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Vienna, 01.08.2018

Lara Daniela Rodrigues Radischat

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Abstract

This Master's Thesis examines development cooperation by the European Union and other actors, focusing on a case study on the former Portuguese colony in Southeast Africa: Mozambique. At first, this work provides an overview on the basic principles of development cooperation, including the UN Millennium Development Goals as well as the UN Sustainable Development Goals. Continuing with the development cooperation by the European Union, the thesis explains the origins, legal provisions and the official development assistance by the European Union. Afterwards, the case study of Mozambique is initiated by hard facts about Mozambique for a first orientation in the new matter, followed by its history, which caused the country's low development. Thereafter, indicators for Mozambique's level of development are presented from an ample range of areas such as the economy, health, education, poverty etc. to depict Mozambique's evolution over time and apply directly to the current country's challenges. Finally, the paper discusses and analyzes development cooperation by different actors in Mozambique. A special focus lies on the European Union as the largest donor of official development assistance.

Kurzzusammenfassung

Diese Masterarbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit der Europäischen Union und anderer AkteurInnen und legt dabei einen Schwerpunkt auf eine Fallstudie zu der ehemaligen portugiesischen Kolonie im Südosten Afrikas: Mosambik. Zuerst gibt die Arbeit einen Überblick über die grundlegenden Prinzipien der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, einschließlich der Millenniumsziele und der Nachhaltigkeitsziele der Vereinten Nationen. Anschließend wird die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit der Europäischen Union anhand ihrer Entstehung, anhand der rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen und der öffentlichen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit der Europäischen Union charakterisiert. Daraufhin wird die Fallstudie zu Mosambik durch kurze Fakten eingeleitet, zur ersten Orientierung in dem Gebiet, gefolgt von der Geschichte Mosambiks, welche die Unterentwicklung des Landes verursacht hat. Danach werden diverse Indikatoren zu dem Entwicklungsstand Mosambiks aus zahlreichen Bereichen wie der Wirtschaft, Gesundheit, Bildung, Armut, etc. präsentiert. Diese bilden Mosambiks Entwicklung über die Zeit ab und stellen die gegenwärtigen Hürden dar, die das Land zu bewältigen hat. Schlussendlich wird die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit durch verschiedenste Akteure in Mosambik dargestellt. Ein besonderer Fokus liegt auf der Europäischen Union als die größte Geldgeberin für Entwicklungshilfe weltweit.

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List of Acronyms

ACP - Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific

ADA - Austrian Development Agency

DAC - Development Assistance Committee

EU - European Union

FRELIMO - Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambican Liberation Front)

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GNI - Gross National Income

HDI - Human Development Index

MDG - Millennium Development Goal

MDM - Movimento Democrático de Moçambique (Democratic Movement of Mozambique)

ODA - Official Development Assistance

OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

RENAMO - Resistência Nacional de Moçambique (Mozambican National Resistance)

SDG - Sustainable Development Goal

TFEU - Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

1. Introduction

Since I am very interested in the field of development cooperation and due to the fact that I have a personal connection to the former Portuguese colony of Mozambique, I decided to write my Master's thesis about the European Union as a major actor of development cooperation using the case of the Southeast-African country Mozambique. Furthermore, as a Master's student of European Studies, I am highly impressed by the European Union as the largest donor of development aid in the world (European Commission. (n.d.)).

The aim of this thesis is to give an overview of the development cooperation, mainly by the European Union as its major actor, focussing on a case study on Mozambique, which is still one of the poorest countries worldwide. Additionally, the objective of this work is to raise awareness for least developed countries and their dependency on development aid for reaching a higher living standard and political, economic and social stability and security.

To examine these aspects, this work initially gives an overview on the basic principles of development cooperation, followed by the development cooperation by the European Union. Afterwards, this thesis analyzes the example of Mozambique as a least developed country, starting with some hard facts and the outline of its history. Subsequently, current issues in Mozambique are analyzed through indicators for the level of development from an ample range of areas. Thereafter, the paper mentions some actors of development cooperation within the country. At the end, this thesis reflects on the topic of development cooperation and tries to raise awareness of the needs of least developed countries for development assistance.

In this thesis, the terms "development aid", "development cooperation", "development assistance" and "development policy" are used synonymously.

2. State of reasearch

There were many works which contributed to a successful case study of Mozambique and to the investigation on the principles and procedures of development cooperation, primarily by the European Union.

Outstanding and indispensable for my thesis were the statistical data and the definitions from the World Bank, mainly from 2018, which were very precise and comprised a wide range of socioeconomic indicators (World Bank 2018).

Also the data and information from the German Federal Ministry for economic cooperation and

development (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung), also some from the OECD and the Human Development Report Office were major assets for the quality and the plurality of sources.

The sociological theories and definitions of the sociologists Pierre Bourdieu, Theodor Geiger and Stefan Hradil were retrieved from Heinz Abels great monography with the title "Einführung in die Soziologie. Der Blick auf die Gesellschaft", offering an introduction to Sociology from 2009 (Abels 2009).

The theories of the economist Walt Rostow were mentioned in Olle Törnquists book on "Politics and Development. A critical introduction." from 1999, which was also a valuable source for my thesis (Törnquist 1999).

Naturally, the numerous websites from the European Union and from the European Commission were also indispensable for my work, primarily for information on the development agenda of the European Union.

3. Research questions

In the course of this work, the following research questions will be answered:

1. Which measures does the European Union apply within the development cooperation?
2. How has Mozambique's development path evolved since its independence?
3. Which indicators argue for classifying Mozambique as a developing country?
4. Which development actors are predominantly active in Mozambique?
5. In which areas are development projects funded in Mozambique?

4. Methodology

The used method in this thesis is literature research with mainly secondary, as well as primary sources with an inductive, theory-generating approach. The aforementioned sources are scientific articles, books, the Treaty of the functioning of the European Union (TFEU) and internet sources, such as websites of the European Union, the World Bank, the OECD, the United Nations and some additional actors of development cooperation.

5. Basic principles of development cooperation

5.1 Evolution and goals of development cooperation

According to Kremser (2011, p. 9), development aid originated after World War II in the industrialized countries of the global north. The aim was to bind developing countries to the capitalist system and contain communism (ibid.). Kremser refers to development aid as an economic instrument that uses financial sources to attain certain goals (ibid.). After the end of the Cold War, development cooperation was perceived as a partnership relationship between a donor country and a recipient country, which was closely linked to the donor country's demand for reforms in the recipient country (ibid.). These demands were usually laid down in written agreements and were of a political or economic nature (Kremser 2011, p. 9f.). During the Cold War, recipient countries were threatened with the withdrawal of development aid in the event of noncompliance with their demands (Kremser 2011, p. 10); but this attitude toward development aid changed fundamentally with the declaration of the United Nations Millennium Goals in the year 2000, which was adopted at the United Nations headquarters in New York City (United Nations Development Programme 2018).

The Declaration set eight goals for the following 15 years that should particularly reduce extreme poverty in a context of global cooperation between industrialized and developing countries (ibid.). It was a remarkable milestone in the anti-poverty movement (ibid.). The eight Millennium Development Goals focused on ending extreme poverty and hunger, providing universal access to primary education, fostering gender equality and the strengthening of women, reducing infant mortality, enhancing maternal health, eradicating diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria, securing environmental sustainability and establishing a global partnership for development (ibid.).

Henceforth, development aid was seen as a measure to promote peace and stability in the recipient countries and consequently even the term changed: From the mid-1990s onwards, the usage of the term “development cooperation“ was preferred to the term “development aid“ (Kremser 2011, S. 10). This showed the shift from an implied hegemony of donor countries, possibly due to the internalization of the former colonial rule, and a dependency of the recipient countries by the term “development *aid*” toward a more cooperative and equal view of donor countries on recipient countries via the term “development *cooperation*“.

Following the argument of Kevenhörster and Van den Boom (2009, p. 31), the aim of development policy is to foster the development of recipient countries and to diminish the differences

to more developed countries by providing extensive access to aliments, education and health supplies (ibid.). An emphasis lies on the eradication of poverty, on environmental and natural resource protection as well as on the expansion and improvement of education and professional formation (Kevenhörster and Van den Boom 2009, p. 33).

