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Reducing social vulnerabilities through foreign investments.
A case-study of Niassa Green Resources in northern Mozambique



Malica plantation. February 2017. Photo by Anne K. Thorsen

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Summary

This thesis is about foreign investments within the agricultural sector of developing countries and the consequently influence on rural communities. Which effects do foreign investments have on the social vulnerabilities of rural communities in developing countries? More specifically, how do Norwegian investments within the agricultural sector affect social vulnerabilities in rural communities in Niassa, Mozambique? The thesis presents the results from a field research based in Malica, a rural village in northern Mozambique. The research is organized as a qualitative case study of the Norwegian shareholder company Niassa Green Resources and the effects their investments have on social vulnerabilities in Malica.

The purpose of this master is to answer the following question: Have investments through Niassa Green Resources affected social vulnerabilities in Malica?

The empirical research proved that Niassa Green Resources` investments have affected social vulnerabilities in Malica both positively and negatively and that some of these effects are found in more rural communities adjacent to the company`s plantations. Based on the conclusions from the empirical research, I have prepared a proposition for a community development project in rural villages located adjacent to the plantations of Niassa Green Resources. The project is based on the nutritious, drought resistant tree called moringa, and aims to increase food security in rural communities through the provision of moringa trees. To meet the requirements deriving from Niassa Green Resources` current financial situation, the project is designed as a co-operation together with the Ministry of Health and the Institute of Agriculture in Mozambique.

Reducing social vulnerabilities through foreign investments

A case-study of Niassa Green Resources in northern Mozambique

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1.0 Introduction

This thesis examines the effects from foreign investments, in the agricultural sector of developing countries. Through a qualitative case-study of the Norwegian shareholder company Green Resources AS and their relationship to the rural village Malica in northern Mozambique, I have tried to answer the following question:

Have investments through Niassa Green Resources affected social vulnerabilities in Malica?

The empirical research proved that Niassa Green Resources investments have both positive and negative effects on social vulnerabilities in Malica. The thesis presents a proposition to mitigate some of the negative effects from Green Resources` investments in the Niassa province. The proposition aims at reducing some of the most severe social vulnerabilities found in Malica and other rural villages in Niassa, and is organized as a co-operation between Niassa Green Resources, the Institute of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health.

1.1 Topic: Sustainable development

The topic of this thesis is sustainable development. My aim has been to examine how foreign investors contribute, or should contribute, to reduce social vulnerabilities when investing in developing countries. The interpretation of sustainable development used in this thesis is based on the theory of the triple bottom line, which aims at securing economic prosperity, environmental quality and social justice simultaneously (Elkington, 1999). As a Norwegian citizen I have a special interest in the responsibilities of Norwegian companies. I regard Norwegian investments in the world`s least developed countries (LDC) as necessary for the reduction of global inequality. Reduced inequality is necessary in the transition towards sustainable development on a global level (WCED, 1987). To reach the Sustainable Development Goals 2030 (SDG2030), investments in developing countries are crucial, even

when situated in what is categorized as high-risk investment zones (US Department of State, 2015). It is necessary with collective global efforts, both by public and private agents, to reduce social vulnerabilities in rural communities while strengthening the communities' social capacities. Simultaneously, development projects must respect and protect ecosystems and biodiversity. Only by collective efforts can we hope to reduce severe poverty and eradicate global hunger by the end of 2030, as depicted in the SDG2030 (un.org, 1).

1.1.1 Background for choice of topic

Foreign investments in developing countries can positively contribute to community development, especially in countries where governments fail to do so (Amadi & Abdullah, 2012). In our globalized world, heavily dominated by an unjust distribution of power and resources (Pogge, 2002:49), transnational corporations are gaining ever-increasing bargaining power and influence over national and international policies and regulations. There are claims that today some corporations have more power than states (Elkington, 1999). Such statements are difficult to deny in times where a controversial businessman without political schooling (Donald Trump) can become president of the United States. Lobbyism proves how business and politics have become increasingly intertwined, enabling corporations to influence the development of the global order. As we are aiming to reach the goals presented in SDG2030, new patterns of distribution and financial flows are needed, to reduce the global inequality we see today. I agree with Thomas Pogge (2005) and Peter Singer's (1972) recognition of economic and institutional systems working globally, while greatly benefitting but a few. Such systems have resulted in unjust distribution of power and resources which create what can be described as *root-causes* to social vulnerabilities. Root causes can result in *dynamic pressures*, creating unfavorable conditions for individuals and/ or groups, increasing their vulnerabilities while reducing their capacities (Wisner, Gaillard & Kelman, 2012). Corruption is a clear example. As many government officials in developing countries are prone to exploit their social positions for personal gain (Pogge, 2002:22; Norad, 2016), the results can be devastating for the poor. When governments claim their countries' resources to enrich themselves, instead of benefitting the poor through necessary development-projects, many people end up facing lives of continued hunger, inhumane living conditions and few options to end the spiral of poverty. In countries with inadequate or non-existing social security systems to maintain the health and lives of citizens, corporations can help mitigate some of

the many social problems experienced by the poor (Amadi & Abdullah, 2012). As rural communities need both access to agricultural land and increased employment opportunities, I wanted to examine if corporate investments in developing countries, such as those through Green Resources AS, manage to benefit stakeholders by reducing social vulnerabilities in the communities affected by their operations.

1.1.2 Background for this research

Towards the end of the last century, a collective awareness of global environmental issues arose, placing global warming and concerns for the environment on the international agenda (Beck, 1992). The signs of climate-change made us realize how much impact corporations have on the environment and consequently also on societies future prospects. The devastating results for human kind, if we should fail to reverse the phenomenon of global warming, made it obvious that new corporative regulations were needed, to kick-start the transition towards sustainable development (WCED, 1987). Towards the twentieth century human rights, labor standards and environmental protection were set on the international agenda, and from 2004 anticorruption was also included (Ruggie, 2007:820). Environmental taxes and demands of responsible behavior have become today`s reality for corporations (Ruggie, 2007). Some corporations sought strategies to avoid environmental taxes and other legal demands, thus outsourcing became of interest. Other corporations responded with new strategies to reduce waste, pollution and carbon-emissions from the production-process due to the new legal demands (Thorsen, 2015). Innovative inventions, like biofuels, created new markets.

The emerging market for biofuels and carbon-emissions accelerated global investments within the agricultural sector (Randen & Nærstad, 2009; De Schutter, 2010; Rulli et.al, 2012). The drought in 2007-08 resulted in a global food-crisis and a drastic peak in food prices (Zezza et al. 2008). The effects on the world`s poorest were horrendous (Zezza et al. 2008). The food-crisis utterly accelerated the global rush for agricultural land (De Schutter, 2010; Breidlid, Storbakk & Handberg, 2013). Due to the expected population growth and consequently increase in global food-demand, many developed countries and financial institutions wished to increase food production (Bjergene, 2015:16). One strategy was agricultural investments in developing countries, where land is available and expenses can be kept low (Branford, 2011:7). Several hedge-funds, banks and other investors have joined in what has been described as *the global rush for land* (Bjergene, 2015). After land suitable for agricultural

purposes became of interest (European Parliament, 2016; Matavel, Dolores & Cabanelas, 2011:7), major areas of fertile land have been bought, or leased by foreign investors, for agricultural purposes around the globe. Often investments are made in some of the least developed countries (LDC) in the world (Oxfam.org). In 2010, the World Bank estimated that global land acquisitions of 45 million hectares had been signed since 2008 (Rulli et al.2012:1). Many of these deals are said to be in violations of human rights (Gregow, Hermele, Johansson, Nhampossa & Wolpher, 2012). A gross amount of literature states that deals are made with little or no considerations to social and environmental impacts (Lazarus, 2014; Rulli et al, 2012; European Parliament, 2016; Solberg, 2012).

The economic structures created by the last decades corporative and political actions work globally (Lichtenberg, 2010), influencing the lives of people even in rural communities, with little or no direct contact with financial institutions. I wanted to examine how major land acquisitions affect subsistence farmers who are accustomed to and dependent on free access to nearby natural resources. How do global investment patterns in the agricultural sector affect people living in rural communities? Due to the limitations of this assignment, I had to keep a narrow focus. The qualitative case-study was therefore designed to target the effects on social vulnerabilities in Malica, through investments by Niassa Green Resources. I chose Mozambique because it is one of the least developed countries in the world (ORGUT, 2011), and because Norway has a 40 year long history of bilateral co-operation with the country (norway.no). Mozambique is one of 6 countries where Norway is working through long-term projects promoting private sector development (NMFA, 2014-2015:21).

Chapter 2 presents background information and theoretical analytical tools used in the analysis. Chapter 3 and 4 presents and discuss the empirical data collected during the field research. Chapter 5 discusses the social responsibilities of Niassa Green Resources. Chapter 6 presents the results of two small surveys in and around Lichinga, before the final proposition is presented in chapter 7. Chapter 8 gives some last conclusions and final remarks.

1.2 Relevance

To examine the effects on rural communities through Niassa Green Resources` investments, I conducted a qualitative case-study of the Malica-village, centered near the Malica plantation. With a population of approximately 8200 individuals (Hamer & Cundill, 2012), Malica is one

of the biggest of the 54 communities located adjacent to Green Resources AS plantations in the Niassa province of northern Mozambique. As the basic living conditions in Malica are similar to those found in the other 53 communities directly affected by Niassa Green Resources, the results from the field-research are of general relevance, adding insights into which social vulnerabilities are most crucial and which communal development projects are desired by rural communities in Niassa.

Being one of the pioneers within forestry in Africa, Green Resources AS has long experience with investments in some of the worlds least developed countries (Mozambique, Uganda and Tanzania). Based on Green Resources AS compliance to international standards, combined with the explicit level of social commitment expressed on the company`s webpage (greenresources.no, 1), I find this study to be of general relevance to anyone interested in community development and poverty alleviation, through the private sector in one of the poorest countries in the world. There are few studies on corporates influences on social vulnerabilities in a national and regional context in Africa (Visser, 2009), thus this thesis might highlight some specific contextual conditions found in Mozambique and on the African continent in general, worth considering when investing in underdeveloped countries.

Hopefully, this thesis might add valuable insights into how corporate investments in developing countries can positively contribute to community development and reduce social vulnerabilities in their nearby surroundings.

2.0 Methodology and background information

The thesis is roughly divided into two parts. The first part (chapter 2- 5) explains the choices of theoretical analytical tools used during the research process and provides some background information. Background information is collected from publicly available documents. Chapter 3 presents the results from interviews with representatives from Niassa Green Resources. I examine different projects for community-development initiated or planned by Green Resources, and problems experienced by the company in Niassa and their workers. The results from the field research in Malica is presented and discussed in chapter 4, followed by conclusions as to which are the most crucial social vulnerabilities in Malica and how investments by Green Resources have affected these vulnerabilities.

The second part of the analysis focus on the future prospects of Niassa Green Resources and how the company might contribute to further reduce social vulnerabilities experienced by their stakeholders. The results from two surveys with stakeholders in Malica and Lichinga will be presented and discussed in chapter 6. Chapter 7 gives a detailed proposal to a community development project. The project is based on the indigenous, nutritious tree *Moringa*, which can mitigate some of the many observed problems in the Niassa province.

Empirical data were collected through interviews and conversations with representatives from Green Resources, participatory- and personal observations in Malica and Lichinga and semi-structured interviews with several villagers of Malica. These investigations were designed to build an understanding of Niassa Green Resources community involvement, get an overview of development-projects initiated by the company and to understand what are the most crucial social vulnerabilities in Malica. By studying social vulnerabilities in Malica and compare them to Niassa Green Resources community involvement, I have made some conclusions on the effects from the company`s investments, on social vulnerabilities in Malica. Because of these conclusions I decided to design the mentioned development project.

I conducted two small surveys in Lichinga to reveal how inhabitants of the town regard Green Resources and if the respondents knew of the moringa tree and its many benefits. Questions about moringa were added to examine the possibilities of basing my proposal on the nutritious moringa tree. The moringa-survey supports my impression that moringa can mitigate some of the social problems experienced by people in the rural communities of Niassa and that moringa products will be appreciated in the local markets. These impressions were utterly

reinforced in interviews and meetings with representatives from the Institute of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health.

2.1 Expectations before departure

As I had little knowledge before my departure about culture, life and traditions in rural villages of northern Mozambique, I was preparing for a cultural shock and many obstacles on the way. I expected difficulties with transportation, language, finding possible informants, being a Scandinavian woman and price-bargaining (a custom I never get accustomed to). Anticipations were quickly dismissed, as few of my expectations came true. I didn't get a cultural shock, though I did experience some amusing situations based on our cultural differences. People in Mozambique are very polite, open and welcoming. I had no negative experience with people, even when walking alone late evenings. Though I did encounter some communication-problems every now and then, my overall experience was that Mozambicans are very helpful and appreciate when foreigners try to speak their native tongue. I am grateful for Mozambicans patience with my many grammatical errors when speaking Portuguese.

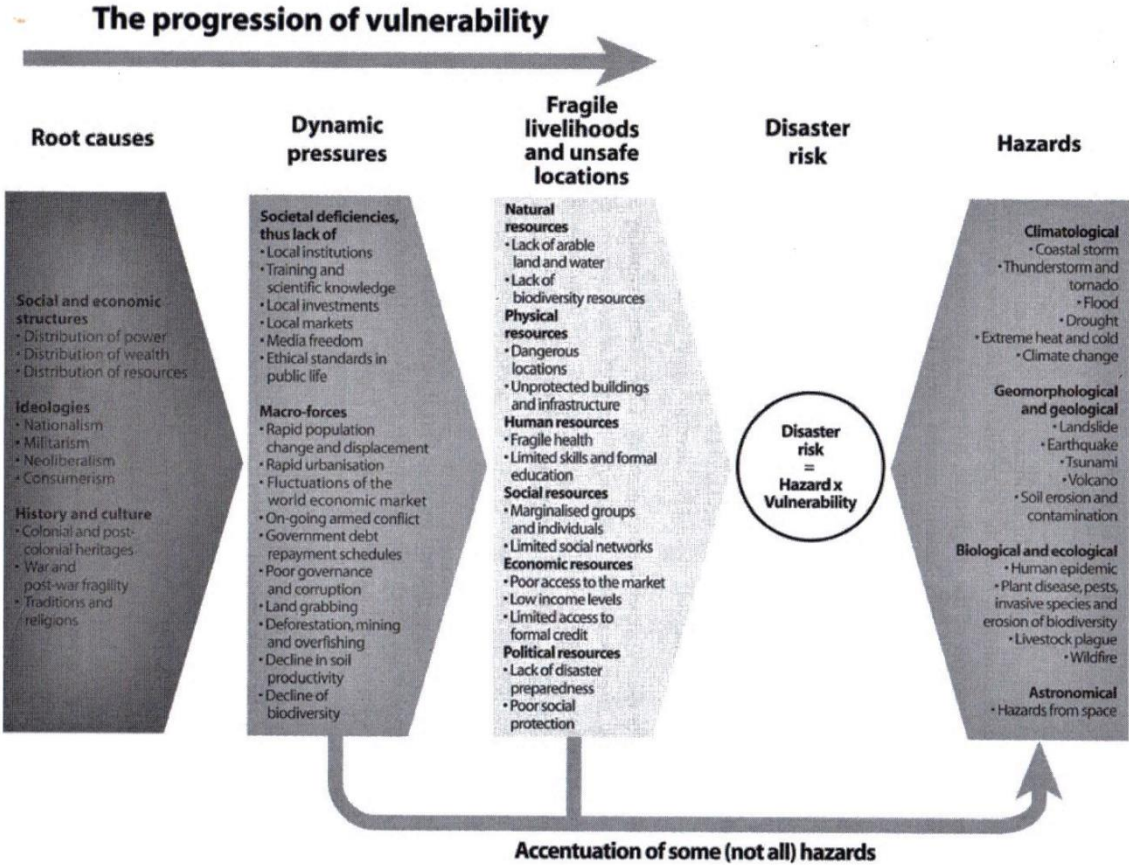
When working in Malica I brought a translator who speaks fluently Portuguese, English and the local language Yao. With villagers who spoke Portuguese I conducted interviews directly, but with the supervision of my translator who ensured there were no misunderstandings. This turned out to work surprisingly well. I assume the direct communication with informants helped me build stronger relations, which enabled me to get more data. Because of the long days out in the field where no electricity is available, interviews were not recorded. This decision was utterly reinforced by the fact that most informants speak Yao. As I do not speak the language and have no Yao-translator available in Norway, recorded interviews would be of little help. It was therefore important to secure that collected data was written in English. Interviews with representatives from Green Resources were conducted in English without a translator.

Based on my expectations I decided to travel twice to Mozambique, to ensure that the expected cultural shock wouldn't bias my work. I ventured twice to Lichinga during spring 2017. My first journey in February lasted 11 days. My second journey in March was extended to 26 days. The travel from Norway to Mozambique took almost a day, resulting in a total of 35 days in Mozambique. Costs were kept at a minimum as the project had no funding. All

data were collected and analyzed by the author. Conclusions made do not necessarily reflect the views of others.

2.2 Theoretical analytical tools

During my first visit in Mozambique I used the PAR-model as theoretical analytical tool (Wisner et al, 2012). The model is widely used within risk-management, to analyze the progression of vulnerability. It offers a useful perspective when trying to identify social vulnerabilities and understand the macro-forces at play, which makes individuals and groups socially vulnerable. The PAR-model lists up several structural forces which can result in unfavorable dynamic pressures for some individuals and groups, leading them into vulnerability where they are unprotected from natural hazards.



Model 1: PAR model: from *The Routledge handbook of Hazards and Disaster Risk Reduction* (Wisner et al. 2012:23)

Examples of macro-forces in play are social and economic structures controlling the distribution of power, wealth and resources, noticeable in the remote province of Niassa by the lack of infrastructure and rather dysfunctional social institutions. Though most of the food in Mozambique is produced in rural areas, these areas remain poor and underdeveloped. History and culture can also play a part in the creation of social vulnerabilities; colonial- and postcolonial heritage being a clear example (Wisner et al, 2012:23). The historical traits from colonial times are still evident in Mozambique (Norad, 2016).

