



Safeguarding and enhancing land-based livelihoods

Social protection and land governance in Mozambique

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Preface

About 1.2 billion people still live in extreme poverty¹ and 805 million are estimated to be chronically undernourished². Inequalities are rising among sectors of the society, and disparities are increasing between geographic areas across and within countries. Most of the poor and food insecure people live in rural areas and rely on natural resource-based livelihoods. Rural households are particularly exposed to frequent economic, man-made and natural risks that threaten their livelihoods, and they are typically ill-equipped to cope with these shocks and stresses. In the absence of social protection, rural families may be forced to cope in ways that further increase their vulnerability and undermine their future income generation capacity.

FAO is clearly committed to an integrated vision of social protection implemented alongside other more development-focused programs to boost agriculture and food security, with a focus on the rural poor. The main purpose of FAO's Social Protection Framework is to serve as a basis for the provision of more effective support to countries in delivering social protection to fight hunger, malnutrition and poverty in coherence with agricultural, food security, nutrition and rural development efforts.

The following document provides elements for an answer to the following question: 'If the declared objective of the Social Protection interventions is to reduce vulnerability and food insecurity, does it make more sense to invest money on widening the rights-based approach to natural resources, land in particular (in other words improving land governance), or in social protection schemes?'

The specific case study of Mozambique is taken as an example of a country dealing with strategies aimed at the eradication of hunger and reduction of poverty, through land-based resources policies and programmes. It analyses ways to minimize livelihood insecurity of rural people, addresses unfair causes of their socio-economic situation and suggests the promotion of their own initiative to get rid of poverty, thanks to land rights and social protection programmes.

What the Mozambique model shows is that strategy development must continue to focus on achieving real change over the longer term, meaning addressing the underlying causes of poverty. The fact is that land is an important component in many household livelihoods strategies, and land policy and land governance are clear reflections of underlying forces that determine the access to resources. An analysis of the relationship between land governance and vulnerability conducted through the Mozambique case study indicates that a clear social protection dimension should be incorporated to any progressive land governance policy framework.

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¹ Less than US\$ 1.25 per day according to World Bank, 2014.

² FAO. 2014. The State of Food Insecurity in the World. Strengthening the Enabling Environment for Food Security and Nutrition (available at <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i4030e.pdf>).

1. Introduction

Around the turn of the century, ‘safety net’ or relief provision evolved into ‘social protection’ (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2007). The policy dilemma at the time is neatly summed up by Devereux and Guenther: ‘In a high risk environment, should you adopt conservative strategies that minimise risk but keep people poor, or push aggressively for growth and grow your way out of poverty’ (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2007:2).

Modern forms of social protection therefore do more than simply provide support to those in desperate situations. FAO identifies social protection as ‘an essential element of efforts to both eradicate hunger and reduce poverty. Following the ‘3Ps’ approach, it can *protect* from food insecurity and undernourishment by providing direct in kind or in cash assistance prevent the vulnerable to fall below the poverty line in times of shocks and stresses and *promote* resilient livelihoods through increased income generation, improved agricultural productivity, nutrition, social inclusion and mobility (FAO 2015).

By providing more income security and investing in rural livelihoods, social protection can – indeed should - ‘contribute to improve agricultural productivity, stimulate local economic development, build resilience, encourage sustainable natural resource uses and promote social inclusion’ (ibid.).

Seen from this perspective social protection programmes have a transformational aspect as well as safety net purpose. They do not do this alone however - modern forms of ‘social protection’ work alongside other more development focused activities. Banerji (2010) puts this in terms of ‘the statics and dynamics’ of a given situation where poverty and disadvantage create unacceptable suffering and deprivation. Thus what matters in a social protection system is ‘how well it ensures adequate prevention, protection and promotion to all those who need it’, and ‘how well [it] can handle transitions from one state to another’. In this context, *access* is critical, ‘so that social protection institutions are available to all who need them’ (FAO 2010: 3).

FAO is committed to support governments and partners to incorporate social protection into national strategies and actions to fight hunger and malnutrition. To achieve greater policy coherence and synergies between social protection, food and nutrition security, agricultural development, natural resource management and rural poverty reduction, this support includes:

- maximizing synergies between social protection and agricultural policies and articulating a coordinated strategy for rural development and poverty reduction;
- incorporating social protection into strategies and investment plans to increase resilience and adaptation to shocks;
- supporting governments in expanding social protection systems in rural areas;
- supporting governments and other stakeholders, including civil society organizations, in developing good governance systems (Banerji 2010).

In recent years the transformational aspect of social protection has evolved into the concept of ‘graduation’ – using social protection (among other things) to overcome the causes of vulnerability to risks and shocks and help beneficiaries to move out of poverty. It is important in this context to understand how vulnerability and disadvantage reflect a range of agro-ecological as well physical, mental or socially constructed constraints (including gender related inequalities). Thus, for example, programmes might include activities to help women or those with disabilities to gain skills or participate in income-enhancing generating activities so that they can better engage with society and take advantage of new opportunities. Thus social protection shores up fragile livelihood and personal security strategies while other policies and programmes bring about deeper changes and reduce risk in the longer term.

1.1 RURAL AREAS AND LAND

Poor rural households in these situations are also at high risk of being severely hit by climate events such as droughts and floods. This will get worse as climate change takes hold. Even in normal times however, agriculture is far from being a secure and predictable source of income and food, relying on rain-fed agriculture with little access to credit, and using rudimentary farming and post-harvest storage techniques. Thus, social protection in rural areas has long been conflated with emergency relief measures, providing support to households through the ‘hungry months’ when meagre production runs out, or when crops fail.

Picking up on the idea of a more ‘aggressive’ or proactive strategy to resolve poverty while supporting those in need, new approaches integrate a variety of quite different instruments. Thus, for example, new approaches to social protection for the rural poor in Ethiopia ‘signalled [Government] impatience with the evident failure of [the conservative strategy]’ (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2007). Social protection measures were then developed as an integrated package to support the most vulnerable and strengthen their asset base to produce for and engage with markets more effectively. The difference between social protection measures and development initiatives then becomes increasingly blurred.

In a world faced with hard choices over how to use scarce resources, this observation also raises questions about the relative importance and efficacy of the different approaches to addressing vulnerability and ending poverty. In rural areas, access to and use of land is often a crucial element in the livelihoods strategies of poor households. In this context land governance and land programmes in particular take on a new significance, because they can also be seen in some way as having a social protection purpose. Most new land programmes have poverty alleviation and improving the lot of ordinary peoples as at least an implicit, if not explicitly stated objective. Indeed many of those working on land issues assume – perhaps over-confidently – that addressing land-related challenges will in itself address the underlying causes of food insecurity and vulnerability.

However, even if land governance programme are effective and do address social protection objectives as well, it is likely that there will still be people within rural communities who are vulnerable and who might need support: the disabled, women, and children. Even in an unchanging world, customary norms might provide support, but communities and villages can be unequal places, with certain groups more at

risk of hunger and deprivation than others can. In the rapidly changing world of today, assumptions about cultural norms for caring and protecting the most vulnerable certainly cannot be made a priori, and a land programme might still need to be accompanied by specific social protection measures.