With the expiration of the Millennium Development Goals in 2015, which, according to the United Nations Development Programme, were „the most succesful anti-poverty movement in history“ (United Nations Development Programme 2018), the „2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development“ with the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals was adopted in September of the same year (ibid.).

The Sustainable Development Goals, in short „SDGs“, largely resemble the Millennium Development Goals, but they were amplified and specified as follows:

„Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere

Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture

Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages

Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all

Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all

Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all

Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all

Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation

Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries

Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable

Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns

Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts“

Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development

Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss

Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development“

(United Nations Development Programme 2018)

A substantial difference between the Sustainable Development Goals and the Millennium Development Goals is that the SDGs primarily focus on the protection and conservation of the environment and natural resources (United Nations Development Programme 2018).

An additional emphasis lies on sustainable development, particularly in the ecological, but also in the social, political and health sector (ibid.).

This demonstrates a shift toward an increased awareness for the need of environmental protection and the conservation and preservation of the environment as well as the human achievements. A special focus is on sustainability. But what is actually sustainability?

5.2 Sustainability

Sustainability, according to Donald Kennedy, refers to a prudent use of resources, so that their benefits remain unchanged or even improve for future generations and that they will be able to make the best possible use of them in the future (Kennedy 2007, S. 573). The World Commission on Environment and Development also defines sustainable development similar as Kennedy:

„Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.“ (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987)

Portney cites a more concrete definition of sustainability: the basic premise of sustainability is to create a constant state in which the earth can support the humans and economic growth without harming the health and well-being of humans, animals and plants (Portney 2015, p. 1).

Robinson sees sustainability as a ubiquitary concept that can be found, for example, in the areas of climate change, development, ethics and social justice (Robinson 2012, p. 12). According to the General Assembly of the United Nations, the purpose of sustainable development is to achieve the three main goals: “Economic development, social development and environmental protection” (General Assembly of the United Nations, President of the 65th Session (n.d.)).

The Earth Council Alliance formulates its goal of a sustainable world society as follows:

„We must join together to bring forth a sustainable global society founded on respect for nature, universal human rights, economic justice, and a culture of peace.“ (Earth Council Alliance (n.d.)).

Hence, various areas are covered by the goals and definitions of sustainability, which is why the UN Sustainable Development Goals are so diverse and address several environmental, economic, social as well as political goals.

5.3 Principles of effective development cooperation

In the course of the "Busan Partnership Agreement" in 2011, four principles of effective development cooperation were defined with the consent of more than 160 countries and more than 50 organizations, among them Mozambique and the European Commission (Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation 2017b and OECD 2018):

The first principle declares that developing countries should always lead partnerships for development to assure that implementing approaches are adapted to the needs and situations within their country (Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation 2017b).

The second principle indicates that donor countries, organizations and institutions should always pursue the objective of eradicating poverty, lowering inequality and improving capacities in the developing countries (ibid.). Furthermore, it is important to assess the achievements and the results of development cooperation (ibid.).

Inclusive development partnerships form the third principle of effective development cooperation (Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation 2017b). Values such as "openness, trust, mutual respect and learning" constitute effective partnerships (ibid.). It is fundamental for a sound cooperation to respect different roles within partnerships, since they complete the whole picture and contribute to a successful outcome (ibid.).

The fourth and final principle refers to transparency and accountability: According to the Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation, transparent practices are crucial for accountability to the actors who are involved in the development cooperation (Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation 2017b).

5.4 Stages of development

Countries all around the world differ considerably in their development: There are further and less developed countries and societies, which is why the terms "developed countries" and "least

developed countries" are used for categorizing countries. However, I shall now analyze in further detail how the process of their development looked like:

Törnquist refers to the "non-Communist" theory of development stages by the economist Walt Rostow, who divided the development of societies into five stages (Törnquist 1999, p. 46f.).

The first stage, the "traditional stage", is characterized by a dominance of agriculture, hierarchical social structures, family and clans and the belief that everything is predetermined (Törnquist 1999, p. 46). The hierarchical structures impede people from changing their position within their society (ibid.). Furthermore, lacking scientific and technological resources are obstacles for the expansion of production capacities (ibid.). According to Törnquist, least developed countries found themselves on the traditional stage, until gradually developing into higher stages (Törnquist 1999, p. 47).

In the second stage, industry and agriculture undergo a modernization process thanks to modern science (Törnquist 1999, p. 46). The modernization prepares a society for an economic upswing in the third stage (ibid.).

The third stage is characterized by a precarious situation due to an economic "take-off" (ibid.). Companies become profitable, make enormous investments, demand more inputs and hire more employees (ibid.).

During the fourth stage, modern technology is the driving force for a sustainable economic growth (Törnquist 1999, p. 47).

Finally, mass consumption constitutes the fifth and highest developed stage of societies (ibid.).

According to this non-Communist thinking, development issues are internal, thus requiring "external stimulation, entrepreneurship, and modern science" to enhance their progress (ibid.).

In the following chapter on the development cooperation by the European Union, I will explain what the EU does to enhance the development of least developed countries and to raise them step by step to the same stage as developed countries.

6. Development cooperation by the European Union

6.1 Origins of European development cooperation

The European development cooperation originated in 1957 with the creation of the European Economic Community (Hamburger 1998, p. 12). With the Treaty of Rome from 1957, the "European Development Fund" was created (European Commission 2014, p. 3). The aim of this fund was to financially support colonies and overseas territories from member states of the

European Economic Community (ibid.). Its member states decided to support their (at that time still dependent) territories financially in the scope of their economic and social development and to grant them preferential access to the European market (Hamburger 1998, p. 12).

After the independence of their former colonies in the early 1960s, member states concluded to further support their former colonies after having become independent (European Commission 2014, p. 3). This system was then consolidated in a partnership agreement and the first convention was called "Lomé Convention" (Hamburger 1998, p. 12). This partnership mainly included ACP countries (Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific), former colonies of member states as well as former territories of new members of the EU (ibid.). A successor of the Lomé Convention was the "Cotonou Agreement" between the European Union and ACP countries (European Commission 2014, p. 3). According to the European Commission, it is "the most comprehensive partnership between ACP countries and the EU to date" (ibid.). The Agreement aims at eradicating poverty in African, Caribbean and Pacific countries and moreover at integrating them into the world economy (ibid.). In the same year of 2000, the European Union adopted the earlier mentioned United Nations millennium development goals to abate poverty by 2015 (ibid.).

One year later, in 2011, Mozambique's export economy began to benefit from the most favored nation agreement by the European Union named "Everything But Arms", facilitating the export of goods to the European Union (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d). "Everything But Arms", in short EBA, is an arrangement existing since 2001 to give all countries classified as 'least developed countries' "full duty-free and quota-free access to the EU for all their exports with the exception of arms and armaments" (European Commission 2013, p. 1). Among 49 other countries, Mozambique was classified as a least developed country by the United Nations, thus benefitting from the preferential treatment (European Commission 2013, p. 1f.).

In 2006, the "European Consensus on Development" was established, focusing mainly on the attainment of the aforementioned Millennium Development Goals (European Parliament, Council, Commission 2006, p. 2f.). The main objectives were the "eradication of poverty in the context of sustainable development" by the European Community and the member states (European Parliament, Council, Commission 2006, p. 1f.).

Afterwards, the European Union saw the need for a more strategic approach to alleviate poverty by a more targeted and concentrated financial assistance, which was laid down in the "Agenda for Change" in 2011 (European Commission 2018c). The agenda aimed at reducing poverty by introducing major changes to the EU development assistance procedure (European Commission

2014, p. 4). Included in these innovations were a more targetted development aid as well as focusing on a "maximum of three sectors per country" (ibid.). Other measures were enhancing the coordination within the European Union, accentuating "human rights, democracy and good governance" and inclusive and sustainable growth (European Commission 2014, p. 5).