Macro-forces will from here on be mentioned as root-causes. Root-causes can result in societal deficiencies like lack of social institutions, a brake down in local markets or decline of ethical standards in public life. Such dynamic pressures keep marginalized groups and individuals in fragile livelihoods, with few possibilities to end the spiral of poverty and secure themselves from natural hazards (Wisner et al, 2012). The PAR model was necessary to understand the macro-forces at play and to find indicators to social vulnerabilities in rural communities. The analysis focus on some selected indicators from the PAR-model, which I deem more relevant to the case of Green Resources AS investments in the Niassa-province and the socio-economic conditions found in Malica. The indicators I found most relevant for this case study are *fragile health, poor access to markets, access to formal credit, low income level, lack of land / water, limited skills and formal training*. The indicator *limited skills and formal training* will from here on be called *education*. I included *deforestation* as an indicator, since the local populations` charcoal production contributes to deforestation in the province. Additionally, I included the indicator *food security*, because the empirical research revealed that food insecurity and malnutrition are some of the most crucial problems in rural communities of Niassa, greatly increasing their social vulnerabilities.

In the analysis and discussion of Niassa Green Resources` responsibilities towards stakeholders, I have used Carroll`s four-part model for CSR (Corporate Social Responsibilities) as a point of departure (Carroll, 1979). Carroll`s model is divided into four different levels of corporate social responsibilities; *Economic responsibilities, Legal responsibilities, Ethical responsibilities* and *Philanthropic responsibilities* (Blowfield & Murray, 2014; Carroll, 1979).

The level of economic responsibilities is the bottom part of Carroll`s pyramid, and by far the biggest. Economic responsibilities are the fundament for all CSR, as profit creates the foundation for any further responsibilities towards society and the surrounding environment.

Without profit there is little left for social deeds. This implies that a corporation's main responsibility towards society, is to be economic sustainable. This view is supported by Milton Friedman (1970), who is convinced that corporations' social responsibility is to increase profit. Legal responsibilities address responsibilities to follow any national and international laws applicable to the company and its operations. Carroll places this category as the second level of the pyramid. Both these responsibilities are demanded and expected by society from all corporations and organizations.

Ethical responsibilities are best explained as ethical ideology and moral behavior. This level of responsibilities is often expected from corporations, but not demanded by law. Ethical responsibilities are maintained when corporations operate according to ethical expectations in society (Jamali, 2014:24). The highest level within Carroll's model is philanthropic responsibilities. Philanthropic responsibilities are desired by society, but not expected or demanded. This level includes any actions made where one actively engages in activities to promote and strengthen communal capacities and positive outcomes, way beyond what is legally demanded or ethically required. It evolves the notion of "do no harm" into "actively seek to do good". I agree with Carroll that the foundation for every business is first of all the economic responsibilities. Without profit there is no foundation for further corporate responsibilities towards society (Carroll, 1979). Carroll's model is widely used within studies of corporate social responsibility, but has also been criticized for being too vague, lacking clear indicators on how to analyze CSR practices (Pedersen & Huniche, 2006). This problem was less significant in my case study, as I focused on chosen indicators from the PAR-model. Because expectations towards corporate social responsibilities differ in an African context, when compared to CSR in more developed regions of the world, Carroll's model is rearranged to better reflect how CSR manifest itself in an African context. The rearrangement of the model is based on Visser's understanding of CSR in an African context, therefore placing the level of philanthropic responsibilities as the second level, above economic responsibilities (Visser, 2009). The rearranged model is presented in chapter 5, in the discussion about social responsibilities of Niassa Green Resources.

2.3 Collecting data

Empirical data was collected through semi-structured interviews, small surveys, informal conversations, personal- and participatory observations and meetings with representatives

from Green Resources. Through semi-structured interviews, surveys and conversations with villagers, I have tried to collect background information from conditions in Malica primary to the co-operation with Green Resources. The amount of data collected during my first field research made me reconsider perspectives and goals for the second journey. Due to the collected information during 10 days in Lichinga in February, I was able to spend my second journey working on the proposition for a possible mitigation to some of the many problems experienced in the Niassa-province. This work included a small survey in Lichinga/ Malica, several visits to the Institute of Agriculture, contact with the Ministry of Health and interviews with individuals familiar with the indigenous tree *moringa*.

I had interviews with several representatives from Green Resources, villagers in Malica, inhabitants of Lichinga and plantation workers from villages other than Malica. The information gathered are summed up and discussed in total, to avoid any recognition of informants. This is done with all data collected from Green Resources, Malica and other informants. Informants from Green Resources were the representatives available at any given time or who Green Resources found most fitted to answer my questions. Other informants were chosen from availability, though with the aim of finding a representative selection of informants from Malica and Lichinga.

2.4 Background information

Mozambique is one of the many countries which have attracted the attention of foreign investors. Vast areas of fertile land have been leased, in deals lasting up to a hundred years (Lazarus, 2014; grain.org, 2008). Mozambique is one of the least developed countries in the world (ORGUT, 2011:6). More than half of the population lives below the national poverty line (MFA, 2015:5). After almost 500 years as a colony, Mozambique finally gained its` independence from Portugal in 1975. Only two years later a devastating civil war started between Frelimo and the opposition party Renamo. The brutal war lasted 15 years, leaving the country war torn and broken (Norad, 2016:6). Big areas of Mozambique are still in lack of basic infrastructure and close to 70 % of the population live in rural communities (Norad, 2016:10). Mozambique is currently one of 12 countries who receive special attention from the Norwegian government. It is also one of six countries where Norway works to promote private investments (NMFA, 2014-2015).

With a life-expectancy at birth (in 2014) of only 55, 02 years (worldbank.org1), life for most people in Mozambique is a struggle to survive. There are severe problems with malnutrition, especially in rural areas, where as many as 43,7% of children below 5 years are suffering from chronic malnutrition (ORGUT, 2011: 10). The adult literacy rate in 2015 was 58, 8 % (worldbank.org, 2). Many families in rural areas can't afford to send their children to school, leaving few possibilities for the upcoming generations to end the negative spiral of poverty (Braathen, 2016). The Government of Mozambique, recognizing the dramatic need of development, especially in the rural parts of the country, encourages foreign investments in hope of economic growth and job-creation (US Department of State, 2015). All sectors are open for investors, and certain tax-exemptions are available within Special Economic zones, Industrial Free zones and Rapid Development zones identified by the Government of Mozambique (US Department of State, 2015:5). Unfortunately, corruption in Mozambique is widespread and the political system is characterized by a lack of transparency and weak accountability (MFA, 2015:5). Simultaneously the public institutions have differing levels of knowledge, capacity and enforcement, making it more complicated for investors to navigate within the business environment (US Department of State, 2015:5).

Aiming to secure the land rights for rural communities while creating a business environment for investors, the Government of Mozambique implemented a land-law in 1997. All land in Mozambique belongs to the state, but a DUAT (Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento dos Terras) can be required. A DUAT ensures the right to use and benefit from a certain land, for the time agreed upon (Van den Brink, 2008). A DUAT last for up to 50 years, but can be renewed once, with additional 50 years. To this day, there is a general lack of knowledge amongst villagers in rural communities, about the land law and their rights as Mozambican citizens to participate in the development of the land they live on.

Green Resources AS is a Norwegian shareholder company, established in 1995. Niassa Green Resources started their investments in 2010. Green Resources AS has been accused of land grabbing by several individuals and organizations (Solberg, 2012; Bjergene, 2015; Breidlid, Storbakk & Handberg, 2013). Land grabbing is described as huge land acquisitions where rural communities are negatively affected, human rights are not respected or affected population are not consulted (Brandford, 2011; De Schutter, 2010). Due to the socio-economic conditions in countries where Green Resources AS operate (Tanzania, Uganda and Mozambique), their enormous land acquisitions have been said to ruin the livelihoods of especially rural communities. Lacking consultations, exploit of workers and decreasing

biodiversity due to their monoculture plantations are examples of accusations towards Green Resources AS (wrm.org, 2016; Bjergene, 2015; Brandford, 2011). For many rural communities, access to land and natural resources are their only means to maintain their livelihoods, and loss of land will be crucial (Breidlid, Storbakk & Handberg, 2013).

Though land grabs have happened since colonial times, and even before, the term is relatively new. The phenomenon of land grabbing accelerated after the drought in 2007-08, which resulted in extreme prices on basic food crops (Bjergene, 2015:16). For people in the developed world this was hardly recognized, as food was available even though the financial crisis was looming. The financial crisis made several investors look for new fields for investments and agriculture attracted their interest (De Schutter, 2010). For the people living in developing countries, the rising food-prices made their already tough living conditions even worse. The high prices of food increased the need of employment opportunities in underdeveloped countries. Combined with the emerging market for bio fuels, a new era begun, where countries and private investors alike found it necessary to look for strategies to secure future access to food and natural resources, or simply secure their share of future profits (Rulli et al, 2012). Numerous developed countries and private investors have joined in what has been described as the global land-rush, where enormous areas of fertile land are bought or leased in deals lasting up to a hundred years (Bjergene, 2015). For governments in developing countries, the growing interest in agriculture presents new possibilities of attracting much needed foreign investments, and are in many cases both appreciated and welcomed (US Department of State, 2015).

2.5 Defending my point of departure

I am aware that many rural communities today suffer from the consequences of land grabbing. Around the globe several communities and individuals are fighting to gain back control over land they've lived on for generations, now controlled by foreign investors. There are multiple organizations and social movements working globally, to secure land rights for the poor and promote food sovereignty (Brandford, 2011). In the case of Niassa Green Resources, having met the people living in the rural community Malica, I find it hard to believe land grabbing is the correct description. I do agree that problems have occurred, especially during the consultation processes. I found evidence of vague promises and lack of transparency in the consultation processes, and that Niassa Green Resources had not provided as many jobs as

promised. The workers complained that salaries were not enough to compensate for the loss of work in their own *machamba* (a farmers field for food production), resulting in less food security for them and their families. Still, I wish to refrain from using the label land grabbing, because the term has negative connotations which can make it difficult to see the positive contributions from foreign investments in developing countries. The people in Malica are strong, proud and hardworking, but lack employment opportunities. They willingly released land for the plantations in hope of employment and future work opportunities for the youth. As the company needs local workforce to run their operations, agreements with affected communities were made before any DUATs were acquired from the governments. Agreements between Niassa Green Resources and affected communities involved promises of employment and community development. The vague promises without specific numbers of jobs, created high expectations within Malica and some of the other villages who had released land to Niassa Green Resources (Breidlid et al, 2013:21). The current situation with only six permanent workers in Malica (a village with more than 8000 individuals) has created some dissatisfaction towards the agreement with Niassa Green Resources. Even so, most of the population of Malica prefers the company to continue their operations, in hope of further employment or increased work opportunities. Many people in Niassa are concerned for the growing youth population with few or no work opportunities, making foreign investments highly welcomed in hope of a better future for all (Bjergene, 2015). The fact that most people welcome the company, despite their feeling of broken promises, proves that employment opportunities are much needed and appreciated. Some of the problems during the consultation processes were not solely the responsibility of the company. The social hierarchy within Malica should also be held responsible, as one of the communal leaders had released land to Niassa Green Resources without proper consultations with some of the affected farmers (Breidlid et al, 2013:19).

As conditions concerning health, education, level of income and deforestation in the province were crucial before the investments through Green Resources AS, some positive contribution within rural communities in the province can be traced back to Niassa Green Resources' investments. These benefits are mostly results of increased financial flows in the region, courses for employees and the social funds provided annually by Niassa Green Resources, to each community affected by their plantations. There are currently opportunities available for Niassa Green Resources to increase their positive contributions to the rural communities within a limited budget. One such possibility will be presented in chapter 7.

It is my personal opinion that foreign investors in developing countries should aim at reducing social vulnerabilities while increasing local capacities, in communities where they operate. Steady jobs and living wages are the best means to reduce poverty (NMFA, 2014-2015:6) but other social vulnerabilities can also be reduced, through community involvement and projects targeted to strengthen communities` existing capacities (Anderson, 1999). Poverty reduction and reduced social vulnerabilities are necessary to secure a healthy, stabile work-force, thus also being the interest of investors such as Green Resources.

As fundamental human rights are unfulfilled in most of the rural communities in Niassa, there are special requirements and social expectations towards investors which should be appreciated as a mean to legitimize operations in the eyes of the public. To reach the SDG2030, any available solutions to severe social problems and patterns of global (and national) inequality should be examined. Though the fulfillment of human rights should be the responsibility of the national state, investors in developing countries should seek to assist in the reduction of social vulnerabilities in countries where they operate.

3.0 Field Research

This chapter presents some general information about Green Resources, before the results from interviews will be summed up. Positive and negative influences from the company's investments in Niassa will be examined. These influences will be discussed after the presentation of empirical data collected in Malica.

3.1 Green Resources AS

Green Resources AS is a Norwegian shareholder company, specializing in forestry on the African continent. Green Resources is made up of the companies: Busoga Forestry Company Ltd (BFC), Chikweti Forests of Niassa (SARL), Green Resources AS, Green Resources UK (GRUK), Green Resources Ltd (GRL), Lindi Forests Ltd, Lurio Green Resources (LGR), Niassa Green Resources (NGR), Ntácua Florestas da Zambézia Lda, Sao Hill Industries (SHI), and Tectona Forests of Zambézia Lda (Green Resources, 2015:1). Through Niassa Green Resources, the company has established plantations of pine and eucalyptus in the Niassa-province of northern Mozambique. Established in 1995, Green Resources AS has become one of the leading companies within forestry in Africa. The company aims to become the chosen partner and employer in the countries where they operate (greenresources.no, 4). As northern Mozambique is in desperate need of improved infrastructure and general community development (Braathen, 2016), Green Resources investments have the potential to mitigate some of the many challenges facing the rural communities in the Niassa- and Nampula province. Green Resources have three plantations in the Niassa-province and approximately 16 000 hectares of planted forest, when including the areas originally belonging to Chikweti. In 2014 Green Resources successfully merged with Chikweti, one of the first forestry companies in Mozambique. Chikweti was strongly accused of land grabbing due to lacking consultations, failed promises towards stakeholders and the use of more hectares than agreed upon with rural communities (WRM & Timberwatch Coalition, 2016). The merge with Chikweti is assumed to have contributed to the negative rumors about Green Resources' operations in Niassa.

In September 2016 a letter was sent to Green Resources, Portucel (Portuguese company) and governmental institutions in Mozambique; including the Ministry of Land, Environment and Rural Development and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security (wrm.org, 2016).

Signed by 12 323 individuals, national and international organizations, the petition urged *“Green Resources, Portucel and all other companies and finance capital investors that are grabbing or planning to support the grabbing of fertile agricultural lands for monoculture tree plantations in Eastern and Southern Africa give back the land to the communities”* (wrm.org, 2016).

The letter proves that Green Resources are currently having difficulties maintaining its` reputation and that there is a need to legitimize operations in Mozambique in the eyes of the public. Being a shareholder-company, the reputation is important. Few investors want to be associated with land grabbing, as it violates human rights and attracts negative attention. The amount of critical literature regarding Green Resources` investments in Mozambique, combined with “negative cash flows”, resulted in decreased investments (WRM & Timberwatch Coalition, 2016:12; Zitamar news, 2016). Due to their financial situation, Niassa Green Resources recently had to fire 160 permanent workers. Chikweti experienced similar problems due to criticism aimed at the company, and had to reduce their number of local employees from 3000 to 1500 (Bjergene, 2015). For the provincial capital, Lichinga, this has been highly problematic. As a consequence, some shops and restaurants had to close down and unemployment rates went up. The need for more companies to provide employment opportunities was mentioned by several of my informants. Though problems with work contracts and consultations were mentioned, not a single informant complained about the company`s presence.

3.1.1 Green Resources corporate social responsibility

Aiming to become the leading employer within forestry, Green Resources AS has ambitious goals when describing their corporate social responsibilities on their website.

Green Resources` goal is to conserve and expand natural forest and other valuable vegetation within its areas of operation and obtain FSC certification for all its forests. The company will reach out to local communities to establish farm forest schemes, maintaining a strong focus on sustainable environmental and social development, and adhering to high standards of corporate social responsibility. Green Resources wants to be the preferred employer and attract the best employees in its industry. The company aims to be the preferred partner for the local communities in which it operates and for international business partners and financial institutions. (greenresources.no, 1)

Though Niassa Green Resources has made attempts of community development, the results in the province after more than 10 years of investments does not reflect the goals presented above. The company's development initiatives in Malica will be discussed more detailed in chapter 4. The representatives from Niassa Green Resources explained how the company would like to contribute more to community development, but that it is impossible within the current financial situation of the company. This statement was repeated by several representatives of Niassa Green Resources, during my time in Lichinga.

3.2 Meetings and interviews with Green Resources

I had contact (phone and email) with different representatives from Green Resources before my departure, and their representatives made a positive first impression. They were helpful with all formalities, and gave a clear impression of a corporation with nothing to hide. During my two journeys to Mozambique I met 9 different representatives from the administration of Green Resources, some of them at several occasions. I was showed around in the different plantations by the forest-managers, and got to speak (informally) to some of their drivers. I also had much contact with Green Resources through emails, telephone, through their website and publically available documents.

My first meeting with representatives from Green Resources was in Maputo (13.02.17). It was an informative meeting, but I was told that some details about the plantations were preferably discussed after I had seen the plantations in real life. This turned out to be true. As an example, I had an impression of the plantations as fenced off from their surroundings, which was far from reality. We discussed corporate social responsibilities and different community development projects supported or initiated by Green Resources. During this meeting I also got an overview of some of the obstacles experienced by the company, in the time of investments in the Niassa province. Some of these obstacles seemed to be grounded in cultural differences between company and local communities and a lack of proper communication thereof. I had not found much literature on problems experienced by the company, prior to my first field-study. It became evident that the company needs to navigate in political circumstances where they must abide international laws, in a country where some of the systems for doing so are inadequate. As an example, many of their workers are lacking proper ID-cards. This has several consequences, especially for the workers. Without an ID card the workers are not part of the National Security system. This means they do not have

any pension rights or health insurance. They are not allowed to open a bank-account, apply for passports, vote nor register the birth of a child or the death of a relative. ID card is necessary to attain formal credit. In general, it is difficult to prove ones identity. Additionally, it is difficult for companies to be certain of a person`s age when an individual lacks identification papers. Green Resources have experienced problems assuring that workers are not under-aged because of their lacking ID cards. Following international laws and regulations, avoiding child-labor, Green Resources have turned away potential workers who appeared to be minors. This is difficult in a country where child labor is culturally accepted. Green Resources are currently working on a project with UNICEF, called “Right to Have Rights”, to provide their workers with birth-certificates and ID-cards which will include them into the national security system and enable them to open bank-accounts (greenresources.no, 5). This is a great initiative, reducing some of the social vulnerabilities of workers, by helping them to claim their rights as Mozambican citizens. Hopefully this project can be extended to include all individuals in the rural villages in Niassa, not solely the workers of Niassa Green Resources.

