 37 individuals interviewed in Zimpeto through ACST, 28 of them listed origins north of Maputo, with the most common place of origin being the provinces of Nampula and Sofala (IOM, 2013). This comes from the fact that “…migration south was compounded by the return of Mozambicans who were exiled into neighbouring countries during the war… [as well as] lifting of travel restrictions that had been in place during the war.”[xxvi] This creates an interesting dynamic that is decidedly different than the Mafalala group; this group of people has formed a community despite disparate roots.

When asked to describe their communities, words such as *poor*, *dirty*, and *no work* were used to describe the conditions that residents faced in both Mafalala and Zimpeto; they also are used when talking about what types of problems ACDM and ACST help to address. Additionally, words like *home*, and *close-knit*, and *family* were also used. Some of the 27 focus group members in Mafalala were, in fact, related by blood or family ties; this included two sets of brothers and sisters, as well as a mother and her three daughters, all of whom had

been active in ACDM activities beginning in 2011. The description of Mafalala's problems came back to one consistent refrain articulated by Zacarias Basilio: "We have many issues we need to address, but we are Mafalala, and it is home for us. So, we have to be the ones to fix it." Across the spectrum of age, gender, and occupation, all focus group members spoke relatively positively about Mafalala, and one even explained, "If we show you why Mafalala is good, you will understand why we stay." For them, the love of the community very much explains why it is that the community remains vitally important to them, and that their efforts mark progress towards a greater goal. This is a richer narrative than many Development experts have propagated in the dominant literature within Development studies (Collier, 2007; Easterly, 2006, among others). Not only are the people living and working in the communities of the South already concerned about the welfare of their neighbourhoods, but they are already utilising grassroots organisations within their societies to provide solutions to an identified need. The donor-beneficiary responsibility dynamic is challenged directly.

In Zimpeto, the connection to the local geographic place comes from a different source. Unlike Mafalala, Zimpeto has a much shorter and somewhat less romanticised history in the context of the Mozambican struggle. It symbolises for many, including many of the participants in this study, the result of a previous journey: it is the destination. When asked to both describe the community, and to describe who they feel close to within it, 87% of respondents from Zimpeto described the community as an "opportunity," or the fulfilment of a "goal," which was to come to Maputo and find employment. Therefore, their connection to the community is much more about its representation in their narrative of being physically able to make the journey from north to south to start a new life. Respondents were keen to emphasise this having had little impact on their ideas of assistance and helping others in their community. One man described this as "…just part of my story. I needed to come here, and now that I am here, I must make roots here." Another older 69-year-old woman explained that "coming here [from Nampula] was a financial hardship. The transport and the travel was really hard, because I was already older. But now that I am here, I try to focus on this place." This was different than what many authors writing on African philanthropy have assumed, which is that connection to homeland, or ancestral place is of the utmost importance to most Africans traditionally, and that the web of assistance may rely entirely upon these types of links (Moyo & Aina 2013). For example, when asked about what types of organisations they were affiliated with in the Zimpeto community including and in addition to ACST, many used words such as "connection" and "friends" to describe the ways in which they related to the institutions around them, be they religious or secular. Looking for and finding a

community meant discovering something new to care about that helped their destination in Maputo feel important and 'like home.'

This idea of discussing origin, or the journey from one place to another, led ultimately into a discussion about identity in both cases. The assumption I had when entering the study – that Mafalala residents were more connected to their physical community because of their long history, while the residents of newer neighbourhoods like Zimpeto were not – was being undone by the significant amount of community engagement exhibited by residents in Zimpeto. I had assumed that a sense of local identity would not be possible amongst the relative newcomers. However, it was precisely their desire to be active and help their communities that gave them the possibility to connect and engage. While in Mafalala, ACDM was a strong community organisation with support from the residents who lived there and had family roots there, in Zimpeto the same connection existed. Why is this significant? In the Western world, scholars, and particularly geographers, have explained that those looking at ethics of care in geography have focused primarily on the individual, rather than on the collective (Barnett 2005 and more explicitly McEwan & Goodman 2010). Even those focused on the 'everyday' have focused more in line with how the individual relates to the community, rather than the community itself (Amin 2012). The results of my study indicate that a person's desire to care and to help need not remain enmeshed in their individual identities, but can in fact in a particularly local way, be a result of the collective need to survive, to adapt, and to ultimately succeed.

The national identity of Mozambique, and more specifically as crafted by Frelimo as discussed in Chapter Three, is complex. Mozambique has historically been divided geographically due to all sorts of conflicts, including present day tensions between the dominant political parties of Frelimo and Renamo. Because of this complexity, it is easy to understand why those in the north of Mozambique versus those in the south may have different perspectives on certain aspects of social and economic life. It is relatively unique, thus, that the desire expressed by participants in the study is to identify, connect, and assist locally, rather than holding steadfast to the geographic 'homes' that they came from. Even those people participating in the discussions in Mafalala, many of whom were born and raised in the neighbourhood, expressed a willingness to interact with newer community members that moved into the area after the civil war (29-year-old male, 2014). There is, thus, a connection between identity and place that has been underrepresented in the literature about geographies of responsibility in the Global South. It is precisely how this identity and

responsibility is manifested – through activities of giving and assistance – that shape the local identities of these community members.

Gaining Control through Assistance

The assistance and giving demonstrated by Zimpeto and Mafalala both within and outside of formal organisations are activities grounded in the local needs they face. This has helped people of sometimes disparate origin unite under both a common definition of the challenges they face, as well as a recognition of local identity that has come to the forefront of how they conceptualise and talk about their senses of self. In discussing assistance and forms of giving among the various people of Zimpeto and Mafalala, a real hunger for control and the ability to shape the destiny of the community is felt. The desire for control, the desire to develop through their own initiative, and the need to be a part of positive change in the communities are all factors in figuring out why local identity matters in assisting others. This section will analyse how the ways in which assistance is discussed and rendered lend depth and understanding to these findings.

Neither ACDM and ACST, because of their informal structures advocate a particular type of help to their constituents. This means that unlike some of the other institutions that I interviewed, these were among the most open to discussing a wide variety of types of assistance, broadening further the discussion on identity and its local definition. When asked whether they had given help to those in their communities, respondents overall spoke directly about their physical neighbourhood – where they resided – and did not have a wide interpretation of this idea. They had similar responses to the questions on what the assistance was for as those in the Poor Philanthropist and KwaZulu-Natal studies: school fees, childcare, food and medical bills were all cited, as well as celebrations and religious ceremonies such as weddings (in some instances dowries) and funerals.

These so-called 'life events' run concurrently through both communities; the pursuit of an education, the acquisition of a solid marriage and the continuation of cultural ceremonies that accompany that occurrence, and the ability to pass on these traditions to the next generation were the case for all four focus groups conducted. As a 41-year-old man in Zimpeto explained, "I know what it is to need these things, so I know what it is to want to help other people be able to experience them…we are all very much the same in that way." In the cases of ACDM and ACST, both groups of individuals expressed a desire to help others achieve these basic milestones. They essentially only varied in the way in which they could do this. Firstly, men were more likely to give cash as a way of manifesting this for others; of

the 17 men in this particular group in Zimpeto, 100% acknowledged that they regularly give cash as a form of help to those in their communities. Regarding the women, on the other hand, only 45% acknowledged parting with money to help. This can, of course, be viewed in terms of which gender might have more control over cash flow in individual households. Both genders reinforced the notion that how they had seen others in the community help had informed their own behaviour.

Unlike the notion of the southern African philosophy of *Ubuntu*, amplified mainly by northern voices attempting to understand the actions of 'other' populations in Africa and conducting interventions on them through this desire to 'develop,' the reasoning behind these actions stem from both a connection to place *and* a common concern for welfare of others by members of the local community itself. Even regarding simple acts of help, people expressed connections to each other and the importance of needing to help others to all be more successful. The 41-year-old man in Zimpeto who cited the commonality people share in their needs went on to paint a vivid portrait of a funeral of his uncle, and how it would not have been possible without the community's help. He described it emotionally, saying

> "…it was because of some of these other people that we were able to work everything out with the funeral. I cannot imagine it without them. I wanted to do everything myself, because it is my responsibility, but I know after that time in my life that sometimes others are needed. I am sure that my uncle would have been happy to have this happen this way."

This is a merging of the idea of control, of having enough to do it yourself, and the connection with others who may be able to help you succeed because you all have common circumstances. Particularly with events as frequent as births, funerals, and weddings, many people can see their own desires in the actions of others in close proximity.

It was not so much the types of things that people were helping with that were interesting, so much as it was the ways in which they framed these instances as related to themselves. One 27-year-old male who confirmed his affiliation with ACDM for approximately three years, expressed that helping others in Mafalala was just something he had always done. It felt "natural, and it is something I do because I also care about Mafalala. Who wants to live in a place that is falling apart? We can't control everything, but we can control some things." This sense of control, and ultimately of connection to self is achieved through affiliation with ACDM and connecting oneself to one's locality.

Bridging the Class Divide: Discussing Local V. National Identity

The desire for control over one's own destiny as a fundamental part of why people help each other is not regulated only to the very poor in Zimpeto and Mafalala. It is one of the issues that crosses class lines quite often in Mozambican life. In Mozambique, like in many countries, certain voices are lifted as key examples of cultural icons, or perhaps representatives of the 'identity' of the nation state. This is shaped by a variety of specific geographic and historical forces – much of which are described in the Context and Methodology chapter. While the focus of this study is the grassroots community voices that shape the understanding of assistance and its relationship to identity in Zimpeto and Mafalala, it is also important to acknowledge the dialogue that takes place about the issue in a broader sense, and among those of different economic classes. Much of this is shown through voices of people such as Mia Couto, Naguib, and other cultural figures in the upper class of Mozambican society who have framed their own more formalised philanthropy and giving as directly serving their desire to connect proximity with responsibility. In interviews conducted with several of these figures in Mozambican life, the findings of the grassroots community members mirror those of discussions with Mozambicans considered part of the economic and political elite[61]. While the economic and political elites have more control over the public dialogue of Mozambican identity and the meanings behind it, they also share the deep connection between proximity and feelings of responsibility. The blurring of class lines across this issue is an interesting added dimension that these additional interviews have allowed for.

The cultural and intellectual class of Mozambique is based, for the most part, in Maputo. This reflects both where institutions are which support this work, as well as where one must be in order to gain any type of international notoriety in the country. I conducted interviews with several artists and authors, many of whom are affiliated with Maputo's Nucleo D'Arte[62], an artist colony that supports artistic development in Mozambique. Some of these artists are more widely known than others, however several have received international support for their work. In an interview with the Mozambican artist Naguib Elias Abdula[63], arguably the most famous artist operating in the country today, the issue of identity was at the forefront of our discussion on help. He explained that "…my art is really about what I know to be true about myself: I am where I am, and that place is Maputo, in 2015, trying to make sense of how that makes me, me" (Interview, 16 March 2015). Naguib was in fact born in

[61] See definition in Introduction
[62] http://www.africaserver.nl/nucleo/eng/
[63] http://www.kulungwana.org.mz/eng/Artists/Naguib-Abdula

Tete in the north of the country, however he sees this as more a part of his historical reality than a full expression of his identity. In a piece done for CNN, he even describes struggling with his art and community work as, in fact, a struggle of identity.[xxvii] In terms of giving and assistance, Naguib sees his focus very simply: "I help those I come across in my life and work. Sometimes, this is as simple as helping those in the neighbourhood who have nothing, but can do a type of job for me. Sometimes it is about helping people through my art: I can help to inspire them to think about things differently." This connection between his responsibility and those in his sphere of the everyday is evident.

I also spoke with author and scientist Mia Couto, one of the most internationally renowned Mozambican writers and winner of several prizes for his work, also echoes these connections. We discussed the issue of national and local identity while sitting in the newly opened Fundaçao Fernando Leite Couto, a cultural and social space that was opened in 2015.[64] The space was named after Couto's own father, who was a poet and journalist that lived and wrote in Mozambique after coming to the country from Portugal in the mid-twentieth century. The questions posed to him and other individuals were like those posed to community members in Mafalala and Zimpeto; I wanted to explore how the concepts of help and connection to place really manifested within individuals who themselves were thought of as representing the 'Mozambican identity.' In many articles written about his work, Couto is described as equal parts 'rebel' and 'true artist,' able uniquely to straddle the line between saying what he wants and representing an entire people while doing so – at least to the outside literary world.[xxviii] Born in Beira in the north of Mozambique in 1955, Couto has come to represent a unique voice over the years since Mozambican independence in 1975. He has weighed in on complex issues such as "Se Obama Fosse Africano" or, "What if Obama was African?" (Couto 2008). The critiques he levels at the Mozambican government and African governance more generally are read widely by both Anglophone and Lusophone audiences.[xxix]

The newly opened foundation where I interviewed Couto is, by its legal definition, a non-profit organisation that serves to "foster the development of Mozambican culture." It seemed a particularly good time to discuss the ideas of help and identity with someone who has spent much of his life thinking about both. The foundation opened along a tree-lined street named Avenida Kim-Il-Sung, a throwback to the Soviet state support Mozambique received throughout the Cold War period in the wealthy neighbourhood of Sommerschield.

[64] http://fflc.org.mz/

Though the area has competition these days for exclusivity – massive homes have been built along the water in areas such as Triunfo and Costa do Sol – it remains the area of the city that still reminds people of a colonial landscape. The gates that used to contain it no longer exist and the waste management problem that affects the rest of the city sometimes shows in the cracked sidewalks of the area, but it is still one of the most convenient places to live for upper class Mozambicans and foreigners. The area also houses embassies, international NGOs, and several cafes. The Fundaçao also sits blocks away from the site of the murder of journalist and activist Carlos Cardoso, who at the age of 48 was killed after many years of doggedly researching, reporting, and ultimately exposing corruption at all levels of the Frelimo government (Hanlon 2000).

Against this backdrop, the presence of a Foundation designed to develop Mozambican culture was the perfect setting to dig deeper into the connection between the Mozambican consciousness and concepts of help and assistance. The irony is not lost to Couto, however, on the geographic disconnect. Even Couto himself admitted as we sat down to speak that "it was not in my plans to have the Foundation located here [in Sommerschield], as we are really quite distant from where we want to be involved and to help people" (Individual Interview, January 2016). People have been waiting, in Couto's assessment, for him to do something philanthropic. When asked exactly what he wanted to achieve by 'developing Mozambican culture,' he replied that for him, art and writing has been an avenue to express his mixed heritage, and he wanted to bring that to others. His goal is "…to develop writers who may come from Mafalala, who may come from Zimpeto, and help them get exposure." I asked whether having the Foundation located miles away from these places was an issue for achieving these goals. With a slight smile, he explained that there was no way that they could be financially sustainable as an entity and be located there. One of the appeals of Sommerschield was that it allowed them to host events such as art openings and concerts, open a café, and have revenue coming into the Foundation that would further their outreach efforts in the poorer neighbourhoods.

As I spoke to Couto and other individuals such as Sinito Maguana, a visual performance artist, both explained that they felt a deep connection to their places of birth in the north, and have continued to finance projects geographically far away, despite not visiting very often. For Couto, this is a fact kept quite private, though he gave permission for me to discuss this in the study. Why is he connected to that area? Why the privacy? The connection is because he feels a tie to his parents who brought him to Mozambique, and wants to support the area that impacted him as a youth. This idea of being connected to a geographic space

experienced in childhood is certainly nothing new, and not even particularly African. However, Couto clearly relates to ideals many Mozambicans share regarding ideas of ancestry, land ownership and lineage being an important part of his identity. He describes this in an essay in his work *Pensativities*, where he says,

> Deep down, the city and I shared the same condition: we were both creatures of the frontier. I am Mozambican, the son of Portuguese immigrants, I was born at the height of the colonial system, fought for Independence, lived through radical changes from socialism to capitalism, from revolution to the civil war. I was born at a pivotal time, between a world that was nascent and another that was dying. Between a nation that never was and another that is coming to be. The city is an umbilical cord that we create after we have been born.

The shared experience of Mozambican history has influenced his sense of identity, and moreover on his sense of how that identity is constructed and enacted. It is also clear from my conversations with several upper-class Mozambicans, including two members of the ruling government party that did not give permission for their names to be disclosed, that many wealthy Mozambicans do not want to be identified as particularly philanthropic for fear of having a long line of potential grantees or people in need asking them for assistance.