When the "2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" was adopted by the international community at the United Nations Summit in September 2015, the European Union started releasing a new European Consensus on Development (European Commission 2018c). The new consensus prioritized the 2030 Agenda including the Sustainable Development Goals in its guidelines, as well as the "Global Strategy on the EU's Foreign and Security Policy" from 2016 (European Commission 2018b). It was signed in June 2017 as a joint statement, involving all institutions of the European Union and all member states (European Commission 2018g). The motive for establishing the new European Consensus on Development was to generate a new joint vision for development cooperation for the European Union and its member countries (European Commission 2018c).

The reduction of poverty and the enhancement of sustainable development remained the prior goals of the new consensus (European Commission 2018g).

The European Union further strives toward "Policy Coherence for Development", which aims at increasing the development impact and effectiveness of EU development policy (European Commission 2018c and European Commission 2018e). A fundamental component of policy coherence is considering whether different EU policies relate to each other and whether they can provide more benefits for developing countries together (European Commission 2018e).

The European Commission further participates in the "Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation" (European Commission 2018c). This partnership aims at attaining the Sustainable Development Goals by cooperation between several public and private institutions as well as the civil society to use all available development resources (Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation 2017a).

6.2 Legal provisions

The legal provisions for the EU development policy are laid down in the European Union treaties, such as the "Treaty on the functioning of the European Union" (TFEU), which I will be referring to in this chapter (European Commission 2018c).

Title III "Cooperation with third countries and humanitarian aid" of Part Five from the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union is about the the legal provisions concerning inter alia

the development cooperation and the humanitarian aid (European Union 2016, p. 141ff.).

6.2.1 Development cooperation

Article 208 of the TFEU states that the European Union's development policy shall accord with the principles and the goals of its external action (European Union 2016, p. 141). Moreover, the European Union's and the member states' development policy shall complement one another (ibid.). The interesting aspect in this Article, however, is the definition of the European Union's primary objective concerning its development cooperation:

Its main objective is "the reduction and, in the long term, the eradication of poverty" (European Union 2016, p. 141).

When implementing policies, the EU shall further consider the effect they may have on developing countries (ibid.).

The European Union, referred to as the "Union", and its member states shall further take account of the goals and commitments which they have approved concerning the United Nations and other international organizations (European Union 2016, p. 141).

Article 209 of the Treaty deals with the rights and duties of some European institutions concerning the development cooperation (ibid.):

The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union are responsible for adopting necessary measures, in conformity with the ordinary legislative procedure, for a successful development policy which may lead to multiannual development programs with developing countries (ibid.). Regarding this procedure, the European Investment Bank has the obligation to contribute to the implementation of these arrangements (ibid.).

The Union has the competence to conclude agreements with third parties, such as countries or organizations, aiming at supporting the Union's objectives concerning the development policy (ibid.).

An important provision is the one mentioned in Article 210 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, regarding the relation between the European Union and its member countries (European Union 2016, p. 142):

The EU and its members shall collaborate closely with each other, coordinating their development policies and consulting each other on their measures for development cooperation (ibid.). They are also supposed to consult each other in international organizations and may as well act collectively (ibid.). These provisions shall ensure a more efficient acting in development affairs

and shall "promote the complementarity" (ibid.).

Article 211 is connected to the provisions in Article 210, mentioning a desirable cooperation of the European Union and its member states with third countries and international organizations (ibid.).

If the European Union collaborates closely with its member states and in addition with further countries and international organizations, it can expand its sphere of options and influence to contribute more to development cooperation worldwide, which would be a good way, in my opinion, to achieve more (ibid.).

6.2.2 Humanitarian aid

Concerning humanitarian aid, the legal provisions in the first paragraphs contain mainly the same rights and obligations as in the development cooperation chapter (European Union 2016, p. 143). However, some statements are different: The European Union states in Article 214 that humanitarian aid operations shall "provide *ad hoc* assistance and relief and protection for people in third countries who are victims of natural or man-made disasters, in order to meet the humanitarian needs resulting from these different situations" (ibid.).

Furthermore, it is stated that humanitarian aid measures shall be conducted in accordance with the principles of international law and respecting the impartiality, neutrality and non-discrimination of humans and human rights (ibid.).

Another provision in the humanitarian aid chapter mentions the obligation of the European Union's humanitarian aid operations to coordinate with other humanitarian aid operations of international actors, particularly of the United Nations system (ibid.).

6.3 External aid instruments

Development cooperation by the European Union is delegated to several external aid instruments which shall implement EU foreign policy (Austrian Development Agency (n.d.)). Responsible for implementing these instruments are the European External Action Service and three Directorate-Generals (DGs), namely the DGs for International Cooperation and Development, for Neighborhood and Enlargement Negotiations and for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (ibid.). The instruments are subdivided into geographical and thematic instruments (ibid.).

Geographical external aid instruments focus on external aid in certain geographic areas, such

as countries or regions. The main geographical external aid instruments are the European Development Fund, the Development Cooperation Instrument, the Pre-Accession Structural Instrument and the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ibid.).

Thematic external aid instruments focus on external aid in different thematic areas. The thematic instruments comprise inter alia humanitarian aid, the promotion of human rights as well as the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (ibid.).

6.4 Official Development Assistance by the European Union

The European Union is, as already mentioned in the introduction, the largest donor of development assistance in the world (European Commission (n.d.)). It aims at increasing its contributions, particularly in financial terms, at a rate of at least 0.7 percent of its gross national income (GNI) every year (ibid.). However, this amount has not been reached yet (European Commission 2018a).

Nonetheless, 2016 was a good beginning: In 2016, the EU reached the highest amount of official development assistance (ODA) in its history, amounting to around 77.6 billion euros, accounting for 0.53 percent of the EU gross national income of the same year (ibid.).

Nevertheless, the amount of ODA declined to 75.7 billion euros, representing 57 percent of global ODA in 2017 (European Commission 2018a). The financial contribution corresponded to 0.50 percent of the European Union's gross national income of 2017 (ibid.). However, four of its member states provided 0.7 percent or more of their GNI for development affairs, namely Denmark, Luxembourg, Sweden and the United Kingdom (ibid.). In 2017, the ODA to GNI ratio increased in five member states, remained stable in nine and decreased in fourteen countries (ibid.).

As a direct consequence of the European Union's decreasing contributions, the global official development assistance decreased from an amount of 131 billion euros in 2016 to 130 billion euros in 2017 (European Commission 2018a).

According to the European Commission, the decrease of the EU collective ODA in 2017 was caused by the reduction of 80 percent of the member states' debt reliefs for developing countries (ibid.). An additional reason was a decline of 8 percent in refugee costs of donor countries within the EU (ibid.). The so-called "in-donor refugee costs" decreased from 11.2 billion euros in 2016 to 10.3 billion euros in the subsequent year (ibid.). Moreover, the decline is linked to increasing repayments of European Investment Bank's (EIB) loans by the foreign beneficiaries (ibid.). This led to a decrease of 28 percent in the official development assistance (ibid.).

Nevertheless, the European Union has still not been replaced by any other donor country on its first place in terms of ODA (European Commission 2018a):

Non-EU members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donated an average of 0.21 percent of their gross national income to development affairs in 2017 (ibid.). Compared to the 0.50 percent of the European Union's GNI, the EU therefore still donates significantly more of its gross national income than other countries, despite its decrease from 2016 to 2017 (ibid.).

7. Case study: Mozambique



Figure 1: Map of Mozambique



Figure 2: National flag of Mozambique

7.1 Hard facts about Mozambique

7.1.1 National flag

The Mozambican national flag, depicted above, consists of five colors: red, green, black, yellow and white (Portal do Governo de Moçambique 2015). On the left hand of the flag is a red triangle and next to it are green, black and yellow horizontal stripes, separated by white horizontal lines (ibid.).

According to the portal of the government of Mozambique, the red color on the flag stands for the many centuries of resistance against colonialism, for the armed fight for national liberation and for the defense of sovereignty (ibid.). Green stands for the soil resources of Mozambique, the black color symbolizes the African continent, the yellow stripe represents the subsoil resources and the white color stands for the legitimate fight of the Mozambican nation and also symbolizes peace (ibid.).

In the middle of the red triangle is a star, which represents the spirit of international solidarity of the Mozambican nation (ibid.). On the star further symbols are depicted: A book is placed in the middle of the star and above are a rifle and a hatchet, which are both crossed (ibid.). The book stands for education and learning, the rifle symbolizes defense and the hatchet represents production (ibid.).