3.3 Community development

On the official website, Green Resources describes their engagement in community development as an integrated part of their operations: “Green Resources facilitates socio-economic development and poverty alleviation in rural areas through provision of employment, infrastructure development, schools, health and other community development” (greenresources.no, 2).

They further inform of the company`s involvement in community development in the Niassa province: “Green Resources has been supporting communities within the Niassa vicinity with agricultural production through the agricultural program, supplying seeds, support and advice to smallholder farmers” (greenresources.no, 3). In addition to provide much needed work opportunities and create positive ripples in the province from increased cash-flows, Niassa Green Resources has been engaged in some community development projects. In Malica they have constructed a market. In other communities, development projects have involved building of schools, seed provisions, connect farmers to market, different courses for workers and the construction of an IT-room. The courses have focused on reading and writing, security aspects for work in the plantations and how to prevent and put out fires. Additionally,

Niassa Green Resources has helped some workers with transportation of material for constructing houses, but this was not a common practice.

The soybean-project was one of the community development projects aimed at helping farmers become more economically independent. Soybeans work well in agro-cropping. Through the soybean project, the involved farmers learned how to plant soybeans between the maize stalks, to improve the growth of maize. Soybeans add nitrogen to the soil, thus it increases maize production and reduces the problems with degrading of the soil. As there is no culture for eating soybeans in Niassa, the beans were sold as chicken fodder. Niassa Green Resources helped farmers with free seeds, price-negotiations and transportation to markets. Seeds were returned to Green Resources after each harvest, to secure available seeds for other farmers. The project was not economically sustainable for Green Resources, because they occasionally had to buy the soybeans back from farmers when the market failed. The project was a pilot project, including a small number of stakeholders. One man in Malica who had heard of the project, was eager to participate. Unfortunately, the soybean project seems to be at a halt. The scope of the project should be reconsidered, as the seed project supported local capacities (farming) within the rural communities.

Each affected community receives an annual social fund from Niassa Green Resources, depending on the size of the DUAT and how much land was released by each community. The communities originally affected by Chikweti receive up to \$5 per planted hectare. This sum can be reduced to 2 dollars per planted hectare, if there`s any vandalism or fires within the plantations. The system used for the remaining communities is 1 dollar per hectare of the DUAT, also including the unplanted hectares. Niassa Green Resources are currently discussing which of these two systems is preferred, as they wish to have the same system for all the rural communities adjacent to their plantations.

The money provided to communities through social funds, facilitates opportunities for village members to initiate development projects they find needed. In Malica they are constructing a mosque from the money provided through social funds from Niassa Green Resources. They expect the mosque to be finished in 2018. Decisions about how to spend the money are made by the Committee for social funds. Each community has organized a committee. In Malica there are currently 30 members in the Committee for social funds. The Committee is also responsible for the contact and communication between the village and Niassa Green Resources.

3.3.1 Compensations

Compensations were given to individuals who released land for the plantations. Farmers were compensated with money and new land, depending on the original size of land and the crops grown there. Niassa Green Resources also helped clear land for new *machambas*. The size of land was measured at the field, by representatives from Green Resources, the leader of the village and the respective farmers. Most informants, who had received compensations, said they were satisfied with the agreements made.

3.4 Plantations and workers

During my time in Niassa, I visited the three plantations of Niassa Green Resources. The plantations are located in the Lichinga and Sanga districts of the Niassa province of Mozambique: the Malulu parcel in Sanga, and the Malica and Ntiule parcels in Lichinga (Green Resources, 2013:5). I visited the plantations in two rounds. First day I was in the Malica- and Sanga plantations. Second time I got to visit all the three plantations, in company with the plantation-managers at each site. I spoke to 6 workers in the Sanga plantation. Two additional workers arrived while I was conducting the survey. These were not included in the survey. In the Malica plantation I met four workers. Two workers were interviewed in the Logo plantation (Ntiule).

I interviewed 4 permanent workers from Niassa Green Resources, all habitants of Malica. In Malica I also interviewed 12 seasonal workers, and two former workers now unemployed due to health-problems. The last two did not expect to ever return to employment. Of these 18 workers, only three were women.

The sizes of the current plantations are vast, and there is much to maintain. Yet, there are hopes amongst the local population of future development, as expanded plantations would provide more employment in the region. These hopes were also uttered by representatives from Green Resources and people I met in Lichinga. On my visits to the plantations I was struck by the (unexpected) amount of bio-diversity. There were visible conservation areas of wetlands and natural forest, with a variety of plants, grass and small trees. Natural vegetation sprouted freely. The forester told me they left all fruit-trees to grow within the plantations, as food and shade for their workers. He pointed out small clusters of trees which the local population uses as funeral-sites for relatives. These were protected areas, left untouched by

Niassa Green Resources. Local communities had free access to the plantations. In two of the plantations I spotted villagers collecting fire wood from the ground. Several different types of insects, flowers, trees, mushrooms and birds were spotted. Due to the relatively young plantations, I could not determine how the plantations might affect future bio-diversity. Knowing that the Niassa-province suffers from severe deforestation (Green Resources, 2013), the plantations of eucalyptus and pine seem to provide much needed shade and root-systems, which might reduce further erosion and degrading of the land. Within the plantations we found several places where workers had planted vegetables, mainly maize and beans. Though Green Resources does not encourage workers to plant vegetables within the plantations, they see no reason to prevent this practice.

3.5 Problems

Most work in the plantations requires little experience. There are, however, some tasks where increased, formal training is needed. Working with huge machinery or chainsaws are examples of work-tasks where proper training is needed in advance. All workers with extended training are permanent workers. Seasonal workers are mainly working on the simpler tasks, where small demonstrations of the specific work-tasks are sufficient. The initiating process of forestry projects requires many workers, both permanent and seasonal. Today there are about 360 permanent workers in Niassa Green Resources. The period between Mars and October sometimes require more than 1000 seasonal workers. The high number of seasonal workers used by Niassa Green Resources is problematic, as a steady income throughout the year is desired (and needed) by the local population. The low number of permanent workers in Malica has been the source of much discussion within the community, and is the reason why some villagers claim the company has not kept its promises.

There have been problems with communication due to illiteracy. Through conversations with Niassa Green Resources, I understood that the problem of illiteracy had been addressed during the first years of operations in the province. Schools had been built inside of the plantation-areas so workers could attend courses after they had finished their daily tasks. The initiative had been offered to the permanent workers. As most of the permanent workers by now know to read and write, these courses are no longer active.

One of the reasons why Green Resources has been accused of land grabbing was the lacking grievance system and inadequate consultation processes. Green Resources honestly admits to problems and difficulties within the consultation-processes. To assure the rural communities a possibility of stating their case, there was a pilot project where mailboxes for suggestions and complaints were placed in some villages. This proved to be a rather useless system, since many of the villagers were unable to write their opinions. A new stakeholder engagement plan was developed in 2015, including the current grievance system (greenresources.no, 6). The newly implemented grievance system (2016) is a step in the right direction, though adjustments must be made to ease the access for stakeholders. There is a mailbox located at the Main office in Niassa, where complaints or suggestions can be delivered. There is also a link at the company`s official website. Unfortunately this does not secure easy access for villagers (due to illiteracy and lack of internet) or their right to be anonymous. As the office is located quite far from Malica (for people without vehicles) the grievance system does not meet the requirements for being easy accessible. Consequently the current grievance system is inadequate. Niassa Green Resources are aware of this problem and are working to find a solution.

Another issue, mentioned by the villagers in Malica, was lacking consultations with the company after the merge with Chikweti. The villagers wonder why there has been almost no communication with the company after the merge in 2014. Green Resources explained the lack of consultations with the former system of monthly consultations being a costly project with few outputs. As the system demanded a lot of efforts from the company, it was decided to hold quarterly consultations instead. Having consultations before the fusion with Chikweti were less problematic, since there were only six affected communities next to the original plantations of Niassa Green Resources. Chikweti`s plantations affected several communities. The merge resulted in a total of 54 villages with rights to consult with Niassa Green Resources. Green Resources has not yet extended their administrative level in Niassa, which means that the administrative responsibilities have greatly increased for the people working there, making it impossible to continue the monthly consultations with all affected villages. This has reduced the communication between Niassa Green Resources and stakeholders. Not knowing why, the reduced communication has made some villagers of Malica worried. The first quarter of 2017, no consultations were held in any of the communities. Greater efforts should be made to maintain an adequate level of communication with stakeholders.

There have been some incidents of snakebites. Two workers have been bitten by snakes during work in the plantations. The distance to nearest hospital, combined with numerous poisonous snakes in the area, makes this a seldom but dangerous problem. The best mitigation to this problem is to secure that proper equipment and clothing to protect the workers is available at all times. High boots should be worn whenever working in the plantations. Green Resources provides their workers with new boots and uniforms once a year. Two of the workers I met in the plantations were without boots. One was additionally without a proper work-outfit. Niassa Green Resources explained that sometimes workers showed up without the clothes and equipment which had been handed to them. Whenever spotted, the forest-managers would explain to workers the importance of using proper equipment. One worker explained that the reason for not wearing proper equipment was that he had lost his boots. The other worker would not give me an answer about his lacking boots and uniform. It is, however, an occurring problem which needs to be kept in mind.

Within the plantations there are certain conservation areas, mainly consisting of wetlands and natural forests. The company strives to protect the natural vegetation in these areas, and have left them untouched. At such, Niassa Green Resources contributes to maintain biodiversity within their plantations. Communities are accustomed to use natural resources from the conservation areas and continue to do this for subsistence purposes (Green Resources, 2013:2). There is much pressure on the natural forests in the province due to the communities charcoal production, which has resulted in severe deforestation. The local population show little understanding of the need to protect the natural vegetation, as they are accustomed to use such resources and see that these areas are left untouched by Niassa Green Resources. As the company has no operations in the conservation areas, the local population continues to use natural resources, which should have been protected for the maintenance of biodiversity and healthy ecosystems.

3.5.1 Vandalism

Unfortunately, Green Resources has experienced several fires on their plantations, most recently in 2016 on their Malica plantation. Dissatisfaction amongst some villagers were said to be the reason behind the manmade fire. It is estimated that 70 % of the plantation burned down. On my tour through the Malica plantation, remnants from the fire stood as monuments reminding me of the fragility of projects within forestry. Planting and nursing a forest in a

country where rain is absent most of the year, naturally has a high risk-profile. Investing in projects which demands such an extensive period of investments, before any real profit can be made, utterly contributes to the high risk-profile. The implementing phase of the project is prolonged because of the time it takes to grow mature trees. In the case of Green Resources their operations are mainly based on pine and eucalyptus, which requires between 10 to 20 years of growth before harvest. Consequently their business within forestry requires a prolonged phase of investments.

Plantations of eucalyptus in drought prone countries are often said to deplete water sources, reducing water security in nearby communities. Niassa Green Resources has made experiments to find a specimen of eucalyptus which requires less water. As of today, the plantations have not reduced the water security of rural communities in Niassa.

The original plan of Niassa Green Resources was to sell carbon-emissions, to secure an income in the years before harvest. Unfortunately, the market for carbon-emission somehow failed and has not provided a secure income for the company. Niassa Green Resources planned to set aside 10 percent of profits made from carbon-emissions sales, to community development projects (Green Resources, 2013:2), but with the current situation this plan has been put on hold. In Green Resources` years of investments in Niassa, financial input has been high whereas profit is yet to be made. During this initiating phase of the project, any damage to the plantations will add to the red numbers and make the project less economical sustainable. The prolonged phase of investments without profit is said to be what restricts Niassa Green Resources from initiating any costly community development projects, and the financial situation of the company was mentioned several times during meetings and interviews with representatives from Green Resources.

Niassa Green Resources have contributed to community development in most of their nearby rural communities, but after more than 10 years in the province, the degree of actual community development is questionable. The communities` social vulnerabilities have not been greatly reduced through Green Resources investments in Niassa. Some of the workers claim they have less food security now than before their jobs in the plantations, which indicates that investments by Niassa Green Resources does not address the most pressing social issues in the company`s immediate surroundings.

3.5.2 Problems with corruption and bad governance

Forestry is a high-risk investment, especially in developing countries where there is often a lack of infrastructure, regulatory systems and established markets (US Department of State, 2015). Though Mozambique has made improvements in these areas, the baseline for establishing a business is still complicating the process (US Department of State, 2015:3). There is a continuous problem in Mozambique with government officials exploiting their position for personal gain (MFA, 2015:5). Trying to maneuver in a landscape where bribes are not just accepted, but sometimes expected (US Department of State, 2015:15), is highly delicate and demands a clear-cut ethical standard from the company, as well as a strong integrity. Being one of the early foreign investors in the country within forestry, both Green Resources and the government officials in Mozambique lacked experience and guide-lines for such operations. Through interviews, the representatives from Green Resources admitted to several mistakes made along the way. There were the mentioned problems during consultation processes where some farmers had not been properly consulted. Promises about employment opportunities should have been more specific, as the current number of workers is lower than expected. All informants in Malica expected more people to be permanently employed, and the low number of workers were mentioned as one of the biggest problems with the agreement between Malica and Niassa Green Resources.

Within every major, or even small, development project, the mere change itself will create ripples and difficulties along the way, thus problems should be expected. I have yet to experience a grand project without unexpected obstacles, especially during the initiation phase. So was the case with Niassa Green Resources. Meeting unexpected obstacles will happen to every corporation “conquering new grounds”. In such cases the important issue to examine is what a corporation does when obstacles are met. To meet the criteria for responsible supply-chain management (Blindheim, Langhelle & Laudal, 2013), negative impact from corporative actions should be immediately resolved in a responsible manner.

3.5.3 Problems mentioned by workers

Some workers mentioned they sometimes do not receive their salaries on time, and that this is problematic for them. Several workers claim to lack proper work equipment and that this problem had increased after the merge with Chikweti. Some of the workers are hired as fire-

brigade. When asking if they use proper protection when putting out fires, they told me such equipment had not been provided to them. Breathing in fumes from fires has given some of the workers terrible coughs which last up to several weeks. Proper equipment for workers is a legal requirement, though seemingly not enforced in Mozambique. For a transnational corporation like Green Resources, lacking law enforcements within a country should not be perceived as an opportunity to avoid abiding the law. It is crucial that Niassa Green Resources` fire brigade immediately receive proper equipment to protect their health.

All seasonal workers complained about the short-term contracts, though admitted they preferred seasonal work before unemployment. All workers complained that their salary was low. The workers I interviewed surprisingly told me they have less food security as employees than they had as self-subsistence farmers. They explained that they have less time and energy to work in their *machambas* due to the long hours and hard work in the plantations. All of them explained how their wife/ wives (polygamy is common in Mozambique) and children kept working in the *machambas*, but were unable to produce the same amount of crops. Salaries are not enough to replace the decrease in harvest, thus resulting in less food security for the workers and their families. The fact that workers claim to have less food security as employees for the company, is highly troublesome. The issue of food security in the rural communities should receive special attention from Niassa Green Resources, since the company seemingly has contributed to reduced food security for workers and their families.

Some positive things were mentioned. One worker had improved his house with money earned. All workers explained how their wives were happier, since salaries allowed them to buy clothes for their women. Some of their fellow villagers had benefitted from their salaries when wages were spent within the community. The workers had also been able to buy some needed assets, like mobile phones and bicycles, which they explained had made their lives easier.

Niassa Green Resources was confronted with the problems mentioned by workers and given a chance to respond to the workers claims and complaints. The use of short term contracts was mentioned by several informants in Malica. The seasonal work corresponds with times when much work is needed in the *machambas*. A short term contract does not provide families with salaries to survive on and does not compensate for the loss of work force in the *machambas*, resulting in decreased food security. The same problem is experienced by permanent workers.

This is highly problematic also for the families of workers. All seasonal workers hope to become permanent employees. The representative from Green Resources explained how the amount of work differs throughout the seasons, making it necessary with additional workforce parts of the year. The need of seasonal workers is a concern also for Green Resources, who wish to be able to employ more permanent workers. At their current state of operations, the company can not afford to employ more permanent workers. Salaries went up in January 2017, from 3300 to 3600. The salaries of 3600 meticaais per month are above the minimum wages in Mozambique.

The lack of protection for the fire brigade was a concern also for Green Resources. The right equipment is hard to find in Lichinga and expensive to purchase. Therefore the equipment is not available for the fire brigade. As needed equipment is a legal requirement to protect the health and well-being of workers, this issue must be resolved as soon as possible.

The mentioned problem with decreased food security for workers was said to be a result of how the workers spent their salaries and that there was little the company could do about it. Here I strongly disagree with Niassa Green Resources. There are things which can be done within their financial constraints, which could greatly benefit the rural communities and increase their food security, without jeopardizing future profits for the company. Safe access to food and nutrition is a basic human right stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (un.org, 2). As workers of Niassa Green Resources claim to have decreased food security due to work in the plantations, the issue of food insecurity becomes the responsibility of the company.