Which speaks more for the cultural figures of Mozambique, then? The projects that they may fund privately, or the activities that they tie themselves more publically to? It seems the answer is both; "I feel like my identity is wrapped up in both activities, and both help communities in different ways. I just have to help – it is something I was raised in believing was important in some way," says Couto. Which is more Mozambican? Maguana does not like labelling any one activity as purely Mozambican, but does agree that people tend to have a sense of connection to where they are now. This is a change, he believes, from how things were previously. Before, his activities in his family's ancestral home in Gaza province would be his primary outlet of support. Now, he feels more of a sense of responsibility for where he is, and the potential assistance he can give to others in his own city. This, he explains, is a change. With independence and democracy has come a freedom of movement, and thus a freedom of expression and connection that did not exist previously.

This change is echoed with the community voices. When addressing how help has changed over time, some respondents struggled to answer the question directly. A question geared towards how the idea of assisting others has changed led to a discussion of how the community has changed, both politically and socially. "We do not have the option to help as much as we used to," one older female respondent in Mafalala explained, and added, "Mozambique is expensive now. It isn't like it was before." The capacity issue, given

Mozambique's developing economy, was a constant comment related to financial circumstances; the ability for people to help through money transactions has been curtailed as the economy has grown overall. The same participant also indicated that they felt that "without the other people here [in Mafalala], we would have no support. We are the ones who are making it important to help each other, to make sure the children get educated, to make sure that we try our best." Particularly when it comes to education, many respondents seemed to identify themselves not only through their connection to the place where they live, but also to be responsible for the betterment and development of those around them.

Nostalgia & Local Identity:

Finally, in addition to addressing the dialogue that has been shaped by the cultural and economic elites of Mozambique to provide a holistic picture of discussion of identity, I want to address the notion of nostalgia as a driving force behind why identity matters and cannot be neglected. This nostalgia has been echoed in both the community group discussions and the individual interviews conducted with a more disparate group of people in Maputo more generally. This nostalgia is a desire for a unified sense of self that incorporates what *was* in the Mozambican national identity, and what is now, which is a move towards the local rather than the national. It is a further piece of evidence in showing how proximity and responsibility relate – even across class lines.

While it was nearly impossible to get anyone from the government at any level to speak to me on the record, I succeeded in getting several former governing officials that had experience working in municipal government. Antonio Yok Chan, former deputy mayor of Maputo as well as former president of the Mozambican Association for Hotels and Tourism, could explain a little bit about why this divide might exist. For full transparency, Chan is my father-in-law, and thus was willing to go on the record for the study in a way many others were not. In his eleven years serving in the Municipal Assembly in Maputo, he tackled many challenges at the legislative level that groups such as those interviewed for this study do in their own small localities. His perspective was compelling, particularly because he has seen the changes in the country over the decades since independence, during and after the civil war, and present day.

One of the arguments he stuck to consistently was the idea that it was 'democracy,' not even the end of Portuguese rule that has led to the degradation of government's role in the lives of everyday citizens. This is by no means simple or noncontroversial. Suggesting that majority rule has made things more problematic is not a viewpoint normally shared openly.

What does this mean for the Mozambican identity, which has been wrapped up in the Frelimo identity for its entire independent existence? “Frelimo is something that I have always been a part of, and it is something that stands for the ways in which things should have been. I am Frelimo, but the new Frelimo is different. They don’t understand things the way they should. They don’t see how the communities are suffering” (Individual Interview, March 2014). Chan owns a plot of land along the border with the village of Marracuene, which serves as a dividing line between the Maputo metropolitan area and the vast road north to the rest of the country. Mere blocks from his farm is the bustling market of Zimpeto, and the evolution and changes of Maputo are visible from just outside the treeline that serves as a fence around his property. His geographic exposure allows him to see the poverty and population increases that have taken place since the end of the civil war. Many people from the north who have settled in Zimpeto are now in search of work and take to selling things in the market to survive.

In an interview conducted with two middle-aged Mozambican men who wished to remain anonymous, I also observed a desire to discuss identity in the prism of the past, rather than the optimism of the future. Both men previously held government positions; one, a lawyer and private school owner who had worked directly with the Ministry of Education, and the other currently serving as the Consular General for a country in the Middle East with past professions at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. Both were born and raised in Maputo, and both continue to invest in community projects in their own neighbourhoods. One has done this formally through opening a trust, and explains that “it is my way to organise my thoughts and try to figure out what I can do to help (Individual Interview, October 2014).” The other conducts things more informally, and is visibly uncomfortable talking specifics. He does offer that “how I help in my own life is really not important. What is important is that we have real struggles now – struggles we didn’t have ten or fifteen years ago. They are everywhere.” I ask them to explain how they see the current state of things in Maputo, and how their help is required to respond, if at all, to these challenges. Both cite “unemployment,” “poverty,” and “lack of education” as the challenges that are faced. The Consular General describes a time “under the Portuguese where we did not have as much freedom, but we had less poverty.” Many of the world’s historians and Development scholars might be surprised by these observations. This nostalgia about the colonial period is typically not something expressed in work written about the issues former colonies face.

Chan himself has taken to walking the streets in Zimpeto and to patronising the local market where he could observe the "complete lack of planning," as he describes it, in allowing people to live wherever they want and sell products however they want. His frustration as a politician about the lack of opportunity for fellow Mozambicans is, however, followed up with practical solutions as he sees them, rather than giving or assistance. He prefers to employ locals on his farm, where he pays minimum wage but also provides a place to sleep; constantly complaining about the lack of work ethic by young and impoverished people in the area, he does continue to hire locally. Why? "I see myself in a lot of these people," he explains, "and I see that ultimately this is where I live. What I do here matters a little bit to the people who also live here. I cannot disconnect myself even if Mozambique is changing; it isn't right." His national identity has changed; Frelimo has disenchanted him to a large degree, and will come up in later discussions around state power. However, his faith in his own local identity remains unshaken. Who he is has become inextricable from where he is, and his efforts must continue. Chan himself has taken steps to open a Foundation to direct his own efforts, which he hopes will include providing meals to local schools in the Zimpeto area through donating food from his farm (Individual Interview, May 2015).

Over the course of the study, I walked several markets with people, covering territory where many Mozambican elites grew up in Xipamanine, one of the largest informal markets in the city. While it was geographically outside of the research area, it was the focus of a great deal of nostalgic reflection by interviewees from the Mozambican upper class. It is where Chan grew up. There is a tone in these excursions here that is highlighting the entrepreneurial and the unique: he made his way from Xipamanine to Sommerschield – six kilometres that may as well be six thousand. The market itself is not frequented by outsiders; it is a confusing sprawled mess of stalls selling everything from traditional medicine to live animals and even solar panels, which the seller proudly declared had come from the top of the house of an important minister in government (Participant Observation, September 2015). The Xipamanine market remains one of the few areas of Maputo where one can find many goods that are out of stock in the supermarkets readily available. The 'mercado negro,' or black market, has a complicated system of supply and demand that is beyond the scope of this study; however, in Xipamanine it is evident that many low-income Mozambicans do not access goods through formal means.

Figure 2.1: Xipamanine Markets[65]

During the walks, there was a palpable sense of nostalgia from the interviewees: the markets used to be cleaner, more organised. The sellers used to have better quality goods, and they used to be more honest about how they acquired them. The roads used to be paved, and now they are covered in dust. The people used to have more dignity around their profession. Whether this is factually accurate or not, one thing that remains true is that the identity of many Mozambicans is continuously clinging to help to exert control over a world that is changing; they feel responsible for what surrounds them in a way they could never feel responsible for the country. Chan still feels this way about his own local environment, despite decades of being in the Frelimo administration in various degrees of engagement. Where he obviously feels at home, as he shouts in XiRonga, the local language in Maputo, is among the chaos of the markets that he feels no longer represent him, but represent his own responsibility.

From Individual to State

Evidenced by the voices within the communities themselves, the issue of responsibility and assistance is complex. It is different from many ideas both about help in the west, as well as in the global south. While concepts of common humanity, such as that described in the *Ubuntu* philosophy are relevant to understanding perceptions about Africans, they are not enough to explain how people conceptualise their own desire to act on behalf of

[65] Photo by Author, February 2015

others. This also does not account for how proximity and place may impact one's own identity. The words of the community members indicate a much deeper reality: regardless of the type or scope of the assistance a person provides, it is their locally formed identity that is driving it. Some of the assistance comes in the form of financial assistance or in the activities conducted by several groups in the neighbourhood. Regardless, it is all illustrative of the fact that local identity matters greatly in how people perceive and act upon their own needs. There is a definitive bond shared by members of the community when they discuss and are given the opportunity to act upon the shared challenges they have. They do this to exert a type of control and sense of autonomy in a situation where they might otherwise be described as disempowered or disconnected. These commonalities reinforce this common local identity. Additionally, the gap between foreigners and newcomers to an area narrows when this is the topic of conversation: local identity matters, and it has risen to the forefront in Mozambique, I argue, instead of a truly unified sense of national identity. This sets the one-directional narrative that dominates Development discourse in a position of direct challenge: if the local is mattering more and more, the 'beneficiaries' are being acted upon from the outside with little regard for this reality.

The local is where the help and assistance are not only needed, but ultimately come from. In the coming chapter, I will explore precisely how this links to ideas around service delivery and distrust of the state. The state as a figure has already entered the conversation through some commentary expressed by local community members, but there is increased mistrust of the government in engaging directly with research on civil society's own organising structure. Local identity is important, and a crucial piece of connective tissue between responsibility and geography, however it is but one component of reasoning behind why the communities of Mafalala and Zimpeto do what they do to achieve their own successes.

The ways in which this local identity dominates over national identity speaks quite directly to a change in how people are making decisions about what they care about and why. This type of shift not only challenges the notion that the national identity of Mozambique is uniform, but also the idea that ethnic divisions (and more specifically, regional divisions) prevent community identity from being cohesive. The organising of these community based organisations represents a relationship to the state that is, in many ways, subversive. It goes one step further – local identity matters more than national identity for these community members, and the national identity has, in a sense been corrupted.

Chapter VI: Assistance as a Form of Resistance:

In exploring local and national identity, as I have explained in the previous chapter, the contextual realities matter significantly. The data analysed in Chapter Five demonstrated that local identity has emerged as the dominant force in shaping how and why people feel responsible for each other. It also influences the ways in which people conceptualise and speak about their actions in this regard. The narrative that Development discourse propagates refers to a relatively uniform identity that is usually a recipient of assistance by some distant 'other' responsible party. This frames local participants as beneficiaries, whose local identities matter little in either the provision or acceptance of assistance. Regardless of how this relationship is manifested in a local context, the role of local community assistance is usually not attributed to the radical or reactionary. This chapter draws on data that suggests the opposite: community assistance in Mafalala and Zimpeto is in fact an activity of reaction, and perhaps even subversion, to a state apparatus that has failed to fulfil its promise. The national identity that was aggressively pushed by Frelimo in the early part of the nation's history has not only failed to take hold, but in fact has become an oppressive apparatus that challenges citizens to seek alternative forms of self-help and resistance to its control. In addition to being entities that represent the identities and responsibility felt by community members, I argue that grassroots organisations also challenge, albeit sometimes in subversive ways, the necessity of the layers of local bureaucracy that claim to understand the identity and needs of those who they serve.

While this study itself is not framed as an exploration of the political, it is an investigation of the social connective tissues that exist in modern day Mozambique that are reflections of a history coming to bear on a developing state in its relative infancy. This has thus inevitably brought in a whole host of political and governmental components that were not foreseen before the study began. More recently at the end of 2015 and into 2016, the political landscape has shifted to even further contextualise some of the data produced in the study, and has created the impetus for additional interviews and investigation conducted towards the end of the field research period. The relationships between national, provincial, and local government influence how community members think about themselves and how individuals formulate solutions to problems they may have within their own spheres of influence.

This chapter will look firstly at the bureaucratic barriers that groups in Mafalala and Zimpeto face, focusing primarily on how interactions with local government have been a

challenge for many participants interviewed. Secondly, I will introduce how the political context impacted the communities and organisations assessed in this study, with attention to the complicated perceptions that were created because of the unique historical period that this study took place within. More specifically, Mozambique experienced a marked economic downturn, which caused hyperinflation of the currency and a further erosion of trust in the state (see Appendix 3). Thirdly, I will look at how participants express the idea that assistance is, for them, a concrete form of resistance against the state. These observations will provide a lens into what resistance means and the ways in which it complicates traditional notions of the role assistance plays. Finally, the chapter will look at the impact and influence of outsiders on the local organisations, and why these foster the idea that civil society, rather than the government, must provide solutions of its own.

Setting the Stage: Organising at the Local Level

One of the main access points to learn about these communities for this study has been through its organisations. While this is explained more thoroughly in the methodology chapter, it is important to point out the connection between how people organise and what this might mean for the viewpoints of people in a specific place. Forming groups and participating in those groups is something 100% of the participants in the focus groups explained they had done. This includes both formal and informal groups, as well as faith-based institutions which will be explored further in the next chapter. The question "what do you do to help the people in your community" allowed participants to discuss both their work within organisations as well as outside them. However, it almost always included the mentioning of other institutions or organisations; it was as if the act of joining together in a group setting, or forming a local group identity, helped them to manifest this responsibility that they had for their community. This is not obviously addressed in the other studies conducted on philanthropy in Africa, and the Poor Philanthropist study does not identify the desire to organise or be a part of a group as related to the quest to help. Instead, they offer the ideas of "pity and compassion," "mutual assistance," and "cooperation" (Wilkinson-Maposa 2006). While it is helpful to think about the motivations for assistance held by participants in the study, the formation of 'institutions' have turned out to play a large role as well.

When trying to conduct empirical research in this type of environment, there was an assumption on my part that those that exist in an official capacity have had some interaction with the state. However, beyond the regulatory reality, the state did not play a major role in dictating the roles of domestic community based organisations. In seeking out non-

governmental, grassroots organisations, I reached beyond government institutional channels to identify groups, and attempted to achieve research objectives without having to follow information provided solely by the state. For example, as described more thoroughly in the methodology chapter, organisations were identified through a diverse array of means and were not limited to following official government registers of groups in the geographic areas. Both Zimpeto and Mafalala have an indeterminate number of organisations within them. This is true partly because of poor government record keeping, but also because, as indicated by respondents, the formation of groups of people to help each other "does not necessarily need to have a name, or even a schedule" as a 65-year-old woman from Mafalala indicated. It is less important that these groups exist, but more important that they are perceived to act as an extension of their members; they are responsible for enacting the help in the correct way that the community needs. As respondents in the study were recruited using institutions as an entry point, it is no surprise that most the participants had been affiliated with an organisation at some point. What is surprising is that this statistic was 100%. As explained in chapter three, participant recruitment was done through institutions, but also through informal networks, meaning that some people who attended a focus group may or may not have heard of that group prior. Even so, the statistic holds true: being a part of a group whose intention is to help others is indeed part of the local fabric.

The groups discussed in the previous chapter, ACST and ACDM, are both good examples of grassroots community based organisations because of their founding histories, as well as the ways in which respondents connect to them and interact with them formally and informally. ACDM's desire to be perceived as a formal organisation, as evidenced by its social media presence, office structure, and governance documents, speaks to Mafalala's long and complicated history as a neighbourhood. There has been a longer institutional history of grassroots groups in Mafalala, and organisations like ACDM have examples from which to learn from. Mafalala has been a distinct neighbourhood with a rich history of organising politically and socially (Morton 2013). It also has been home to small businesses, guesthouses, community based organisations, and faith based communities for decades. This has made the environment much more conducive to starting a group – there are already many established ones. While the government offers no official numbers for how many registered groups exist in Mafalala, participant observation and mapping I conducted for this study counted 45 office fronts for this wide variety of groups. Many were concentrated along the main thoroughfare in Mafalala 'A,' which connects one side of the neighbourhood to the

other, and serves as a crossing point for pedestrians and cars trying to make their way through the maze of zinc-roofed homes.