These observations provide the rationale for the question addressed by this paper:

If the declared objective of these interventions (SP schemes) is to reduce vulnerability and food insecurity, does it make more sense to invest money on widening the rights-based approach to natural resources, land in particular (in other words improving land governance), or in social protection schemes?

Mozambique was selected as a case study, because it is a good case for examining the issue of social protection and/or land governance as the best response to vulnerability and poverty. Mozambique is still one of the poorest countries in the world. While absolute poverty in the last decade has fallen significantly, more recently it has stuck around the 2009 figure of 52.1 percent of the population living below the national poverty line. This poverty is still concentrated in the majority rural population, for whom adequate land access is the essential element of livelihoods strategies. Inadequate land access, including weak tenure systems with rights under threat from external forces, is a key reason why people do not have enough home-grown food or income, and thus an important systemic cause of vulnerability and exposure to risks and shocks.

Yet Mozambique also has a progressive and inclusive land policy and land law, developed in the mid-1990s. Placed alongside standard land policy concerns with protecting the rights of land users, this framework embraces explicit social objectives such as ensuring equal rights for women and a flow of economic benefits to poor local communities from new land-based private investments. The 1995 National Land Policy (NLP), still in force, is a clear blueprint for development but also has strong social protection elements. It combines mechanisms to protect the land which underpins poor rural livelihoods strategies with a concern to promoting new private investment in land which is seen as essential for kick-starting growth in the rural economy. There are also other innovative measures to make sure that exiting rights holders - the rural poor - can gain from new investment and 'graduate' out of their poverty using their own land and natural resources.

Other elements of the Mozambican land governance framework are also relevant. The 1997 Land Law, which implements the NLP, includes a provision that local communities participate in land and natural resources management 'using customary norms and practices'. Giving such an explicit role to local structures and institutions also sustains and strengthens the role of other local systems and practices, which are often managed by the same groups of elders or community leaders, including customary or community-based forms of social protection.

All this makes Mozambique an ideal case for examining the question above posed. If the regulatory and policy framework for land already contains strong social protection elements, is it still necessary to consider conventional social protection options? Putting more resources into specific social protection in rural areas might undermine the social protection dimensions of the land governance framework, and the social cohesion and local structures that provide 'customary social protection'. Moreover, if scarce resources are shared between land governance and social protection activities,

neither may be adequately implemented. Especially if we take into account the prevent and promote elements of the '3Ps', it could be argued that strengthening progressive land programmes is a better way to address the needs of the most vulnerable and assure them effective protection.

1.2 STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

The paper begins with an overview of social protection in the present context, including concepts such as 'covariant' and 'idiosyncratic' social protection, and the synergies between the different kinds of social protection and other programmes. It then looks at the specific issue of land governance in a vulnerability framework, adapted from the well-known UNICEF conceptual framework for nutrition and food security. This approach underlines the roots of vulnerability in deeper underlying and basic causes, of which land tenure and governance are perhaps among the most significant for poor rural households. The implication is that if land-related issues are causing the vulnerability in the first place, surely it is better to focus resources on a preventative land-focused response and not on more 'curative' social protection measures?

The same model also allows us to see that land governance itself is subject to its own underlying and basic causes, which in turn is useful for assessing how land programmes and social protection work together to achieve common and desirable objectives with respect to poverty and vulnerability.

Attention then turns to Mozambique, as a case study useful for looking at these questions in more detail. The discussion suggests that an effective land programme can indeed address the structural linkages and synergies between social outcomes and underlying causes like land governance – thus dealing with the prevent and promote aspects of social protection systems. Good land policy and, perhaps more importantly, effective implementation of such a policy, can address the injustice and inequality which are the root cause of many social problems and thus contribute to 'graduation'. The discussion also suggests that this may not be enough, and that specific measures to protect and 'graduate' the most vulnerable may still be needed, especially if other underlying realities are undermining the implementation of a progressive poor land governance framework.

2. Overview of social protection

In the past, ‘social protection’ has normally equated to various forms of disaster or emergency relief that have been tried and tested for decades: food-for-work, cash transfers, public works programmes. Many of these are aimed specifically at rural women. The evidence reveals varying levels of effectiveness (Clay 2006; Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2007), along with concerns about impacts on local food production and input supply systems. Some also argue that food aid in particular has responded more to the needs of US farmers as it provides them with a market for surpluses of food produced with government subsidies (Mousseau 2005). Proposals by the US Senate and the Obama administration to reform US food aid and allow more use of locally produced food (following the EU approach) have indeed met with strong opposition (The Guardian 2013).

Partly in response to these concerns but also reflecting an awareness of ‘the need to address the underlying causes of hunger and vulnerability to shocks and emergencies’ (Clay 2006), the discourse around social protection today has changed markedly. The concept of ‘social protection’ has emerged to replace the earlier concerns with ‘safety nets’ and relief responses, and embrace a wider vision of targeted assistance for the poor and vulnerable which not only ‘protects them’, but also helps them to ‘graduate’ away from their need for assistance.

A clear definition of social protection is that it ‘involves all initiatives that transfer income or assets to the poor, protect the vulnerable against risks to their livelihood, and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised’ (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2007). A later EU report gives more detail and introduces the three elements of **social insurance** (offering protection against risk and adversity throughout life), **social assistance** (offering payments and in kind transfers to support and enable the poor), and **inclusion efforts** (that enhance the capability of the marginalised to access social insurance and assistance) (European Communities 2010: 1). Thus as Bené *et al.* observe, the ‘primary function of social protection is to protect poor and vulnerable people against risks, either idiosyncratic (e.g. illness or disability) or covariate (e.g. climate shocks or price spikes)’ (2014:9), (see Box 1 above).

BOX 1

Used Social Protection Terms

‘**Idiosyncratic shocks**’ are household-level shocks, such as death, injury and illness, or unemployment

‘**Covariate shocks**’ are community shocks, such as natural disasters or epidemics, or a poor rainy season

‘**Graduation**’ refers to the process whereby social protection helps people to move out of poverty and to remain out of poverty without the continuous receipt of transfers.

Sources: IDS 2013; Harttgen and Günther 2006

In fact, a very few people in developing countries have any access to formal welfare benefits such as income transfers and pension schemes. According to the ILO just over 70 percent of the world population have no access to adequate social protection, and most live in rural areas in of developing countries where subsistence or low-productivity rain-fed farming is the basis of their livelihoods. Such a strategy is

inherently risky at the best of times, but farm households in this situation are also vulnerable to climate and other shocks, which can decimate or destroy even the meagre quantities of crops they produce. And given the absence of 'regular' social protection activities in such areas, the social protection that is found is often still an ad hoc response to disaster or crop failure and can still look very much like traditional relief or emergency programmes.

Nevertheless, the last ten years or so have seen a significant move away from traditional safety-net responses. Perhaps the most significant development is the recognition of the need to build 'social protection *systems*'. These are 'not only a collection of social assistance and insurance programs', and 'should provide three basic functions: prevention, protection and promotion' (World Bank 2012: iii). As such they require a level of institutional sophistication and coordination that is probably still beyond the reach of many countries. Nevertheless, the essential strategy is clear and should be respected: provide appropriate direct support to those most in need alongside other measures that help reduce poverty and vulnerability in the longer term. A simple model would include, for example, direct transfers to the poorest and vulnerable groups, within a 'system', which also includes public works programmes to boost income and activities such as adult education.