3.6 Conclusions about Niassa Green Resources` community involvement until now

Though some development projects have been initiated in the rural communities, the investments through Niassa Green Resources has not made a great positive impact on social vulnerabilities in Malica. The market constructed by Green Resources in 2014 is a valuable asset for the community, but has not reduced the problem of malnutrition. Food security seems to have been reduced for workers, both permanent and seasonal, affecting them and their families negatively. Informants expressed expectations towards the company of community development, not solely the provision of work opportunities and wages, though

both are much needed and appreciated. Visser (2009) explains that expectations towards Corporate Social Responsibilities (CSR) differ in an African context from what is found in Europe. The pressing social issues combined with many African countries' long traditions of aid-dependency, alters the public expectations to CSR towards what Carroll describe as philanthropic responsibilities (Carroll, 1979). The tendency towards philanthropic responsibilities is utterly reinforced by widespread corruption, which makes the public social sector less efficient in resolving pressing social issues (US Department of State, 2015). Un-adequate social security systems force the population to look for solutions to their social problems elsewhere. Under such circumstances, foreign investors can help mitigate some of the many problems experienced by the poor.

The legal aspect is less demanding in most developing countries compared to countries being members of the OECD (The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development). Consequently, expectations towards CSR performances manifest itself quite differently within an African context. The differing expectations towards CSR performance in Africa was also noted also by Pedersen & Huniche (2006) who emphasize how the social context, culture and history influences the public expectations towards corporative responsibilities, altering the arrangement of responsibility-levels in Carroll's model. Conversations and interviews with the local population in Malica and Lichinga, supports Visser's interpretation of how CSR manifest itself in an African context (Visser, 2009). As CSR can be used as a way for business to legitimize their operations in the eyes of the public, the expectations from society should be recognized and acted upon to increase the good-will from stakeholders and market. In an African context, this means CSR should be designed to contribute to community development and poverty reduction, in order to meet the expectations from society. The expectations towards CSR in an African context will be further elaborated in chapter 5.

As Niassa Green Resources has decreased the food security of workers and there are possibilities available to easily increase food security in the province, I find that the company has moral obligations to attempt to mitigate this problem.

4.0 Field research in Malica

This chapter presents the results from field research in Malica. I visited Malica 12 times, 10 times with my translator for the purpose of either interviews, small surveys or a combination of both. Additionally, I spent one day visiting *machambas* belonging to members of Malica. This was to see the *machambas* in real life, which crops are grown, size of fields, water-availability, current conditions of crops and a rough estimate of the soil condition. My last visit was merely to say farewell.

4.1 Ethical considerations

To protect the identities of informants I decided to anonymize all individuals interviewed during the field research. In advance of any interviews and surveys, all informants were informed about the reasons for and intent of the collected material. Though most informants had no issues stating their names, I decided to keep their identities anonymous. Many of the interviews involved mentioning of other individuals, often followed by a group discussion amongst some of the village members, seemingly to verify the information shared. As an example, the communal leader was absent during my first two field-studies in Malica, yet his name, actions and social position were mentioned several times. I decided to be extra careful with anonymizing informants, since much of the collected data involved third-part information. Due to the small size of the community and its social hierarchy, I speak of the informants in a general manner to protect their identities. As an example, the informant's age is not mentioned in all interviews with people in Malica, but rough estimates will be given. Age is left unmentioned in cases where the informant could easily be recognized through the age factor. In general fear of causing any harm to the relationship between Niassa Green Resources and any of the inhabitants of Malica, I found the anonymizing of all informants to be a necessity.

4.2 Interviews in Malica

Finding a representative selection of the population in Malica proved to be difficult, as fewer women were available for both surveys and interviews. 37 people in Malica were interviewed, some of them at several occasions when follow-up questions were needed. During

participatory observations I conversed with additional 22 members of the community, who gave me valuable information about the lives and living conditions in Malica. Additionally, a group of 9 kids took me on a guided tour through parts of the village, to show me the water spots available in Malica. I interacted with several other habitants of Malica, without collecting any data or information.

Of the 37 informants, only 8 were women. It was not possible to find an equal amount of men and women to answer my questions, so the high percentage of men might create some bias in the data as to if the results are representative for all the people of Malica. All informants were interviewed individually. I added a few follow-up questions to informants when needed. Some of the informants had been working for Niassa Green Resources in the past. For these informants I added questions about length of occupation, what their tasks had been and if they had received training and proper equipment while working. I also asked how wage labor had affected their lives and living conditions.

I could not determine the reason for lack of women available for questioning. This might be partly affected by the cultural sharing of responsibilities amongst the sexes, where women are in charge of house, food and family, whereas men`s responsibilities lie within economics and politics, as pointed out by Ellen H. Aalerud in her master-thesis on gender and power relations in northern Mozambique (Aalerud, 2010). When asking my friends and translator about this issue, I received slightly different answers. Some said it was because of Mozambican women`s many daily tasks; they have no time available for questioning. The cultural explanation seemed likely, as women were constantly performing work tasks (cutting fire wood, laundry, carrying bundles of food, selling at the market, cooking etc.). My translator said it might be rooted in religion. Most villagers of Malica are Muslims, consequently having a separation of responsibilities based on gender. Politics and economics are not women`s domains (Aalerud, 2010). As my questioning might have been perceived as regarding either political or economic issues, women might have deemed my presence as a concern for the men. I did not get any impressions that women were hindered from talking to me, as I did interview some women even in front of their husbands.

Age was easier to overcome than the gender-issue, as the workers (permanent, seasonal and former) were mostly young, while the older and eldest came to participate or simply listen to the interviews made. I am uncertain if this created some constraints to what information the chosen informants felt comfortable sharing, but I did not get an impression that the presence

of the elders created any tension amongst my informants. When asking my translator afterwards, he did not believe there had been put any social pressure on the informants through the presence of the elders. I will still leave room to question the completeness of data due to the involvement of the elders. I base this on the knowledge of a communal social hierarchy within Malica, where elders hold power within negotiations. This was clearly pointed out on several occasions during conversations and interviews with villagers in Malica. The youngest informant was 19. The oldest was around 70 years of age.

4.3 Indicators of social vulnerabilities in Malica

As I wanted to examine the effects from Green Resources` investments on social vulnerabilities in Malica, I found some of the indicators from the PAR model (Wisner et al, 2012:23) more relevant in this case study. Because of limited time and resources, I focused on eight chosen indicators who jointly cover the most severe social vulnerabilities found in Malica. The indicators are *food security, health, education, availability to land, access to markets, access to water, level of income/formal credit and deforestation*. As food security and health is strongly connected, these indicators are discussed simultaneously.

4.3.1 Food security and health

The province of Niassa is sparsely populated. The level of malnutrition is alarmingly high (worldbank.org, 3). Most people experience a lack of food some months each year, especially during the last months of the rainy season (Hamer & Cundill, 2012). The problem of food insecurity increases in years when pests or droughts ruin crops before harvest. I interviewed two farmers in Malica who said they had never experienced a lack of food. These two were the exceptions. Most informants had experienced food insecurity several times and were expecting a future lack of food. It seemed common for people to lack food during the end of the rainy season (January-March).

Most kids in Malica had signs of malnutrition; stunting, wasting and/ or blown-up bellies being all too common. Being stunted means shortened height due to a chronic lack of proteins. Wasting is underweight as a result of lacking nutrients (IEG, 2016). Both conditions create the foundation for complex health problems later in life. Malnutrition affects cognitive

development, especially when experienced by children during their first years of living. Sufficient nutrients the first 1000 days of life are crucial for the brains development. Malnutrition affects cognitive thinking, social skills, emotional control and language. It can affect eyesight and hearing (IEG, 2016). The consequences from malnutrition can greatly affect a country`s future prospects, by reducing the populations future ability to work and produce. Simultaneously, lacking nutrients damages the immune system, making it difficult to combat diseases. Malnutrition is a critical condition which greatly increases the social vulnerabilities of individuals. The diet within rural communities of Niassa, consisting mainly of maize, does not provide enough proteins, vitamins or minerals. Though other crops are grown, such as potatoes, beans, onions, cassava, several fruits and tomatoes, most villagers lack a sufficient source of proteins in their daily meals. These tendencies are reinforced by the populations` lack of food in periods which can last up to several months per year. The problems with food insecurity and malnutrition seem to be the most pressing social issues in Malica, negatively affecting individuals` health and future prospects.

4.3.2 Education

Many children in Malica do not attend school, either because they work at the family`s *machamba*, live too far from school or simply because their hard-working parents are not there to force them. Whenever I visited Malica during the daytime, the village was full of children. Boys and girls, of all ages, played freely without the supervision of grown-ups. Other children worked in *machambas*, in the market or fetched water. I saw a four year old girl fetching water. I met one boy from Malica (9 years old) selling beans at the market in Lichinga. He explained how his family could not afford to send him to school and that they needed the money he earned when working in the market. Sometimes when asking around why so many children were out of school, I was informed that their parents were working and had left the children in the village so they could attend school. But with the parents being absent, unable to enforce it, many children prefer to stay home. Some families have their *machambas* up in the mountains. This means they have longer walking distances to their fields. Longer walking distances makes it more complicated to send kids to school. Many families bring their children when they move to the mountains because they stay there throughout the season. The distance hinders them to return on a daily basis. Hidden costs at the public schools were mentioned several times by informants, as obstacles preventing the education of children.

Hidden costs are money for school uniforms, writing materials etc., unaffordable for many parents. For children attending school, the years of education differed from 2 to 10. Very few individuals in Malica attend secondary school.

Since the mother tongue of Malica is the local language Yao, I asked all informants if they knew how to read and write in Portuguese, Mozambique's official language. It is difficult for children to learn how to read and write Portuguese if their parents can't help them with homework. Few of my informants read and write Portuguese, but they all know people living in Malica who can. However, two of my informants said that the individuals who know to read and write were all working in their *machambas* up in the mountains. The *machambas* in the mountains are mainly used during the dry season, which lasts up to 8 months. As these *machambas* are very distant, most farmers move there for the season and return after harvesting. This gave me the impression that the majority of people in Malica might have limited possibilities to help their children with homework, though this is just an assumption. This impression was enhanced by the fact that several individuals in Malica only speak Yao whereas education in Mozambique is in Portuguese.

Grown-ups living in the rural communities of Niassa have few possibilities of attending courses, as they seldom can afford to pay the fees. The time available is also constrained by heavy work in the fields. The loop of hard work and no schooling creates an educational gap, where individuals are left with few other possibilities than to survive on what they can produce from their *machambas*. The individuals working in Niassa Green Resources have received some training and courses. All workers can read and write, though some with limited skills. One worker mentioned he had learned how to treat snake-bites and put out fires. Some workers have learned how to handle chain saws. Courses were paid by Green Resources, but have not greatly reduced social vulnerabilities for others than the workers.

Lichinga is the capital of the Niassa-province. Every day children from the villages were walking around in the streets of Lichinga, trying to sell vegetables, fruits or other products like candy or bread. It was obvious that many of them can not afford school and that their contributions to the family economy are much needed. Their ragged clothing added to the impression that hidden costs within the educational system are unaffordable for their families. Public schools are free in Mozambique, but the hidden costs for writing material and school uniforms must be paid by parents. Sometimes transportation is needed. The hidden costs are one of the main reasons mentioned which makes it difficult to keep children in school. As it is

common for families in the villages to have many children, the extra expenses become unmanageable for most families in the rural communities. As a result, very few individuals in Malica have secondary schooling. A lack of education creates a knowledge gap and makes it difficult to find employment. With no proper education, there are few possibilities left but a future as subsistence farmers.

As I heard the quality of public schools in the area is questionable, I wanted to see educational alternatives available in the area. I therefore visited a private, catholic school in Lichinga. The director told me the school had been established 8 years ago due to the poor state of the public schools in the province. Lacking equipment and few teachers, combined with up to a hundred kids in each class, creates unfavorable conditions for learning within the national educational system. Several kids don't know how to read or write when they finish primary school. Though the private school also lacks equipment like books and pens, most of their pupils learn to read or write within the age of seven. Additionally, noticing that girls were often kept home from school after the age of 10, due to work at home, the school decided to organize evening classes for girls to attend after finishing their daily tasks. Child marriages are common in Mozambique and women in general have fewer rights (Aalerud, 2010). Therefore, supporting girls' education is a praiseworthy and important initiative which should be considered both by government officials and foreign investors. There were no kids from Malica in the private school I visited.

4.3.3 Level of income and access to formal credit

Around 70 percent of the population in Mozambique lives in rural areas, mostly working within agriculture as subsistence small-scale farmers (Norad, 2016). The economic system in Malica (and Niassa in general) is heavily dominated by sharing economy (ORGUT, 2011). Some make a living from running a small shop in addition to their *machamba*. Though some villagers combine farming with a small business initiative such as a grocery shop, the sharing economy is still an important and integrated part of the trading system within the rural communities in Niassa (Norad, 2016). Everyone who manages to produce enough vegetables, sell what they can spare, either in the local market or at the market in Lichinga. It is also common to sell crops along the main road, to avoid taxes one has to pay when selling products in the established markets. Most villagers try to sell some of their crops in order to buy clothes and other important assets.

When asking informants if they have a bank-account, they all started laughing, stating there is no need for any bank-account when there is no money to put in the bank. The little money they earn is immediately reinvested. Most individuals I interviewed did not have any bank account or access to formal credit. This is partly a consequence of the fact that most of them lack ID card, which is necessary to open a bank account in Mozambique. Two permanent workers mentioned they have access to credit within their community, due to their fixed wages. The workers were the only ones I met in Malica having bank accounts. This was a positive result from their fixed employment. Provided by assistance from Niassa Green Resources, the workers have ID cards, enabling them to open bank accounts. At such, Niassa Green Resources has positively contributed to reduce some of the social vulnerabilities of their workers. Salaries enable workers to purchase goods on credit from neighbors and pay within the end of the month. This was followed by a remark of how the system of local credit had resulted in negative effects for workers when their salaries had been delayed. One seasonal worker explained how work tasks were sometimes finished earlier than described in the contracts. This had created problems for him, as he did not receive as much money as he had anticipated. Because he had been granted credit from a neighbor for the amount he thought he would earn, he was unable to pay back everything. This had been very unfortunate and the worker feared the community had lost some respect for him, since he had not been able to keep his promise (pay his debt in time).

4.3.4 Access to market

Green Resources constructed a market for Malica which was finished in 2014. The market is a valuable asset for the community, providing shade for the sellers and making it easier to sell their goods. The market was constructed after severe pressure from the villagers in Malica, demanding that promises made should also be kept. They expected development projects in the community, initiated by Niassa Green Resources. The market was in use whenever I ventured to Malica, and there never seemed to be a lack of customers. I was urged by three community members to ask Green Resources about who receives the daily taxes from the salesmen at the market (5 meticaís vegetables/ 10 meticaís fish). They believed the money was collected by the company. The mere asking made me question the level of communication between villagers in Malica and representatives from Niassa Green Resources, as this factor should have been clear from the start. The representative from Green

Resources explained that taxes are collected by the local government, supposedly for future development of infrastructure. He further explained that the villagers in Malica knew this, and that he did not understand why they had asked me to find this information. He did, however, add that he could understand the community's frustration with the taxes, as few improvement-initiatives by the government were expected.

All informants agreed that it is both easier and better to sell crops now, compared to ten years ago, both at the market and by the road. They explained the improved conditions with higher prices combined with more customers. I have no doubt the presence of investors and different NGO's have contributed to the increase of paying customers, both directly through the presence of foreigners and by more locals being employed, increasing the local financial flow. During my time in and around Lichinga I daily met new representatives from different NGOs and INGOs. Besides, there were plenty of businesspeople, mostly men, which naturally also contribute to the development of local markets. Several people in Lichinga now make a living from running a taxi business. New guest houses have been established due to the presence of foreigners and crops are easily sold by the main roads. The growing market for mobile phones has created work for many individuals in the province, especially for the youth. Young people stood on "every" street corner, selling credit for the different phone companies operating in the province. I spoke to two of them. Both lacked a proper education, but had gone to primary school. They said they were very grateful for the opportunities provided to them by the phone companies and the growing market for mobile phones.

4.3.5 Access to water

As mentioned, as of now the plantations have not reduced water security for habitants of Malica. Due to the size and extent of the plantations, I recommend monitoring the future access to water for rural communities in the province. Four relatively new water spots have secured the villagers of Malica access to water, but this can not be credited to Niassa Green Resources. These water pumps were constructed through a government initiative some years ago, and are placed in four different parts of the village. The first was built around ten years ago. The fourth water pump was finished five years ago. Unfortunately, only one of these pumps provides water all year around. One woman explained that fights amongst women were common when wells dried out in the dry season. During my field research, water was available in all four water-pumps. The water looked clean, but as one woman pointed out,

people with the right equipment to test the water might very well conclude with the water being contaminated. As several informants mentioned diarrhea as one of the most common diseases in Malica, I am prone to believe she is right. A young man further explained that the long distances to available hospitals had been fatal for some patients with cholera or diarrhea, who had died on their way to the hospital. He added that fortunately, due to the increased amount of traffic, it was easier to get a lift now compared to some years ago, so he hoped that no more people would die on their way to medical treatment.

4.3.6 Access to land

Many of the villagers in Malica were working in the mountains during my stay. The walking distance from Malica is several hours, so most farmers tend to move to the mountains in periods when crops are grown in these areas. The soil in the mountains are said to be very fertile, providing farmers with good harvests. Unfortunately, lacking means of transportation, these crops are seldom sold. The elders have access to *machambas* closer to the village, since their physical condition prevents them from traveling by foot to the mountains. Additionally, most people grow crops in their backyard. I hoped to visit the *machambas* in the mountains, both to examine the fertility of the soil and to experience the distance, as the long walking distance is part of the daily lives of several inhabitants of Malica. My wish was not granted. The villagers of Malica responded that the distance was too far and the sun too hot for a Norwegian woman to take the journey by foot. Though disagreeing, I did not feel comfortable stating my opinion about the matter. I did however get to visit some *machambas* located closer to Malica. These *machambas* were in varying conditions. Later I realized this was partly a result of differing farming methods used by farmers in Malica. There are some distinct differences amongst the villagers in Malica as to how they farm. Some use the traditional *slash-and-burn* technique on *machambas* (and for getting rid of garbage). This means they clear the earth with fire after each harvest. The technique burns off important nutrients like nitrogen, and kills most of the microorganisms in the soil. Though proving efficient the first years, the technique will deplete the soil of nutrients, leaving it degraded. Degraded soil forces farmers to find new land suited for agricultural purposes. When soil is degraded through the traditional farming technique, it can take more than 10 years before farmers can return to the land. The technique is therefore not recommended from a long-term perspective. Still, the technique is commonly used in Malica. Some farmers in Malica have

fortunately learned about the benefits from composting. Adding green matter and left-overs from harvesting to the soil, adds necessary nutrients and delays the degrading of the soil. Though I'm not a biologist, the conditions of the different *machambas* proved that composting was by far more efficient for crop-production than the traditional *slash-and-burn* technique, especially when seen in a long term perspective. One of the farmers, who seemed most experienced with composting, had used the same *machamba* (close to Malica) for more than 20 years. Farmers who use the slash-and burn- technique changed fields up to every second year, though durations of up to 5 years was common.