The national flag of Mozambique was inaugurated on May 1, 1983 (Mozambique Information (n.d.)).

Its unique feature is the rifle, an AK-47, depicted on the Mozambican flag, which makes it the only nation worldwide to depict such a recent rifle on its flag (ibid.). The role model for this design was the flag of the Mozambican Liberation Front Party “FRELIMO”, which will be discussed later on in the chapter about the history of Mozambique (ibid.).

7.1.2 Geography

Mozambique comprises an area of 799.380 square kilometers (Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 1). Its neighboring countries are Tanzania and Malawi in the north, Zambia in the north-west, Zimbabwe in the west, South Africa in the south-west and Swaziland in the south (World Bank 2018z10). To the east of Mozambique, one can find the Indian Ocean coast line, which is 2.500 kilometers long (ibid.). This marine area is called the “Mozambique Channel”, bordering Madagascar in the east (Figure 1: Map of Mozambique).

7.1.2.1 Climate

Mozambique’s climate is subtropical in the South to tropical in the central and northern regions (Auswärtiges Amt 2018). The country is regularly affected by natural disasters, especially floods, tropical cyclones and droughts (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d).

7.1.2.2 Capital city

The capital of Mozambique is Maputo with approximately 1.1 million inhabitants in 2017 (Auswärtiges Amt 2018). Together with the surrounding port Matola, the Mozambican capital comprises 1.6 million inhabitants in total (ibid.).

7.1.3 Population

7.1.3.1 Demography

According to the German Federal Ministry of economic cooperation and development, Mozambique had 29,668,834 inhabitants in 2017 (World Bank 2018, as cited in Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung 2018a). The population density indicated in 2017 that 37.73 people per square kilometer were living in Mozambique (World Bank 2018x).

According to the World Bank, approximately 70 percent of the Mozambican population lived and worked in rural areas in 2016 (World Bank 2018z10).

7.1.3.2 Languages

The official language and the lingua franca of Mozambique is Portuguese (Auswärtiges Amt 2018). Besides, about 40 African languages are spoken in Mozambique, for example Makua, Changana, Sena, Chilomwe and Kisuaheli (ibid.).

7.1.3.3 Religion

Regarding religion, natural religions are predominant in Mozambique, including around 45 percent of believers among the Mozambican population (Auswärtiges Amt 2018). The second largest religious group are Christians, representing 37 percent of the population (ibid.). The third largest religious denomination in Mozambique with 18 percent of believers is the Islam (ibid.).

7.1.4 National holiday

Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal on June 25, 1975 (Auswärtiges Amt 2018). Therefore, Mozambique's national holiday is on the 25th of June (ibid.).

7.1.5 Politics

The official name of Mozambique is "República de Moçambique", in English the "Republic of Mozambique" (Auswärtiges Amt 2018). As the name already indicates, the country's form of government is a republic (ibid.). It is a centralist-structured presidential democracy (Auswärtiges Amt 2015b).

The president of Mozambique is the head of the executive power (ibid.). He or she presides over the Mozambican council of ministers and elects the governors who represent the central power in the 11 Mozambican provinces, including the capital region (ibid.). The prime minister is also elected by the state president, mainly holding a coordinating function (ibid.).

Current head of state since January 15, 2015 is President Filipe Jacinto Nyusi, a member of the Mozambique Liberation Front "FRELIMO" party (Auswärtiges Amt 2018).

The head of the Mozambican government is currently Prime Minister Carlos Agostinha do Rosaria, also a member of the FRELIMO party, since January 2015 (ibid.).

The Mozambican parliament, the so-called "Assembleia da República", is the legislative power (Auswärtiges Amt 2015b). It is a unicameral parliament with 250 deputies with a five year legislative period (Auswärtiges Amt 2018). The first free elections were held in October 1994 (Auswärtiges Amt 2015b). The current president of the Mozambican parliament since the last

elections in October 2014 is Verónica Nataniel Macamo Dlovo (Auswärtiges Amt 2018). She is a member of the FRELIMO party (ibid.).

"FRELIMO" is the governing party in Mozambique since Mozambique's independence in 1975 (ibid.). FRELIMO stands for "Frente de Libertação de Moçambique", which means "Mozambique Liberation Front" (ibid.).

The governing party has currently 144 seats in the Mozambican parliament, followed by the two opposition parties "RENAMO" and "MDM" (ibid.).

"RENAMO" stands for "Resistência Nacional de Moçambique", which signifies "Mozambican National Resistance" (ibid.).

The opposition party doubled its seats after the parliamentary elections of 2014 and currently holds 89 seats in the Mozambican parliament (Vestbø 2016, p. 16f. and Auswärtiges Amt 2018). It is by far the strongest opposition party at the moment. (Auswärtiges Amt 2018).

"MDM" stands for "Movimento Democrático de Moçambique" and can be translated to "Democratic Movement of Mozambique" in English (ibid.). MDM currently has 17 seats in the Mozambican parliament (ibid.).

7.1.6 Economy

7.1.6.1 Gross Domestic Product

In 2017, Mozambique achieved a gross domestic product of 12.334 billion US dollars (World Bank 2018h).

7.1.6.2 Currency

Mozambique's currency is the "Metical" (World Bank 2018z10). To get an impression of the value of the Mozambican currency, I will present the current exchange rate of the Euro and the Metical:

One euro is equal to 69,24 meticais, based on the actual exchange rate from 15 July 2018 at 05:51 a.m. CEST (Waehrungsrechner-Euro.com 2018). One metical is equal to 0,0145310 euros, based on the actual exchange rate from 15 July 2018 at 05:57 a.m. CEST (XE 2018). These exchange rates serve as clear evidence for the weak Mozambican currency and thus its vulnerable economy compared to other economies, in particular to the European Union.

7.1.6.3 Economic potential

The World Bank mentions the abundance of natural resources in Mozambique and other factors which should benefit the situation of the country: Its ample cultivable land, water, energy, mineral resources and gas (World Bank 2018z10) should generate a promising position for a glorious future of Mozambique. In addition, three significant harbors and the large labor force in Mozambique are beneficial factors (ibid.). Moreover, Mozambique has an advantageous strategic position, bordering four countries surrounded by land (ibid.). For this reason, Mozambique's neighbors became dependent on the sea access of the country for a better access to world markets. (ibid.). Therefore, the World Bank underlines the importance of Mozambique having strong ties to the "region's economic engine, South Africa", in relation to the "stability and growth of Southern Africa as a whole" (ibid.).

Hence, Mozambique's beneficial position seems to be the key to increased wealth, but which factors hindered the country's development to such an extent, being nowadays one of the poorest countries worldwide? In the following chapters on the history of Mozambique and the indicators for the level of development, one may find explanations for the - at first sight – incomprehensibly poor situation of such a resource-rich country.

7.2 History of Mozambique

The Southeast African country of Mozambique has experienced turbulent times: In 1498, the Portuguese navigators arrived in Mozambique, serving as a stopover on their way to the spice route in the Far East (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 19).

At first, the influence of the Portuguese in their colony of Mozambique was not very strong, but with the industrial revolution in the mid-18th century, the need for workers grew, so that the human capital in the form of slavery gained popularity among the colonialists and Portugal expanded its influence (ibid.).

In 1899, a law was enacted which divided the Mozambican population into two classes: the "indígenas" (the natives) and the "não-indígenas" (the non-natives) (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 19).

The "indígenas" were the disadvantaged group and had to abide by the laws of the colony and perform forced labor, while the "não-indígenas" had the full rights of Portuguese citizens (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 19f.). As a Portuguese colony, Mozambique was strongly influenced by the parallel developments in Portugal: With the military coup of 1926 in Portugal, the military generals came to power with later dictator António de Oliveira Salazar as their finance minister (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 20). Shortly thereafter, Salazar took over the power (ibid.). This led to

several restrictions and lost freedom in Mozambique. Additionally, harsh measures were taken, such as forcing the original Mozambican population, the "indígenas", to work (ibid.).