Another key aspect is the growing awareness of the need for predictability, or longer-term regular and institutionalized support for the most vulnerable, including women, and those affected by illness or disability. Until recently, even non-emergency social protection in many countries has been irregular or poorly implemented and does not guarantee any sense of long-term support. It is recognised now that social protection must do more than just feed people and sustain livelihoods; it must also provide a longer term pillar around which vulnerable livelihoods can develop new or more robust strategies to achieve 'graduation' to a better life. This also implies a stronger political commitment to making social protection programmes work, and last over the long term; and to building the kind of institutional architecture and cooperation that is needed to achieve this.

It is therefore encouraging to see more politically committed social protection programmes emerging, set within a wider vision of development, which creates opportunity and prevents the poor from falling back into dependence. A well-known example that has had a significant impact on levels of poverty is the Brazilian *Bolsa Familia* (Medeiros *et al* 2009). A high profile African example already referred to above is the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) in Ethiopia (Devereux and Guenther 2007).

The *Bolsa Familia* (BF) has a clear inter-generational focus on the future. It not only strengthens households economically, but also makes attendance at school for all children and especially girls, and participation in vaccine programmes, a condition for receiving cash transfers. To quote one study of the BF, 'the understanding behind Bolsa Escola was that without strengthening human development, especially among children, income transfers are unlikely to have sustained effects on the targeted households' (Barrientos *et al* 2014:37). Thus the direct economic support provided by the BF is also seen as a 'human development direct transfer', the main objective of which is 'to reduce the intergenerational persistence of poverty ensured an appropriate balance between reducing 'poverty today' as opposed to 'reducing poverty today and tomorrow' (Barrientos *et al* 2014:37). The BF programme is not linked to land issues *per se*, but it does illustrate the importance of having a long term pillar around which families can consider at least an inter-generational graduation out of poverty, with children growing up healthier and more able to participate in the wider society when they grow up.

Perhaps more importantly however, the BF has also been implemented by a government with a clear vision of its social responsibility to the poor, manifested through a ‘social contract’ mandated by democratic elections and with roots in an evolving political commitment to real social change which goes back to the late 1980s. It is also important to underline the importance of improvements in key economic indicators such as basic wages, made possible both by progressive social policy and high economic growth rates. While the BF has targeted the need to end absolute poverty, these systemic factors have contributed to the overall reduction of poverty in Brazil.

The Ethiopian PSNP is also interesting insofar as it too seeks to create a social protection *system* of inter-related measures that address both immediate needs and the underlying causes of poverty and vulnerability. The PSNP is part of a larger framework of poverty alleviation measures, the ‘Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty’ (PASDEP) and the ‘Food Security Programme’ (FSP). The FSP also includes ‘Household Extension Packages (HEP)’ supporting non-farm activities, but significantly for this paper, its third component is a land-related programme - the ‘Voluntary Resettlement Programme (VRP)’ - which moves people from high-risk and vulnerable highland areas to more productive land.

The PNSP part of this ambitious social protection programme combines public works to strengthen social and economic infrastructure (and thus stimulate the local economy), and cash transfers to address food shortages. Learning from past mistakes, the cash-transfer schemes adopt an approach, which does not compromise the agricultural working calendar of recipients. The overall package integrates a concern to address real short-term livelihoods crises, with a concern to build up assets and create opportunities for vulnerable rural populations to grow out of poverty and away from. Including a land reform programme underlies how policy makers are concerned to address underlying causes and drastically lower the prevalence of vulnerability and its related short-term impacts. These three groups of activity can be seen as responses to the ‘3Ps’, addressing the need to protect, promote, and prevent, respectively.

Looking more closely at the land component, it is clear that this is not rooted in analysis of tenure and rights issues, but it is driven by a perception among policy makers that the target population is living on marginal land that is, therefore, constantly exposing them to risk – their agriculture is a high-risk activity because of poor soils and a failure-prone rain-fed farming model. One consequence of this is that the ‘land programme’ may not in fact be effectively addressing the real structural issues of tenure and land rights that are more likely to be the drivers of vulnerability and poverty. This paper is not the place to examine Ethiopia’s land policy and programming, but even a cursory review of the literature suggests that the VRP has been far from effective and is much criticised (Rahmato 2004a), and may be better seen as a way of extending state control over local people (Chinigó 2014). The social focus of the ‘land policy’ also reflects other concerns to avoid a rural-urban exodus and fix people on the land, with the result that it might in fact be *exacerbating* poverty and vulnerability by ‘compelling [peasant farmers] to convert their assets to food and overuse their contracting land to compensate lost production through mismanagement’ (Gebreselassie 2013).

What these arguments do suggest is that making the complex challenge of land issues part of a wider social protection package may not be the best way of dealing either with land or with the prevent and promote side of social protection. The fact that there are concerns over how the VRP is having a detrimental effect on rights and livelihoods at both ends of the resettlement process underline the need to get land initiatives right. Another concern is more practical: any resettlement programme is a complex

and costly exercise, and as one observer comments, the VRP in Ethiopia ‘requires immense resources, detailed planning and a process that is truly participatory in order for resettlement to lead to positive development outcomes’³. These resources have not always been forthcoming, and to quote Desalegn Rahmato again ‘government officials were insufficiently experienced to implement the scheme’ (Rahmato 2004a).

That said, the strength of the more systemic approach to social protection is that it correctly sees vulnerability and poverty as outcomes of a range of underlying factors; and these factors must be addressed if sustainable (or indeed any) ‘graduation’ is to take place. This is based on assumptions that over time the more ‘promotional’ elements – public works programmes, adult education, educational conditionality etc. – will reduce the overall demand for social protection – poverty and marginalisation will lessen, and especially from an inter-generational perspective, whole groups of people can be expected to move out of the social protection system.

These are big assumptions however. One observer remarks that even for a large country like Brazil, programmes like the BF are ‘impossible, for governments to conduct for a long period of time’ (Özler 2015). It is essential that other policy initiatives are developed to address inequality and poverty in the wider structural and socio-political context. In countries where access to land is a core element of the survival strategies of the poorest, and notwithstanding debates around programmes like the one in Ethiopia, land governance is precisely such a policy area.

³ Pred, D. 2014. Inclusive Development International, the Guardian, (available at <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/apr/22/ethiopia-villagisation-scheme-fails>).

3. Social protection and land governance

Social protection is a necessary intervention in relation to land in two essential contexts:

- In disaster situations, where ‘in addition to loss of life and the severe impacts on national economies, some of the most drastic effects of natural disasters on peoples’ livelihoods, relate to disruption of land tenure systems and property loss. Access to land and security of tenure are very often damaged as a result of natural disasters, leaving people unable to access their land either for production or for housing purposes’ (FAO 2010a:v).
- Where prevailing systems of land governance keep large numbers of people, and especially the most vulnerable, in situations of dependence, absolute poverty and chronically weak entitlements to food and other basic needs, either because they do not have enough land to meet their needs or they have access to land through exploitative relationships with third parties who own or enjoy controlling rights over their land.

In a disaster, the most evident impact is the loss of crops or animals, and the consequent lack of food. This triggers a need for some kind of relief response, which in many poor countries is only possible with the support of agencies like WFP and a host of other bilateral and civil society organizations. Such relief is a form of social protection insofar as it comes in to sustain households and the most badly affected until the point at which they can re-assume their previous livelihoods strategies. Developing new or more robust strategies, – i.e. graduation – requires additional, longer-term inputs as in the Ethiopian approach above.