Other farmers explained how they only burn garbage, and use the leftovers from crops as compost, to increase the productivity of the soil. Since Malica is without a proper renovation system, burning garbage seems to be one of their few possibilities to keep the surroundings clean and tidy. They do, however, fill holes in the roads with garbage and weeds, to maintain their limited infrastructure after heavy rainfalls. The rainy season creates major problems maintaining the roads in the province. Most roads in the Niassa-province are without concrete. The sandy dirt-roads are not very resilient to the amount of water flooding through the area during the rainy season. As a result, available roads are in poor condition and transportation is often troublesome.

It seemed like everyone in Malica had land available for farming, though the condition of the soil varied greatly. The condition of the soil was a bigger issue than a lack of land due to plantations. Degrading of the soil is unfortunately reinforced by the traditional *slash-and-burn* technique used by many farmers in Malica.

4.3.7 Deforestation

I included the indicator of *deforestation* because the communities' need of charcoal contributes to deforestation in the province and at such increases the social vulnerabilities in the rural communities. Electricity was made available in Malica about five years ago. Due to the costs of connecting electricity to their houses, most people are still without power. Those who can afford to connect electricity to their houses are mostly families who combine agriculture with a small business initiative (normally a small shop). One of my informants, who run a small shop for groceries, had recently paid the fee for connecting power to his house. After three months, there were still no signs from the el-company, and he suspects the

company is corrupt and will ask for more money than the 6000 meticaïs he already paid. He was uncertain if he would be able to pay, should the el-company demand more money. There are solar panels available in the local market of Lichinga. Solar-panels are unfortunately sold at a price unaffordable for most people in the rural villages of Niassa.

Without electricity, most people are left with no choice but to use fire-wood or coal for cooking. With the ever-increasing populations of communities in the Niassa-province, the search for fire-wood have resulted in an alarmingly high level of deforestation. It was mentioned by one of Niassa Green Resources` foresters that today an average family walks 45 minutes to collect fire-wood. Within 2 years, the time spent for the same task will have increased to 70 minutes due to lack of available trees. I do not have statistics to support his statement, but if it is correct, the problem of deforestation will greatly affect the rural communities in the near future. Personal observations supported the statement. There are few trees left in the province, when excluding trees within plantations.

In hope of finding a solution to the problem with deforestation, I examined different options available and found a fast-growing indigenous tree called *sisbamie*. The tree is well-suited for firewood and charcoal production. As these trees were no longer available near Malica, I provided Malica with 3 small trees of the *sisbamie*, to plant in the village for seed production. This way they have a possibility of securing their future access to firewood. I explained to a group of villagers the problems with deforestation, how it would affect people of Malica in the future and the importance of planting trees to maintain future access to firewood. Planting their own trees can also reduce pressure on the natural forests in Niassa due to the communities` need of firewood and charcoal. The trees were given to me (for free) by a friend of my translator. He works with permaculture and has his *machamba* located close to Lichinga. He assured me that re-introducing *sisbamie* to Malica would not have any negative impact on biodiversity or crop-production, and that the trees will be easy to control.

4.4 Personal observations

I spent two more days in Malica than originally planned, to find out more about everyday life in the village. I wanted to understand more of the culture and mentality of the villagers. I also wanted to find out what their diets consist of, since malnutrition proved to be one of the most severe social vulnerabilities found in Malica. The most commonly grown crops in Malica are

maize, potatoes, cassava and beans. Additionally, different fruits like mango, sugar-cane and banana are grown, mainly for own consumption. Some also mentioned tomatoes and onions, but these were mostly grown as cash-crops. Most habitants of Malica manage to produce enough vegetables to sell some along the main road. Though most parents hope their children will get an education, all informants with kids told me their children work in the *machambas*. Children`s additional workforce seemed much needed in the fields. Crops for sale was the main goal of most informants, since money is needed for school equipment, clothes, medicines, transport and so on. Money earned from sales can also be used to hire other villagers to work in their *machamba*, adding to their harvest as additional work force will increase a family`s food-production. Unfortunately, there are some individuals in the village who lack possibilities to produce more food than they need themselves, and consequently have no financial income. These individuals are mostly sick or elderly, making it difficult for them to work long hours in the fields. 3 of my informants (all women) explained how they only manage to produce food for themselves. One of these women was suffering from an illness. The two others were too old to handle the physical work needed to increase their production. In Malica, the elders I met have their *machambas* nearby the communities. The areas closest to Malica were said to be kept for those who have physical constraints, hindering them to walk the distance to available agricultural land in the fertile mountain-areas.

There were few animals in Malica. I spotted a few goats and some chickens, but far from enough to cope with the lack of proteins for a population of more than 8000 individuals. My impression from participatory observations in Malica, and meeting workers from other villages, is that stunting and wasting from malnutrition and undernourishment are common in the province. The most common meal in Malica is *chima*, a maize porridge. Though filling the stomach, *chima* lacks proteins, contains few vitamins and does not provide enough nutrients to combat the problem with malnutrition.

At one point my translator threw an empty Red bull can by some vegetables growing amongst some houses in Malica. My immediate reaction was to pick it up as there are no renovation systems. Suddenly a bunch of children ran towards it, picked up the can and happily disappeared with it. I asked what they were doing with it, and my translator explained how they use (what we would call) garbage to make toys for themselves. This incident made me realize how I was still “blinded” by my own cultural heritage (Neumann & Neumann, 2012), unable to fully adapt to the reality around me. After this I made even greater efforts to be open-minded when interpreting actions, behavior and statements during my field-research.

Traditional plants for medicines are still available for inhabitants of Malica, but many prefer the local hospitals instead of traditional medicine. Some informants preferred to secure themselves by using both available alternatives. One elderly woman had recently treated her bad eyesight with a plant found around the village, because she could not afford the medical treatment. She would have gone to the hospital if she could afford the medicines. Commonly mentioned illnesses were malaria, diarrhea, fevers, cholera and rheumatism. The Government of Mozambique has provided all citizens around Lichinga with mosquito nets, to prevent malaria. I was told by my translator that mosquito nets have greatly reduced the number of malaria-patients in the province. His statement was supported through some of the informal conversations with inhabitants of Lichinga.

I noticed that several people in Malica have skin-problems (rashes, blisters, skin cancer), though this was never mentioned when I asked about common illnesses. It might be because skin conditions does not prevent people from working and therefor is not regarded as an illness, but this is just an assumption. As individuals of high positions also had such conditions, a skin disease did not seem to give any stigma to affected individuals.

I was often impressed by the creativity and capacity of people in Malica. They are hard-working, have high spirits and are extremely generous and welcoming towards strangers. They shared willingly from the little resources they had available. My third day in Lichinga, I spent some time just talking informally to people. They seemed to appreciate it, and I was given a lap full of mangos by a young mother, and a bag of potatoes and maize from an elderly woman. When I tried to pay them, they refused. They said they regarded me as a guest and therefore wished to share their food with me. I must admit I felt awkward receiving gifts from them, but simultaneously I was deeply moved by their generosity.

The chief of the village was unavailable the first few times I visited Malica. The chief was mostly absent on my visits to Malica, since he for the time-being lives in his *machamba* in the mountains. I did not get a chance to interview him. During my time in Mozambique I did however have the luck to meet him twice, both times by chance. I explained to him my whereabouts and why I was visiting Mozambique and the village. He was already informed by his family about my work in Malica. I asked him if he knew about the tree called moringa. He had never heard of neither the tree nor its` benefits. I informed him of the different nutrient properties and benefits from using moringa, and he became very interested in knowing where he could find such trees. As my proposition for a development project in

Niassa is based on the moringa tree, I provided the leader with a sample (a 3 month old tree) to plant in his backyard. The tree was given to his family shortly before my last departure and was planted in the chief's back yard as agreed upon. The tree costed 100 meticaais, equivalent to about 12 Norwegian kroners, and was paid by the author.

4.5 Relationship between Malica and Niassa Green Resources

Green Resources has been investing in Niassa since 2010. I was told that all affected communities had been involved in the consultation processes, and had been asked to show which land areas were best suited for plantations. The community leader in each village had participated at site, together with other affected village members, to physically determine the size of land released to the company. Unfortunately, some farmers were not properly consulted by one of the village leaders (three leaders at the time) before agreements were made with Niassa Green Resources. These farmers have expressed dissatisfaction with parts of the process. Their dissatisfaction has created tensions between the company and Malica, and might have contributed to some incidents of vandalism in the plantations. Their dissatisfaction has also created tensions within the community, as some individuals have been angry with the leader and his role in the process. Since the dissatisfaction is partly a result of the traditional social hierarchy within Malica, the blame is not solely on the company's behalf, though greater efforts should have been made to assure informed consents from all affected farmers. Farmers in the chosen areas were compensated with new land and paid with the agreed value of the acquired land. The value was determined by the size of the land and which crops were grown. Some farmers had negotiated to keep their land until the harvest was finished, and this had been respected by the company. The initiating consultation process was held through open meetings in the community. Some of the villagers mentioned how Green Resources had promised that the plantations would provide employment for many people in the village. Only 6 people in Malica are currently permanent employees. The first five years of operations, Niassa Green Resources had additionally employed around 50 seasonal workers from Malica. The last two years, no seasonal workers have been hired in the community. The lack of employment opportunities is frustrating, and the villagers had hoped more people in Malica would be offered jobs through Niassa Green Resources. The low number of workers from Malica has created tensions in the community and some of my informants felt that promises made by the company have been broken. Broken promises are indicators of land

grabbing and should be avoided in all future communication with the rural communities. Vague promises, without specific goals or deadlines, can create unrealistic expectations and should be avoided. Transparency and clear promises should describe the communication between Niassa Green Resources and the company`s stakeholders. Seemingly, greater efforts can be made to assure transparency in negotiations and an adequate level of communication with stakeholders.

4.6 Summary of the effects on social vulnerabilities in Malica

Green Resources investments have both positively and negatively affected social vulnerabilities in Malica. Niassa Green Resources` investments has increased financial flows in the province, provided employment opportunities and contributed to some communal development through social funds. Workers have received ID cards which includes them into the national social security system. Surprisingly, the eucalyptus- and pine plantations have not reduced water access in the province. It is uncertain how future water resources will be affected, especially if the plantations are extended. Niassa Green Resources have made efforts to find a specimen of eucalyptus suitable for the province, by examining which types requires less water. Niassa Green Resources` investments have had positive effects on the educational level for some of the villagers, through courses paid by the company. Learning to read and write greatly reduces social vulnerabilities and strengthens the capacities of individuals. Creating opportunities and strengthening existing capacities results in empowerment, an important ingredient when trying to reduce individuals` social vulnerabilities. Salaries from Niassa Green Resources have helped some families to pay hidden costs at public schools, enabling their children to get an education. I found no farmers with an immediate lack of available land suitable for agriculture. The market constructed by Green Resources is a valuable asset in Malica and has increased the populations` access to market.

Unfortunately, workers claim to have less food security when being employed, as wages does not compensate for the loss of work in the family`s *machamba*. Decreased food security is a critical problem which can lead to poor health, especially when experienced over extended periods of time. The level of malnutrition is already alarmingly high in the province, adding to the problem of food insecurity. Lack of nutrition has major effects on individuals` health, their cognitive- and physical development and consequently also their future working abilities, thus increased food security should be of interest for Green Resources. Since Niassa

Green Resources` investments are said to negatively affect one of the most crucial indicators of social vulnerabilities in Malica, the company has obligations to help reduce food insecurity in the village. After more than 10 years in the region, development projects initiated by Green Resources are not very impressive and the positive effects on social vulnerabilities in Malica seem minimal. More efforts should be made to reduce social vulnerabilities in immediate surroundings of the plantations. As vulnerabilities like food insecurity is evident in the province, this indicator should receive special attention when designing CSR practices for any companies investing in the Niassa province. Additionally, greater efforts should be made to maintain an adequate level of communication with stakeholders in Niassa.

5.0 Social responsibilities of Niassa Green Resources

In a world where there are still more than 1 billion people starving (Randen & Nærstad, 2009) and where the numbers of refugees and displaced people are ever increasing, the new Sustainable Development Goals 2030 (un.org, 1) seems highly unachievable. Yet, there is always a chance to make a difference. If there`s a will, there`s a way. 30 years ago the term sustainable development was officially introduced by the Brundtland-commission (established by the World Commission on Environment and Development), in their report “Our Common Future” (WCED, 1987). Even though the values and perspectives presented in “Our Common Future” form an obvious baseline in the Sustainability Goals 2030, we have yet to reach a level of consensus concerning the meaning of the term *sustainable development*. Where some deem sustainable development as continuous profit for business, others are more prone to include the effects upon society and environment. The interpretation of sustainable development has consequences for the understanding of corporate social responsibilities (Boltanski & Thèvenot, 1999; Dryzek, 2013).

The theory of the triple bottom line describes how balance between social, economic and ecological factors is a requirement for sustainable development (Elkington, 1999). Only when securing prosperity in all these three dimensions simultaneously is it possible to reach a course of sustainable development, securing good and secure living conditions for both current and future generations (WCED, 1987). In this analysis, the fundamental interpretation of sustainable development is based the theory of the triple bottom line.

In the claims from Green Resources concerning the extent to their corporate social responsibilities, explicitly mentioned on the company`s website, it seems reasonable to say that Green Resources aims at operating in ways which secures the triple-bottom line. Ecologic, economic and social factors, which are necessary to ensure sustainable development, are all included in the company`s representation through the official website (greenresources.no, 2). The company is honest about problems experienced in the past, and I believe the company strives to avoid similar cases in the future. The newly implemented grievance system (implemented in 2016) shows that Niassa Green Resources is aware of and make efforts to resolve problems experienced by stakeholders. Unfortunately, the grievance system is yet inadequate. It does not protect the identity to those who wish to make a complaint. Since the illiteracy rate is high in the rural villages, the system does not provide any solutions for the illiterate. Lacking means of transportation, the mailbox placed at the

Main office is out of reach for most people in Malica (and other villages near the plantations). Without access to internet, the link on the website is not an available option.

The socio-economic conditions in Malica have improved during the last ten years, but these improvements are not solely from their cooperation with Green Resources. As an example, the villagers of Malica have four different water pumps which were constructed by the government. Even though three of the four wells dry out during the dry season, the villagers have access to potable water throughout the year, from the well closest to the main road. Four of the villagers claimed that socio-economic improvements in Malica the last years are results of hard work. Villagers have taken advantages of new possibilities to earn money, created by more cars passing on the main road, combined with easier access to markets. They did not feel that Niassa Green Resources had contributed to any community development, and further claimed the market had been built by the company only after severe pressure from the community itself. Their claims highlighted their expectations of extended community development through foreign investors' business initiatives in the province. The observed public expectations to business in society, supports the view on CSR in an African context presented by Visser (2009). Legal and ethical responsibilities are less demanded from corporations, than philanthropic responsibilities to reduce societal problems and secure community development. It was also expected, as the economic basic responsibilities of corporations, to provide permanent employment for as many people as possible in the province.

Defining today's role of business in society is not a simple task. The adversities amongst companies are tremendous, and the effects from business upon society and environment are highly contextual. Multinational corporations (MNCs) and conglomerates, combined with ever-increasing possibilities from internet and technology development, have created new patterns of trade and consumerism (Pogge, 2002). Such globalized patterns of trade and power can be described as *root-causes* (Wisner et al. 2012), some of which greatly benefits certain cultures and lifestyles, whereas others pay the price through land-erosion, pollution, inhumane working conditions, lack of land and resources and so on.

The debate around the interpretation and meaning of corporate social responsibilities is even more problematic when applied to corporations in developing countries. The modern concept of CSR has been developed in modernized countries, where well established national and international laws, regulations and social institutions function as frames around corporations' social responsibilities. Laws must be followed and society's expectations must be respected to

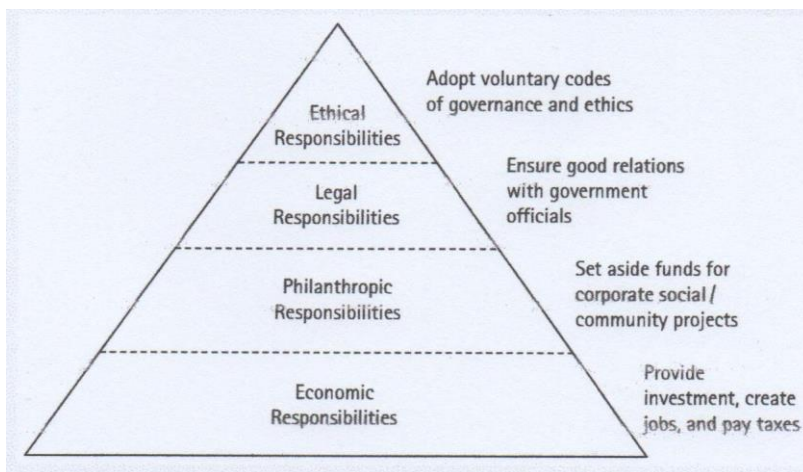
avoid loss of market-shares. CSR has by now become a well-known business strategy to legitimize corporate behavior in the eyes of consumers and society (Boltanski & Thèvenot, 1999). The institutional environment in developed countries has created a foundation where corporations know what is expected by society, from their CSR performances. This is unfortunately not the case in most developing countries. A lack of (functional) social institutions makes it harder to “steer the wheel”, as there are less structures and regulations demanding a certain behavior from corporations. Without clear cut expectations towards corporate behavior, profit easily becomes the target of any corporate performance strategies. Some governments are so dependent on foreign investments that investors are welcomed through tax-reliefs, lacking demands towards corporate social behavior and a see-through-the-fingers attitude when inhumane working conditions or environmental issues are revealed (Thomsen, 2010:74). John Ruggie explains how foreign investors sometimes formulate contracts with host governments in non-OECD countries which greatly limits the government’s power to regulate (Ruggie, 2008). From a global perspective, such agreements can complicate the transition towards sustainable development, by reducing a government’s ability to enforce new regulations upon existing businesses. Agreements which reduce governments’ power to enforce new regulations upon existing corporations, prove how business today are influencing national policy developments through the global order. Pogge claims this unjust global order gives us negative duties to refrain from supporting global institutions, because such institutions are unjust when seen from a distributional perspective. He explains our moral obligations towards the poor with the fact that citizens of the developed world greatly benefits from the global order which deprives others from even the most basic necessities, like food, water and medical treatment (Pogge, 2002). Magnus Reitberger disagrees with Pogge on his notion that the global institutional order gives us negative duties towards the world’s poor. “Participation in, and benefit from, global institutions is unlikely to constitute a violation of our negative duties towards the poor” (Reitberger, 2008:370). Reitberger elaborates his critique of Pogge’s argument by emphasizing the lacking distinction between a global order and global institutions. Further, he argues that Pogge overlooks how many institutions within the global order actually contribute to poverty alleviation, thus not deserving the label of doing harm to the poor (Reitberger, 2008).