Almost 50 years later, Mozambique achieved independence on June 25, 1975, following the fall of the dictatorship in Portugal in the course of the Carnation Revolution on April 25, 1974 (Auswärtiges Amt 2018d and Staal Jensen 2005, p. 20). Mozambique was relatively well developed from its independence after almost 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule with good export opportunities and developed industries, but it had to cope with shortcomings and major obstacles, especially in the political and administrative field (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 20). Consequently, it got rapidly ranked among the poorest countries in the world (Vestbø 2016, p. 15f.).

In the wake of the carnation revolution in 1974, the so-called "Lusaka Agreement" was signed in Portugal (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 21f.). It transferred the power without pre-elections to the Mozambican party "FRELIMO" (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 21f.). FRELIMO was a liberation party, which aimed to decolonize Mozambique and was founded in 1962 by exile Mozambicans from three sub-organizations (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 21). In the first five years following Mozambique's declaration of independence in 1975, Mozambique's economy fell into a deep hole due to the emigration of Portuguese people along with all their materials, funds, resources and capabilities (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 22). In addition, Mozambican miners were banned from the South African industry and natural disasters such as floods and periods of drought, with subsequent food shortages, made life difficult for the Mozambican population and the governing party FRELIMO (ibid.). The party introduced a socialist, one-party regime in Mozambique and distanced itself from the ideas of the Mozambican population (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 19). In 1975, the opposition party "RENAMO" was founded, which led to clashes with the ruling party FRELIMO (Vestbø 2016, p. 14).

As the conflicts between the two parties and their supporters intensified, a 16-year civil war broke out in 1977, lasting until 1992 (ibid.). These factors weakened Mozambique, making the Southeast African country increasingly dependent on development aid (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 19).

The civil war led to a weakening of the economy, social problems, famine and a shortage of education (Vestbø 2016, p. 15). Other factors included socialist policies, poor economic governance, massive emigration, economic dependency on its neighbor South Africa and a severe drought (Vestbø 2016, p. 16).

These factors led to a humanitarian crisis and severe famine in 6 out of the 10 Mozambican provinces, namely Inhambane, Tete, Manica, Sofala, Gaza and the capital Maputo (ibid.).

Mozambique is still one of the poorest countries in the world (Vestbø 2016, p. 17). Furthermore, Mozambique's performance on the Human Development Index has been weak so far (Jahan et al 2016, p. 200f.). Details will be discussed in the following chapter on the Indicators for the level of development.

In 2012, an armed confrontation between the leader of the opposition party RENAMO and security guards erupted, causing several deaths (Auswärtiges Amt 2015b). The leader of RENAMO had moved to the bush and performed provocative actions with arms, leading to the aforementioned confrontation with security staff (ibid.). This again led to a destabilization of the security situation in Mozambique.

After several negotiations between the FRELIMO government and RENAMO, the two parties came to a peace agreement in September 2014 (ibid.). This agreement included an amnesty for RENAMO fighters and a general disarmament (ibid.). An additional outcome of the peace agreement was the continuing participation of RENAMO in the elections of October 2015 (ibid.).

However, in spring 2015, the tensions between the RENAMO party and security guards intensified again, leading to an armed conflict (Auswärtiges Amt 2015b). As a consequence of these confrontations, the leader of the RENAMO party, Afonso Dhlakama, became a victim of two attacks against him in September and October 2015 (RENAMO (n.d.)b and Auswärtiges Amt 2015b). In a declaration on this incident, issued by the European Union, it was stated that the attacks against the RENAMO leader were threatening the stability, democracy and economic development of the country (Auswärtiges Amt 2015b). The EU further demanded an investigation, a condemnation of the responsible persons as well as a constructive dialogue on this case (ibid.).

8. Indicators for the level of development

8.1 Human Development Index

The Human Development Index, in short HDI, is an index that incorporates the averages of various measures (United Nations Development Programme (n.d.)a). The composite index describes how several different measures develop over time by forming the quotient of the average values of these measures (Kamps, Udo (n.d.)).

The Human Development Index takes into account three key dimensions of human development: long and healthy living, access to education and decent living standards (United Nations Development Programme 2016, p. 2). The purpose of the Human Development Index is to show that not only economic growth determines a country's level of development, but above all, people and their capabilities (United Nations Development Programme (n.d.)a). Thus, the first two dimensions of the Human Development Index - life expectancy, respectively quality of life and education - are significant components distinguishing it from purely economic indicators measuring the development of a country.

The impact of the index is not to be underestimated: It can influence the political leadership of countries by providing an impetus for thinking about their own policy making (ibid.). For example, the Human Development Index may point to different HDI values despite the same gross national income of two countries (ibid.). This may be an indication for a different usage of the available state budget and could motivate political leaders to rethink their policies (ibid.).

The dimension of the long and healthy life is measured on the basis of life expectancy at birth and then leads to the formation of the Life Expectancy Index, which is one of the indices included in the Human Development Index (ibid.).

The second dimension, education, is assessed by two variables: firstly, the average number of years of education of adults who are at least 25 years old, and secondly, the expected number of years of education for children at school entry age (United Nations Development Programme 2016, p. 2). These variables are the basis of the Education Index, which again forms part of the entire Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme (n.d.)a).

The last dimension, standard of living, is calculated on the basis of gross national income per capita (United Nations Development Programme 2016, p. 2). This is expressed in converted international dollars, using the PPP conversion rate (ibid.).

These three indices, the Life Expectancy Index, the Education Index and the gross national income Index, are then combined into the composite HDI, using the geometric mean (United Nations Development Programme (n.d.)a). To ensure better comparability between countries, the used data all originate from the United Nations Population Division, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Institute for Statistics and the World Bank (United Nations Development Programme 2016, p. 2).

It should be kept in mind that the Human Development Index cannot be a holistic, complete picture of the state of development of a country (United Nations Development Programme (n.d.)a). For example, it does not include inequalities, poverty, human security and the ability

to act (ibid.). To do this, one would have to analyze other indicators provided by the Human Development Report Office (HDRO) on human development, inequality, gender difference and poverty (ibid.).

In the following lines, I will describe Mozambique's classification in the Human Development Index from 2015:

Mozambique scored rather poorly in 2015, with a Human Development Index of 0.418 in the 181st place out of 188 countries (Jahan et al 2016, p. 200f.). The highest achievable value is 1, which, however, has not been achieved yet by any country (United Nations Development Programme (n.d.)b). It is thus one of the least developed countries in the world and has therefore been categorized as a country with a "low human development" (Jahan et al., 2016, pp. 200f.).

Over time, however, Mozambique's development has steadily improved from an HDI value of 0.209 in 1990 to 0.418 in 2015 (United Nations Development Programme 2016, p. 3).

Further, I will now discuss the individual components of the Human Development Index of Mozambique - the health, education and income dimension:

Life expectancy at birth was only 55.5 years in 2015, making Mozambique one of the world's least placed countries (United Nations Development Programme (n.d.)b). The expected number of years of education was 9.1 years and the average number of years of education was just 3.5 years (ibid.). The third indicator, the gross national income per capita, was \$ 1,098 in 2015 (ibid.).

However, apart from the Human Development Index, the Human Development Report Office (HDRO) has added other indices to describe a country's stage of development more comprehensively (United Nations Development Programme 2016, p. 4ff.). These include the "*Inequality-adjusted HDI*" (IHDI), which is a Human Development Index adjusted to inequality, the "*Gender Development Index*" (GDI), which divides the different components of the HDI into male and female and the "*Multidimensional Poverty Index*" (MPI), which deals with various dimensions of poverty (United Nations Development Programme (n.d.)b). Further indicators are the "*Employment to Population Ratio*" for people over 15 years, which represents the percentage of the working population in the total population up from the age of 15, the "*Homicide rate*", which deals with the murder rate per 100,000 people and the percentage of *exports and imports* of the gross domestic product (ibid.). The percentage of the total population using the *internet*, the *carbon dioxide emissions* per capita in tons and the *population* of the respective country are other indicators named on the website of the Human Development Reports (ibid.).

Unlike the classic HDI, these additional indicators provide a more holistic while complex picture of a country's development situation.