Both recovering the *status quo* and ‘graduating’ assume that it is indeed possible to rebuild pre-existing livelihoods which depend upon land access and land rights being restored. However, other effects can undermine livelihoods for much longer periods or even make it impossible for people to rebuild them. To quote FAO (2010a) again:

‘The effects [on livelihoods of a disaster] can result from destruction of land tenure records like land titles, cadastre maps, land registry records, identity cards, and insurance claims. They can involve the total or partial destruction of physical evidence of property boundaries; the disappearance or death of people who have the memory of property boundaries; the emergence or intensification of conflicts over land tenure that were already present but deteriorated as a result of the disaster, such as conflicts over inheritance of land rights. In case of the need for resettlement, there can be difficulties involved in addressing land rights in resettlement areas, especially if there is lack of proper legislation to facilitate access to land to those who have lost it. Where property rights are unclear and people have left their land because of a natural disaster, land grabbing and abusive building practices can happen where there are not suitable norms to avoid it. All these effects can severely impact peoples’ livelihoods if the security of the use and property of the land is affected’ (FAO 2010a: v).

How these issues are addressed is very much more a question of land (and overall) governance, both before and after the event. If existing land management systems were robust before the disaster – for example if records are well kept and there is a back-up of some sort somewhere – then the loss of a local or even regional cadastral office and its files is not a major problem. If the prevailing cultural or socio-political practices favour participation, openness and trust between citizens and those who govern them – including customary leaders and local land managers – the process of recovery can in principle be smooth and less susceptible to land-grabbing and exploitation. On the other hand, if land management systems are not robust or have always been exploitative, and if a disaster occurs at a time when new market or other forces are giving land a new value beyond its pre-existing livelihoods function, then the process of recovery and ‘graduation from disaster’ is far less certain.

The four country case studies used by FAO in its 2010 report to examine the link between land tenure and natural disasters, illustrate this point very well.

In Bangladesh for example, according to the examination of the responses to the 2007 Sidr cyclone, the study concludes that ‘more attention should be paid to land tenure and land use in national policy frameworks as well as in the specific land tenure, land use and disaster management programmes’ and that ‘failure to consider these issues effectively can be a key factor increasing poor peoples’ vulnerability to disasters’ (FAO 2010a:viii).

And in the Philippines, a study of disasters between 1990 and 2006 identifies ‘three factors that played an important role in increasing or decreasing the severity of the consequences of these disasters: whether the affected people had secure or insecure tenure rights; whether the disaster caused lasting damage to the property; and finally whether the affected people had the capacity to recover their lost property, or to restore their tenure security’ (FAO 2010a:viii).

The author of this study underlines how this capacity is ‘mainly defined by socioeconomic status’, and that ‘important obstacles dealing with disasters include: the absence of a complete cadastre and the presence of incorrect cadastral surveys; the existence of incomplete and outdated land records; the cumbersome legal procedures for title records reconstitution or recuperation of title copies’ (FAO 2010c).

In a non-disaster situation, it is equally clear that the prevailing approach to land management and administration can be a decisive factor in determining how particular groups of people and even individuals within those groups can access and use land to support robust livelihoods strategies. Studies of land-related poverty created and sustained by exploitative relationships between landowners and land users go back decades. Land reforms going back to the 1960s and 1970s have all had as their objective the ending of such exploitation and ultimately, the ending of the vulnerability and food insecurity that it creates. Not all have been successful of course, but the underlying point is that there are clear linkages between how land is accessed and regulated and the extent of vulnerability, poverty and exclusion from the benefits of economic growth.

3.1 VULNERABILITY AND LAND GOVERNANCE

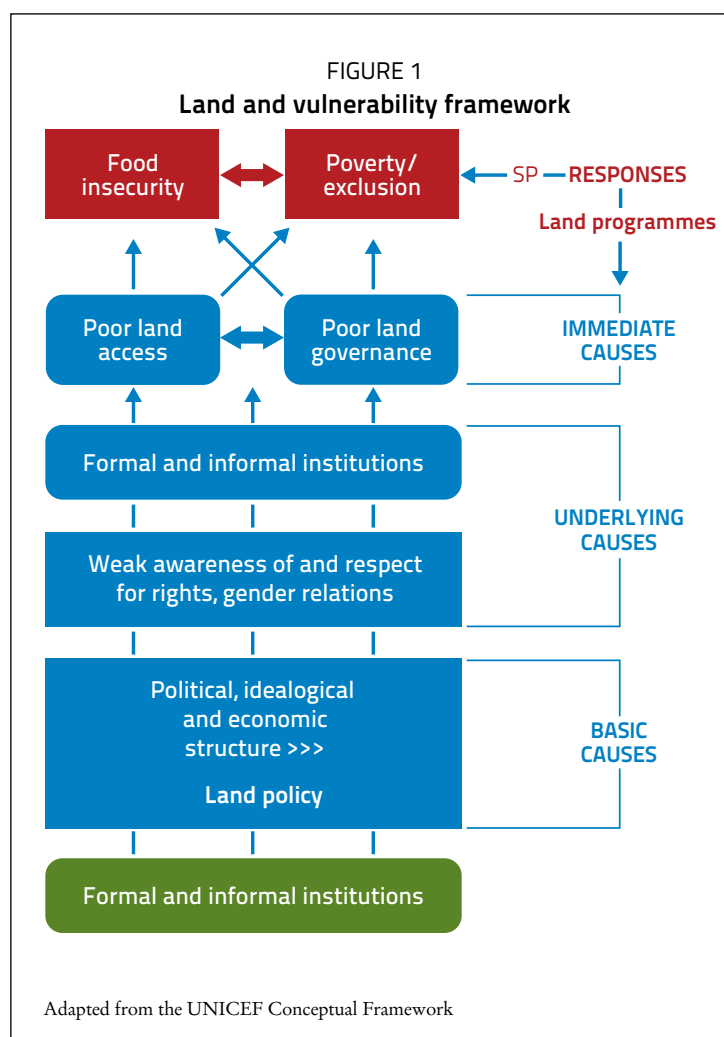
Since the early 1990s, UNICEF has used a model of immediate and underlying causes of illness and food insecurity affecting children and women. The model shows how the social and political forces, which govern a society and its distributional systems, determine most of the outcomes for its citizens in terms of health, wealth

and happiness (or the lack thereof). Responses to these outcomes can be essentially ‘curative’ (addressing the symptoms), or more preventative or corrective (attempting to alter the circumstances which cause the symptoms). Curative choices are relatively objective and technical – vaccine programmes, clean water, equipment budgets and social protection. The deeper down one goes, one begins to address structural features and challenge orthodoxies that underpin privileges and long-established institutional cultures. Thus, progressive and equity-enhancing policy choices may be possible but are often difficult to implement. In addition, at the level of basic causes, policy options become distinctly political as they challenge the power relations that determine who gets what, how much they get, and who is excluded from this process.