While organisations in Zimpeto and Mafalala do not have close connections to the state, they do interact with the state to a certain extent, particularly at the local level. It is not unusual that the country has struggled, like many developing nations, with issues of corruption and a lack of organised governance bodies, particularly at the local level. Structurally, each municipality in the country is governed by a local council, elected through local elections and the heads of these councils are known as mayors.[66] These mayors have a large degree of authority, appointing their own executive councils, and the appointment of these mayors require only 1% of the population's signatures for a vote. The local government has quite a bit of responsibility as well, including service delivery and the management of nationally distributed funds. Despite this authority, the relationships between the representatives of the state and the grassroots organisations within their jurisdictions is loose at best, and non-existent or extortive at worst. Scholars sometimes attribute this looseness to "…changes in civil society which affect communities, often expressed as a growing individualism, which is more frequently constraining than supportive of relationships between the state and civil society (Carley, Smith & Jenkins 2001). Scholars have, in the past, paid close attention to the role local government may have in corruption more generally, albeit not specifically in relation to grassroots civil society (Fatton 2014; Jenkins, 2013). Much of the corruption discussion has revolved around larger state Aid donors, whose donations have, in the past, come under scrutiny for waste and accountability issues (Hanlon, 2004). I assert that this explanation is not comprehensive enough; we must look at exactly what actions grassroots organisations are taking and how they see themselves in relation to these bureaucracies.

It was challenging to get local governance officials to speak on the record to discuss even something as benign as the presence of community based organisations in these two areas. This was particularly challenging in Zimpeto, where as described in previous chapters, the boundaries of various municipal divides are much more fluid because new neighbourhoods continue to grow. The local governance structure in these new 'suburbs' of Maputo is much more spread out. I interviewed two council members in Mafalala who declined to give their names for the purposes of the study, and both confirmed that they have

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http://www.clgf.org.uk/userfiles/1/files/Mozambique%20local%20government%20profile%202011-12.pdf

little to no relationship with external organisations in the area. “We know basically what they do and we make sure that they are following the statutes in their founding documents,” said one official. While it was unclear exactly how authorities were ensuring this compliance, it was clear that they were unhappy with the presence of a researcher asking questions about relationships with civil society organisations, and more importantly with organisations that had deep connections with the grassroots of these communities (individual interview, March 2015). Additionally, local government officials have relatively limited interaction regularly with these groups in a formal way. Interviews with members of an all-female Muslim group at the Mesquita[67] Anuaril pointed to a lack of knowledge about who was even responsible locally for representing the organisations in the neighbourhood (individual interviews, April 2015). One fifty-nine-year-old woman indicated that “…the only time we have to interact with the government is when they are looking for people to support them in something they’re doing. We do not report to them or answer to them at all.” This disconnect, or at least the perception of it, is in line with what the initial mapping indicated: local governance is dominant only in the sense that it exists on paper, rather than interaction with local entities in a comprehensive way.

The relationship between the government and local organisations was partially visible through certain efforts I observed. At a clean-up day that ACDM highlighted in their focus group was described as an event where “…we were surprised that people from the government were there. We just assumed they would only be there to make sure that we ended when we said we would” (Argelio Macuambe, March 2015). In this characterisation, the government is playing the role of regulator or enforcer, and rarely participant. It is distinctly separate from those who are engaged in assistance activities.

[67] Mosque

Figure 2.2: Dambo Clean-Up Day[68]

This was validated in conversations with several other local entities, including Associacao IVERCA, a group that is discussed at length later in this chapter. Phrases such as "self-interested" and "not around" were used to describe local municipal staff members, and the echoing refrain of "these people know nothing" was dominant in respondent's answers and free-flowing discussion. This is interesting to observe, as none of the questions posed to focus group members nor individuals interviewed in follow-up instances were specifically about politics or even "the state." It is indicative of the fact that despite what people perceive to be an absence of strong local political engagement; a discussion of assistance is incomplete without mention of the state.

In both neighbourhoods, participants brought up issues of local governance and structure when asked the question "How has the community changed over time?" Respondents overwhelmingly used words such as "corrupt," "inefficient," and "friends of Frelimo" to describe the local governing authorities. As they see it, both Zimpeto and Mafalala as distinct communities only interact with the local government either through modes of exchange that involve paying bribes or during election campaigns, which occurred during the period that research was conducted. Provincial elections had just finished at the end of 2013, and national elections took place in October of 2015. Even relative newcomers like the 12-year-old and 18-year-old siblings from Nampula felt the need to bring up they differences they had seen. The younger sibling, Marco, explained that he regularly "avoids police in the community." They are described as "scary," "annoying," and that interactions with them for people from the north are particularly challenging.[69]

The presence of any type of national, provincial, or local government was not mentioned in response to any other question and in any other context. This indicates two important things: the first is a question regarding the level or nature of involvement of the state in civil society at the community level; the second is the fact that discussion of the state seems to be relegated to an inconvenience for community members. Discussions of corruption and service delivery were much more common than a mention of the state in relation to building up civil society organisations. Despite sharing local identities, local roots, and in theory a locally driven sense of responsibility for those around them, the suspicion and

[68] Photo Taken by Author, October 2014

[69] The accent of Mozambicans whose mother tongue is Makua, present in the north of the country, is distinct. It allows others to identify them readily as being from elsewhere.

alienation of those people from the rest of the population remains a distinct component of this discussion. Members of the ACST group added yet another layer to this distrust, as several participants indicated that local officials only showed up to participate in ACST events, despite various invitations, when there was an opportunity to engage with the media. “We get used to it being seasonal,” one male respondent explained, “depending on what they need to do to be seen by *Noticias* [the government-owned daily newspaper].” While no one person or group researched for the purposes of this study was directly asked about party affiliation or affinity, it was clear that the national identity propagated by the leading party in power had entered the discourse on community identity. This begins to blur the line between a person’s identity with the party – a national entity - and a person’s identity overall.

Bridging Government & Society

As described in the previous chapter, the local governments that oversee the regulation and coordination of civil society activities in Zimpeto and Mafalala were less than encouraging in their response to being questioned for this study. However, they remained a key component to responses in all my focus groups. Civil society organisations that exists in every culture, not just in Mozambique, between the government and its people is a delicate one. In countries in the developing world the idea of the government as a powerful entity that works per the will of the people is still one that is absent in discourse for a variety of reasons. Maputo politics is similar to Mozambique’s politics more generally; as described in Chapter III, the party in power, Frelimo, has dominated the south for Mozambique’s history since independence, and remains one of the only areas of the country where an assumption of Frelimo allegiance is considered the norm.

One cannot truly understand the inner workings of the communities discussed in this study without looking at the structure within which they exist, and the way in which this structure has impacted them. This is particularly true of understanding the data that has reflected a distrust of the state apparatus. What this means, and exactly why it matters in this way is reflective of the historical moment. Economics and politics are only part of the story; the social fabric of Maputo has been in many ways the social fabric of Frelimo. Where there are issues with Frelimo or distrust of the Frelimo position, the people of the south are ultimately impacted. Over the course of the years during which this study took place, several important events occurred that shaped both the responses (to the actual questions asked) of participants, but also the world in which the participants will move forward with their lives. Throughout the course of this study, several critical events occurred which both affected the

field research data, but also may have contributed to a heightened sense of the connection between community assistance and subversion of the state as an apparatus. While it is impossible to know for sure exactly how much this impacted the reactions of community members, it is important context for understanding this relationship.

Elections and times of economic decline in Mozambique have proved a time of stress and tension, but also a time where communities not usually paid attention to have the eyes and ears of political leaders. During the first phase of this study, many of the events involved in recruiting and setting up participants ran alongside election proceedings and other activities that were taking up the time of community members, particularly those in leadership positions (see Appendix 3). The election itself was setting an important context in which participants were poised to think about their engagement with the state. As the study progressed and interviews and focus groups were completed, the political climate began to shift to one of slightly more open expression against state action as well as a growing frustration with a lack of access to basic services such as electricity and water. Bureaucratic barriers and corruption, the background activity of an important national election, and the distance between civil society and the state all create an environment where resistance against government activity is important to understand.

Assistance as Resistance

Associacao IVERCA is one of the most formalised and outward looking grassroots organisation interviewed for this study. While a focus group was conducted with IVERCA in January of 2015, IVERCA's staff and connections provided a strong base from which to contact other people in Mafalala and beyond. The organisation itself, according to its own official description, "…was created in 2009 by students of tourism. The organization promotes guided tours in the neighbourhood of Mafalala, and organizes the Mafalala festival. IVERCA employs local youth as tourist guides, and contributes to employment in the neighbourhood."[70] It is, aside from the occasional Facebook page, the only organisation in either of the neighbourhoods with a website and with comprehensive and up-to-date social media presence. It was also one of the easiest to get in touch with, and one of the keenest to participate in the study. The group is made up of 31 young people, whose activities involve conducting tours of Mafalala, exposing people to Mozambican culture and art, and engaging in dialogue with public and private entities around the issues of tourism and the

[70] https://iverca.wordpress.com/about/

environment.[71] The group is also responsible for putting on the Mafalala Festival, one of the only events in the neighbourhood that encourages people from the outside to come in and experience what IVERCA has branded as the "Mozambican culture as manifested through art and music of Mafalala."

Figure 2.3: Local and National government officials introduce maps of Mafalala

IVERCA's Executive Director, Ivan Laranjeira, has an interest in the success of IVERCA. His background is in art and in hospitality, and he attempts to bridge this divide through the presence of the organisation in many aspects of Mafalalan life. His personality reflects this; his desire to introduce me to many different types of people to learn from is evident. Of all the interviews conducted for this study, the duration of the focus group hosted by IVERCA was by far the longest. Participants had a desire to linger and interact, and there was even a request made to turn the activity into a weekly gathering (Focus Group April 2015). While Laranjeira himself is of the somewhat-privileged 'mulatto[72]' class, the rest of the members of IVERCA are made up of local Mafalalan residents. All the members are under the age of 40, which lent attention to certain issues that were not mentioned nearly as often by older study participants.

IVERCA has had, for the most part, a productive and symbiotic relationship with the Mozambican government. Much of its revenue is generated from private donations, including corporate sponsors from within Mozambique, individual donors, and revenue from the

[71] http://mozart.spla.pro/pt/ficha.estructura.iverca.11555.html
[72] 'Mulatto' is loosely translated as 'mixed,' which denotes someone of mixed ethic and racial origin

walking tours that its members lead on a regular basis (Individual Interview, Laranjeira, February 2015). It has utilised partnerships with private tour companies such as Dana Tours to attract English-speaking tourists to its walking tours, providing access to the neighbourhood as an illustration of 'typical Mozambican life.'[73] While there is something inherently challenging and problematic about using a poor neighbourhood to illustrate daily life in Maputo, there is also truth and history in it. As mentioned in-depth in Chapter III, Mafalala holds historical significance, and therefore creates ample opportunity for people to address connections between how Mafalala has survived and changed over the course of Mozambique's short history as an independent nation. The 'claim' on Mozambican identity by this group has been used as a true entry point for outsiders; it was certainly profoundly helpful to someone like me, despite my ability to speak the language and engage with different groups of people. It also provided a connection between the groups I was interviewing and the state, as IVERCA participants were keen to talk about this relationship.

Several key themes about the Mozambican government were drawn out of the 35-person group discussion. The first was that of the need to be connected, and the sense that everyone knows that the public sector will not provide this type of connection; a person should create it for him or herself. IVERCA has had official relations with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism as well as the Maputo city government. These have included licensing to operate tours in the area, participation by local government officials in Mozambican holiday events in conjunction with the group, and endorsement of Mafalala as part of the "Tourism Destination of Excellence" project, which recognised the immense work IVERCA has done to raise the profile of Mafalala and contribute to celebrations of Mozambican heritage and culture (Muchanga 2016). Despite the positivity reflected in the media coverage and official engagement of the group, individual members spoke of the need for IVERCA precisely because of a lack of transparency of the public sector. One young man explained that he got involved in IVERCA because he knew that "otherwise we feel like we're on our own…on our own in the middle of the city." This sense of isolation from the state apparatus despite geographic proximity was surprising to hear from a grassroots organisation that had enjoyed relative success in maintaining relationships with the government.

The second theme has been that of preserving history, heritage, and memory on behalf of the Mozambican people who suffered under centuries of colonial rule. When asked to describe the ways in which they help in their community and how they have been involved in

[73] http://danatours.travel/things-to-do/package-tours/cultural-tours/maputo-mafalala-by-night-tour

engaging with others through this help, words such as 'united,' and 'togetherness' kept coming up in addition to 'heritage' and 'culture.' The participants explained that IVERCA was not their only outlet for helping others, and while some tour guides received compensation for their work, they believed the driving force was to safeguard Mozambican heritage over the long-term. This preservation and unification role clearly points to a sense of what the state is not doing; recognising efforts by IVERCA and others are important, but the respondents indicated it is not enough to truly solidify trust. The "history of Frelimo is in these streets," one 38-year-old female explained, "however we must remind people it still exists." It is not just the Mozambican memory that is embedded here, but also the Frelimo one. As explained in Chapter IV, several of the party's current and former leadership are from Mafalala, and the role of community members here seems to be to try to remind the party of its former self.

The third theme that emerged from this dialogue is that of a shared distrust of the state. It is here where the greatest irony rests: nostalgia for a Frelimo identity has become possible to discuss alongside a distrust of 'the government,' which is essentially a Frelimo entity. Because the interviews for this study were conducted over the course of 2014 and 2015, it is chronologically impossible to say that this distrust comes from the exposures of state failure that came much later; however, the opinions of those interviewed shows that these feelings were not caused by more recent events. They were there previously. The questions that prompted these responses the most were those that asked about how the community has changed as well as when describing what types of help are necessary for people in lives of IVERCA members. The questions that prompted these responses the most were those that asked about how the community has changed as well as when describing what types of help are necessary for people in lives of IVERCA members. What was it about the changes that inherently led to a discussion of the state distrust? Aside from a lack of service delivery in the area, particularly energy and water, people identified their personal relationships as helping them through times when they felt insecure about the community's wellbeing. What the government could not do for them, the people must do for themselves. "I believe that we have times when we need our families and our friends here in Mafalala because they are the ones we know will be there for us," expressed Rosario, a 22-year-old male who had just begun to be involved in IVERCA the previous year. His involvement, he explained, "…Just gives me an outlet for that frustration that we have forgotten our way, our path." This hints at something much deeper; state distrust as expressed by community members here solidifies the need for a strong local identity.

Faith and its implications for this study are addressed at length in the subsequent chapter, however the area of faith based organisations and religious groups is not where I expected to hear a great deal about the challenges of the Mozambican state.

This was echoed in interviews with participants in Zimpeto as well, including members of ACST who characterised assistance efforts as being "…something I'm doing because I have to, but also because the state isn't. No one cares, so we have to show them and take a stand (27-year-old female focus group participant). While many grassroots initiatives do not have extensive infrastructure around which to base their charitable efforts, participants across the board point to their actions as being 'for themselves,' and 'being successful' where the state has failed. Zimpeto Children's Centre, located along the main road, the N1 that cuts straight through the neighbourhood, is impossible to ignore, as the several hectares of land it occupies runs alongside the bustling market and main road. While Iris Ministries, a foreign entity, was originally responsible for the construction of the complex, it now currently is locally managed and funded (Individual Interview, October 2015). It was also one of the only spaces that was physically able to hold a large group of people from all over Zimpeto, allowing for a diverse focus group experience.

Director of this group, Steve Lazar, has been at his level for the past eight years, following the founding of the site in 1998. Rolland and Heidi Baker, two missionaries from the UK, opened the Zimpeto Children's Centre.[74] While fully acknowledging itself to be a proselytising organisation, the Centre also firmly situates itself within the grassroots efforts of the community that surrounds it. 150 paid Mozambican workers work on the grounds alongside a varying number of international volunteers. Many of these volunteers are active in their own religious organisations back home; however, Zimpeto Children's Centre requires a minimum commitment of 12 months to volunteer with them, "to ensure that we remain local to the people of Zimpeto, and we don't constantly have people coming in and out at all times" (Individual Interview, May 2015). The Centre is one of the only ones of its kind in Mozambique; it follows a comprehensive care strategy for children. There is an English school, a community and secondary school, a medical clinic, vocational training, emergency food and funeral assistance, and dormitories for students. It also has, through a relationship with the municipality of Marracuene, begun its Youth Project, which is housed on 25 acres of land on which housing has been constructed for young men who are unable to move in with family, but have outgrown the Centre. This type of service provision ensures that orphaned

[74] http://www.irisminzimpeto.org/whoarewe/whoarewe.html

children or those for whom their parents cannot provide can find a safe space. “Our role is to include people, and then to see where that inclusion leads,” said one of the paid staff women at Zimpeto, who has been there since 2002, making her one of the longest-serving Mozambican workers.