Not going into the debate about the extent to our moral obligations towards the poor, I think we can agree that the global order enables corporations to influence the development of policies and regulations, especially in underdeveloped countries due to their need for foreign investments. Too often transnational corporations have taken advantage of poor countries

need of investments and employment, and exploited their workers and natural resources, due to a lack of local regulations or efficient law-enforcement. In many cases, existing laws and regulations fails to address the root-causes to poverty (Amadi & Abdullah, 2012). Without local regulations or clear expectations towards a company`s CSR performance, there are few incentives for corporative agents to extend their CSR practice any further than what is expected by shareholders and international laws and regulations. Poverty-eradication is still by many regarded an issue of the national state (and NGOs), not a responsibility of corporations (Visser, 2009:484). Some critical voices claim that poverty alleviation through business will give governments incentives to avoid initiating development projects (Levitt, 1958). Others claim investors and managers are self-interested actors, unsuited for having social responsibilities beyond their economic responsibilities. Both Levitt (1958) and Friedman (1970) meant that public concerns should be left for the politicians. For Blowfield and Frynas (2005), CSR involves companies` responsibilities for their impact on society and environment, responsibilities for the behavior of others (sub-contractors, customers) and to manage their relationships towards wider society (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005). With such different opinions about CSR, what exactly are the corporate social responsibilities when operating in developing countries?

Carroll`s four part model of corporate social responsibilities (Carroll, 1979) is a useful tool when trying to elaborate the contextual dimension of what is demanded, expected or desired by society from corporations, in the context of underdeveloped countries with urgent societal needs. As it is based on the contextual surroundings encountered in western societies (Jamali, 2014:24), Carroll`s model should be rearranged to better reflect how CSR currently manifest itself in the majority of developing countries. As mentioned earlier, Visser offers an interesting redesigning of the model, by moving philanthropic responsibilities to the second lowest level of the pyramid, followed by legal responsibilities. Economic responsibility is still placed at the lowest level. At the top of the pyramid Visser places ethical responsibilities (Visser, 2009). Visser explains how expectations towards corporative social responsibilities differ in an African context from what is found in Europe. The pressing social issues combined with many African countries` long traditions of aid-dependency, alters the public expectations to CSR towards what Carroll described as philanthropic responsibilities (Carroll, 1979). The tendency towards philanthropic responsibilities is utterly reinforced by widespread corruption, which makes the public social sector less efficient in resolving pressing social issues (US Department of State, 2015) Un-adequate social security systems forces the

population to look for solutions to their social problems elsewhere, and corporations in their immediate surroundings become obvious alternatives. Additionally, the legal aspect is less demanding in most developing countries compared to what is found amongst OECD members. Consequently, expectations towards CSR performances manifest themselves quite differently within an African context. The rearrangement of responsibility-aspects is based on Visser's understanding of how CSR currently manifests itself in developing countries in Africa (Visser, 2009). He explains how expectations towards corporative social responsibilities in Africa includes contributions to community development, not solely providing work opportunities and wages, though both are much needed and appreciated.



Model 2: CSR in an African context: from *The Oxford Handbook of Corporate Social Responsibility* (Visser, 2009: 489).

Similar interpretations of CSR in an African context have been made by Pedersen and Huniche (2006). Pedersen and Huniche present four reasons to explain the rearrangement of the model. Firstly, the social needs in immediate surroundings makes philanthropy the expected norm in much of Africa and the strong conviction from the public opinion puts pressure on corporations to extend their community involvement (Pedersen & Huniche, 2006: 40). Secondly, most investors are aware of the difficulties of succeeding in societies which fail and should therefore be able to recognize the benefits from positive contributions to society in underdeveloped countries. A third explanation points out how the institutional infrastructures in many developing countries lack the force to function as institutional drivers of CSR. Therefore CSR in developing countries is often equated with philanthropy, thus limiting the substantive engagement in CSR towards community development and poverty

alleviation. Lacking institutional drivers of corporate social responsibilities can reduce companies CSR performances to mere imagery, rhetoric or legitimization (Jamali, 2014:39). The last explanation points to the reliance on foreign aid in many African societies, also elaborated by Visser (2009), which makes philanthropy an integrated part of African culture (Pedersen & Huniche, 2006: 40). To legitimize ones business it is important to meet the expectations from society (Bolthanski & Thèvenot, 1999). By respecting the signals from society one can gain support, instead of resistance through stakeholder activism. For corporations in an African context, this means respecting the social expectations towards communal development and increased work opportunities. Corporations are also expected to contribute to poverty reduction and help reduce societal needs.

In the case of Niassa Green Resources, the economic responsibilities constitute the foundation for any CSR-initiatives, shown clearly in model 2 presented above. Securing the economic responsibilities are necessary steps to secure further CSR initiatives. The economic responsibilities of Niassa Green Resources towards society are to continue their operations in Niassa, provide employment, improved infrastructure and benefits through increased financial flows in the province. The company`s current financial situation represents some restraints to which initiatives can be regarded as economically sustainable for Niassa Green Resources. The first trees in the plantations will be harvested in about two years from now. With an unexpected failure in the market for carbon-emissions (Breidlid et al, 2013:17), Niassa Green Resources have not had the expected financial reward during their investment phase in Niassa. The financial situation of the company was often referred to by representatives from Niassa Green Resources, when discussing their social responsibilities towards society and workers in general.

Though agreeing with Carroll when he argues that economic responsibilities are the foundation for any further CSR practice, I do not find the financial excuse offered by Niassa Green Resources to be very convincing. I defend this opinion with the fact that there are possibilities available in Niassa, which can greatly benefit the communities within a low budget. When small investments are enough to reduce social vulnerabilities in the nearby communities, such initiatives can and should be expected from investors in developing countries (Singer, 1972). Most corporations know they will not succeed in a society which fails. Securing a healthy work force, ensuring a thriving local market through increased financial flows in the community and public acknowledgement for positive contributions to

community development are all factors which can benefit any company financially, through increased good will from the market, less public resistance and more stable surroundings.

5.1 Business as development agent or development tool

The difference between seeing business as a development agent versus a development tool can be summed up by the extent to which a corporation or business takes responsibility for their impact on society and environment. As an example, the development tool might create jobs, but the development agent will take responsibility for the number of jobs created, the working conditions and the effects its operations have on the affected communities (Blowfield & Murray, 2014:7). As investments in developing countries are likely to have major effects upon society, especially near rural communities where basic human rights are unfulfilled (Anderson, 1999) I conclude that there are certain obligations for corporations in developing countries to contribute to poverty reduction, thus taking the role as a development agent. Simultaneously I argue that positive contributions to surrounding communities do not reduce corporate profits, as such actions are likely to increase the good-will from the market while ensuring more thriving surroundings and a stable work force.

Both IKEA and Interface Inc. have managed the transition from development tool to development agent (Thorsen, 2015; Blowfield & Murray, 2014:70-71) through what could also be called responsible supply-chain management (Blindheim, Langhelle & Laudal, 2013). Both companies have made great efforts to reduce negative impacts from their operations, on both society and environment. What might come as a surprise; though the transition to a new, more sustainable business-model demanded high investments, both companies are now experiencing increased financial incomes. Being one of the pioneers aiming to become 100 percent sustainable, IKEA has greatly improved their production process and CSR practice. Through their new sustainability strategy *People & Planet Positive*, IKEA has mitigated most of the negative impacts upon society and environment from their corporative activities. IKEA has managed to reduce production-costs while simultaneously increase their social responsibilities towards society and environment (Thorsen, 2015). By taking responsibility through the whole supply-chain and the total life-span of their products, IKEA is benefitting both environment and societies, surprisingly without losing profit. As sustainable development becomes an integrated part of international business-standards, IKEA attracts more customers who wish to live more sustainable lives themselves (Thorsen, 2015). By

taking the environment into consideration, IKEA made considerable reductions in the need of resources in the production process, enabling them to produce more with less. With a foreseen lack of natural resources, the sustainability strategy of IKEA has secured the company's possibilities to grow, without causing severe damage to the environment.

Interface Inc. has also had positive outcomes from the transition towards sustainable development. Ray Anderson, former CEO of Interface Inc. explains the financial benefits by pointing out some unexpected features of becoming more sustainable:

...sustainable design has provided an unexpected wellspring of innovation, people are galvanized around a shared higher purpose, better people are applying...the goodwill in the marketplace generated by our focus on sustainability far exceeds that which any amount of advertising or marketing expenditure could have generated-this company believes it has found a better way to bigger and more legitimate profit-a better business model (Blowfield and Murray, 2014:71).

The goodwill of the market should not be underestimated. Public opinion is a strong force which can greatly affect a corporation's market value. Business is increasingly influenced by public opinion, through debates in social media, cross-border communication, new consumer awareness and legal demands of increased transparency. These developments force corporations to find new strategies to legitimize their operations (Boltanski & Thèvenot, 1999). Nowadays, any organization violating human rights or seriously harming the environment is likely to experience massive protests and shaming through social media, also known as stakeholder activism (Visser, 2009). A good reputation prevents resistance from the public. Such social resistance is apparent also in Mozambique, where mobile phones are becoming increasingly common even in the rural villages. Social media spreads both positive and negative rumors dangerously fast. As Anderson pointed out, goodwill from the market is more rewarding than any advertising or marketing expenditure, benefitting the company through a good reputation and a general positive attitude towards the company's operations, consequently increasing its market value.

The lessons learned from Interface Inc. and IKEA is that organizing business as a development agent legitimizes the reputation of and good will towards a corporation. By actively seeking to reduce social issues in the corporate surroundings, one might even increase corporate profits as a result of the increased good will from the market.

5.2 Conclusions

The situation arising from Green Resources' investments in the Malica-plantation has had positive and negative consequences for both the population in Malica and the company itself. Niassa Green Resources' investments have created work for many, whose salaries have contributed to positive ripple effects within and around Malica. Some permanent employed farmers have hired other community-members to take care of their *machambas*. This results in further positive ripples by increasing the total productivity and output from the community, and by assuring that more people benefit from the cash acquired by workers (ORGUT, 2016). There are increased possibilities to sell crops from some of the villages in Niassa, as more traffic pass on the main road. New shops and small restaurants have opened due to the presence of foreign investors (ORGUT, 2016).

Before Green Resources investments in the Niassa-province, the environment already suffered from severe deforestation and was beginning to lose bio-diversity. Wildlife had disappeared, and the deforestation accelerated the ongoing degrading of the soil.

The most severe social vulnerabilities in Malica seem to be food insecurity, malnutrition and the widespread lack of education. These social vulnerabilities are likely to keep individuals within a negative spiral of poverty. Lack of proper education keeps many in a state of vulnerability by reducing their chances of employment. Niassa Green Resources has positively contributed to reduce some of the workers social vulnerabilities, by increasing their professional skills through courses. Illiteracy amongst workers was addressed during the company's first year in the province.

Malnutrition is still alarmingly high in most parts of Mozambique (Braathen, 2016). For many individuals in Malica and other rural villages in Niassa, their daily diet consists mainly of carbohydrates and a lack of proper nutrients. Maize and potatoes are the main grown crops for consumption, though most families also grow different types of fruits, beans and cassava. It is necessary to add more nutrients into the daily diet. In Mozambique, malnutrition amongst children under the age of five is alarmingly 54 percent (Norad, 2016) thus food security demands special attention. Unfortunately, Niassa Green Resources' investments have seemingly decreased food security in the province, thus adding to the moral obligations of the company towards their stakeholders.

5.3 The need to evolve the project

My original plan was to focus on the effects in rural communities from Niassa Green Resources` investments, and to examine if their investments managed to address some of the root-causes to poverty and vulnerability in Malica. While conducting the field-research I realized that the complexity of the situation in the Niassa-province demanded a new strategy; a strategy which builds on the theory of the triple-bottom line.

As I found enormous amounts of critical literature concerning the investments of Green Resources and their operations within mono-culture, I included the topic of land grabbing in my research. Based on the collected data from my first field research in February, I concluded that the initiating consultation-processes with communities in Niassa could have been better, and promises given by the company should have been clearer. Yet I did not find enough evidence to support the claims of land grabbing in the case of Niassa Green Resources, as informants in Malica willingly had given away land and still preferred the company`s presence instead of having the land returned to them. The company provides much needed employment opportunities in a province where underemployment- and poverty rates are high (ORGUT, 2016). This was reflected in two small surveys in Lichinga, where all informants who knew of the company, were positive towards Green Resources` investments in Niassa. The informants also expressed hopes of employment opportunities in Niassa Green Resources. Community development and poverty alleviation in developing countries are both needed and promoted through international legislations like the Right to Development (Orford, 2001:131). In 1993 the World Conference on Human Rights confirmed that the Right to Development is a universal, inalienable right and an integral part of fundamental human rights (Orford, 2001:132). Reducing vulnerabilities and increasing local capacities are important elements within community development (Anderson, 1999). Social vulnerabilities like lack of employment, low educational level, food insecurity and bad health are some of the most pressing issues in many rural communities (Pogge, 2002:51) and is easiest mitigated, though not resolved, through increased employment opportunities.

Not a single one of my informants wished the company to end their operations in Niassa, and I there for could not conclude that land had been seized involuntary. I did, however, realize there are several problems currently experienced by the company, which increase the risk-factors and reduce the probability of succeeding with Green Resources` operations in the Niassa-province. These problems were unmentioned in the collected literature about Green

Resources, which mainly focused on problems deriving from mono-culture and land grabbing or rural communities reduced access to natural resources (Solberg, 2012; Bjergene, 2015; Breidlid et al, 2013). The amount of critical literature damages the company`s reputation and increase the tension between company and civil society.

GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of Mozambique has increased steadily the last decades, but the economic growth has not had a significant impact on the employment rate. Mozambique is still heavily indebted, limiting the scope of social institutions (Norad, 2016). The remoteness of Niassa seems to have placed the province at the low end of the government`s priorities. The obvious lack of functional infrastructure in and around Lichinga, deforestation and degrading of the land, the many children not attending school, lack of sanitation, the many obvious health-issues (eyesight, hearing, malaria etc.) and severe level of malnutrition, combined with the populations expressed need and wish for employment, made it clear to me that my thesis should present a solution to the perceived problems in the region. In order to solve some of the problems experienced by Niassa Green Resources, the rural population of Niassa and the environmental problems in the province, it was evident that the solution had to be based on the theory of the triple-bottom-line.

My field-research highlighted the extent of deforestation in the Niassa-province currently affecting the lives and future prospects of the rural communities, and greatly reducing biodiversity in the area. Deforestation in Niassa results from the combination of rural farming-traditions (shifting cultivation based on slash-and-burn technique) and the growing communities` need of fire-wood and coal. With a steady population-increase in the villages (Hamer & Cundill, 2012), demand for trees has exceeded the nature`s ability to regenerate. As there are currently no strategies amongst the villagers of planting new trees, soil is left bare to the burning sun, resulting in a further degrading of the soil. The slash-and-burn technique to clear the fields after harvest, adds to the ongoing soil-degradation. Most wildlife had disappeared before Green Resources started their operations in Niassa. I assume this is a side-effect of deforestation. One of the forest managers told me some of the wild animals had returned after trees in the plantations had grown tall. He had spotted several mammals and predators inside the plantations the last few years. This indicates that the plantations might offer shade and hideouts necessary for the return of wild animals. If so, the plantations can positively contribute to the return of wildlife to the province.

The complexity of the situation, containing severe problems for Niassa Green Resources, the rural communities in the province and the environmental problems, motivated me to look for a possible solution to some of the perceived problems. The Sustainable Development Goals 2030 emphasize the necessity of private-public partnership in the work towards the realization of the 17 goals. Private-public partnership can be particularly important in the process to reach goal 2: "...end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture" (unicef.org, 2017). Can Green Resources strengthen and support the positive qualities and attributes of the rural communities in Niassa and increase the communities` food security, within the limitations of their current financial situation?

It is my belief that this goal can only be reached through an extensive public-private partnership. Through shared responsibilities, increased food security in the local communities is achievable within the financial constraints currently experienced by Niassa Green Resources. I therefore contacted the Institute of Agriculture (in Lichinga) and the Ministry of Health (in Maputo) in hope of organizing a co-operation together with Niassa Green Resources, to reduce some of the social vulnerabilities in Niassa. Both the director at the Institute and the Doctor who represented the Ministry of Health were positive to my suggestion and wish to co-operate with Niassa Green Resources on the moringa project.