In the following lines, I will mainly be referring to World Bank data, which are more precise and up-to-date and will serve to discuss several relevant dimensions in the pursuit of assessing a country's level of development. The majority of these dimensions are also key areas of the Sustainable Development Goals, mentioned in the chapter on the basic principles of development cooperation (United Nations Development Programme 2018).

8.2. Demography

As already mentioned earlier, Mozambique had 29,668,834 inhabitants in 2017 (World Bank 2018, as cited in Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung 2018a). Forecasts by the International Monetary Fund indicate a population growth for the Mozambican population to a number of 32.8 billion inhabitants in 2021 (International Monetary Fund 2018, as cited in Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 8).

8.2.1 Population composition

Population pyramids depict the relative number of people in different age groups and sexes within a population (Pacific Northwest Ecosystem Research Consortium (n.d.), p. 64). According to the Pacific Northwest Ecosystem Research Consortium, three prototypical pyramid population structures exist: the constructive, expansive and stationary (ibid.).

The Mozambican population has the form of an expansive pyramid, which indicates a higher number of people in younger age groups and "is typical of many developing countries where birth rates are high, but conditions are harsh, and life expectancy is short" (Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 3 and Pacific Northwest Ecosystem Research Consortium (n.d.), p. 64).

Children between 0 and 15 years represented 45 percent of the Mozambican population in 2016, which is almost half of the entire population (Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 3). The largest part of the population, the age group between 15 and 64 years, make up 51.8 percent in 2016 (ibid.). However, it is important to keep in mind that this group comprises 50 years in total, compared to the 15 years of the youngest age group (ibid.). The smallest age group in Mozambique constitute persons over 65 years, merely representing 3.1 percent of the total population (ibid.).

8.2.2 Population growth

The population growth in Mozambique has changed considerably over the years: It slightly, but steadily increased from 2.02 percent in 1960 to 2.82 percent in 1977, which marked the beginning of the civil war (World Bank 2018y).

During the 16-year long civil war, Mozambique's population growth decreased to a low point of -0.14 percent in 1988, until recovering step by step and reaching a peak of 3.94 percent in the first postwar year of 1993 (ibid.).

Afterwards, the population growth declined again to 2.87 percent in 2017 (ibid.). The same development is observable in the fertility rate of Mozambique (Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 3).

8.2.3 Fertility rate

The fertility rate is a fundamental component determining the growth of a population. It indicates the average number of children per woman (Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 3).

Over the years, the fertility rate has continuously decreased from an average number of 5.8 children in 2000 to 5.3 children in 2016, as already seen in the population growth (ibid.). However, the number is still relatively high, which leads to a larger portion of children among the population, as mentioned earlier in the chapter on the population composition.

8.2.4 Rural population

The vast majority of the country's population live in rural regions (World Bank 2018z7). Despite a steady decline from 95.23 percent of the population in 1960 to 67.18 percent in 2017, the rural population is still very predominant in Mozambique (ibid.).

This is insofar problematic, because extreme disparities exist between the urban and the rural regions and further between the economically underdeveloped northern and middle regions and the economic centers in the province of Maputo in the south (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d). Nevertheless, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs is expecting an offsetting effect of the disparities due to the coal and natural gas sources, which exist mainly in the north of the country (ibid.).

8.3. Economy

8.3.1 Gross Domestic Product

The gross domestic product, in short GDP, refers to the sum of "value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the product" (World Bank 2018h). It is an indicator describing the economic productivity and power of a country.

Although Mozambique's gross domestic product has traditionally grown year by year, it has experienced several fluctuations over time (ibid.). While reaching a minimum GDP of 2.094 billion US dollars during the civil war in 1988, it reached a maximum amount of 16.961 billion US dollars 26 years later in 2014 (ibid.).

In 1987, the Mozambican government had implemented a large number of macroeconomic reforms, which, together with financial support and relative political stability since the 1994 multi-party elections, helped to stabilize the country's economy (Vestbø 2016, p. 16). As a result of these measures, Mozambique's gross domestic product increased significantly in the last few decades (ibid.).

However, from 2014 onwards, Mozambique's GDP decreased considerably to 11.015 billion US dollars in 2016, until again rising up to 12.334 billion US dollars in 2017 (World Bank 2018h).

The gross domestic product growth is defined as the annual growth of GDP in percent at market prices in constant local currency, the Metical, in this case (World Bank 2018i).

Mozambique's GDP growth also strongly fluctuated along the years, with a low point of -15.7 percent during the civil war in 1983 and a peak of 26.85 percent of growth in 1996 (ibid.). However, in the period between 2007 and 2014, the growth of the country's GDP remained quite constant with values ranging between 6.35 and 7.44 (ibid.). Nevertheless, the growth rate decreased from 7.44 percent in 2014 to 3.71 percent in 2017 (ibid.).

The decreases from 2014 to 2017 of the GDP and the GDP growth are linked to the "hidden state company debt crisis", beginning in 2013, which I will further discuss in a later part of this chapter on Mozambique's economy (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 3). Nevertheless, the GDP forecast for Mozambique indicates a significant growth to an amount of 16.4 billion US dollars in 2021 (International Monetary Fund 2018, as cited in Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 8).

8.3.2 Gross National Income

The gross national income, in short GNI, contains the same components as the gross domestic product plus the net receipts of primary income, including salaries and property from abroad (World Bank 2018k).

Mozambique's GNI has evolved similarly to the GDP, although its fluctuations were not as extreme in the past decades (ibid.). The lowest value was of 2.405 billion US dollars during the civil war in 1990, while the highest peak was reached in 2014, simultaneously to the GDP, with an amount of 16.809 billion US dollars (ibid.).

Moreover, similar to the GDP and the GDP growth, the gross national income decreased from 16.809 billion US dollars in 2014 to 12.34 billion US dollars in 2017 (ibid.).

The GNI per capita, which is the gross national income divided by the midyear population, has experienced nearly the same development as the GNI (World Bank 2018j). Its lowest points were reached in 1994 and 1995, each with 160 US dollars while its maximum amount of 620 US dollars was attained in 2014 (ibid.).

As with the GNI and the GDP, the gross national income per capita also declined from 2014 onwards, from a value of 620 US dollars to only 420 US dollars in 2017 (ibid.).

The declines of the GNI and the GNI per capita from 2014 to 2017 were also caused by the aforementioned "hidden debt crisis" (World Bank 2018j and World Bank 2018k).

Compared to the worldwide average of 10,366 US dollars of gross national income per capita, the Mozambican number is very low (World Bank 2018j). These diverging numbers become even more apparent when comparing Mozambique to the European Union: In 2017, the European Union reached an average GNI per capita of 32,778 US dollars (ibid.). But even compared to the average of 990 US dollars among the "Least developed countries", classified by the UN, Mozambique's GNI per capita lies below (ibid.). These comparisons evidence the poor economic situation of Mozambique (ibid.).

8.3.3 Economic sectors

8.3.3.1 Primary sector - Agriculture, forestry and fishing

The area of land for agricultural use has significantly grown during the past decades in Mozambique (World Bank 2018a). It includes cultivable land and areas under permanent crops and pastures, but excludes land covered with trees for the extraction of wood or timber (ibid.). In 1961, the agricultural land compromised 59.32 percent of Mozambique's total territory, rising

steadily up to the present 63.52 percent since 2010 (ibid.). This could be an indicator for an increasing primary sector, in particular of the agriculture.

However, the share of the primary sector in the gross domestic product shows a different picture of the agricultural situation in Mozambique. The primary sector consists of agriculture, which by itself includes forestry, hunting, fishing, the cultivation of crops and livestock production (World Bank 2018b). In the course of time, the share of the primary sector in the country's GDP has changed considerably with several fluctuations, reaching the highest peak of 47.62 percent of the GDP in 1985 and its lowest point in 2001 with 19.17 percent (ibid.). These data refer to the period between the years 1980 and 2017 (ibid.). Nevertheless, since 2009, there is a constant development of the percentage of agriculture, forestry and fishing in the gross domestic product: It decreased steadily from 27.90 percent in 2009 to 21.84 percent in 2017 (ibid.). The relatively small share of agriculture in the country's GDP may result from the majority of subsistence farming in Mozambique's agriculture (Vestbø 2016, p. 17).