It is precisely because of this backdrop that I found myself surprised at just how much conversation focused around public life and the presence of politics in the social fabric, rather than religion. While attendees of the focus group were not asked explicitly about their faith as a part of data collection, 75% of the people who attended referenced their faith at one point or another during their response to questioning. However, their responses reflected an understanding of religion’s role in motivating assistance to be in the background rather than at the forefront. This will be discussed further in Chapter Seven. Zimpeto Children’s Centre made the focus group hosting conditional on the fact that no children under the age of 16 would be allowed to participate, particularly because they felt that many of the under-aged youths had suffered traumas that they believed left them particularly wary of speaking with people from the outside. The participants were recruited through social networks of people who were working for or had previously worked for the organisation. This led the conversation into a fluid place, as participants were somewhat all connected in a more tangible way than the other Zimpeto focus group discussed in the previous chapter.

Participants were interested in discussing how their work reflected a conscious move to action. It was one grounded perhaps not in political affiliation, but in distrust of state mechanisms. It was the focus on children and their long-term wellbeing that also gave many people solace. The most common descriptions of help were noted as “making sure children have access to education,” “giving children a safe space,” and helping young people to have access to “food” and “work,” which was understood to be a reference to the heavy emphasis on livelihoods training at the Centre. One participant, a young man of 18, expressed that “politicians here live in secrets. But what they don’t understand is that I have no time for this. I need a job.” One central thread throughout was that without the presence of outside assistance, children in Zimpeto would have little to no hopes for the future. A tad fatalistic, but perhaps a reality for many who come to the Centre as orphans, whose parents either live far from Maputo or who have run away from home for a myriad of reasons including varying levels of abuse (Individual Interview, May 2015). At the Centre, they were given a sense of what could be possible if basic infrastructure for a secure life was provided to them.

When I conducted individual interviews with the Director and some of the higher ranked staff members, it was difficult to gauge the level of comfort they had in talking about

the role of the state, if any, in addressing the myriad of concerns in the neighbourhood – and whether this mattered at all to ideas related to responsibility of a person for another. Lazar was hesitant to voice critique or comment on this; he himself is a foreigner, though he has been in Mozambique for many years. The actual community members did not share this sense; they were unequivocally more open in connecting state responsibility and community responsibility. One participant explained, "I think many times we know what we need to do, so the state gets a pass. And I think that's missing the point" (Anonymous, 19-years-old). Many cited the ways in which they help others because of "…us being in the middle. Whoever wants to succeed and have work in this area must do it on their own. All of us who know what it is to be poor have that responsibility" (Veronica, 29-years-old). The livelihoods and access to employment issue came up consistently in relation to the things that the state has failed to address, and the things that people help in the most. Several people had helped others in Zimpeto to join the farm cooperative at the market, or to access informal space to sell during popular market days to ensure income. While the Zimpeto Centre itself provides certain vocational training, many referenced simply having the personal networks and connections to help them get to a point where they could make enough to survive.

The existence of the Zimpeto Children's Centre seems to be a fulcrum around which the community tends to operate; it is the Centre, and not local branches of government agencies, where people go to access services, to access networks, and ultimately to address their issues both of faith and in the survival in their own lives. This sets the Centre at the forefront of the lives of many of those interviewed. While this may not be unique to Zimpeto, or even to Mozambique, it further solidifies that a community with a past defined by memory of a freedom struggle tied together with national identity can in fact be quite distant from connection with government. When asked whom they felt a close connection to in the community and why they felt that way, all the respondents cited someone either directly connected or indirectly connected to the work of the Centre. This shows two critical things about Zimpeto. The first is just how much a local entity can replace the state both in service delivery, but also in the mind-set of the community itself. The Centre becomes the focal point of community and trust. The second is that this framing creates an environment where community organisations serve as cohesive representations of people's identities and priorities. In Zimpeto, the evidence points clearly to an identity that values social networks and connectivity as well as priorities of education and security for children.

In addition to the focus group conducted with the Zimpeto Children's Centre and other Zimpeto residents, I also conducted individual interviews with several business leaders

and government officials in the neighbourhood. I did this both to enrich the context for the Zimpeto data, as well as to get a sense more comprehensively of the state's involvement in community affairs. This is particularly important for Zimpeto, as the published material on the area is nearly non-existent and serves, as a reminder of just how little is publically available for consumption by residents. Identity and neighbourhood boundaries exist mostly in the conversations with the people who live them day-to-day. One local official working for the main water distributor in the area, Aguas de Mocambique, agreed to speak with me on condition of anonymity regarding how he sees his community and the role of organisations like the Children's Centre within them. At 67-years-old, he has worked in and around the town of Marracuene for his entire life. He worked in construction to help build the Zimpeto Stadium, which was completed in 2011. While he had never been to the Centre, he knew of it, and expressed his praise for the help they provide for "helping all of the children without families…unfortunately many people send their children to the south not knowing what awaits them here. And we are not equipped here to deal with it." We discussed how he sees the role of the state, as it relates to how he feels responsibility for his neighbourhood and who he helps in his life, all while conscious of the state-owned institution for which he works. He explained, "I usually just help within the networks of the people I know. I think I do this because of trust. I know what they actually need, and I know what I can help provide them. If they are strangers, it is difficult to judge these things." The issue of trust and relationship to the overall fabric of community was repeated and reinforced.

I also asked him whether he was aware of the needs in the community overall, and how they related to the concerns over the state's inability to provide certain necessities. While he would not comment directly on whether necessities were in fact missing in homes in Zimpeto, he did indicate that he is aware of the feeling that the state's relationship to the people and their provisions is problematic. Words such as "disappointment" and "no communication" were echoed in both interviews I conducted with him, as well as with his two female counterparts. Both counterparts, one 29 and the other 47 years of age, said that they face feedback from members of the community that does raise concern about how the government runs. "I try to explain that I too suffer, and that my salary gets cut and sometimes not paid at all. But I need to and want to do better for my family, so I go to church and sometimes get help from them," (Individual Interview, September 2014) the younger worker explained. The older, who was new to the company but had come from another government office in Maputo City, explained, "They think that we are all benefitting from working for the government, that we all get to accept bribes. I want to tell them that I care about how

[Zimpeto] runs, and how we all get along. I would not do that just to make a few extra meticais" (Individual Interview, January 2015). The immediate association between government and corruption was echoed in these discussions and continues to define a major theme in this study.

Responses to this distrust and assumption of corruption are varied; however, it is universally responded to in Zimpeto, much as in Mafalala, through work within the community. Community members in both neighbourhoods show through their involvement with organisations and provision of help towards one another that they are reacting to not only the political reality around them, but the pervading notion that the state is not to be trusted. This applies both to service delivery, which is minimal, but also in feelings expressed by participants. "I just feel like I'd rather be with these people," said one 57-year-old woman in Mafalala, as she gestured around the room. "I think with them, I know they are honest, and that they will help each other survive regardless of what is going on with [government officials]. At the end of the day, we wake up here. We don't wake up in the Presidential offices."

While the distrust of the state is nothing new in the history of the Mozambican narrative, it is becoming ever-present in discussions not just about the state of the economy or social fabric of the country, but also in terms of Mozambican identity. The connection between the state and ideas about community assistance was not initially clear at the outset of this study. However, as field research progressed and contextual changes occurred to the political and economic state of the country, this issue became more and more prevalent in responses and in overall conversations. Why is this the case? Certainly, what the focus groups in Zimpeto and Mafalala show here is that it is not as simple as a government not providing services and NGOs or other community organisations stepping in to fill this gap. It is more critically about the issues of trust and connection: a feeling that many community members once felt for the Frelimo party and the Mozambican government. Nowadays, people are helping each other and feeling a sense of responsibility for one another not only to combat the deficiencies of the state, but also to define themselves despite it. Frelimo identity has become a dividing line – one that speaks directly to the challenges of a mostly uncontested one-party system of governance.

Through the experiences of the people in these two communities, a clear sense of local identity pervades, as well as a sense of distance from structures of power. These both create motivations for and manifestations of help and responsibility. They make the case that local behaviour is greatly influenced by a connection to local place and circumstance, but

also that this behaviour has become grounded much more in a connection to neighbourhood rather than with ‘the state.’ In the next chapter, I will examine the third component of this lived experience: the role of faith and its codes of morality and ethics in influencing the behaviour of these community members. It comes through yet another complex relationship between action and context. I will examine how faith based organisations and their role in Mafalala and Zimpeto define and are defined by the actions of the residents who make up their communities. Building on the idea that local identity and helping as a form of resistance to state power, I will explore the role of these institutions as both hosts for initiatives and examples of *why* a re-imagination of how development works locally is necessary.

Chapter VII: Religion, Safe Space & Responsibility

Information analysed in this study connects concepts of responsibility towards others, community identity and its role, and the challenges that the state apparatus has posed towards making people feel secure in their ability to exercise their own control over their realities. Data demonstrated in the previous two chapters illustrates that helping others extends well beyond the conventional understandings of why Africans may assist fellow Africans, and disrupts the notion that assistance is merely a response to state inefficiency or failure. The third component that has yet to be discussed is that of the role of faith. More specifically, I want to use this final analytical chapter to disrupt a widely-held notion: that faith based organizations in African communities serve as directors and executors of community assistance, and these organizations and religions that they represent are in fact not the motivators of giving and assistance in the Global South – and in Mozambique.

In addition to disrupting the notion of faith being a motivator for assistance and certain acts of giving in communities of the Global South, I argue that while faith-based organisations have contributed to development projects and assisting the two communities in addressing challenges they face, they are not the primary vehicles for doing so. This is an important distinction from motivation; the data collected in this study shows that while religion certainly plays a role in the lives of people in Zimpeto and Mafalala, it does not either provide primary motivation for feeling responsible for others in the community, nor is it the chosen vehicle for manifesting this responsibility in terms of concrete solutions.

The role of faith in Global South contexts is large and complex. It has a history and role in the colonial and postcolonial discourse that is important to recognise. The scope of the influence of organised religion and its interaction with traditional religions is most certainly beyond the boundaries of this study, however without discussing the role faith plays in intersecting with concepts of responsibility and giving, the full and rich picture of community life is incomplete. In this chapter, I will first provide a brief overview of the role faith has played in these two communities. I will focus primarily on how faith-based organizations interact with the community and vice versa, as well as the fact that community members interact with these organizations in some non-traditional ways.

I will then argue that the role of faith-based organizations, and even to certain extent faith leaders, have been to provide safe space for local community members to do two distinct functions. The first is to exercise the community members' own initiatives to help and assist others in the community with little imposition or motivation coming directly from

the organisations themselves. Through this exertion of control, faith-based organisations serve as backdrops for challenges to certain cultural norms. The second is to give people a safe space within which to voice political and social views that are counter to the Frelimo party and to the established norms of keeping counter political views to themselves.

I specifically chose to address identity and resistance to the state through assistance before discussing faith. This is to distinguish faith and its role in the field research I conducted as a backdrop and supporting role, rather than taking centre stage. I recognise that this finding and its framing within this study may suggest faith does not matter, which is not its intention. Rather, my research finds that faith and the organisations which represent it in its various forms in Zimpeto and Mafalala serves as a support mechanism for executing and manifesting the previous two findings, rather than a motivation for assistance as sometimes previously assumed.

Faith & Faith-Based Organisations: A Connection Point

The Portuguese colonial powers dominated the religious discourse throughout Mozambican history. Since their arrival, Portuguese have imported their major religion, Catholicism, at a historic rate. Today, over 82% of Portuguese in Portugal identify as Roman Catholic,[75] making it one of the most religiously monolithic countries in Europe. In Mozambique, this percentage is far less, at 29%, however it is still the religious majority. Mozambique's religious diversity has been increasing since independence. This is a somewhat unscientific indicator some have attributed to the religious influence of colonialism more broadly: conformity to an identity as a Roman Catholic was higher during colonial rule, and this identifier decreased over time (Agadjanian & Yabiku 2015). The role of religion as an influence over populations during and after the colonial period has been widely studied (Gathogo 2007; Olikenyi 2001; Oduyoye 2001), however results of how this influence has played out over time have been relatively misunderstood. This misunderstanding is partly attributed to the diversity of country contexts where colonial religious dominance was enacted. With different histories and cultural realities, the ways in which imposition of a religion on a people had different effects depending upon where and when that imposition was enacted. In more recent research on the role of religion in Mozambique – which is a relatively limited canon – other groups such as Muslims have gained in influence and authority in the social and political landscape of the country (Morier-Genoud 2007; Bonate 2010; Cruz e Silva, 2001a & 2001b; Cavallo 2013). This is an important point in framing the

[75] http://countrystudies.us/portugal/56.htm

subsequent discussion on the role of faith in Zimpeto and Mafalala: much of the research conducted on faith in Mozambique up to this point has revolved around either political influence of certain faith groups or faith as a motivator or implementer of Development. The contributions of scholars such as Cruz e Silva point to early trajectories of politicisation of religious spaces in the formation of ideas around imagining a postcolonial reality for the country. In more contemporary research on Mozambican religious groups, the focus is on how identity is formed and related to the complexities of the intersection between belief and everyday life (van de Kamp, 2012 & 2016).

Both the political influence of religious groups and the role they play in the Development narrative are critical for understanding how the results found in these two communities in Maputo strike a different tone. Political influence of religious groups in the Global South is widely documented (Bradley 2009; Bompani 2015; Moyer, Sinclair & Spaling 2012 among others). This influence comes in varying forms, but is important to recognise as a factor in the coexistence of faith organisations and the political forces around them. More specifically, faith-based organisations may represent larger trends in how particular elite groups can influence political action or inaction on certain topics. In Mozambique, religious influence on direct political action is less relevant to this study; however, the important point here is that for the most part, religious groups have existed parallel to political institutions rather than enmeshed within them.

The role of faith-based organisations as implementers or motivators of Development is also hardly exclusive to Mozambique. Examining the humanitarian system (as previously defined in Chapter Two) and the way it operates almost always involves talking about organisations that have origins in religious affiliations (Tvedt 2006; Tonnessen 2007). Grassroots organisations affiliated with larger religious movements can often be used as the implementers of projects to serve a Development agenda. Because of the sheer amount of money that is circulating in religious institutions worldwide, it is common for donors in the Global North motivated by objectives to invest this funding in supporting projects carried out by local organisations of the same faith. Academic scholarship on the impact of faith-based work in the Global South is overwhelmingly positive; impact of these institutions has been described by some as "…the most effective, efficient, accountable, and grassroots-responsive way of dealing with development issues" (Dicklitch & Rice 2004). Mozambique is not an outlier here: large international groups such as Samaritan's Purse, World Relief, Tearfund, and World Vision all have presence in the country. More specifically, many faith-based organisations have been touted as particularly successful champions in efforts to combat

HIV/AIDS, among other Development concerns for the international donor audience (Foster, 2004; Keough & Van Saanen 2007). They are framed as not only an entry point for those seeking to help, but also a way of more easily aligning the understandings of challenges from donors' perspective with those of the 'communities' who are being impacted. Through the connective tissue of 'faith,' a natural synergy is presupposed.

Finally, the research on religion in Mozambique also focuses geographically on the north of the country. This is primarily for two reasons: the first is that the South is more heavily associated with larger organised denominational presence, such as the Universalist Church,[76] the Presbyterian Church, and the Methodist Church of Southern Africa. The North is both unique in its religious diversity, but also in the dominance of Islam over the former colonial imposition of Catholicism (Pfeiffer, Gimbel-Sherr & Augusto 2007). The second is that the north of the country is considered the birthplace of a resurgence of traditional religious practices that are still associated with a fair amount of cultural taboo (West 2001; Green, Jurg & Djedje 1994). This leaves a limited scholarly framework within which to contextualise Zimpeto and Mafalala.

Faith in Mafalala & Zimpeto

Faith-based organisations were among the easiest to access in this study. There are several reasons I believe this to be true. The first is that they were plentiful; while numbers remain unofficial as described in detail in Chapter Four, my walks in both neighbourhoods allowed me ample time to observe the sheer numbers of places of worship and affiliated organisations throughout the areas. The second reason for their accessibility was simply that there were proselytizing churches which were keen to talk about their work with anyone willing to listen, despite the pretext under which we were conversing. In my participant observation, I counted 47 distinct places of worship or faith-based associations in Mafalala and 39 in Zimpeto. I was unable to verify this number under any historical record, as the registrations of these are sometimes only completed in cases where the church is supported with external funding or is purchasing a large building or plot of land. Otherwise, their existence is recognised mainly through the community members who patronise their institutions. The third reason that these were easy to access is that the topic of conversation – how people conceptualised assistance and what role this played in their own personal lives – was one that many faith leaders or points of contact found to be interesting and relatively benign. In this, I mean that unlike addressing directly a point of inquiry that asks about

[76] http://www.universal.co.mz

political affiliation or even racial or ethnic tension, this topic was one that people could be encouraged to participate in.