6.0 Surveys in Lichinga

During my field-research in and around Lichinga, I realized both the necessity and potential for community development by corporate investors such as Green Resources. This realization is the reason why I propose a solution to some of the problems experienced in the Niassa-province. The solution is based on what I regard as the easiest and preferred way of mitigating some of the many problems observed in the Niassa province and securing sustainable development in the province based on the triple-bottom-line. The moringa project will be presented in detail in chapter 7. To ensure the liability of the project, I conducted two small surveys in and around Lichinga. The first survey was to find out how the population in Lichinga regards Niassa Green Resources and examine the effects from the company's investments. The second survey examines the possibility of basing my proposition on the tree called moringa. Moringa is a highly nutritious, drought resistant, indigenous tree which carries opportunities to increase rural communities' food security, while simultaneously reduce the problem of malnutrition. I will explain the benefits from moringa more detailed in the proposition, presented in chapter 7.

During my stay in Lichinga, I tried to converse with as many locals as possible, to hear their opinions about Green Resources AS operations in Niassa. All together I included 123 individuals in the survey about Niassa Green Resources. 93 of these informants were also asked if they knew about moringa and its benefits. 34 informants were women, 89 were men. Their age varied from 17 years to an estimated 65 years (some informants were uncertain of their age).

6.1 Survey with inhabitants during my first 10 days in Lichinga

During my first stay in Lichinga I asked 36 people about the company, all between 20 to 39 years old (5 women, 31 men). All of them were people I met or approached in the streets of Lichinga. The survey showed a clear unanimous impression about Niassa Green Resources and the company's presence within the province. The investments seemed highly welcomed and extremely needed. The same response came from whoever I spoke to in Lichinga, except one young woman (20 years) who had never heard of the company. She did however see the need for more investments in the region, as it was difficult to find work. Some of my respondents found the company to be a serious investor, due to the many years of successful

investment in the area. Two people (both men) explicitly mentioned how they regard Green Resources to be one of the few serious investors in the region, due to the duration of investments in the province.

Everyone who knew of the company seemed to hope for employment, and if they had family working for Green Resources, it was appraised. The workers themselves (2 permanent workers from Sanga whom I met in Lichinga) seemed happy and grateful for the possibility of employment, though some problems were mentioned. Both complained that they had less food-security now, since they could not work as much in their own *machambas* when they were permanent workers. Similar to all other workers, they complained about their salaries.

The last four days of my first journey, I added some questions about the tree called moringa to the last 6 respondents. They all knew of the tree and its benefits. 5 of them had eaten it several times. They all came from different regions where they had moringa trees available. The last respondent had never tried it, but knew the benefits from conversations with relatives. None of them had consumed moringa lately, as they did not know where to find it in Lichinga. All of them will consider buying moringa-products in the future if sold in the local markets. The impression that there is a market for selling moringa-products near Lichinga was reinforced during my second survey.

6.2 Survey with inhabitants during my second journey to Lichinga

During my last stay in Lichinga, I continued asking the questions about Niassa Green Resources, but I also added questions about the informants' knowledge of the tree named moringa, and if they would be interested in buying moringa-powder and other products if available in the local markets.

All respondents were native Mozambicans. 29 women and 58 men answered this survey. Though I did not ask any respondents about their economic situation, 38 were what I would describe as "obviously economically poor". Their clothes were ragged and I met them selling their few fruits or vegetables sitting on the ground in the midst of the streets. With 7 respondents I had difficulties determining their socio-economic position, as there were no clear indicators of any kind. The remaining 42 respondents were classified as middle-class and above, due to their clothes, work-positions and/or multiple languages.

Of the 87 people I included in this survey, only three had never heard of Green Resources and accordingly had no opinions about the company. Two of these were young women (17 & 19 years) and the latter was an old man who was uncertain of his age. The other 84 respondents were all positive to the company`s investments in the area, though 7 people wished they could have further employment (all of them men in their thirties, who had been seasonal workers in the past). Most respondents were between 24 – 45 years of age.

When asking the same 87 respondents about their knowledge of moringa, 13 people had never heard of the tree or its benefits. Most of them were interested when I told them of some of the medicinal properties and benefits from using moringa as a food-supplement. 9 of them would consider buying it at local markets if available at a reasonable price. 2 of them mentioned they would find seeds to plant it in their *machambas*, since they normally could not afford to buy food in the market. Two women (age 36 + 42) were very skeptical, and said they would not buy it if sold in the local markets.

The 74 respondents who had heard of moringa and its benefits, were from the age of 22 to approximately 65 (two older respondents were uncertain of their age). 41 of them had lived in different parts of the country where the tree was easy to find. Most of them (39) had even eaten moringa in the past on a regular basis and would gladly buy it if found in local markets. Two respondents currently had access to moringa in their own back-yards, but neither of them ate it on a regular basis, even though they claimed to know of the trees benefits. Neither of them would buy moringa-products in the local market, but both mentioned they might sell it themselves if it became popular in the future.

Everyone who knew of the tree also knew of the many benefits and high level of nutrition found in the leaves, flowers and fruits. Several respondents mentioned the major problems with malnutrition in the province and immediately thought the tree could be part of a solution. Of those who had tried moringa, most were accustomed to eat fresh and dried leaves. Nobody complained about the taste, and one woman explained how she in the past (when living near Maputo) had used moringa-leaves the way she now uses spinach.

Of the 87 respondents, only 11 said they would not consider buying the products if moringa were sold in the local markets. Of these 11, only two were directly negative to include moringa in the diets. The other 9 either did not have money to spend in the market, or they had moringa-trees available for free.

6.3 Conclusions from surveys

When summing up the answers from the two sets of surveys, I find that investments through Niassa Green Resources are highly welcomed and appreciated, and that there is a high probability of a positive response from local markets to the introduction of moringa-products. Very few individuals were directly negative to explore the benefits from moringa, even when hearing of the tree for the first time. Most respondents would consider buying moringa-products if available in the local markets. 4 respondents added they would only buy it if sold at a reasonable price. The survey gave an impression that most of the respondents who are familiar with moringa, comes from different parts of the country where the tree is more commonly grown. People born and raised near Lichinga seemed to have little knowledge about the tree. Providing habitants of the Niassa-province information about the use and benefits of moringa will most likely increase the local demand for moringa-products.

7.0 A proposal

“Throughout Africa, moringa could be immediately incorporated into programs tackling the misery of malnutrition” (National Research Council, 2006:259).

This thesis is about cooperation and partnership, a joining of forces towards a sustainable future where possibilities are made, not a waited for. With the ambitious hope to help mitigate some of the problems experienced by the rural communities near Lichinga, and resolve some of the issues deriving from deforestation, I have prepared a proposition to a project for community development. Organized as a co-operation between Niassa Green Resources, the Institute of Agriculture (Lichinga) and the Ministry of Health (Mozambique), the project aims to provide 54 rural communities near the plantations of Niassa Green Resources with the miracle-tree named *Moringa Oleifera*. Though available in most provinces of Mozambique, moringa is unavailable for most habitants in Niassa. There are a few moringa trees in Lichinga, growing in private gardens. There are several trees growing at the Institute of Agriculture. This proves that moringa trees handle the climate in the Niassa province.

7.1 Moringa project for increased food security in the Niassa province

The aim of the project is to help rural communities become more independent through increased food security and reduced malnutrition. It is important to strengthen the communities` already existing capacities as experienced farmers and to avoid creating new dependencies (Anderson, 1999). The Institute of Agriculture will therefore provide the communities with detailed information about cultivating and processing moringa, ensuring that the responsibility of maintaining the trees will belong to the farmers, not Green Resources.

The costs of the project will be kept low, but the benefits for Green Resources, investors and communities will be great, possibly tremendous, when thinking of the current problems with food insecurity (Hamer & Cundill, 2012), malnutrition (worldbank.org,2) and critics towards the company.

The aim this year is to plant 2250 trees as a pilot project in Malica, Naconda and Ntuile; 3 of the villages located adjacent to the plantations of Niassa Green Resources. The pilot project offers a chance to see if the villagers will maintain and use the trees provided to them, as they

are not accustomed to moringa. 750 trees will be given to each village, divided between 50 families in each community. With an average of 5 people in each household, 750 trees will provide an average of three trees per person. By allowing the other villagers to see the benefits of moringa through the pilot project, the tree will be easier to introduce into the rest of the village. If it works well, the moringa project should be extended to involve all interested villagers of Malica, Naconda and Ntuile and thereafter other rural communities near the plantations of Niassa Green Resources. Preferably, the project will with time be extended to all 54 communities located adjacent the plantations of Niassa Green Resources.

7.1.1 Why plant moringa?

The reason for implementing a project based on moringa is mainly to reduce chronic malnutrition and increase the communities' food security (National Research Council, 2006:259). Moringa is highly nutritious, containing high levels of vitamins and minerals plus all amino-acids (treesforlife.org; Saint Sauveur & Broin, 2010:53). Consumption of moringa on a regular basis has many health-benefits and can decrease the health problems from malnutrition (National Research Council, 2006). Consumption of moringa increases production of milk by both lactating women and animals. The tree can be harvested several times a year, also during the rainy season, thus the project has the potential to greatly increase communities' food security throughout the year (inter aide, 2012). Leaves and flowers have antibacterial and anti-fungal properties, and fights inflammation by suppressing inflammatory enzymes (moringa4health.com). It is a strong immune-booster.

The seeds can be used to cleanse water, make cooking oil as well as oil for use in machines (National Research Council, 2006:249). The tree has several medical properties (Saint Sauveur & Broin, 2010). Moringa prevents plaque formation in arteries and reduces cholesterol levels. It can be used against high blood-pressure, diabetes and rheumatism, to mention a few (moringa4health.com). The high levels of iron make moringa suitable for anemic persons (National Research Council, 2006:250). The leaves can be harvested several times annually, providing a secure source of food throughout the year. This will greatly benefit the rural communities near Lichinga, as they are normally facing hunger some months each year during the rainy season (Hamer & Cundill, 2012). The tree is highly resistant to droughts, and grows quickly. Flowers and fruits are equally nutrient. The flowers can be used for tea, and the fruits can be cooked as green beans (Doerr & Williams, 2008). Leaves can be

eaten both fresh and dried. Dried leaves can be made into powder, a now popular *super-food* in Europa and USA (treesforlife.org). Leaves are easily processed. This means moringa can work as a cash-crop, providing communities with a possibility to increase their future income even when employment–opportunities are unavailable.

Another reason for initiating a moringa project is to support the already existing capacities within the communities. The rural communities surrounding the plantations of Niassa Green Resources are mainly inhabited by subsistence farmers (Hamer & Cundill, 2012).

Strengthening their capacities as farmers through the moringa project will increase their independence while maintaining their food security throughout the year. Aligned with recommendations from the United Nations Development Programme (undp.org), the moringa project can be targeted to strengthen women`s position in society.

7.2 How to do it

The pilot project should be started in June/July this year (2017). Three villages are involved, with 50 families in each community. The chosen communities are Malica, Naconda and Ntuile. The three villages should be informed about the project through open community-consultations. First, to detect families interested in the project, thereafter to make a selection of 50 families to join in the pilot project. The information will be given by students from the Institute of Agriculture. A representative from Green Resources should assist during the information process in the pilot project, as there will be a selection of households to participate in the project. The most vulnerable families with the least food security should be selected. 50 households in each community will be chosen from the interested families having the least food security. Special efforts should be made to recognize the most vulnerable households within each community. Often the most vulnerable live in female-headed households.

The reasons for choosing three communities are the possibilities to study and compare effects from implementing the project. Any possible cultural or environmental constraints which might influence the project can be detected. If one village differs in benefits gained from the project, an assessment the following year might reveal if there are any underlying, unfavorable conditions affecting the growth or maintenance of moringa.

Planting the seeds in a nursery is recommended, since moringa-sprouts are fragile and must be protected from animals. Providing a nursery will be the responsibility of Niassa Green Resources, as the company has extended experience growing seedlings and already have the equipment needed to do so. The seeds should be planted in the nursery during June/July. When the seedlings are ready, they will be transported to the chosen villages for replanting. This is preferably done in November, when the rainy season starts. This will allow the root-systems to develop properly, making the trees drought-resistant within the time of the dry season. Transportation of seedlings will be the responsibility of Niassa Green Resources, as they already have vehicles suited for the task.

The planting of trees will be the responsibility of the farmers, under the supervision of students from the Institute of Agriculture, to ensure the trees are planted properly. The trees are best fitted to grow strong, solid root-systems if they are planted in prepared holes 50-60cm deep and minimum 45cm wide. The hole should be filled with a mixture of the sandy soils in the *machambas*/communities and compost provided by Green Resources, at a ratio of approximately 50-50% (1-1). The trees should be planted with a minimum of 1.5 meters x 2 meters distance and a maximum of 3 meters x 2 meters.

As I concluded in my thesis there are specific expectations from society towards the corporate social responsibilities of Niassa Green Resources. These responsibilities are utterly enhanced by available opportunities to further reduce social vulnerabilities in Niassa, even within the economic constraints currently experienced by the company. To meet the conditions of Niassa Green Resources` financial situation, the project is designed as a co-operation between Niassa Green Resources, the Institute of Agriculture in Lichinga, the Ministry of Health and interested villagers (stakeholders) in communities near the plantations of Niassa Green Resources. The pilot project will include 150 families from Malica, Ntuile and Naconda, based on a selection of 50 families from each village. The average of persons in a household is estimated to 5 people (Hamer & Cundill, 2012).

7.2.1 Responsibilities of the Institute of Agriculture (Lichinga)

The Institute of Agriculture has experience with moringa. Students will provide information about benefits from moringa, to the involved communities. The information will be given primary to the planting of trees in communities. The school will provide all necessary

information about planting, cultivating and processing of moringa. The information process will be organized as student-projects, giving the students firsthand experience in working with local communities and building practical experience from agricultural projects outside the school. The information will be given collectively to interested individuals in each village. The information-process will last about a week in each community. The schools capacity is limited to a maximum of 10 villages per year. The information will be given in Portuguese, or Yao if needed. The students will be responsible for any needed supervision of moringa-trees planted in the communities. During the information process, the students will also inform about the indigenous tree called *sisbamie*, and explain how the tree can be planted near villages to reduce the problem with deforestation due to the need of firewood. *Sisbamie* grows rapidly. By collecting seeds before cutting, the villagers will be able to plant more trees than they use in a year, thus reducing the problem of deforestation and ever-increasing walking-distances to collect firewood. The school can provide the communities with seeds from *sisbamie*.

The Institute of Agriculture has agreed to help grow moringa-trees for seed-production. The school has 3 hectares available for trees, dedicated to this project. This area is bigger than required. One tree can produce up to 20 000 seeds per year (Addai & Jasse, 2013: 11). The Institute will plant 100 trees during June/ July, for future seed production. With an estimate of 80 healthy, mature trees per 100 trees planted at the Institute of Agriculture, the Institute will have no problems providing a minimum of 800 000 seeds a year (an estimated 80 mature trees x 10 000 seeds per year). This is a lot more than needed for the project. In the future we hope to have mature trees to provide seeds, but the trees available now are unfortunately still too young. Due to the high amount of energy needed from a tree to produce seeds, seeds should only be harvested from trees older than two years. This means seeds produced in Lichinga will only be available in about three years from now. Any fruits developing the first two years should be plucked, and used as food. Avoiding fruits to develop the first two years will increase future leaf- and seed production. To ensure availability of seeds, the Ministry of Health will have the responsibility of providing the seeds needed for the pilot project.

7.2.2 The Ministry of Health

As seeds are difficult to find in Lichinga, the Ministry of Health will provide the seeds needed for the pilot project. The Ministry of Health will provide updated (the newest available)

statistics on the current level of malnutrition in the Niassa-province and help monitor the effects moringa has on the level of malnutrition in communities involved in the project.

7.2.3 Niassa Green Resources

Green Resources` responsibilities will mainly be to plant and cultivate seedlings, transportation of plants from nursery to communities and provide households with equipment needed to dry leaves. It is recommended that Green Resources assist the students from the Institute of Agriculture to select 50 households from each community, to include in the pilot project. Green Resources should also assist in future negotiations of prices for those who wish to sell moringa they have produced.

The reasons for Niassa Green Resources to implement this project, is to practice extended corporate social responsibilities towards communities affected by their plantations. The project will greatly benefit the communities, helping them to become more self-sufficient and increase their food security, while simultaneously reduce the problems from malnutrition. Additionally, the project can reduce the negative rumors about land grabbing and other criticism aimed at and affecting Green Resources. Critics about monoculture with alien species can also be reduced, as the indigenous moringa-tree grows naturally in Mozambique. Moringa leaves can be added to the soil as a fertilizer to reduce the problems with soil-degradation. The tree also works well for agro-cropping (National Research Council, 2006:255).

7.3. Positive side-effects for Niassa Green Resources

The project will most likely rebuild trust between company and communities, through community development aimed at supporting the communities` already existing capacities through farming. Hopefully the renewed trust in the relationship between company and villagers will reduce the threat of criminal fires (often started by dis-satisfied villagers). A reduction of fires in the plantations is necessary to protect Green Resources` future income from tree-harvesting, thus making the plantations more economically sustainable.

The project will be a great opportunity for Green Resources to claim the status as a serious community developer, greatly benefitting nearby communities. This will further reduce

problems from stakeholder-activism. The signal effect to investors will ensure further investments, as negative rumors no longer will be applicable to the company's name and reputation. It might even attract more investors, since investments are benefitting poor communities without reducing Green Resources' future profits.

One farmer in Malica and his family is informed about the moringa project and wish to participate. This farmer manages his *machamba* by circulating the crops grown and adding leaves and stems as compost after each harvest. This technique of farming has ensured him his long duration in the same *machamba*, more than 20 years. The avoidance of the traditional *slash-and-burn* technique is of great importance, to avoid further degrading of the soil (a well-known problem in the Niassa-province). The moringa project offers a possibility to inform the villagers about the benefits of composting during the information-process.

7.4 What is needed?

As only a few trees are needed per person to be a sufficient food-supplement, one kilo of seeds is enough for the amount of trees necessary for the pilot project. I recommend an estimate of 3 trees per person. This will be sufficient to increase food security and combat malnutrition. For farmers who wish to extend their amount of trees, moringa works well as cuttings (National Research Council, 2006:257).