Hence, a contrarious development is observable in the area of agricultural land and the share of agriculture, forestry and fishing in Mozambique's gross domestic product.

Concerning the share of employment in agriculture in relation to total employment, a clear downward trend is detectable in Mozambique since 1995 (World Bank 2018e):

From 85 percent of the working population being employed in agriculture in 1995, the amount declined to 73.30 percent in 2017, thus still holding its position as the greatest economic sector of Mozambique (ibid.).

These numbers demonstrate a decreasing importance of the primary, agricultural sector in Mozambique and imply an increasing importance of other economic sectors. The indicators further show a rather low overall efficiency and the small contribution of the primary sector to the GDP in Mozambique. However, it is still the most prevalent area of employment among the Mozambican population.

8.3.3.2 Secondary sector - Industry and construction

The secondary sector has experienced several highs and lows over the years as well. (World Bank 2018o). It contains the industry, respectively manufacturing and construction, but also mining, electricity, water and gas production (ibid.).

From an amount of 30.57 percent in 1982, the relevance of the sector significantly fell only three years later to 13.26 percent in 1985 (ibid.). Rising to 23.95 percent in 1988 and again declining to 16.45 percent in 1991, Mozambique's industry and construction sector underwent

significant changes (ibid.). From 1991 onwards, the secondary sector continued gaining and losing importance in the gross domestic product, but this time with more moderate changes (ibid.). From 2013 to 2016, Mozambique's industry and construction contributed an increasing amount to the gross domestic product, until plunging again to 17.64 percent in 2017 (ibid.).

Overall, the future development of Mozambique's industry therefore remains unclear. Nevertheless, the secondary sector is with a current share of only 17.64 percent weaker than the primary sector and overall the weakest economic sector in Mozambique (ibid.).

8.3.3.3 Tertiary sector - Services

Since 2011, the tertiary sector contributes more than half of Mozambique's gross domestic product (World Bank 2018z9). It consists of services, namely "wholesale and retail trade (including hotels and restaurants), transport, and government, financial, professional, and personal services such as education, health care, and real estate services" (World Bank 2018z9).

After several periods of ups and downs, especially the drastic drop within one year from 51,20 percent of the GDP in 1995 to 44.79 percent in 1996, Mozambique's share of services is steadily increasing since 2015, from 50.85 percent in 2015 to 54.16 percent in 2017 (ibid.). These data show an increasing importance of the tertiary sector in Mozambique, being the economic sector to provide the highest gains for the country's gross domestic product (ibid.).

On the whole, all of the three economic sectors have their own relevance for Mozambique's economy, providing jobs for the population and diversifying the country's economy. In spite of providing a minor share in Mozambique's gross domestic product, the agriculture has a special importance due to its basic alimentary function for the Mozambican population.

8.3.4 Imports of goods and services

Imports of goods and services include the value of all goods and services received from foreign countries (World Bank 2018m). They contain the "value of merchandise, freight, insurance, transport, travel, royalties, license fees, and other services, such as communication, construction, financial, information, business, personal, and government services" (World Bank 2018m). Excluded are remunerations of employees, investment income, as well as transfer payments (ibid.).

The import rate in Mozambique has experienced several fluctuations over time, ranging from a trough of 11.47 of the country's GDP to a peak of 84.76 percent in 2014 (ibid.). Nevertheless, a general upward trend occurred over the years until the aforementioned peak in 2014 (ibid.).

However, afterwards, imports decreased to 70.64 percent of the GDP in 2017, which is still a considerably high import volume (ibid.).

The imported goods mainly include bauxite for the aluminum melt operation "MOZAL" in Mozambique, machinery, vehicles, fuel, metal products, aliments such as cereals, and textiles (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d and Vestbø 2016, p. 17).

In my opinion, high import rates may indicate a lack of resources, a production deficit, cheaper foreign prices of goods and services or a higher demand for foreign goods and services in a country.

8.3.5 Exports of goods and services

Exports of goods and services include the value of all goods and services provided to other countries (World Bank 2018f). As with the imports, exports contain the "value of merchandise, freight, insurance, transport, travel, royalties, license fees, and other services, such as communication, construction, financial, information, business, personal, and government services" (ibid.). Excluded are remunerations of employees, investment income, as well as transfer payments (ibid.).

The export rate has undergone a significant growth over the years as well, despite some temporary declines (ibid.). From a rate of 10.86 percent of Mozambique's gross domestic product in 1980, exports decreased to only 2.53 percent in 1986 during the civil war, which was the lowest amount since 1980 (ibid.). Afterwards, the export rate rose again with some minor declines (ibid.).

Between 1999 and 2007, the rate experienced a remarkable upward trend from 10.17 percent in 1999 to 30.84 percent in 2007, which represents an increase of more than 20 percent within a period of only eight years (ibid.). After this substantial growth, the quota of exports fluctuated again, until finally rising on a constant rate since 2015, from 32.22 percent in 2015 to 38.27 percent in 2017 (ibid.).

The southeast African country mainly exports aluminum, electricity, raw materials and natural gas (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d). Besides, tobacco, shrimps, sugar, cotton, citrus fruits and cashews are important export goods from Mozambique (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d and Vestbø 2016, p. 17).

Despite the growth, Mozambique still exports less goods and services than it imports, thus causing a trade balance deficit (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d). However, if imports continue decreasing

and if the new discoveries of natural gas in Mozambique are well managed, the country's commercial situation could change entirely to a strong and export-oriented economy.

8.3.6 External debts

External or foreign debts are debts owed to foreign actors refundable in currency, goods or services (World Bank 2018g). External debts include "public, publicly guaranteed, and private nonguaranteed long-term debts, use of IMF credit, and short-term debt" (World Bank 2018g). They serve as an indicator for the creditworthiness of a country and influence decisions of investors (ibid.). Foreign debts further indicate how sustainably a country manages its debt service obligations (ibid.).

Until 1983, Mozambique had external debts of around 0 percent (ibid.). This is probably due to the fact that until 1975, Mozambique was a Portuguese territory, therefore not having a national economy. However, in the middle of the civil war, the country became gradually dependent from foreign financial aid (ibid.). From 1983 onwards, debt levels rose continuously to a peak of 6.555 billion US dollars in 1998 (ibid.).

An important relief for Mozambique was the debt cancelation initiative within the international framework called "Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative"(HIPC Initiative) launched in 1996 (International Monetary Fund 2018). Initiators of the debt relief were the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (ibid.). The initiative aimed at reducing debts from 36 countries, among them Mozambique, granting a total relief of 76 billion dollars for the countries classified as "heavily indebted poor countries" (ibid.). In 1999, the HIPC Initiative was entirely reviewed, leading to a faster, deeper and broader debt reduction (ibid.). Moreover, the correlation between debt cancelation, poverty reduction and social policies increased (ibid.).

With the aim to further enhance the progress of the initiative, in 2005 it was complemented by the so-called "Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative" (MDRI) (International Monetary Fund 2018). The MDRI introduced a 100 percent relief for eligible debts classified by the IMF, the World Bank and the African Development Fund (AfDF) (ibid.). To obtain this total relief of selected debts, the countries had to meet the requirements of the MDRI, such as implementing key reforms, primarily targeting the reduction of poverty and performing well on programs supported by the IMF and the World Bank (ibid.). As Mozambique and the other 35 eligible countries fulfilled the requirements, they achieved a complete debt relief (ibid.).

The moments of the highest debt reliefs by both initiatives correspond with the decreases of external debt in Mozambique: From 6.555 billion US dollars of external debts in 1998, they

began decreasing to an amount of 3.412 billion US dollars in 2001 after the start of the aforementioned HIPC Initiative and the accelerated debt reduction in 1999 (World Bank 2018g). Rising again to 4.523 billion US dollars of foreign debts in 2004, the external debt level dropped to 2.702 billion US dollars in 2006, following the launch of the MDRI (ibid.).

Nevertheless, seven years later, Mozambique was severely affected by a "hidden debt crisis", which I will refer to in the following paragraphs (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 3). Therefore, the external debt level became unprecedentedly high, amounting to 10.294 billion US dollars in 2016 (World Bank 2018g).