Places of worship and their affiliated organisations dominate the physical landscape of both communities. It is unusual to walk several blocks and not encounter at least one informal or formal place of worship. Most are denominational variations of Christianity; however, several mosques are in both areas – evidence of the growth of Islam in Mozambique since independence. One notable visual reality is that the clear majority of religious organisations located in these areas are in partially or completely informal structures. With few exceptions, such as the Methodist Church of Mozambique located on the border of Mafalala, the buildings or places of worship are normally only distinguishable by signage, rather than because they occupy prominent or permanent spatial structures.

Figure 7.1: Rear View, Igreja Jerusalem Celestial, Mafalala[77]

In addition to the physical impermanence of the buildings, most the religious institutions are located within and among residential areas, showing no geographical distinction between where people worship and where people live. Visually, this adds to the effect that both neighbourhoods are home to large populations of religious people, and that religious observance is a dominant part of life here. Of the 86 faith-based organisations or places of

[77] Picture taken by author, January 2015

worship that I identified through my mapping process in both communities,[78] five were represented in the interviews conducted for the study. This represents a small portion of the total number of organisations; however, it included two mosques and three different denominational churches to explore the diversity of institutions. Two of these, Iris Ministries and Mesquita Anuaril, hosted focus groups in Zimpeto and Mafalala respectively. The remaining three were interviewed in other individually conducted interviews.

'A Place to Go'

Of all the descriptive phrases, I heard during my research period about religious organisations or places of worship, the phrase that stuck with me the most was simply "a place to go." Because of their geographic ubiquity, places of faith being simply available to community members is not surprising. What is surprising is the way in which people attached themselves to physical structures regardless of their self-identified faith. In a similar way to the attachments formed to community organisations simply based on location, as described in Chapter Five, many research participants cited their relationship to faith-based organisations as "…a place to go to be around other people," (Virgilio, 74-year-old participant, Mafalala) and words such as "nearby" and "convenient" were also used to describe the organisations in both Zimpeto and Mafalala. Geographically, having an organisation nearby that feels supporting to a member of the community is something described as "helpful" and "available." It exists to be available to whoever is there to partake in what it should offer. When I received responses like this to my questions in the focus group, I interrogated further to assess what type of previous connection the person might or might not have to the religion represented. For example, at Iris Global, which is a geographically spread out and large facility,[79] many people answered the question regarding who they feel close to in the community with an indication of the people around them. Explained one participant, "I feel close to the people who come here, because even if they live further away and I do not see them every day, I know that I will meet them here. This gives me a chance to catch up with them, and involve myself in their life" (Rosila, 24-year-old). She went on to give a detailed account of how Iris Global had become a meeting point for her and several friends, who came to sometimes receive handouts and sometimes to assist in taking care of orphaned babies in the Iris Global nursery. When asked if she also participated in religious ceremonies at Iris, she looked confused. "I am a Muslim," she explained.

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[78] This took place during October and November 2014.
[79] Described in further detail in Chapter Six

While so much scholarly and developmental weight has been given to allegiances between religious donors and the brothers and sisters in faith that they share across vast geographic divides, what of the notion that a religious organisation inspires involvement because it is “a place to go?” The initial incongruence of Rosila’s remark about how she identifies with and uses the Iris Ministries Centre is in some ways a rejection of the singularity of motivation and connection to these spaces. I followed up with a request for participants in the focus group to raise their hands if any of them were of another faith; six participants raised their hands. It was also interesting that in this demonstration, there was no observed hesitation. Declaring a different faith within a religious organisation of a Christian denomination was not cause for concern in terms of creating divides between and among people. Another woman, one of Rosila’s friends who had come with her to the focus group, identified as Christian but did not see how the question was relevant to the topic we were discussing (Martina Olivia, 29-years-old). That is, she saw no immediate relationship between engaging in a discussion of responsibility and help in her community alongside faith or, more broadly, religious identity. This harkens back to some of the discourse I examined in Chapter Five; identity and its perception may be one and the same, and they may be quite different.

In Mafalala, there was a similar notion of using the religious space as an open vessel for other interactions that may or may not precede the convening taking place at the faith-based organisation. While the exact same phrase “a place to go” was not used in the Mafalala focus group, people used the terms “meeting place” and “place to gather” to talk about the mosque (Focus Group 2, March 2015). The physical structure of the Mesquita Anuaril is much more informal than that of Iris Ministries; however, the attributes used to describe its utility are remarkably similar. I assumed incorrectly that the structure and available activities at Iris Ministries would make it a more attractive place for people to gather regardless of the reason. However, these reasons were paralleled in the experience in Mafalala. Of the participants in the focus group at the Mesquita, over forty-five percent had been attending the mosque as a religious centre for the past twenty years or more. I learned, however, throughout the discussion that there were several introduction points for people affiliated with the mosque that had little relationship to prayer or worship. While most members of the group identified as Muslim, they described the mosque and its surrounding area as a place they come all the time to get together. “I think sometimes I just come here hoping something will be going on,” one 65-year-old woman explained. Another understood that “it does not matter if the person is Muslim or not to come here and be welcomed. I bring new people all

the time, and most of the time they are not Muslim. We are not bothered and they should not be either" (Celeste, 49-year-old). Acceptance of the use of the space as a place of gathering, rather than necessitating a religious connection was threaded throughout the conversations.

The idea of religious institutions simply being physical structures that hold previously existing relationships may be true to a certain extent everywhere; religious associations are frequently marketed to prospective participants as places of worship, but also as places where people can go to find community. What was different about these conversations is that the reasons for gathering still existed. By this I mean that even though every participant did not necessarily identify with the religion espoused by the organisation, it did not deter them in any way not only from going to it, but also from thinking about it as "a place to go" to gather, to be with other people, and to participate in certain communal activities as a result.

Leading by Example

A second non-traditional use of the organisations interviewed was the conceptualisation of the leader of that space. I found that for the most part, the leaders of each of the faith-based organisations saw themselves not so much as spiritual guides, but as participants in the same 'project' of community as the rest of the group members. This was true even in the case of Iris Ministries, whose head of Ministry had his own office, a symbol of a position of authority and leadership. Both Mesquita Anuaril and Iris Ministries conceptualised leaders as representatives of the organisation to the outside community. However, words such as "partner" and neighbour" were much more present in the dialogue. I greeted this fact with a degree of scepticism, as I assumed that this might be reflecting a more dogmatic use of language: that pastors or priests may want to call themselves by the same name as those around them to instil an egalitarian sensibility into interactions among group members.

As the focus groups and interviews progressed, however, it became clear that there was more to this use of language than just wanting equality among members of the community. People quickly clarified through their discussion points that leaders, or even those who spoke on behalf of the groups to the community, were perhaps just those that harboured more responsibility towards the everyday operations of the group (Focus Group 1, February 2015). One man in the Zimpeto focus group spoke fondly of this relationship, explaining "Michelle[80] helps us stay organised, but I know that she gets just as much out of this place as we do, and she helps me to believe that everything we do is doing something

[80] Michelle Bamana, Co-Director of Iris Ministries Zimpeto

positive" (Albertino, 42-year-old). Another participant's response to this remark was to enthusiastically agree, and remarked that "I think Michelle and others who are working here would gladly be coming here anyway with or without the job of being a leader." In Mafalala, an interview with the head pastor of Igreja Jerusalem Celestial revealed a similar notion. The pastor, who had taken over from his predecessor only four months before the interview, said "I feel like any one of our members could be here instead of me. I am here because I am here the most." He took over the post as pastor because the 83-year-old Mafalalan man who occupied the post had recently been ill and could no longer come to the building every day. I asked a clarifying question to ask if this meant that he had been unable to attend worship, and was told that no – it was not about worship. It was about being around to help anyone who was there for any reason. The physical presence was a demonstration of the person's commitment, and therefore, leadership. There is no way, fundamentally, to test whether these statements about frequenting the space even if people did not occupy positions of leadership would be true. However, my observation is that they likely would be. The relative equality of participants in these interview settings that I observed belied a reality where these organisations were providing something more than spiritual guidance and "a place to go." They were approaching group and community ideas of leadership differently.

While the leaders did not run the focus groups they attended, per my instructions, they did serve as a liaison between me and the focus group participants. This was interesting in and of itself, as I did not require translation during the focus group for the most part (see Chapter Four for further information). Therefore, the leader's role was perhaps slightly different than a more expected dynamic in conducting field research. This created a dynamic where the leader's role was more of a source of reassurance for the participants throughout the interview experience. In the Zimpeto focus group experience at Iris Ministries, any members of the paid staff of the church physically sat on the side-lines of a large room, and participants were encouraged to sit in chairs placed in the middle. While they did participate in the conversation, it was normally because of encouragement of other participants. This happened often with Michelle, the Iris staff member who has been with the organisation for fifteen years. On four separate occasions, as people were responding to questions, participants would shout out Michelle's name for comment. Her participation as a leader was equally valued by those in the group. In Mafalala at Mesquita Anuaril, there were a group of five women who were identified by other group participants as 'the leaders,' particularly because of their history with the mosque. They served on several group initiatives, which I will discuss at length in the next section of this chapter. These women were constantly

referring me to other people to interview who had been unable to attend the day of the focus group. Unlike in the Zimpeto instance where encouragement of the leaders had to be encouraged more from the crowd, in Mafalala the leaders were quite present. However, the thematic result is the same: both leaders and participants were encouraging each other in various ways to bring more voices into the conversation.

A final point on leadership and its unique role in the interviews I conducted is that the leadership's *own* conception of its role was counter to my previous assumptions. It also ran counter to many of the assumptions outlined at the beginning of this chapter in terms of faith leaders serving a 'director' role in motivating the actions of their constituents. That is, leaders and representatives of these groups in positions of leadership framed their roles as simply being a part of their community in a way that made sense for them. Mesquita Chadulia, another mosque located in Mafalala, was a particularly interesting example of this type of thinking. The head imam did not agree to be interviewed for the study, and when I inquired as to why this was the case, he explained that the "…leaders you are looking for are not me. I will just be telling you about Islam. What you want is bigger than that" (Individual Interview, 22 October 2014). At the Anglican Church, as well, the priest agreed to participate in an interview with the caveat that his focus was more on the administration of the church rather than speaking on behalf of his constituents (Individual Interview, 21 January 2015). I found both responses to be surprising for different reasons. For the Imam, his perception of his own role was that of formally explaining the Mesquita and its religious imperatives. It was not necessarily to be a vocal representation of community opinions. For the Anglican priest, the role of the priest seemed to be framed in his mind as 'administrative.' When I asked him to elaborate on this point, he pointed to all the various tasks that he completes in his role as a priest, including working with a local firm to make sure he pays his taxes. While I had not expected the same responses, perhaps, of interviewing an Anglican priest in the Global North, I did not expect this stark contrast. Across denominations and religions, this thread of symbolic leadership rather than concrete leadership seemed to be a commonality.

Here, there is evidence of two intriguing unique qualities of the way people in Mafalala and Zimpeto use the faith-based organisations in their communities. I observed religious spaces that are described as "places to go" in the community, where religious affiliation is not a deterrent to participation; I also met leaders in these religious organisations who were less concerned with governing and directing, and more concerned with making sure that the voices of their participants were heard first and foremost. This points to the issue of control that was first introduced in Chapter Five; while narratives about these communities

tend to be about an absence of control, or perhaps a desire to enact control by an outsider, I observed the opposite. Spaces, though owned and operated by people of a specific faith, were open to all because this is what the community's needs demand. Faith leaders occupy positions of respect, but also embody an understanding that the needs of the people are primary, and that their role is as liaison. I believe this speaks to yet another example of how much has been ignored about relationships that exist here. Residents of Mafalala and Zimpeto are already working with each other to exert control over their grassroots organisations and in how they enact assistance. With faith-based organisations I saw a fuller picture of a community's local identity and needs imprinted even on places that are associated with a larger belief system or dogma.

Creating Space for Help

Ultimately, the faith-based organisations I interviewed for this study were involved to gain an understanding of *how* these places contributed to the ability for communities to execute their own ideas of assistance and help for others around them. As described in the beginning of this chapter, I was working alongside a previously held notion by many working in Development, or simply with faith-based organisations in the Global South, that these organisations play a directing role in making 'help' happen. The dominant discourse places the actions of the church or mosque as an example set for the community it resides within, rather than vice versa. I was interested not only in how people talked about the assistance they enacted, but in how they practiced it and saw the role of the organisation in that practice. What made these discussions different than the others I conducted were that they were also introductions into a religious environment. I was invited, throughout the research period, to attend various activities by all the people at each of the religious organisations. The same was true at the local secular community organisations, however the members of the religious groups were also much more willing to invite me to weddings, funerals, and other traditional ceremonies as a part of my research. This gave me a window into the ways in which some of the identity enactment I talked about in Chapter Five connected with faith.

In this section, I will discuss two distinct examples of how faith-based organisations play a role in enabling community members to enact assistance on behalf of others. The first will be in the role the faith-based organisations play helping people with life rituals such as weddings and births of children – and why this is important and is different than previously assumed. Life rituals have become not just a manifestation of the importance of local identity as discussed in Chapter Five, but also a way to show how faith-based organisations exist to

serve the needs of the community. Local traditions specific to this part of Mozambique dominate religious traditions in these life rituals and creates a reality where churches and mosques play host to practices that are determined and enacted by their congregants. The second example will look at the ways interest groups in both Mesquita Anuaril and the Anglican Church of Zimpeto have brought out an interesting and important aspect of assistance that has not yet been explored in this discussion. That is, the ways in which manifesting assistance in these groups has allowed previously held gender and age barriers to break down in the pursuit of helping fellow community members.

Even before beginning work on this dissertation, I had been to many types of traditional ceremonies throughout my family life in Mozambique. This included several weddings (including my own), one funeral, and traditional ceremonies to announce births of children in both the Muslim and Christian traditions. One of the most amazing things about these ceremonies is the sheer regularity with which they punctuate most Mozambicans' calendars. While this is certainly not unique to Mozambique, it is quite different in many ways from cultural practices in the Global North that seem somewhat less moored to a life surrounded by traditional rituals. For this reason, I was extremely keen to see the variation, if any, in how these rituals took place and what the different religious organisations did to prepare and execute them. During the research period, I went to seven different events I would characterise as the 'life cycle' events described above and in Chapter Five. I attempted to split the observation equally to include observations about each neighbourhood equally. I was able, in the end, to attend four in Mafalala and three in Zimpeto. In all instances, I was invited, unprompted, by a member of the community. There was only one instance where the invitation was extended by the religious leader, as it was a funeral ceremony, and I attended with permission of the family.

Figure 2.4: Pre-Wedding Ceremony, 2015[81]

None of this aspect of data collection is simple, as a person is observing some of the most intimate moments of a person's life. However, it is precisely because of this intimacy that these moments are interesting and provide rich information about the role of faith-based organisations in helping their community members in enacting responsibility for themselves and others. In about half of the cases, the faith leaders were present but in all cases, the ceremonies were led by community members and *not* the leaders themselves. When I asked one woman at a pre-wedding ceremony from Mesquita Chadulia in Mafalala why this was the case, she explained that "the community is what enabled us to be here and do this, so why shouldn't we be responsible for making it happen?" (Interview, February 2015). I interrogated further to clarify what she meant by 'enabled,' and she replied that the ceremonies that happen with members of the community are financed and organised by members of the community. This meant members of the Mesquita itself, but it also meant recruiting participants from the surrounding neighbourhood. She gestured to several women singing in the crowd as people danced around the engaged couple. "You see them? They're from another mosque. They come if we ask them to help get more people singing." This type of community engagement extends beyond an affiliation with a mosque; community members help each other in supporting these events because they are a part of the same area and therefore understand the importance of these activities.