1kilo of seeds equals to approximately 3000 seeds. To ensure the liability of the project, seeds which do not develop must be included in the calculation. I recommend counting 2500 trees from each kilo of moringa-seeds, and work from an estimate of 3 trees per person. One kilo of seeds will at such be sufficient for a village with a minimum of 833 individuals.

Malica is one of the bigger villages, with an estimated 8195 individuals (based on a research committed by Green Resources in 2013, which counted 1500 households with an average of 5 individuals, adjusted with the expected population growth of 3% per year). The size of the village means that there will be a need for more seeds in Malica than in the other communities. Some communities are much smaller. Naconda is a good example, counting 70 households in 2013. Based on the same calculations (population growth/ people each household) as Malica, the population in Naconda counts 383 individuals. Half a kilo of seeds will be sufficient for the whole village. It is likely that not all villagers wish to be part of the

project. The number of participant in each community should be examined if the project is extended.

7.4.1 Equipment for growing

Compost and boxes for seedlings will be needed and should be provided by Niassa Green Resources, in addition to transportation of trees from nursery to communities. Experience from cultivating moringa shows that pesticides are not required (National Research Council, 2006:257). The Institute of Agriculture has not used pesticides for the moringa-trees planted at the Institute. Fertilizers can be used, but are normally not required. I recommend trying without fertilizers, to see how the tree manages naturally. Avoidance of fertilizers will ensure the farmers independence and avoid the need of financial input for their continued cultivation of moringa.

The involved households need thin material or plastic for drying of leaves. This is necessary to avoid contamination by insects and others when producing moringa-powder. Providing the necessary material for drying leaves will also be the responsibility of Niassa Green Resources (As I am uncertain of the prices for this material in Mozambique, I have unfortunately not managed to make a budget for the equipment needed). Since the communities have little experience from negotiations with retailers, those who wish to sell processed moringa should be assisted by Green Resources in future price-negotiations.

7.4.2 Moringa as a cash crop

Moringa is available in most provinces in Mozambique, but is hard to come by in Niassa. The possibilities of selling moringa products as pods, seeds and powder (from leaves) in different markets in the province seem highly likely. A small research in Lichinga (February/March 2017, by Anne K. Thorsen) proved that many people are interested in buying moringa for consumption. In addition, moringa is well suited for export since the tree is becoming increasingly popular in developed countries, of which many lack the natural conditions needed for cultivating moringa.

Johan Swart is an international distributor of moringa, located in Maputo. He has exported moringa for several years to a number of countries. Due to an increase in demand, he finds it

difficult to produce enough moringa at his farm in Ressano Garcia. He is interested in buying future production of moringa from the communities in Niassa, and can be a future market-connection for the local producers. His contact details are listed in the report about the moringa project, sent to Niassa Green Resources, the Institute of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health, in May 2017.

7.5 Duration of the project

The pilot project should be started in June/July this year (2017). Due to students' limited time available for work in the communities, the information-process about moringa will be limited to a maximum of ten communities per year. One year after the initiation of the pilot project, an assessment should be organized to examine how the trees have affected the livelihoods of the participants and if moringa has increased their food security. The assessment will reveal how well the participants have managed to adapt to the new crop, and if they have become accustomed to the use of moringa in their daily diets. The assessment will determine if more families should be included in the three first villages and if the project will be extended to involve all communities adjacent to plantations of Niassa Green Resources. The assessment can be organized with students collecting the data, to keep costs at a minimum.

With a total of 54 communities near the plantations of Green Resources, the project will last from 2017-2024, if extended to involve all communities. The pilot project will begin in June/July 2017. An assessment will be made in 2018. If the project is extended to involve all 54 communities near the plantations, the follow-up will last from January 2019-2024.

8.0 Conclusions

As earlier mentioned, I aimed at analyzing the effects of foreign investments in the agricultural sector of developing countries, through a case-study of Niassa Green Resources` investments and consequently effects in Malica. I did not expect the multidimensional side to what I perceived as problems around the plantations. Realizing the need of investments through companies such as Green Resources, while also seeing the potential benefits the plantations had for both communities and environment, combined with the expressed need of employment from all habitants in and around Lichinga, resulted in my proposition. The proposition aims at meeting the requirements presented in the theory of the triple bottom line, economic prosperity, social justice and environmental quality, for sustainable development and reduced social vulnerabilities in Niassa.

The project is designed to meet the social expectations from society without jeopardizing Green Resources` future profits in the province.

8.1 Summary and conclusions

Green Resources` investments in the Niassa province of Mozambique have had both positive and negative effects on social vulnerabilities in Malica. Due to the similar socio-economic conditions found in most of the rural communities of Niassa, it is likely that the results from the empirical research in Malica are applicable to the other rural communities directly affected by Niassa Green Resources. Positive contributions are mainly the different courses for employees, assistance for workers to get ID cards and different development projects in affected communities through the system of social funds. Salaries have given workers access to local credit. Additionally, increased work opportunities in the province and the newly constructed market in Malica have eased the rural communities` access to markets and created positive ripple-effects in the district through increased cash-flows.

The most severe negative influence on stakeholder`s social vulnerabilities is the increased food insecurity experienced by the workers of Niassa Green Resources. Food security is a basic human right. This issue should therefore receive special attention from the company. As Green Resources AS specializes in forestry, their responsibilities in the moringa project are based on their expertise. Nursing (nutritious) trees and providing them to stakeholders is an easy way for Green Resources to reduce some of the most severe social vulnerabilities in

the rural communities of Niassa. With assistance from the Institute of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health, I believe the moringa project is achievable within the financial constraints experienced by Niassa Green Resources. The moringa project is likely to benefit Green Resources by legitimizing their operations in the eyes of the public, enabling the company to claim their status as a serious community developer and rebuild the trust between the company and stakeholders. Hopefully the project will attract more investors through positive attention towards the company. Workers of Niassa Green Resources might become more dedicated and motivated workers, knowing how they contribute to poverty reduction and better lives for their stakeholders.

Problems with deforestation can be reduced, especially by including in the project the provision of seeds and information about the *sisbamie*; an indigenous, rapidly growing tree well suited as firewood and for charcoal production. This information should be given to villagers during the information process about the use, benefits and cultivation of moringa trees. The moringa tree itself is drought resistant and can offer both shade and root systems to reduce further erosion and degrading of the soil. Simultaneously, moringa trees will increase food security and reduce problems deriving from malnutrition. This will greatly benefit the communities and also improve the future prospects of the youth, as negative effects from malnutrition will be reduced. Hopefully, with time, malnutrition in Niassa will be a memory of the past, as rural communities are secured safe access to sufficient nutrients through the moringa project. Easily sold as a cash crop, moringa will create future work opportunities within the rural communities, thereby securing that more individuals can generate an income. As the low number of workers is one of the issues creating dissatisfaction within the communities, Green Resources should use the possibility offered, to provide more work opportunities for their stakeholders. Though not being employed by the company, the investments by Green Resources can make more farmers economical independent through the moringa project. At such, Green Resources can live up to the ambitious goals presented on their official website (greenresources.no, 1) and keep their original promise of “creating work for many”.

Supporting local capacities is recommended, because it will increase individuals` independence and reduce their social vulnerabilities; important steps towards the Sustainable Development Goals 2030. The moringa project respects the autonomy of stakeholders by supporting their traditions and culture as subsistence farmers. The project will not force

individuals to change their lives, but it will provide them with opportunities to do so. They can continue as subsistence farmers, but will be able to have sufficient food and nutrients throughout the year.

Possibly, by increasing the rural communities` possibilities of securing themselves an income, more children will be able to attend school since parents can afford the hidden costs. We are all aware of the importance of education and how it positively affects individuals` livelihoods and future prospects, and how it contributes to countries` GDP. By implementing the proposed moringa project, Green Resources will contribute to reach the SDG2030 and improve the lives of their stakeholders, while simultaneously securing themselves a healthy work force. It is likely that the project will help Green Resources to claim their status as a serious community developer.

8.2 Closing remarks

One of the things which disturb me the most is seeing people stuck in spirals of poverty, where their capacities are constrained while their vulnerabilities are ever increasing. Malnutrition, lack of sanitation, food-insecurity, lack of education, underdeveloped infrastructure and no connection to financial institutions or national security systems creates unfavorable conditions so severe it is difficult to grasp the extent to it`s devastating side- and long-term effects. I am convinced that collective efforts are needed to eradicate global poverty and that transnational corporations can offer valuable knowledge and expertise in this quest, in combination with much needed financial investments, through their operations in developing countries.

There are opportunities available in Niassa to increase the positive effects from Green Resources` investments, while reducing the negative rumors currently affecting the company`s reputation. Small investments are needed to improve the lives and reduce social vulnerabilities of stakeholders in Niassa. Simultaneously, the company can reduce problems from deforestation and improve the future prospects of children in Niassa. As the moringa project can be implemented without jeopardizing the company`s current or future income, and the Institute of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health are willing to assist, I see no reasons why Green Resources should refuse the proposal.

The proposal in chapter 7 is based on my original proposition to a moringa project, sent to Niassa Green Resources, the Institute of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health in May, 2017. In the end of May I was contacted by a Professor from UniLùrio, a University in the Lùrio province of Mozambique He is interested in implementing the moringa project at his faculty. I met him during my last days in Lichinga and we talked about the project. He thinks the project can be a great opportunity for students to interact with surrounding rural villages, while simultaneously improve the lives within the targeted communities. Since Green Resources has a company operating in Lùrio (Lùrio Green Resources), the moringa project can be extended to include more stakeholders affected by Green Resources` investments in Mozambique. It is left for Green Resources to decide if the company will implement the proposed moringa project.

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List of annexes

Appendix 1: Interview guide, Green Resources, interview estimated to 1 hour.

Age:

Male/ female:

Position in Green Resources:

1. How long have you been working for Green Resources?
2. Which development projects have Green Resources initiated in Niassa?
3. Are you planning any future development projects in Niassa?
4. How big is the plantation-area in Niassa?
- 4b. How many hectares of this originally belonged to Chikweti?
5. As Chikweti gained a lot of negative attention for the way in which they organized their land acquisitions, have Green Resources been negatively affected from the merging?
- 5b. Has Green Resources made any efforts to reduce negative rumors?
6. I read on your webpage you give 10 % of profits to communal development, is this correct?
7. When did Green Resources implement the grievance system?
8. Which arenas do you have for communication with the villagers?
9. Are there any arenas for schooling, training, courses provided by Green Resources?
- 9b. Does Green Resources pay for the courses?
10. How many employees? Permanent? Seasonal?
11. Have any farmers planted trees on their own land for Green Resources? (subfarming)
- 11b. How many?
12. Did Green Resources receive a letter containing more than 10000 signatures in Desember 2016?
13. How did Green Resources respond to this letter?

Appendix 2: Interview guide, Niassa Green Resources

1. How often do you have consultations with the different villages?
2. Does number of consultations per year differ between villages?
3. Does the consultations work better (more output) in some villages?
- 3b. Why?
4. How many villages are affected by Niassa Green Resources?
5. How many people work in administration?
6. Why has the number of people in Niassa Green Resources conducting consultations not been increased after merging with Chikweti?
7. How many farmers were involved in the soybean project?
8. Was this project only for workers in Green Resources?
9. Was the project economically sustainable for Green Resources?
10. Were people in Malica invited to join in the soybean-project?
11. Is the soybean project still active?

Appendix 3: Interview guide, workers; permanent and seasonal.

Interviews estimated to 20 minutes.

Age:

Male/ female:

1. How long have you worked in Green Resources?
2. Have you participated in any training or courses paid by Green Resources?
3. How has work in Green Resources affected your life? How?
4. Has being employed affected your relationships with people in Malica?

- 4b. Have work in Green Resources affected your social status in Malica?
- 5. How much do you earn?
- 6. Have you heard of the soybean-project?
- 7. Do you have easier access to fire-wood when working in Green Resources?
- 8. Are you aware of the grievance system implemented by Green Resources in 2016?
- 9. Are you part of the committee for social funds?
- 10. Do you participate in open consultations with Green Resources?
- 10b. How many consultations with Green Resources have you participated in?
- 11. Have you ever raised your voice in any consultation meetings?
- 12. Do you have good communication with superiors?

Appendix 4: Interview guide, permanent workers, 2nd. round

Interviews estimated to 20 minutes.

Age:

Male/ female:

- 1. Do you have an ID-card?
- 2. Do you get paid when you are sick?
- 3. Do you get permission to participate in funerals during workhours?
- 4. How do you receive your salary?
- 5. Have you ever made any complaints or suggestions to Green Resources?
- 5b. If so- about what?
- 6. How do you handle your *machamba* when working for Green Resources?
- 7. Have you experienced any problems during work in the plantations? (Which problems)

Appendix 5: Interview guide, former workers.

Interview estimated to 30 minutes:

Age:

Male/ female:

1. When and how long did you work for Green Resources?
2. Why did you stop working for Green Resources?
3. How did you react when Green Resources merged with Chikweti?
- 3b. How did others react to the merging?
4. Were there any complaints towards the company while you were working?
- 4b. Does the company pay attention to complaints?
5. What do you think about the grievance system?
6. Do you know of any development projects initiated by Green Resources?
- 6b. What's your opinion about these projects?
7. Have promises been kept?
8. What do you think of the communication between Green Resources and Malica?
9. How was life before Green Resources invested near Malica? –Any significant differences?
10. What is your opinion about foreign investments in Niassa?
11. What do you see as the most pressing social issue in Malica?
12. Has the presence of Green Resources affected your food-supplies? (positive/ negative?)
13. Has the presence of Green Resources affected the surrounding infrastructure?
14. Has the presence of Green Resources affected the numbers of kids attending school?
15. Has the presence of Green Resources affected your access to medical treatment when ill?
16. Did you sign a letter to Green Resources last year?

Appendix 6: Follow up questions to seasonal workers.

Interviews estimated to 20 minutes.

Age:

Male/ female

1. How many times have you been hired?
- 1b. How long was the duration of seasonal work?
2. What did you earn?
3. Did you receive any training?
4. Did you receive a contract?
5. Were you hired as long as promised in contract?
6. How did seasonal work affect your life? While working? After work was finished?
7. How did you handle your *machamba* while working?
8. Have you used Green Resources` grievance system?
9. Do you wish to work for Green Resources in the future?

Appendix 7: Interview guide, villagers in Malica, first round.

Interview estimated to 25 minutes.

Age:

Male/ female:

1. How many people do you estimate live in Malica?
2. How many individuals are permanent workers in Green Resources?
3. How many individuals in Malica are seasonal workers?
4. Do you receive money from Green Resources through social funds?

4b. How much is the annual social funds?

4c. How have you spent the money provided through social funds?

5. Have anything changed in Malica due to the cooperation with Green Resources?

6. Are there consultation meetings in Malica organized by Green Resources?

Appendix 8: Interview guide, villagers, of everyday life in Malica.

40 min.

Age:

Male/ female:

1. Which vegetables do you grow?

1b. Do you have vegetables to sell?

1c. Does most people in Malica produce enough vegetables to sell?

1d. Is it easier to sell vegetables now compared to 10 years ago?

2. Do your kids go to school?

2b. Does most kids in Malica attend school?

2c. How many years do kids in Malica normally attend school?

3. How many kids do you have?

3b. How many kids is normal per family in Malica?

4. Do you have a bank-account?

5. Do you have an ID-card?

6. Do you have electricity in your house?

7. Where do you fetch water?

7b. Do you have access to clean water? All year?

8. Do you have sufficient food throughout the year?
8. Are there any specific illnesses occurring often in Malica?
9. Is traditional medicine available?
10. Do you read and write Portuguese?
11. Do you know anyone in Malica who knows to read and write Portuguese?

Appendix 9: Follow up questions to villagers in Malica

1. Have you participated in consultations organized by Green Resources?
 - 1b. During the first consultations with Green Resources, were there promises of how many people would be employed?
 - 1c. What was your expectations after the agreement to release land for plantations?
 2. What do you see as the biggest problems in Malica today?
 3. How many years do you spend in one *machamba*?
 - 3b. Have you ever returned to the same *machamba*?

Appendix 10: Interview guide, farmers who sold their land to Green Resources

Age:

Male/ female:

1. When did you sell your land?
2. What was the agreement with Green Resources?
 - 2b. Were there any time limit in the agreement?
 - 2c. Were time limits respected by both parts?
3. Did you receive adequate compensation?

4. Are you happy with the agreement?
5. How has the agreement affected your life?
6. How do you describe your communication with Green Resources?
7. Are you aware of Green Resources` grievance system?
8. Have you made any complaints?
- 8b. (If so), about what? How did Green Resources respond?
9. Has the agreement affected your social position in Malica?
10. Are you part of the committee for social funds?

Appendix 11: Interview guide, the Institute of Agriculture

1. Can the Institute prepare and organize information-leaflets and courses, to provide rural communities with all information about planting, cultivating, harvesting and usage of moringa?
- 1b. Can you provide information in both Portuguese and the local language Yao if needed?
2. Do you have land available to plant moringa trees for seed production?
- 2b. How much land is available?
3. When can your students be ready to start the information process?
4. How much time will be spent in each village during the information process?
5. Can your students supervise the planting of trees in communities, and be available if someone has any questions?
6. If extended to involve all villages around plantations, the project will last up to 7 years. Does the Institute have capacity to participate throughout the project?
7. How will you organize the student project to provide communities with information about moringa?

8. Will information be given collectively to the whole village, or solely to interested individuals?
9. When can you have available seeds from trees grown at the Institute?
10. How many seeds can be produced annually?
11. Do you know how to make oil from seeds?
12. Can you report to the Ministry of Health and Niassa Green Resources about all consultations, meetings and courses in the communities?
13. Do you know of the tree called Sisbamie and its` benefits as fire-wood?
- 13b. Can students also inform villagers about the Sisbamie, during the information process in the villages?
- 13c. Can you provide the villagers with seeds from the Sisbamie?
14. How many communities can your students inform about moringa per year?
15. How many trees are needed per person to be sufficient as a nutrient supplement?
16. If Green Resources choose not to participate in the moringa-project, are you still interested in continuing the information process?
- 16b. In that case, can you also provide seeds for the communities?
17. Does moringa require the use of pesticides?
18. Can you monitor the progress of moringa grown in communities?