The same model is useful for looking at land and vulnerabilities of various kinds. Land is not only a valuable and sought after productive resource, but can also underpin cultural values and socio-political relationships. Systems of land governance are directly related to the prevalence of vulnerability, especially where agriculture and access to land are the bedrock of both subsistence – for the poor – and power – for the rich. In addition, this vulnerability manifests itself usually in problems of food insecurity and poverty which social protection programmes are then called upon to address.

This is shown in figure one, which adapts the UNICEF model to how land and natural resources are distributed, managed and accessed. In the UNICEF model, land governance would more likely be an ‘underlying cause’, while in this case it is elevated to the status of ‘immediate cause’. Governance is however shaped and regulated by deeper ‘underlying’ and ‘basic’ causes, rooted in the prevailing socio-political structure and division of wealth, and cultural norms which impact on gender and land access especially.

Overall, this framework explains how insufficient and uncertain entitlements to food develop and persist. Some households cannot get enough land to produce enough income or food to eat; or the relationships they have with the landowners are highly exploitative – forms of sharecropping for example – with the same result. And where land access issues are at the root of poverty and inequality, the



Institutions that regulate land access and use are also ‘underlying causes’ insofar as they reflect and serve the entrenched interests at the heart of any society.

Revisiting the question posed on page three, we should again ask if, given these various levels of causality, it is better to deal with the resulting social problems through a social protection approach which is essentially curative, or whether it would be better to adopt measures to change the conditions which cause or sustain vulnerability and hardship in the first place.

In situations where there are no signs of any potential reforms at the underlying level, it makes sense to accept that there are (probably large) numbers of vulnerable people who will benefit from ‘classic social protection’ measures (food-for-work, income support, targeted programmes such as income generation for women, etc). The prevailing land management and land governance system makes, and keeps them poor, but there is not much we can do about that. In this case social protection programmes are needed to alleviate the worst effects of an underlying social and political system that favours one social group over another, and where the control over and access to resources is likely to be highly skewed.

Elsewhere however, it might be possible to consider measures that will address the underlying causes of the vulnerability. Before embarking upon social protection measures, it is legitimate to ask what can be done to bring about structural change – in effect, how to improve the distribution of resources and access to basic entitlements through the routines of daily life instead of through safety net or welfare support. Change is effected by improving tenure for existing land use, and improving land access if this is also a constraint on building more robust livelihoods strategies. This is a kind of ‘graduation through structural and other reforms’.

Even in this context, however it cannot be assumed that a progressive land reform or other land-governance measures will improve things overnight; and if the essential structural relationships of a given society remain unchanged, it is likely that implementation will be difficult. And even ‘adaptive social protection’ programmes linked to progressive land programmes can have their limitations: long-standing administrative cultures and deeply entrenched cultural norms on issues like women and land rights are always difficult to address, and resist change even where new policy and legal frameworks have been achieved. Thus even in a more progressive environment we should assume a need for some form of social protection at least in the short-to-medium term, and this ‘must surely be recognised as an essential component of efforts to achieve inclusive social and economic development’ (IDS 2013).

4. A case study: Mozambique

Mozambique is still a predominantly rural country and the majority of the population live on the land with agriculture being at least the basis of their household livelihoods strategies. Trading and access to informal or seasonal labour markets are other important sources of incomes that are more collected together over a year from a range of sources and using a range of resources.

Farm strategies vary and reflect the specific agro-ecological conditions of the different regions. All involve the integrated use of a set of natural resources, often on an extensive basis with crop rotation and long fallow cycles employed to preserve a minimal level of soil fertility and production. In some areas, this can mean that the land used by a community can in fact be very large, even if their visible plots and areas of current use appear to be quite small. Nevertheless the prevailing urban elite view of the so-called 'family sector' of smallholders using principally family labour is that they are very small units, cultivating a few small plots (*machambas*) and maybe some grazing nearby, leaving large areas of 'free' or at least underused land therefore available to allocate to investors from outside the local area.

Most agriculture at this level also relies principally on rain-fed irrigation. When possible, production is spread across different soil types, using upland as well as river valley land to reduce exposure to climate risks such as flooding and drought. With poor access to production and investment credits, farming techniques are rudimentary and yields on family-run farms are still very low.

Nationally the rate of absolute poverty declined markedly from 70 percent in 1997 to 56 percent in 2003, but this improvement has since more or less stalled at around 52-53 percent since 2009. The greatest reduction has also taken place in urban areas. Thus, the most recent poverty estimates from the 2009 Household Budget Survey (INE 2010) indicated that poverty was as high as 58 and 74 percent in the rural north and central regions respectively, compared with 16 percent in the urban areas of the southern part of the country. Poverty is therefore still very much the norm in rural Mozambique, with all that this implies for the having an effective social protection response in rural areas.

Rural communities are also far from homogeneous, with significant variations in income and livelihoods security between different households and kin-based groups. Within households women tend to be the main labour force and produce most of the food as well as doing all of the caring and domestic work. Yet they also tend to have what are essentially use rights over the land they use, rather than more concrete forms of tenure or 'ownership'. These rights come to them through their relationships with men – husbands, fathers, uncles, and sons – irrespective of whether they are in patrilineal or matrilineal systems. Gender imbalances of power and control over resources are deeply rooted and regulated by customary norms that are presided over by patriarchal and conservative male elders.

The risks faced by rural households are laid out in table 1 (p. 19). Many of them are beyond the reach of any land programme to address climate change and disasters, pests and crop diseases, rudimentary farming methods and produce storage. With land

as the fundamental basis of most rural livelihoods however, if tenure is insecure and/or access is not sufficient to generate enough food and/or income, then the ability to address or confront the other risks is even more reduced. In addition, as we see below, even the most extreme of uncontrollable risks can be better managed to avoid the worst outcomes if appropriate land governance measures are in place.

4.1 SOCIAL PROTECTION IN MOZAMBIQUE

Before looking in detail at how developments in land governance have achieved important social protection aims (at least in the longer term, structural sense), it is useful to look briefly at social protection in Mozambique today. Rural people have long been exposed to frequent and sometimes catastrophic risks which ruin their livelihoods and leave them without food and in desperate need of support. Cyclical droughts and floods are a long term feature of the landscape (FAO 2010 b). While the 2000 floods still stand out as among the worst in recent times, early in 2013 the UN reported that some 70 000 people in the South of the country had been displaced and 36 killed⁴. Again in 2015, the National Disaster Management Institute (INGC) reported that an estimated ‘144 330 people (approximately

30 000 families) are affected [by floods] across the country. In Zambézia province, 95 360 people (19 072 families) are affected with 50 481 people (11 661 households) hosted in 49 accommodation centres⁵.

TABLE 1
A typology of risks facing small-scale farmers in Mozambique

	IDIOSYNCRATIC	COVARIATE	
Risks/shocks	Risks & shocks affecting individuals/households (micro-level)	Risks and shocks affecting groups/communities (meso-level)	Risks and shocks affecting regions or nations (macro-level)
Natural/ environmental		Pests and disease threats to crops and animals Soil degradation Threats to water access	Climate-related disasters: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Droughts ▪ Floods ▪ High winds/ cyclones
Land governance	Lack of tenure security (women) Succession and inheritance disputes Land fragmentation	Land-grabbing large areas Local management undermined Unequal negotiating power/capacity to engage government programmes including infrastructure (resettlement)	Externally-driven demand for land
Economic	Unemployment Lack or loss of access to other livelihoods	Low farm gate prices Soil degradation High prices for inputs Local markets lost to imported food etc	International market prices

⁴ BBC. 25 January 2013. UN: Floods displace 70,000 and kill 36 in Mozambique (available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-212063479>).