Through observing these events, I could interrogate further how life events are connected to the ideas of assistance and responsibility. While most of us have can relate to the idea of celebrating life events in certain culturally specific ways, it was specifically the idea that this was imagined as an act of assistance that stood out for me. In addition to relying less on faith-based organisations than I had imagined for the coordination of these activities, people also talked about them as things they were responsible for helping others with. I directly asked several people about this sense of responsibility: why was it that they felt that they needed to help others in this way? In Chapter Five, I explored the ways in which this was because of a shared local identity, but I also saw something else that directly related to how people utilise faith-based organisations in these contexts. While the organisations played a leading role in the community as gathering points, the fabric holding together the connections was not the organisation. Unlike in the community based organisations described in Chapters Five and Six, which provided a frame that was created by community members,

[81] Picture taken by author, November 2015

faith-based organisations come with a certain sense of what the purpose of them is by their sheer nature. They represent a larger religious cause. I observed that people still rationalised their ideas of assistance as organic – grown out of the relationships created by sharing a physical space rather than a religious one. I also saw that the assistance provided to others to prepare for and execute these life cycle events was not discussed as a religious obligation, nor was it discussed as being religiously motivated. One older man attending the funeral I attended said to me afterwards as we were walking to the parking lot of the cemetery that he was happy he could attend the burial, and it was his friends who were connected to the individual who had passed away who had paid for his transport (Individual Interview, May 2015).

In many African countries, ceremonies that surround the more familiar activities of marriage, birth of children, engagement, mourning sometimes take centre-stage. In Mozambique, and more specifically in the south of the country, there are four different words used to describe different activities that surround life events. It is sometimes not entirely clear, except for determining context, whether one of these events is more important than any other – only that all are considered culturally necessary. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter or study to look at the variations of religious ceremonies in Maputo, it is certainly evident that much of what I observed were ceremonies that were not recognisable as being part of one faith. This echoes the notions discussed in the previous section of this chapter on these religious institutions as ‘places to go.’ Much like it mattered little the religion of community members to be able to be involved in these organisations, it also mattered little in the enactment of helping others through giving opportunities to perform these traditional ceremonies: the ceremonies are important regardless of faith. The presence of faith leaders and fellow members of a church or mosque were, in some ways, a backdrop for a larger community gathering.

Figure 2.5: Woman rests at wedding ceremony, 2015[82]

The important fact here is that faith-based organisations are responsible for ceremonies and life events that fall outside their traditional purview. They serve as infrastructural realities for communities to continue their spiritual life in their own ways, and the organisations support pre-existing practices of helping others, rather than insisting on inclusion of certain participants in life cycle events in Zimpeto and Mafalala. This means that they occupy a role in this discussion of responsibility that is more focused on enacting community practices rather than religious ones. The life cycle events are but one example of the function they play in helping people enact responsibility for each other here.

The second issue I want to raise in this discussion of creating space for help is that of how the practice of this assistance can break down the gender roles and age barriers that dominate communities in Mozambique and assumedly elsewhere. In terms of gender, issues of inequity are pervasive in social and cultural life in this context that is not unique in Africa. Some research has indicated that politically, women in Mozambique have had significant symbolic and actual roles in the fight for independence and the subsequent formation of the Frelimo identity (Arnfred 2011). Scholars have been particularly fascinated with northern Mozambique, as it is distinctly different from southern Mozambique. Southern Mozambique has some similarities with other countries in southern Africa, such as South Africa, where much has been written about gender identity and its ramifications in family life (Morrell 2001; Tique 1996). There is also much to be said about family law in Mozambique and its evolution, including the social ramifications of the law on communities themselves.

[82] Picture taken by author in April 2015, Zimpeto

However, what is critical for the purposes of this analysis is that enacting assistance through faith-based organisations provides females leadership roles and a degree of autonomy and control that is disruptive of the narrative by some arguing that religious affiliation may, in conjunction with other cultural realities, do the opposite (Obarrio 2010). I grew connected during my research to two different female groups working within a larger faith-based organisation. The first group previously mentioned earlier in this chapter was affiliated with Mesquita Anuaril in Mafalala, and the second was a part of Iris Ministries in Zimpeto. At Mesquita Anuaril, I met regularly with members of Associacao Zawia, which is a group of women (27 in total) that are also members of Mesquita Anuaril. They formed the group relatively recently, despite having attended mosque at Anuaril for their entire lives (Focus Group 2, March 2015). During the focus group, women were dressed in Associacao Zawia shirts, which provided a visual display of unity during the discussion.

Several women were eager to talk about the ways in which the Associacao helped others in the neighbourhood, and it was clear that their passion for this project within the greater context of the mosque was important to them. "I think we just need to care about the things that go on in our community," explained one woman who was visibly recovering from several physical injuries she sustained in a recent car accident, "and I have always felt like this. It is not because the Associacao came to help me" (Agilia, 59-years-old). When I inquired further about how the women had helped her, she was quick to mention that "…it was not just about helping me pay for my bills, but it was about coming there to the Central Hospital every day that I was laying alone…that is the part no one understands how rare it is to find. People like this? They are hard to find. This is why we must stick together." Agilia was not alone. The clear majority of participants in the Mesquita Anuaril focus group – both male and female – echoed times during which they had been ill and received assistance from the people around them. This included the more obvious assistance measures such as help with medical bills and school fees (Anita, 49-years-old), but also help in solving practical problems, such as how to put together a child's birthday party (Manina, 34-years-old), or how to give free childcare to the street children in the neighbourhood (Anina, 57-years-old).

When I met with the focus group at the Mesquita, none of the questions specifically addressed gender (see Appendix 5), however gender was a dominant theme in the discussion. Both men and women alike referred to the Associacao Zawia as a unique and strong group of women. One man, who had previously been uncomfortable being the minority gender in the focus group, voiced his support that Associacao Zawia "…helps many people and helps children who need a place to feel safe. For them, now, that place is Mesquita Anuaril"

(Anonymous, 64-years-old). I found remarkable, as well, the sheer amount of activities that the Associacao had done both on the community's behalf. Much of the activities they engaged in were conducted in consultation with the extended social network of the Mesquita. This meant people in the physical proximity, as well as other community members living beyond the direct neighbourhood space. As I described in Chapter Four, Mafalala is divided into two sections: "A" and "B." The Associacao participants in the focus group spoke often of the ways in which they connected with people – and most specifically women – across Mafalala. "I think we have become really good at figuring out what people need," remarked Anina, which was met with enthusiasm by the group. Amina went on to explain, "I think we just like meeting people. So then, when they want to do something in the community, we're a group of people they remember." This has made the Associacao a force within Mafalala, as well as somewhat of a leader. Several men mentioned words such as "decisions" and "organisers" to describe the members of the Associacao (Richarde, 57-years-old; Joao, 41-years-old). Among the oldest participants, a man named Abdul, explained, "…you know these women know people wherever they go. They are like the 'tias[83]' of the community, and so they can tell you everything you want to know about why people help each other. They know everything and everyone (Abdul, 84-years-old)." This vision of women as not only leaders but of interpreters of the needs of the community is a critical one; in a culture, such as that of southern Mozambique, and perhaps even more specifically the Muslim community in Maputo, the leadership and dominance of these women is, if not the only example, unique.

In this way, certain gender barriers are broken down through the process – or at least the discussion of – how people in the community envision help. While gender was something that I worried about regarding my own positionality (see Chapter Four), it was not necessarily something I assumed would arise from these discussions. I do not believe that women dominate more than men in their involvement with faith-based organisations; however, I do argue that the perceptions of people who engage with these organisations are that the women matter a great deal in helping community members to render assistance to their community. This perception is therefore not about women helping more than men, but that they understand why people help each other in a more specific way. This understanding is directly derived from their connections in the community, as well as their commitment to understanding why people want to do what they do to keep people going.

[83] 'Tia' is the Portuguese word for Aunt

The women participants in the Associacao at Mesquita Anuaril were not the only examples of this difference in perception. The second example refers less to gender than to age. In both Mafalala and Zimpeto, as well as everywhere that I personally observed in Mozambique, there is a distinct deference in society to older people. This is not unique to Mozambique; scholars have looked at the role of these age dynamics in several community contexts in Africa (Goncalvez 2004; Goncalvez 2005; Arnfred 2011). This code of conduct, for lack of a more specific term, is one that was demonstrated throughout my participant observation period. From boarding 'xapas' or minibus taxis to seating arrangements at the focus groups themselves, there is an overall behavioural tendency towards deferring to older people in social situations. This is occurring in a country where approximately 40% of the population is under the age of 18.[84] Youth are therefore a dominant presence in Mafalala and Zimpeto, and were a central component to my participant observation experience.

Figure 2.5: Children walking in Zimpeto, 2015[85]

At a visit with the Anglican Church of Zimpeto, I spent an afternoon watching a series of meetings taking place in advance of a community event where people brought food and drink to discuss HIV/AIDS.[86] As it was not a focus group, I spent most of the time observing interactions among people at the church, with several individual interviews spread

[84] UNICEF Country Profile, 2013
http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/mozambique_statistics.html
[85] Photo taken by author, April 2015
[86] This took place in March 2015

throughout the day when possible. The dominant feature of the meetings that took place that day, as well as in the interviews I conducted was that young people were playing a significant role in making the Church function and conduct its business in the community. While the Mesquita Anuaril focus group was predominantly middle-aged community members with some exceptions, the time spent with the Anglican Church showed that some challenges to the norms of a more aged constituency being equated with leadership were occurring. The day itself, which was framed as an awareness day for HIV/AIDS, was happening alongside administrative and group meetings for the church. The pastor explained to me that the afternoon meal had been advertised to young people, as their risk for HIV/AIDS transmission is higher. "We worry about our young people," he explained, "so we try to do special get-togethers about important topics. I think we are not unique in this respect. I know the [Muslims] do this also" (Individual Interview, 21 January 2015). While this made sense, I inquired further as to why the administrative meetings had to take place on the same day as the youth HIV/AIDS awareness event. The pastor explained further, "…young people are interested in attending special events on [the weekend] and therefore we have to make these types of meetings happen at the same time. It's hard to believe maybe but our young people are the ones running this place! I'm just here to talk to you!" Clearly the role of the pastor goes beyond speaking with me for this study, however his point is well taken: much like the older man speaking up to support the notion that the Associacao Zawia matters greatly, the pastor shared just how much young people matter in shaping the actions of their church.

I spoke with several young people throughout my time at the Anglican Church that day, and sure enough, of the nine people I interviewed, all were under the age of 23. While I did not conduct a formal survey of the day's attendees overall, the atmosphere was one of a youth event. This includes the meetings that I observed, which took place outside the church building over some refreshments throughout the morning. One group was discussing an upcoming concert of local Zimpeto musicians taking place in the Zimpeto market. The idea was to raise funds through donations at the concert to support a clean-up day for the neighbourhood. More specifically, it would allow the church to use raised funds to pay community members to engage in the clean-up process. This was an interesting model, as it encouraged both donations as a form of assistance, but also incentivising care through action by paying residents. The head of this initiative, a 19-year-old named Virgilio, told me afterwards that he had high hopes for the project. I asked where his idea had come from, and he explained, "I just take what I like [music] and figure out what can come from that. I have no money; I just have the church and my passion for music. So, I have to figure out how to

combine these two things." Of all the young people in attendance in these meetings, all were residents of Zimpeto. This means, somewhat by default, that they are economically disenfranchised. However, much of the discussion was around helping others through these ideas, rather than in focusing on their 'own' challenges. The pastor informed me that he is constantly trying to encourage people like Virgilio, but struggles to figure out how best to do so. He explained, "I just hope that I can help them by getting them together like this to talk. For me, I think this is the best thing I can do." In this case, much like the case of the women of the Mesquita, young people are challenging the norms of the society through their leadership. It seems that faith-based organisations are allowing for space for assistance in non-traditional ways, and through non-traditional leadership structures. The unique community-oriented and derived nature of these organisations have allowed them to be flexible to accommodate community voices and concerns.

Creating Space for Resistance

In the closing section of this chapter, I will look at the final observation I made about faith-based organisations and their role in adding to an understanding of community notions of responsibility and care. Much like the concrete resistance to the state that I discussed in Chapter Six, I observed several types of activities that point to faith-based organisations being used as safe spaces to do two things. The first thing is to speak openly about the problems that people have with government, and to speak openly about the challenges the current moment poses for the Frelimo identity. The second is to enact acts of assistance in the community that support the notion that resistance to the state is not only about delivering services where the state has failed to do so, but more specifically about solidifying local practices of survival and thriving which resist the state control apparatus.

In my data collection, and in my research process overall, there were moments I could distinguish as 'tense' when people would speak of government challenges. This happened in interviews with influential Mozambicans most often, as they usually held relationships with the people in positions of power. It also happened when I was in Zimpeto and Mafalala interacting with people in all sorts of situations. The lowered voices and knowing glances were only some of the informal cues I observed when people spoke about challenges and anti-state opinions were voiced. It is beyond the scope of this study to address all the challenges the Frelimo regime faces and the ways in which it has cracked down on these resisting forces. However, what is clear is that all the complexities that have brought Mozambique to the present moment (see Chapter Three) have had an indelible effect on its

people. Therefore, this final finding is so interesting and important. While faith-based organisations have always had important roles in Mozambique, it became clear that the relationship between state resistance and these organisations was more complex and nuanced than I had imagined.

In Mafalala, one of the most interesting manifestations of this 'safe space for resistance' idea was observed at Igreja Jerusalem Celestial. The building, pictured earlier in this chapter, is one whose façade hides it from the street. The streets of both Mafalala and Zimpeto have a great deal of foot traffic throughout both daytime and night. Because of the informal nature of many of the structures, privacy is not something easily obtained. However, this church's building structure allows people to have meetings without being easily observed from the street. In fact, over the course of the time I observed there and conducted interviews, I was constantly a surprise to other passers-by every time I successfully identified the entrance. While I did not conduct a focus group at the church, I interviewed eleven different church members, including the pastor. As mentioned previously, the pastor had recently taken over for a long-serving leader. He was extremely encouraging of my presence at the church, but mentioned on several occasions the need for participants to "think before giving you their detailed names and information. You know, because of the way things are here" (Individual Interview, December 2014). This intrigued me right away. Because of the increased tensions that the country was experiencing in 2013 and 2014 throughout several election periods (see Chapter Three), I was acutely aware as a researcher if people noted nerves about divulging information. This did not happen often, but when it did it was noticeable.

At the Igreja, much of the observations I made were during two different activities: meetings or "debates" as they were called with community members, and what I termed "resource distribution days," where community members and church goers alike would come and partake in either donating or receiving food, electricity credit, or water (Participant Observation, September-October 2014; January-April 2015). The first activity, "debates," were seemingly unadvertised gatherings at least twice per week which involved getting community members together to talk about problems the community was facing. I learned later from a participant that there was a system of SMS messages to get information about the debates to people in the community (Individual Interview, March 2015). I observed three debate meetings, although many more occurred during the research period. My presence in the meetings was at first met with concern; the pastor attempted to assuage the fears of participants by ensuring that I would not record specific statements, and that I would not note

the demographics of people who attended (January 2015). These conditions alone alerted me to the unique nature of these gatherings; while no specific objectives were outlined, people voiced a large amount of concerns with service delivery, police and security threats, and the potential outcomes of the recent elections at the end of 2014 (see Chapter Three). Every time I observed the meetings, there was no identifiable leader. The pastor was present, but voiced his opinions alongside everyone else. Solutions were also discussed; these included talks of pooling financial resources of both individuals and the church to help those the group deemed most vulnerable. In this setting, I witnessed a merging of ideas of resistance about the state's behaviour and realities with a discussion of community responsibility. They were safe in this church to have an unstructured conversation about these problems in ways in which I had not witnessed in other places. I do not make the claim that these debates or meetings were examples of resistance as in "revolution" against a state or political party, I do contend that the use of assistance in the context of a changing political environment frames these acts of help in a different way – one which demonstrates how much context matters in understanding why people help. It is not enough to attribute religion's role as inspiration, rather than provider of an open environment to debate and decide.

In Zimpeto, my observations of activities of Iris Ministries and the Anglican Church both pointed to a subtler yet continually validating notion of faith-based organisations as safe spaces for resistance. At Iris Ministries, described in further detail in Chapter Five, I witnessed the safe space impression most strongly during one of the days I spent at the Centre for young men.[87] I interviewed several young men who had lived at the Centre since childhood, and their main preoccupation was that other children not have to follow similar trajectories. I agreed not to identify the participants by name or age, but each of these young men had been affiliated with Iris Ministries for at least five years. This fact spoke a great deal to me in terms of how they envisioned the organisation and its role. They all used similar words in their descriptions, such as "secure" and "open" or "free." The complaints about unemployment that I discuss in Chapter Five also dominated the conversations; however, talking about the challenges the young men are facing in Zimpeto ultimately became a discussion of how the Iris Minsitries Centre has been encouraging to deal with these problems. "We are able to say what we like here," one interviewee originally from the north of the country commented. "I think what I like about being [at the Centre] is that it makes me

[87] This took place in September 2015

feel like I can figure out things on my own but not alone. I have other people like me" (Individual Interview, September 2015). Another was more concrete and sighted that

> "…we are encouraged to go out and solve the problems we find. When we have problems getting enough food, I don't try to figure out who to ask. I get someone here to advise me on what land I can cultivate, and I do that. I try to think about solutions for us, and for the rest of the people who come here [to Zimpeto]. I feel like it's a little bit of my job" (Individual Interview, September 2015)."

When I asked about why he feels like he must do these things on his own, he gave me a small smile. "I think we all know that we're taking care of ourselves now. You do know that, don't you?" Service delivery and its inefficiencies in the Global South – and in many ways, everywhere – is something that feeds the narrative of Frelimo having lost its credibility. In the gestures of these young, unemployed men, there is evidence of resistance against a system that attempts to control their realities. One interviewee blatantly claimed, "…if the government wants me poor, I owe it to them to make sure we all strike it rich." Here, success of the community is seen in this young man's mind to be a direct counter narrative to the one of the Frelimo government. The success of this community is being empowered by and enabled through the presence of Iris Minsitries in the lives of these participants.

In the case of the Anglican Church, the same youth I described earlier in this chapter who are taking on unique leadership roles in the organisation are the ones framing the church as a backdrop for their own efforts to resist against a dominant state authority. In discussing the efforts of the church to involve young people in their activities, one woman explained, "I think, from my point of view, that young people are being squeezed. We don't fit in their world of powerful people, and we look at our own world and are disappointed" (Individual Interview, March 2015). She went on to shed light on one of the activities I had not had a chance to observe, which is a 'youth group' that takes younger members of the Zimpeto community on trips to different places in Maputo. Unfortunately, I was unable to observe a trip taking place personally, but of the interviews I conducted at the Anglican Church, three participants had either led or been present on the trips. The most recent one had taken place in December of 2014. What, I inquired, were the purpose of the trips? She said they had started as attempts to 'inspire' young people in Zimpeto through using the different historical landmarks in the city. One particularly resonant one, per this participant, was large statue of President Samora Machel located at the Praca da Independencia.[88] This statue is the largest visual representation of Machel in Mozambique, and it was an interesting landmark to

[88] http://afrotourism.com/attraction/the-statue-of-samora-machel/

imagine for the purposes of this youth 'tour.' President Machel and his death (see Appendix 2) continue to be something that inspires young people. What is notable here is not that he inspires, but that he inspires not as a representation of a country continuing to be ruled by Frelimo, but of one despite it. The "powerful people" this young woman spoke of in our conversation is understood to be distinctly separate from the president who liberated the country.

Finding Faith in Help

In this chapter, I explored the complex relationship that the people of Zimpeto and Mafalala have with faith-based organisations. I demonstrated that despite a long history of analysis of religious impact on both postcolonial countries and the impact of religious institutions on Development, the experiences in both neighbourhoods show a far more nuanced, open and fluid partnership. The community members flock to these places because they feel safe, because they feel empowered, and sometimes because they feel as though they are equally open to express their own ideas about improving their own situations and the lives of those around them. I found that rather than being the motivations behind ideas about help in these communities, they were more providing a framework and environment within which local ideas of help could be enacted. This is a powerful response to a narrative that has allowed the outside voices to dominate; this is true not only of Development actors, but of faith actors, propagating an understanding about the role of faith-based organisations that does not ring true in either of these community settings.

In the conclusion of this thesis, I will bring together the three important themes I have outlined in the previous three chapters and pose some ideas for future research. I will argue that the themes I have drawn out of my data from Zimpeto and Mafalala validate the need for a discussion of geographies of responsibility and Development that take the community voice and its own perceptions of identity into account; that challenge notions of one-directional assistance models; and which demonstrate a need for a more comprehensive discussion on Development that sees community members as actors in control of their own realities with or without the support of the state that surrounds them.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion

The process of deconstructing what assistance means and why is a complex one; it is also critical to understanding successes and failures of Development efforts and why they matter in an overall discussion of responsibility in geographic scholarship. The connection between responsibility and identity at the local level and the ways this connection relates to political power is something I did not anticipate when I first began interrogating the idea of local assistance in an African city. Ideas around self-development and how it is manifested in this context became an examination of the ways in which identity in its many layers can be understood through manifesting responsibility for others. Additionally, a lack of empirical research on assistance and giving in local communities in the Global South has made conversations about ideas of responsibility lacking in its depth or complexity. As geographers and other scholars examine the 'shifting geographies' of economic development and Aid, voices in the Global South become increasingly important. This final concluding chapter will discuss theoretical context and the contribution of this thesis to the literature, revisit the research objectives followed to achieve the aim of the study, followed by a review of the results from my data analysis. I will close the concluding chapter with a discussion of implications of the results of the study, as well as potential areas for future research.

Theoretical Context & Literature

Through the lens of two different communities in Maputo, this work contributes to an important dialogue in Geography on understanding how ethics and feelings of responsibility manifest themselves in everyday life. The study also adds the perspective of the Global South to a discourse that has focused primarily on hospitality and 'care,' encouraging the notion that qualitative community research in underrepresented areas can provide scholars with some rich understanding of how assistance is enacted. This work situates itself at an intersection of Development Studies and Geographic studies on responsibility and attempts to fill a critical knowledge gap that exists about how communities perceive and enact help, rather than simply waiting to receive it from an outside institution or government.

As a discipline, Development studies, and more specifically Development geography has begun to contend with the controversial nature of Aid and assistance in the postcolonial era. More specifically, scholars and practitioners alike across a wide range of disciplines have stressed the value of critically analysing intervention efforts by countries in the Global North to provide 'Development' to those in the Global South. These efforts have formulated a

literature which has begun to reckon with whether outside intervention is best or most effective for those 'less developed' state actors. Within Development Geography, as discussed in Chapter Two, the focus of many scholars has been on rethinking the donor-recipient paradigm. This has mainly centred around acknowledging the rise of emerging donors such as India and Brazil, nations which fall outside the historical North-South development trajectory. More specifically, scholars such as Mawdsley have countered that understanding the ethics behind "South-South Development Cooperation (SSDC)" theories are critical. She explains, "…while many Southern states are now increasingly recognized as effective and desirable development partners by the mainstream community, they are generally viewed as demonstrating somewhat inferior ethics of aid" (Mawdsley 2014).

It is this type of theoretical contribution that brings interesting questions to bear about the assumptions surrounding Aid and help from outside countries. In this research, I set out to understand the feelings of responsibility people who are normally *recipients* of Aid have towards helping each other. I chose to work within two communities in the Global South because these communities represent first and foremost communities who have been the focus of proponents of Aid writ large. Secondly, the understanding of how communities understand Aid in their own lives at the local level is underrepresented in both Development literature, as well as in other discourses such as African Studies. While geographers and other scholars have wrestled with ideas of hospitality, ethics, responsibility and the everyday, far less has been written about the ways in which these issues affect individuals in the Global South. Exceptions in Geography (Power 2003; Power 2009; Gathogo 2007; Barnett 2005; Barnett & Land 2007, Raghuram, Parvati & Madge 2012) have opened several theoretical paths for analysing how the geographic landscape is being reimagined when it comes to assistance. Even in the 'grey' literature on philanthropy and giving more broadly, there is a recognition that philanthropy's landscape might be shifting to pay more attention to the Global South (Aina & Moyo 2013).

It is heartening to see the trend towards beginning to merge the Southern and work on attributes of 'care' and 'responsibility,' terms which have been used in some scholarship referring primarily to actors in the Global North. However, it was also important for me to understand what role individuals play in the process of determining levels of agency and engagement in their everyday lives. More specifically, I was interested in interrogating motivations and complexities around what behaviours play out in Southern communities which are going largely unnoticed by others 'acting' on their behalf. These actors included both donors or potential donors, as well as government officials. These two groups were

sometimes, yet not always, operating under similar principles. Amin's (2012) notion of the 'everyday' interactions which we participate in helped me to focus on which types of behaviours might shed light on assumptions of responsibility in a Southern community. I wanted to understand how their assistance, and the feelings about that assistance, was imagined, manifested, and acted upon. I also contribute to a discourse on Southern communities that is somewhat lacking in voices that convey action or agency.

Research Objectives

To achieve the aim of exploring how self-development in these communities is perceived and enacted upon, I followed several research objectives, described in further detail in Chapter One The first objective was to look at the ways in which geographical and development studies have imagined and theorised the idea of local responsibility as a motivator for assistance at the community level to identify where the theoretical gap remains. As outlined in detail in Chapter Two, Development literature points to a mainly one-directional narrative about Aid and assistance. That is, Aid and assistance are imagined to be motivated by ideals or strategies originating in the Global North for the benefit of the Global South. Much of the scholarship, whether it was in support of or critical of Aid as an instrument of Development, understood practices of developing postcolonial states to be motivated by positive notions of responsibility. The literature, however, paid less attention to notions specific to place, and the ways in which place might matter in framing success or failure of these efforts. Geographic literature also pays attention to notions of responsibility and help as a component of the field's overall 'ethical turn.' Geographers do examine the geographies of responsibility in everyday life, however also have been relatively limited in their examination of this reality in the Global South. The gap remained, then, between where responsibility was being imagined and enacted in the Development discourse, and how it related to specific places in the Geographic discourse.

Secondly, I wanted to describe and define local concepts and practices of assistance through examining local community organisations within communities in Maputo, Mozambique. To understand the concept of self-development in this context, I felt the greatest access point was through the voices of community members themselves. This was enhanced, in fact, by examining institutions as parts of the neighbourhoods of Mafalala and Zimpeto. Institutions, mainly in the form of faith based or community organisations, serve as reflections of individual effort and intent, but also as representations of how people imagine their own most effective ways of working and tackling challenges. This process served to

provide even more nuanced data regarding how individuals in these communities imagine and utilise concepts of assistance to frame their own identities.

Lastly, I wanted to identify the motivations and conceptualisations behind acts of support among community members in the field research sites and to disrupt problematic assumptions in the Development literature about how assistance is perceived and enacted. The data collected in the study points to a reality that is more complex than much of Development scholarship considers: motivations and understandings behind identity in these local communities has become both political and inextricably tied to local identity. Additionally, the concept of local rather than national identity has become increasingly dominant in conversations people have about their own lives. People imagine their own development and their own success as framed by a connection to the local, rather than to a liberation identity formed over years of pre-and postcolonial struggle in the country. This is important, because it stands in direct contrast to a rhetoric coming out of the political system of the Mozambican government, which still relies heavily on a person's individual connection to the liberating party's platform and identity.

Through qualitative research methods employed in the two chosen field sites, Zimpeto and Mafalala, I interviewed many individuals and institutions about how help is enacted, perceived, and utilized to keep communities afloat in an environment of challenging economic and political conditions. These methods generated rich and complex data sets, reflective of the many voices of community members and their perceptions of why help is important, how it relates to their everyday lives, and what they are motivated by. While it proved most effective to work through organisations in the field sites, this process in and of itself added another layer of complexity to the data. That is, using organizations formed at the grassroots in these areas not only contributed to the research objectives about understanding assistance, but also to understanding how people organize in these communities, and why they might choose to do so in certain ways.

Results

While I undertook this work with a degree of understanding about how complex my results might be, they turned out to be even more multifaceted than I had anticipated. I focused my analysis on three major themes that came out of the data, all of which point to a very different picture of what assistance means to people in communities in the Global South than previously described. The first thematic area opens a discussion on identity and the importance of identity in making decisions about enacting assistance. More specifically, it

reveals the importance of local identity in the Mozambican context, and my claim that local identity has overtaken national identity in a postcolonial context previously dominated by a shared national identity. I encountered 'identity' as a concept within these communities that is deemed to be understood, while not necessarily verbalised. The most common manifestation of this concept came when discussing concepts of assistance. Participants in focus groups and individual interviews alike used words such as "us" and "our people here" to describe the physical communities of Zimpeto and Mafalala. This, alongside comprehensive interviews drawing out ideas around perceived and concrete similarities, implied not just proximity, but an overarching understanding of an 'identity' that is local.

The context itself, much like many sub-Saharan African countries, has a history of a liberation struggle against a colonial power. In this case, the fight against the Portuguese was among the latest independence fights on the continent. This context is, I believe, critical to the understanding of the results presented in this study. An entire chapter in this study is dedicated to this pursuit. In Chapter Three, I outlined the complicated historical context Mozambique provides. One of the most important aspects of this history is the formation and promotion of the Frelimo identity. This concept, crafted out of the narrative of a liberation movement, became synonymous with a national identity. The results of this study, therefore, reflect the reality I observed: many participants felt that their identity was inextricably tied to their local neighbourhood and space, and less and less connected to the national identity of their country's past. While it was beyond the scope of this study to interrogate policy and politics in the traditional sense, the politics of these local communities, and the ways in which this is imbued with ideas of identity is clearly present.

The second argument views assistance in its many manifestations at the local level in Zimpeto and Mafalala as a form of direct resistance to the state apparatus, rather than simply a way of managing the challenges faced by Mozambicans under the current Frelimo regime. This result highlights a need for further research that I discuss later in this chapter; political history and its impact on contemporary life through the lens of community assistance continues to be underexplored. Participants identified their acts of help and responsibility for others to be directly and indirectly responsive to what they perceived to be a relationship with the state that goes beyond state failure. It is not uncommon for grassroots organisations to step in to address the shortcomings of a state – either in the Global North or South. However, the relationship between assistance and resistance is an important one for the purposes of defining the diverse ways responsibility for others can be perceived. As described in Chapter Six, the complex political climate during which field research occurred involved electoral

efforts by Frelimo to continue to hold provincial and thereafter national power. This is important to note when looking at this result, as I believe this climate highlighted the political nature of much of the work going on with the organisations I interviewed. However, the 'resistance' I observed was not just connected to contemporary events unfolding in real time; it was intimately entwined with people's perceptions of what responsibility means. Many expressed that responsibility as a concept was to not just maintain the status quo of life within these local communities, but to resist the forces they perceive to be a threat to that norm. Though scholars have talked to a certain extent about how assistance at a small scale can be a manifestation of senses of community and care, this has not been attributed to resisting a political reality. This shows a direct connection between self-development in these communities and their desire to exercise autonomy through resistance to the state.

The third contribution introduces a new way of looking at faith-based organizations in the neighbourhoods and the roles they play in motivating assistance efforts in these communities. Rather than directly encouraging interventions on behalf of community members, faith-based organizations serve as safe spaces for governmental resistance, and as institutions that host initiatives conceptualised by community members themselves. That is, churches and mosques all represent different dogmatic positions, but perform the singular function of hosting organic initiatives by community members to help each other and sidestep or directly resist components of governmental control. There is a history of engagement by faith-based organisations both in the precolonial period, but also heavily in the postcolonial period; faith -based NGOs have been active in implementing initiatives of all types in pursuit of Development. Mozambique's religious diversity in the southern part of the country allowed me access to mosques and a variety of churches throughout Zimpeto and Mafalala. Throughout the course of data collection, faith-based organisations continued to reaffirm their roles not as a source of motivation or direction for acts of assistance; the role of these places in the lives of the individuals in these communities is one of safe space. The role is also not dogmatic; the clear majority of organisations played hosts to people of all faiths. I saw this to mean that faith-based organisations take on a local identity, which surpasses that of an identity related to denomination or other affiliation. This continues to solidify the narrative that local connection surpasses other characteristics applied to certain organisations or individuals.

In sum, these results provide an interesting contrast to the narrative that exists in a considerable amount of Development scholarship that sees interventions from the Global North, or even simply from outside of the nation state, as necessary to achieve a certain level

of 'Development.' While many practitioners have begun to understand the importance of community buy-in and even participation in scaling up projects on the ground, what is still unknown is what resources and what modes of assistance already take place on small and community scales across communities throughout the Global South. The results of this study indicate a complex interplay between identity, politics, and commitment to the local rather than the national that make up the rich resources existing in these communities.