⁵ Relief Web. 26 January 2015, Mozambique: Floods Emergency Appeal no. MDRMZ011 (available at <http://reliefweb.int/report/mozambique/mozambique-floods-emergency-appeal-n-mdrzmz011>).

	IDIOSYNCRATIC	COVARIATE	
Risks/shocks	Risks & shocks affecting individuals/households (micro-level)	Risks and shocks affecting groups/communities (meso-level)	Risks and shocks affecting regions or nations (macro-level)
Health	Injury Illness Death of male household head (expulsion from land – surviving women) Death of older children (household labour) Demographic risks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Disability ▪ Old age ▪ Death 	Epidemic (in particular HIV-AIDS and impacts on widows)	
Social	Divorce Crime Domestic violence Drug and alcohol abuse Child labour	Gender relations Social exclusion Exploitative working conditions Community resource disputes	
Political	Patron-client relations end or break down	Political marginalization	External actors determine internal policy/actions

Source: adapted from Béné, Devereux & Rolan 2014, table 4.

Relief measures have long been supported by a host of agencies such as the WFP and national and international NGOs, but compared with the 2000 events, it is clear that the national capacity to deal with these shocks has greatly improved over recent years. ‘Conventional social protection’ in the shape of relief activities, school meals and food or cash-for-work programmes continue to form the backbone of support in rural areas.

Cultural norms and adaptive livelihoods strategies also provide important forms of social protection. In the south out-migration to work in the mines of South Africa has long been a feature of the agrarian economy, with a higher-than-usual number of female-headed households as a result. Remittances sent back have supported individual households and contributed to community-based insurance schemes for funeral costs and risk-lowering activities (Mendola 2010). Indeed, in all parts of the country there are social norms and practices that make sure that the most vulnerable are taken care of (Francisco and Paulo 2006).

These norms can however become compromised when ‘normal circumstances’ break down. Seuane (2009) provides a good example covering both land and a specific vulnerable group – rural women. Like many African countries, Mozambican women are frequently widowed at a young age because of the HIV-AIDs. Cultural practices that take of older widows – their sons inherit the land but allocate some to their mothers for example – fail to come into play and the land rights and livelihoods of young widows or divorcees come under threat.

A large number of programmes have addressed these issues over the years. Waterhouse and Lauriciano (2009) present an excellent overview of how social protection has evolved in Mozambique. In the past the Government has been reluctant to embrace

social protection measures, with post-war priorities instead targeting the rebuilding of infrastructure and re-establishing security. In a country still rated among the poorest in the world, the idea of targeting the ‘poorest of the poor’ also made little sense to senior policy makers. Today however the Government is far more aware of the need to address the many manifestations of chronic poverty through a more effective systemic approach to social protection (World Bank 2014). Other actors are also following this approach, for example the integrated package of welfare and other measures supported by the Aga Khan Foundation Coastal Rural Support Programme (CRSP)⁶, which includes activities in ‘economic development (including agriculture), civil society, education, health and habitat’. Programmes like these are clearly aimed at ‘graduation’ through economic diversification underline how the approach to protecting and supporting the rural poor is changing.

The main vehicle for addressing poverty has until now been the national Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty – PARPA, the country’s PRSP, which tracks the Economic and Social Programme of the Government and relies heavily on promoting economic growth through market liberalisation, fiscal restraint and supporting private sector investment (both national and international). Compared with the first phase, ‘PARPA II’ has been far more aware of the needs of the most vulnerable. As well as underlining the role of the State in basic social service provision, it has recognised that persistent poverty is intimately linked to deep rooted causes of vulnerability including “high levels of food insecurity and malnutrition, increasing numbers of orphans and vulnerable children and of people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA), exposure to recurrent natural disasters and discrimination based on gender and other factors such as HIV+ status” (Waterhouse and Lauriciano 2009:7).

Consequently, the PARPA II has included measures ‘to address the specific needs of sub-categories of different social groups seen as the most vulnerable to extreme poverty, within the majority poor population’ (Waterhouse and Lauriciano 2009:7).

The National Strategy for Basic Social Security (ENSSB) was approved in 2010 to extend the coverage and effectiveness of non-contributory state social protection measures. The accompanying regulation is a major step forward insofar as it places welfare and social protection on a rights-based foundation with principles of universal access by those who need support. There are four areas of intervention: direct social action (cash and in-kind transfers), health social action, productive social action and education social action (Republic of Mozambique 2014). The plan aims not only to extend coverage but also to bring some order to a situation where a range of interventions has been implemented by different agencies and programmes. Notably, the plan recognizes that a ‘harmonized, multi-sectorial approach is needed to strengthen inter-ministerial cooperation and to address the various dimensions of vulnerability that poor households face. This will avoid gaps and duplication of interventions and is expected to produce a positive multiplier effect for poor households’ (Republic of Mozambique 2010:3).

In a largely rural country such this, where land tenure issues are intimately linked to the prevalence of both idiosyncratic and covariate risk, it is interesting to note that:

- a) a reliance on economic growth built upon private investment is still seen as the ultimate answer to poverty and exclusion, and that

⁶ See AKDN in Mozambique, (available at http://www.akdn.org/mozambique_social.asp#crsp) .

- b) the ‘high levels of food insecurity and malnutrition, are among the ‘deeply rooted causes of vulnerability’ cited above. Yet following the UNICEF approach, food insecurity and malnutrition are more correctly seen as the outcome of a series of immediate, underlying and basic causes. In addition, in the case of poor rural households, access to and use of land has to be one of the key basic causes. To really deal with issues confronted by the ENSSB, it is necessary to address these far deeper causes of poverty and vulnerability. These causes still represent a kind of structural trap in which millions of vulnerable rural Mozambicans remain caught, despite a decade of 5-10 percent growth rates and real falls in the rate of poverty.

Revisiting once again the question addressed by this discussion, it is evident that if poverty and vulnerability are indeed the real concerns of government, then it is necessary to release the trap instead of treating the symptoms. Is it better to spend scarce resources on social protection measures to address the needs of the rural structural poor, or is it better to focus upon some form of land governance programme, which addresses the real underlying causes? Alternatively, should we consider both? Moreover, if we do, which one of these should be seen as ‘the leader’, reflecting back to the Ethiopian case where placing land inside the social protection conceptual framework may only have made things worse?

4.2 LAND GOVERNANCE AND SOCIAL PROTECTION IN MOZAMBIQUE

Among the four case studies in the 2010, FAO report on land tenure and natural disasters is one on Mozambique. Compared with the others, this one presents a relatively positive picture. FAO (2010) convincingly argues that ‘the approach undertaken into national and legal frameworks helped to minimise the effects of the floods’, and that while a new Disaster Management policy ‘marked an important shift from a reactive to a proactive approach towards disaster management and prevention, the land tenure legal framework [established since the mid-1990s] promotes the involvement of local-level institutions in land access and management, with a focus on identifying and securing local land rights.

“The combination of both [new disaster policy and an effective land governance framework] has been very useful in the way Mozambicans have addressed the main land tenure security issues that emerged after the floods” (FAO 2010: vii).