Implications

The implications of this study result both from the analysis conducted on the data, but also from the limitations that resulted in contextual realities surrounding the study period. The first involves the accessibility of the original data and the potential influence on results. As described in Chapter Four, I conducted all data collection in Portuguese. While I did offer participants the opportunity to participate in a local language of their choice, none chose to do so. I describe reasons why this may have been the case in further detail in Chapter Four. This limitation may have left out certain pieces of information during data collection, particularly in focus group settings. It also had a direct influence on people and organisations I could access in the beginning of the data collection period. As described in the analytical chapters, several participants had origins in the north of Mozambique, which means that the pressure to speak in Portuguese may have impacted their responses. This stems directly from one of the findings in Chapter Five: the idea that language was simply a mode of transaction among people with a shared local identity rather than a dividing line among people of different origins.

Secondly, access to government officials and official government information continues to be restricted in Mozambique. This was an assumption I had when going into the study, however the controlled environment markedly increased during the two election seasons that occurred. Increased controls meant fewer on-record interviews and meant some historical information requested proved difficult to obtain. While I could utilize some relationships to gain access beyond initial estimations, I found myself unable to access interview subjects willing to go on the record to discuss certain elements of the project. This places limitation on the study in terms of the availability of the government perspective when compared to the community perspective in data collection. Finally, because of the fast-paced nature of electoral change and economic decline, I was unable to fully capture the ways in which the rapidly evolving context may have affected perspectives of community members on the ground.

Additionally, there are several repercussions of the study from the results as well as the shifting political and social landscape. The first is the fact that community organisations interviewed in this study gave voice to their relationships with resistance against certain elements of government power. While it is unclear what the extent of this implication might be, it was a critical piece of data collection to have access to these institutions, while acknowledging that some of organisations may have been taking a risk to do so. It is currently logistically difficult to register as an NGO in Mozambique – both foreign and domestic – and a potential implication of the work done here may be that this continues to be a relatively difficult access point for researchers moving forward. While I offered the opportunity for institutions to anonymise their participation, few decided to do so. This shows an interest in and commitment to engagement in conversations about Development and identity by individuals in these communities. It also allowed me to draw attention to the work of grassroots organisations - work which is based solely on the voices of participants.

There are also challenges that development practitioners are facing in the country which may be helped by looking at the results of this study. It would be beyond the scope of this study to identify the extent to which Development practitioners are considering local practices of philanthropy, however research I conducted on local philanthropy in Mozambique indicates that little is being done on this topic already. Community resources, such as the ways in which they employ ideas of assistance and responsibility, might be helpful to organisations (foreign or domestic) that are trying to bring about social change. Because it was beyond the scope of the work to analyse *how* practitioners may utilise the data, I am unable to definitively qualify how organisations might make use of it; however, I believe international NGOs operating in these communities and others may benefit from looking at research on community assistance overall.

Further Research

Throughout the research period, Mozambique underwent considerable political and economic change. While it is impossible to capture the full extent of this change here, it is important to note that this period has been described by some as "the most challenging period of Mozambican history since the end of the civil war" (Castel Branco, 2015). It is both because of this fact and despite it that the realities communities are facing become increasingly important to understand. After the field research period ended, Mozambique underwent what can only be described as significant economic collapse, which placed the currency markets and Mozambique's significant debt to international lenders into question

(see Appendix 3). The study demonstrates that much of the everyday life experienced in the neighbourhoods of Mafalala and Zimpeto is affected regularly by political and social realities much like any other group or geographic area. It also shows that resources do exist within these communities for response.

Because this study contributes to a knowledge gap that connects several disciplines of literature, I have several suggestions for further study to interrogate this subject matter further. The first is a further investigation in communities of the Global South on how assistance and responsibility is defined. As detailed in Chapter Two, little literature exists on assistance in Southern country contexts, and more specifically in the ways in which assistance is enacted by community members themselves. While the focus of this study was an African context, there is further research to be done on many different postcolonial contexts. Second, I would indicate the need for further interrogation on the connection between civic engagement and identity. This is a theme that comes out in some of the data collected, however it was not the specific focus of my research. Ideas about state resistance and having 'safe space' to practice assistance both speak to what civic engagement might mean. However, more research is needed to understand how this concept is understood by community members, and why this might matter to identity. Because I make the case that local identity is perceived as more important than national identity, further investigation on this relationship to civic engagement could provide an increased understanding. Finally, I would suggest that Development geographers utilise the theoretical tools available to them, particularly as advocated by scholars such as Mawdsley, to interrogate local-scale South-South cooperation. There has been little work done on small-scale South-South cooperation at the level of the community, rather than the level of the nation state. I believe this scale will allow geographers to examine geographies of responsibility and understand how Southern individuals are exercising their own responsibility in important ways.

How we help each other, why we help each other, and why it matters is a debate that crosses disciplines, religions, national borders, and other boundaries. It is a discussion which has, at times, been dominated by voices of those with 'more' rather than those with 'less,' as defined by a Global North postcolonial hegemony. This study contributes to a burgeoning desire by researchers, community members and practitioners alike to understand what is missing in our knowledge about individuals in countries in the Global South. While this study gives only a small window into the resources and perspectives available in under researched contexts, it is my hope that it motivates and demonstrates the importance of the

local. The Xhosa philosophy discussed at the beginning of this thesis: *Ubuntu*, speaks to our common humanity and the significance we have for each other. My work suggests that *Ubuntu* means different things to different people, and that the connections between and among individuals must be understood to be harnessed and channelled for positive social change.

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Appendix 1: "Mapa Cor da Rosa"

Throughout the 17th-19th centuries, the Portuguese increased their footprint in Mozambique, particularly after the independence of Brazil, another former colonial territory. This geographical manifestation of grandeur was initiated in 1876, when the Geographical Society in Lisbon produced plans to connect Mozambique and Angola, "…who believed in their scientific value even though [they] always thought that the idea of an empire stretching from coast to coast was hopelessly beyond Portugal's capacity to achieve."

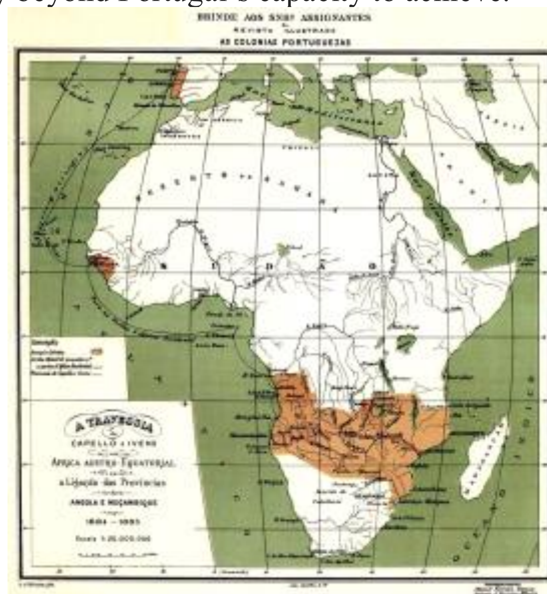
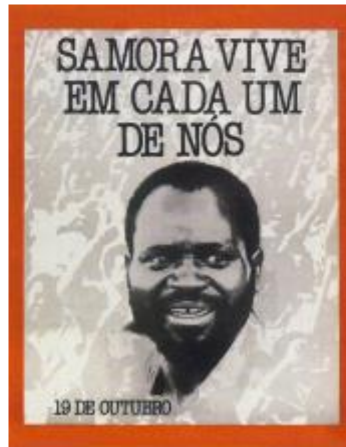


Figure 1.2: Mapa Cor de Rosa (The Pink Map)[89]

[89] http://bigthink.com/strange-maps/545-the-mapa-cor-de-rosa-a-portuguese-empire-that-never-was

Appendix 2: Death of Samora Machel

The circumstances surrounding President Machel's death on 19 October 1986 are vague at best, and certainly have been mired in controversy since. He died in a plane crash in Mbuzini, South Africa, directly over the Mozambican border. Mozambique received news of the tragedy a full nine hours after it happened, which South Africans cited as being a result of an extensive land and sea search for the aircraft and any missing persons.



Obituary poster reads, "Samora lives in every one of us."

Appendix 3: Economic Realities of 2015-Present:
Despite the presence of natural resources and newly negotiated 'development corridors' with the African Development Bank and the World Bank, commodity prices were falling globally, and Mozambique was quickly falling victim to the adage that an economy without diversity is an economy at high risk.

Figure 2.3: Mozambican Growth Rate, Instituto Nacional de Estatistica

The steady economic growth heading into 2015 reflected a confidence both domestically and internationally that stability and transparency were what made Mozambique unique. However, the tensions between Frelimo and Renamo would only increase during this period, compounding the risky perception Mozambique was showing the world.

By the middle of 2015, the economic outlook of Mozambique had become significantly more problematic for its most fervent investors. This included, but was not limited to the United States, France, Italy, Portugal and the United Kingdom, all of whom have significant stakes in the natural resource economy of the country. Aside from foreign direct investment (FDI) flowing into the country in the natural resource industry, donor aid had been an important component of the Mozambican growth plan, as indicated by 2015 World Bank and IMF reports.[90] News reports began surfacing in the beginning of 2016 that the donor funding had reportedly been misused – and to a significant extent. An anonymous student at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) in Maputo created a chart of all of the illegal activity that was being recorded with regard to donor funding and other levels of corruption throughout the national government's private sector connections. Circulating first on social media and then on webpages of several news sources including AllAfrica and RTP in Portugal, the chart maps out the drama and problems confronting the Mozambican state.

While not an official source of detailed information about the challenges, it is indeed an indication that citizens are, for the first time, being exposed to the levels of corruption within Frelimo. The chart itself is in English, which clearly directs its message to an international audience as well as an audience of higher educated Mozambicans. Two things are quite clear from this illustrated infographic. Firstly, the connections between donors, private businesses, and governments have become problematically enmeshed across several sectors. The chart features companies in the fishing, finance, defence, and natural resource sectors. Corruption

[90] https://www.imf.org/external/np/fin/tad/exfin2.aspx?memberKey1=685&date1key=2016-05-25

is thus being alleged across several areas of the Mozambican economy. These also happen to be the sectors identified by the World Bank as being the major sources of growth for the GDP overall (England, 2016). The second is the potential connection between the international actors in the private sector and the Bretton Woods agencies that have supported the Mozambican government. This link has proved to stimulate further questions by the Mozambican people and international observers about how these relationships work, who is truly benefitting, and whether they must be subjected to further scrutiny.

In the beginning of April 2016, unofficial reports began circulating that debt disclosure from the Mozambican government had been inaccurate. This would turn out to be the critical intersection between the former Guebuza regime and the Nyusi administration – proving that the inability of donors in the international community to hold the Mozambican government accountable was causing a true economic crisis. In a statement released by the International Monetary Fund on 23 April 2016, the IMF acknowledged, "The authorities acknowledged that an amount of more than $1 billion of external debt guaranteed by the government had not previously been disclosed to the Fund."91 This disclosure of debts unacknowledged to even the most powerful of donors caused a ripple effect in both the media's assessment of the economic future of Mozambique, but also within the Mozambican people's self-assessments. The IMF's position statement on Mozambique was revised right away, reflecting as of 30 April over $14 billion in debt.92 The economic realities were written about in the Financial Times of London, which quoted an IMF official as saying "It is probably one of the largest cases of the provision of inaccurate data by a government the IMF has seen in an African country in recent times" (England, 2016). The article also acknowledges that much of this debt and secrecy was created during the Guebuza administration from 2000-2014 – particularly as it relates to utilising donor funds for military spending rather than for their intended uses. This permeation of dishonesty, from the unofficial messages circulating on social media to the incredibly official and intimidating IMF reports has pushed the Nyusi administration into a vulnerable position.

Official responses to the ever-growing crisis have been minimal at the executive level. Much like responses to the kidnapping crises of 2013-2014, the executive branch of the Mozambican government prefers not to comment on the state of the Mozambican economy, except to say that the crisis has in fact been perpetuated by the presence of international actors. Prime Minister Carlos Agostinho do Rosario has been the only face of the crisis thus far, distancing President Nyusi from having direct commentary on the financial situation. It was Rosario who responded to the IMF's reports, the release of which resulted in suspension of aid from the UK as well.[xxx]

[91] https://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/pr/2016/pr16184.htm

[92] https://www.imf.org/external/np/fin/tad/exfin2.aspx?memberKey1=685&date1key=2016-05-25

Appendix 4: Organization Information
Data was collected from the following organisations in Mafalala:

- Zimpeto Children's Centre, Zimpeto
- Iris Ministries, Zimpeto (originally the founder of Zimpeto Children's Centre)
- Cooperativa Social Tsembekas (Zimpeto Chapter)
- Anglican Church of Zimpeto
- Vangano Va Infulene

Data was collected from the following organisations in Mafalala:

- Cooperativa Social Tsembekas (Mafalala Chapter)
- Igreja Jerusalem Celestial
- Mesquita Chadulia, Mafalala
- DAMBO Community Organization, Mafalala
- Associaçao IVERCA
- Mesquita Anuaril

Appendix 5: Interview Questions (Individuals & Institutions)

Focus Group Questions:

1. How would you describe the community you live in?
2. What do you do to help the people in your community?
3. How has the community changed since you moved here (or grew up; many participants were born in the neighbourhoods themselves)?
4. Are you involved in any organizations or groups in your community? Why?
5. Have you ever given assistance to someone in your community? What was it for? Why?
6. Has helping others changed over time, or has it remained the same?
7. Who do you receive help from in your life?
8. Who do you feel a close connection to in this community? Why?

Institutional Questions (Non-Focus Group Setting):

Explicit Purpose: The purpose of this interview is to gain more information about your organization and learn what it does here in Maputo. This is for a study that looks at the ways in which communities help each other to not only meet basic needs, but to develop and thrive. Your organization is a part of the community being studied.

What is the main goal or objective of the institution?

How was it formed?

How is it supported/funded?

What do you see as its connection to the community?

What types of people make up your primary beneficiary population?

How do you interact with the rest of the population of *Name of Community*?

What do you believe the community's greatest needs to be?

How do you interact with community leaders or government leaders?

May I take photos of the facility?

Please be advised that I will be writing up the results of all my interviews in a final dissertation to be published at the end of 2016. All participants will receive a copy of the dissertation in English and in Portuguese.

Individual Questions Phase 1:

Explicit Purpose: The purpose of this interview is to gain more information about your definition of philanthropy and community help in Maputo, and learn what activities you are engaged in regarding defining community development in Mozambique. Your perspective will help in painting a picture of key figures who are working on building cultural life in the city.

As a key figure in Mozambican cultural life, what do you see your role as with regard to fostering social cohesion?

Have you ever donated to a social cause? If so, why, and for what purpose?

Do you have a Foundation or Association that works on social development? What is its purpose/function, and why have you chosen to engage with it?

What area (geographically) do you prefer to direct your giving to? Is it where you grew up, or outside of this area, and if so, why?

What is the benefit you see of giving back to the community around you?

What do you believe this community's greatest needs to be?

Do you choose to promote your involvement in social causes? If so, why?

How do you interact with community leaders or government leaders?

What other people do you recommend I interview for the purposes of this study?

Perguntas Pessoa Fase 1:

Objetivo explícito: O objectivo desta entrevista é obter mais informações sobre a sua definição de filantropia e ajuda da comunidade em Maputo, e aprender quais atividades você está envolvida em diz respeito à definição de desenvolvimento comunitário em Moçambique. Sua perspectiva irá ajudar na pintura de um quadro de figuras-chave que estão trabalhando na construção de vida cultural na cidade.

Como uma figura chave na vida cultural de Moçambique, o que você vê seu papel como no que diz respeito ao fomento da coesão social?

Alguma vez você já doado a uma causa social? Se assim for, por que e para que finalidade?

Você tem uma fundação ou associação que trabalha no desenvolvimento social? Qual é o seu propósito / função, e por que você escolheu para se envolver com ele?

Qual é a área (geograficamente) que você prefere para dirigir sua doação para? É onde você cresceu, ou fora desta área, e se sim, por quê?

Qual é o benefício que você vê de dar a volta à comunidade em torno de você?

O que você acredita maiores necessidades desta comunidade para ser?

Você escolhe para promover o seu envolvimento em causas sociais? Se sim, porquê?

Como você interagir com líderes comunitários ou líderes do governo?

Que outras pessoas que você recomendaria que eu entrevista para os fins deste estudo?