The background to this relative success story is the development of the National Land Policy (NLP) in 1995 and the 1997 Land Law, which then put it into effect (FAO 2002). The NLP policy contains a number of key principles, some of which merit specific attention here:

- Guarantee access to and use of land for the population as well as investors. In this context, the customary rights of access and management of the resident rural population are recognised, promoting social and economic justice in the countryside.
- Guarantee the right of women to access and use land.
- Promote national and foreign private investment without prejudicing the resident population and ensuring that they benefit
- The sustainable use of natural resources in a way that guarantees the quality of life of present and future generations. (Serra 2012:29)

It is evident that the NLP has a strong focus on how a new land policy can and should affect issues that are also the focus of social protection programmes. The notions of promoting ‘social and economic justice’ and guaranteeing the rights of women are clear social objectives, which are later built into the heart of the new land law designed to implement them.

The law itself was approved in 1997, and is still in force. It has been widely recognised as one of the best and most progressive in Africa (McAuslan, 2013). Some observers who strongly support the law do identify weakness, which require addressing (Knight, 2010). While many call for a law including clear private property rights (mostly from the business community and its backers), the prevailing view is that the law and its provisions to implement the NLP principles is still widely supported and enjoys a high level of legitimacy (Calengo *et al.* 2008).

The 1997 has been well described elsewhere and does not need to be examined in detail here. Suffice to say that its various measures focus strongly on underlying and basic causes of poor land governance and its consequent implications for poverty and food insecurity. These include:

- The recognition of all customarily-acquired land rights as being equivalent to the official State-allocated land right, the Land Use and Benefit Right (DUAT)⁷.
- Clear provisions to safeguard the rights of women over land, including re-affirming the constitutional equality of men and women to land before the law.
- Mandatory consultations between investors and local communities (which legally can hold collective DUATs identified by ‘customary occupation’) to either ensure that the land required is ‘free from occupation’ or if not, to negotiate an agreement through which the existing rights are transferred to or shared with the investor.
- Clear provisions that make sure that women should take part in all aspects of land management including consultations, as full and equal rights-holders with men.
- A clear provision that customary norms and practices should count among the measures used by local communities to manage the land and natural resources within their areas of jurisdiction (which are in turn identified by the communities themselves through the process of ‘delimitation’) (Tanner *et al.* 2009).

These measures all add up to what De Wit and Norfolk in their FAO (2010) report describe as an approach to land governance which ‘promotes the involvement of local-level institutions in land access and management, with a focus on identifying and securing local land rights’ (*ibid.*). These same measures are or course central to any programme, which seeks to provide secure tenure as the basis for enhanced and more robust rural livelihoods (or in other words, a programme, which addresses key elements of the underlying causes of poverty and food insecurity). Thus, the 1995 NLP and the 1997 Land Law contain important elements of a social protection approach, which focuses on key vectors of vulnerability – such as safeguarding rights against the incursions of investors, gender equality, and establishes the foundation for a more equitable and just model of development using land resources, well into the future.

⁷ Note that in Mozambique land is constitutionally the property of the State and cannot be bought, sold or mortgaged. Instead the State issues the *Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento de Terra* (DUAT) to individuals and collectives (including firms) who want to use it. This is similar to a state-leasehold and has many features of freehold tenure, including being for the exclusive use of the rights holder and transferrable to heirs.

As already discussed above, implementing such a framework is not always easy and indeed this has been the case in Mozambique. In many instances, the provisions of the NLP and the Land Law have been subverted and used to convey an aura of legitimacy to processes, which are far from equal and have resulted in an enclosure-style process in many parts of Mozambique (Tanner 2009; FAO 2006).

One response to this has been the FAO-supported legal empowerment programme implemented by the Centre for Legal and Judicial Training (CFJJ) of the Mozambican Ministry of Justice. The principal objective of this programme is to facilitate and encourage an inclusive model of rural development whereby local communities – the holders of DUATs acquired customarily – fully understand their rights and are able to use them to achieve development outcomes, which resemble ‘graduation’ – using their land and resources productively to move out of poverty and end their vulnerability to risk. The programme is notable for several reasons:

- It provides legal support to communities through a programme of paralegal training in collaboration with NGOs working at community level.
- It also empowers local government insofar as it makes sure that key frontline officials – District Administrators, local judges and police chiefs, those responsible for development and land – also understand the basics of the Land Law and how to use it to produce an inclusive, negotiated approach to the issue of reconciling investor demand with local rights and needs.
- It has a strong focus on generating normative change with relation to gender and the rights of women, through the paralegals who are specifically trained for this, and by working with *male leaders and government officials* to change their perceptions and ingrained views of the rights of women over land and their right to participate as stakeholders with men in all discussions about how development decisions are made (FAO 2014).

This programme is interesting in the context of the present discussion because it not only focuses attention on the social impact goals of the Mozambican regulatory and policy framework, but also because it includes working with local government and other key actors in institutions that are very much part of the underlying governance system that is currently still undermining and threatening local land rights. While fundamental reforms to the system are still to be implemented, it is clear that through civic education and the provision of legal support to local people, much can be done to boost their confidence and make them into ‘agents for change’ who are more capable when it comes to dealing with the outside world. Similarly, recognising that in fact many local government officers are also in vulnerable positions *viz a viz* their superiors and pressures to do their bidding, giving these key staff members the tools to correctly use the law and question the validity of orders from above can do much to bring about micro-level changes which can have a snowball effect.

Knight and her colleagues also show how it is both desirable and possible to build in clear social protection-type processes into specific land management instruments. In their study of the various models of legal support to help communities delimit their land rights, besides the evident objective of securing land and therefore local livelihoods, this essentially land administration measure can also serve to create the space and motivation for a discussion of related issues, specifically women and how their land rights are managed at the customary level (Knight *et al* 2012). Once again we have a regulatory framework borne out of a long-term programme of land policy development and tenure reform which is progressive and has clear social –protection

elements at its base; and practical measures to address the underlying cultural and socio-economic constraints that also keep the poor and the most vulnerable in a constant state of vulnerability to both idiosyncratic and covariate risk.

5. Answering the question

At the beginning of this discussion the research question to address was:

If the declared objective of these interventions (SP schemes) is to reduce vulnerability and food insecurity, does it make more sense to invest money on widening the rights-based approach to natural resources, land in particular (in other words improving land governance), or to social protection schemes?

The use of the UNICEF model clearly shows that some kind of integrated approach is likely to be required, particularly in places where in spite of policy and regulatory change, underlying and basic causes of poverty and injustice remain unchanged and essentially ‘call the shots’ when it comes to implementing pro-poor land reform in practice. This approach is being formally tried in Ethiopia for example. As mentioned above however, in this case land policy is in effect a subset of the wider social protection programme, and has social rather than land management and governance objectives. Nevertheless, it is important that a land-related measure has been included within the overall poverty and food insecurity programme, for this does underline the place of land governance as an activity with clear social protection implications.

In the case of Mozambique, we have the reverse of the Ethiopian case: a good policy and legal framework, which is assumed to address underlying social and distributive concerns. However, it is also set within a wider political and social environment that continues to marginalise and even ignore the law completely. Thus, while it is to be hoped that the land governance programme will eventually effect change at the level of underlying and basic causes, we are still seeing a great deal of poverty in rural Mozambique, affecting specific groups like women especially; and we can certainly expect to see many thousands of people still suffering from climate events and the more chronic prevalence of poverty (and weak resource access and tenure) induced food insecurity.

The Mozambican case points very clearly towards the need for programmes that address the underlying and basic causes of the vulnerability those social protection activities must deal with. In this case, the answer to the question above is a resounding ‘yes, let us do more to develop and implement rights-based approaches to land and resources issues’. These activities must and will take place in a wider policy and programmatic landscape, like that which appears to be envisaged by the ENSSB. The question then becomes, ‘assuming the need for good governance initiatives to address the underlying causes of weak tenure and inadequate access to land, how can these initiatives contribute to the successful implementation of the ENSBB especially in rural areas?’

A good land programme can contribute in very practical terms by using the rights-based approach not only to formalise existing customarily acquired rights, but to also empower local people as actors in other arenas, such as access to available social protection measures. Key elements to note here are the side effects of getting farmers – especially women – into official land records. Here we underline not only the wider focus on fundamental rights and citizenship as portrayed by the CFJJ-FAO paralegal programmes, and the need to make sure that the framework provided by the 1995 NLP

and the 1997 Land Law is properly implemented. This focus goes to the heart of the structural issues which determine and constrain not only the way the poor access their land, but also the way in which they can use to achieve concrete 'preventative' and 'promotional' outcomes. This vision also includes the poor and vulnerable becoming stakeholders in the development programmes in their midst, so that they can gain from the income diversification and other opportunities presented by a genuinely inclusive approach to rural development.

This approach has very practical consequences for social protection programmes too. A key issue in both the land management context is the lack of ID documents and other constraints that block the access of the poor to measures that can guarantee their tenure security and facilitate their subsequent access to credit and other development opportunities. Having ID and other documents is also important to access other official programmes, including social protection. If either set of programmes helps the poor to secure the necessary paperwork, each will be that stronger and a little bit more effective.

6. Conclusion

To conclude we can say that it is probably always better to address underlying causes of poverty and vulnerability, instead of constantly having to resort to reactive measures to address the symptoms of highly unequal and unjust socio-political systems and structures. These structures are also of course sustained by a series of narratives about the causes of poverty and vulnerability which also have to be addressed – ‘illiterate peasants do not have the capacity to do modern agriculture’, ‘women are best at growing food, men should do cash crops’, ‘communities already have built-in safety nets, so there is no need for land governance changes’, and so on.

While the Mozambican land governance framework has an important social protection element, it is evidently not a social protection programme. The question that follows is about if and how social protection activities are required while ‘land reform’ takes place (always a notoriously difficult challenge in practice); and how land governance and related land administration and management programmes can improve access to, and the impact of, social protection actions that are directed to specific vulnerable groups in rural communities. The social protection literature of course also argues the case for certain social protection measures having a development rationale as well, creating a capacity among recipients to address their poverty and vulnerability and ‘graduate’ out of their situation and away from the need for social protection.

FAO is committed to an integrated vision of social protection implemented alongside a wide range of development-focused programmes to boost agriculture and food security, with a focus on the rural poor. Such a vision incorporates transfers and other social protection measures for the most vulnerable into a strategy that says: ‘let us use social protection to respond to the immediate needs of the most vulnerable and help them to participate and engage with the development process, while other measures address the underlying causes of vulnerability’ (almost by definition a much longer-term process).

In this case the question about resource decisions has to be seen in the context of which approach is likely to be most effective at inducing change and reducing vulnerability: social protection for those directly affected by land governance problems (the ‘immediate causes’); or a more developmental – and inherently more political – strategy (the downward response arrow in Figure One). Mozambique appears to be on course to implementing a more effective and integrated basic social security strategy, with a strong non-contributory element building on its prior experience in this area. It also has a widely recognised progressive and innovative land governance framework with great potential for addressing the structural causes of poverty and vulnerability.

One has to ask however, which of the two has a real chance of being properly implemented. The experience of the last 15-20 years since the 1997 Land Law was approved in Mozambique underlines how difficult it is to implement a new land programme with excellent and progressive measures that will effectively address the underlying causes of vulnerability. The prevailing socio-political system, which determines if and how it should have been implemented, may simply be too strong and thus able to maintain the status quo of resource distribution and access, and the consequent level of poverty and inequality associated with it. In this case, there is

clear humanitarian argument for maintaining social protection programmes that in effect ‘pick up the pieces’ of the failure to implement the progressive policy and legal framework developed in the mid-1990s fully.

Meanwhile strategy development must continue to focus on achieving real change over the longer term, and this means addressing at least the underlying causes (leaving the far more challenging basic ones to the internal politics of the country itself to deal with). The fact is that land is an important component in many household livelihoods strategies, and land policy and land governance are clear reflections of underlying forces that determine the access to resources. What the Mozambique model shows us is that an analysis of the relationship between land governance and vulnerability leads us as a matter of course to incorporate an explicit social protection dimension within a framework of progressive land governance. De Wit and Norfolk in their FAO (2010) report illustrate this point very clearly in their analysis of how the new land regulatory framework has helped to prevent the worst livelihoods (land-related) impacts of recent natural disasters.

This is not to say that land programmes should be used as vehicles for delivering social protection activities, but rather that they are clearly and unswervingly focused on the need to bring about real change in the underlying factors that create poverty and vulnerability. They can and should be a key element in the ‘3Ps’. Attention should then turn to how this is implemented, and what FAO and others can do to support this. This approach is also likely to have two major benefits compared with the traditional and less-joined-up approach to both social protection and land governance (seen as a social policy instrument and not as a land administration challenge). Firstly, social protection measures, if any, can be planned in the expectation that they can be phased out as the land programme (among other things) addresses causes and reduces the number of vulnerable people.

Secondly, addressing underlying causes will always have an impact on a far larger target population than can be reached by essentially curative responses to more systemic problems.

A good land programme successfully developed from policy through legislation and on into implementation on the ground, can achieve important social protection as well as agricultural and agrarian development results. If, as the Ministry of Woman and Social Action claims, a ‘harmonized, multi-sectorial approach’ does indeed ‘strengthen inter-ministerial cooperation and address the various dimensions of vulnerability that poor households face’, then we will have an excellent example of a country where ‘all 3 of the Ps’ are being given consideration in the struggle to end poverty and prevent and protect against vulnerability as well.

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Safeguarding and enhancing land-based livelihoods

Social protection and land governance in Mozambique

The main purpose of FAO's Social Protection Framework is to serve as a basis for the provision of more effective support to countries in delivering social protection to fight hunger, malnutrition and poverty in coherence with agricultural, food security, nutrition and rural development efforts.

The following document provides elements for an answer to the following question: 'If the declared objective of the Social Protection interventions is to reduce vulnerability and food insecurity, does it make more sense to invest money on widening the rights based approach to natural resources, land in particular (in other words improving land governance), or in social protection schemes?'

The specific case study of Mozambique is taken as an example of a country dealing with strategies aimed at the eradication of hunger and reduction of poverty, through land-based resources policies and programmes. It analyses ways to minimize livelihood insecurity of rural people, addresses unfair causes of their socio-economic situation and suggests the promotion of their own initiative to get rid of poverty, thanks to land rights and social protection programmes.