However, from 2016 to 2017, external debts were again remarkably reduced from 103.70 percent of the GDP by the end of 2016 to around 85.20 percent in the subsequent year due to the increased value of the Metical (World Bank 2018z10). Simultaneously, the amount of the central governments' domestic debts has increased (ibid.).

Forecasts from the IMF indicate an aggravation of the situation with continuously rising public debts of 126.7 percent of Mozambique's GDP in 2021 (International Monetary Fund 2018, as cited in Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 8).

8.3.6.1 Hidden debt crisis

According to Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues, Mozambique's economy was hit by a so-called "hidden" state company debt crisis, beginning in 2013 (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 3). The trigger for the hidden debts was the granting of loans from the Swiss "Credit Suisse" bank and the Russian "VTB Capital" bank for the creation of three state-owned companies (ibid.).

The aforementioned companies were the "Empresa Moçambicana de Atum" or "Ematum", a company for tuna fleets and maritime security, "Proindicus", a company for maritime security and offshore oil and gas operations and "Mozambique Asset Management, abbreviated "MAM", with the function of maritime repair and maintenance (ibid.). The owners of these companies are other state companies and the "State Information and Security Service" called "SISE" (ibid.). All of the three companies had the same contractor for the loans: an enterprise named "Privinvest" (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 4).

The state of Mozambique guaranteed these bank loans and precisely this had an impact on the public debts (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 3). Despite of the lack of parliamentary approval and control, the Ministry of Finance authorized these loans (ibid.).

After hearing from the first loan to Ematum, the International Monetary Fund demanded the inclusion of the loan into the annual budget (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 3). In 2016, when Ematum suffered losses and the state couldn't finance it anymore due to declining international oil and gas prices, Mozambique requested and successfully received partial debt restructuring (ibid.). After the revelation of the two other loans and the hidden debts, the International Monetary Fund withdrew the Standby Credit Facility Arrangement and many other donors stopped their aid to Mozambique (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 3f.). These events led, together with falling prices of goods, to the state's incapability of reducing its debts at the end of the year 2016 (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 4).

According to a commission set up in the Mozambican parliament, the contraction of the loans and the resulting accumulation of debts without parliamentary authorization was against the budget laws and was inconsistent with the country's constitution (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 4). However, this was not the only problem with these loans: In June 2017, the International Monetary Fund urged for an independent audit report from the enterprise "Kroll", which was initiated by the Mozambican General State Prosecutor and funded by Sweden (Kesselring 2017). The audit report revealed that information about the intended use of the loans was missing, obscuring the loans' actual beneficiaries (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 3f.). As a parliamentary commission found out, the contracting body justified these loans mainly with the aim to intensify military security (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 4), but instead had claimed that the loans were for building fishery fleets (Kesselring 2017). Furthermore, the contractor "Privinvest" was accused of overpricing as there was a significant discrepancy between the planned asset prices and the actually rendered services (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 4). Moreover, it is still unclear where 500 million dollars remain, which should have gone to the company "Ematum" (Kesselring 2017).

Currently, the FBI is investigating the banks "Credit Suisse" and "VTB Capital" for negligence in granting loans to the three Mozambican state-owned companies which didn't have consistent business plans and which weren't properly functioning (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 4). In addition, the two banks are accused of facilitating corruption in Mozambique (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 3).

As a consequence, Mozambique has to cope with 2.2 billion US dollars hidden state company debts in total (ibid.). According to Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues, the consequences of the debt crisis had a strong impact on the living conditions of the local population (ibid.). Some evidence can be found by analyzing the following information:

The Real gross domestic product growth was notably affected by the crisis, as mentioned earlier: It decreased steadily from an average GDP growth of 7 percent between the years 2011 and 2015, to only 3.8 percent in 2016 and 3.7 percent in 2017 (World Bank 2018z10). Additional factors worsening the economic situation in Mozambique are the weak small and medium-sized enterprises with low capacities to generate jobs (ibid.). Moreover, governmental subsidies have been noticeably reduced in Mozambique, particularly on fuel, bread, water and on salt (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 6). According to Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues, these alterations mostly affect the poorest people in Mozambique (ibid.).

However, at the same time, the Mozambican currency Metical has become more stable and caused a declining inflation and decreasing food prices (World Bank 2018z10).

Nevertheless, the gravest problem of the hidden debt crisis in Mozambique are still the debts themselves: Although the external debts were remarkably reduced from 103.70 percent of the gross domestic product by the end of 2016 to around 85.20 percent in the subsequent year due to the increased value of the Metical, the amount of the central government domestic debts has increased at the same time (ibid.). The World Bank explains this increase with a higher need for budget financing within the country (ibid.).

Due to its problematic economic and financial situation, Mozambique is still defaulting in repaying the Eurobond and two other loans (ibid.). According to the World Bank, the Mozambican government is currently attempting to restructure the debts, but the World Bank is doubting a successful outcome of the negotiations with the creditors (ibid.). Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues state that several civil society organizations, religious organizations and individual analysts find the hidden debts illegitimate (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 7). They argue that Mozambique should refuse to take the responsibility for the debts and that the attorney-general of Mozambique should investigate who is responsible and should compel them to repay the debts (ibid.). Also, the Financial Times opines that "it would be wrong for ordinary Mozambicans alone to pay the price" (Financial Times 2017, as cited in Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 7).

8.3.7 Inflation

Inflation is defined as the annual percentage change in the cost of goods and services, as measured by the consumer price index (World Bank 2018p).

The inflation rate has substantially changed over the past decades in Mozambique (ibid.): From a peak of tremendous 63.13 percent in 1994, inflation eased to a minimum of 1.48 percent in

1998 (ibid.). After some fluctuations at the beginning of the 21st century, inflation seemed to be stable with values of 2.29 percent in 2014 and 2.39 percent in 2015 (ibid.). However, from 2015 it again increased to a rate of 9.97 percent in 2016, thus complicating the lives of the Mozambican population and affecting their financial liquidity (ibid.).

The inflation rate forecast by the IMF indicates a continuous upward trend: inflation in Mozambique is suspected to increase each year, though in an easing way (International Monetary Fund 2018, as cited in Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 8). From 2020 to 2021, the inflation rate is supposed to increase by 5.5 percent, which is less than from 2015 to 2016 (World Bank 2018p and International Monetary Fund 2018, as cited in Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 8).

8.3.8 Unemployment

Unemployment is an important dimension of a country's and its population's economic situation. According to the World Bank, it is a key indicator showing whether countries are able to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal of "promoting sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all" (World Bank 2018z12).

Unemployment is defined as the percentage share of employable persons who do not have a job, but who are available and seeking one (ibid.).

Unemployment rates can differ a lot from poor to rich countries and can lead to misinterpretations (ibid.): It is often higher in developed countries than in less developed countries because people in developed countries can afford to wait for desirable jobs due to a social security net, which people in poorer countries cannot (ibid.). However, high and persistent unemployment rates usually indicate "serious inefficiencies in resource allocation", as the World Bank states (ibid.). Especially unemployment among young adults may lead to grave consequences, such as uncertainty, disillusionment and psychological traumata of individuals, communities, economies and society (ibid.).

In Mozambique, unemployment has been very high in the past years, with the lowest value of 21.57 percent, which is more than a fifth of the total labor force, in 2003 (ibid.). Between 1991 and 2003, the unemployment rate continuously declined, with a minor exception from 1995 to 1996, increasing from 22.21 to 22.40 percent (ibid.). Nevertheless though, unemployment in-

creased significantly from an amount of 21.57 percent in 2003 to a quarter of the total employable population, 25.3 percent, in 2014 (World Bank 2018z12). Finally, the unemployment rate decreased again slightly to 25.04 percent in 2017 (ibid.).

These numbers show the large amount of employment-seeking people in Mozambique and indicate an ineffective allocation of resources (ibid.). Overall, the unemployment rate, and the other economic indicators mentioned above, evidence the numerous obstacles for Mozambique to reach a sustainable economic development path and to attain the connected Sustainable Development Goal (ibid.). However, there still seems to be hope for Mozambique's economy and overall situation, due to some recent discoveries of natural gas as mentioned below (ibid.).

8.3.9 Economic potential

In fall 2011, a significant quantity of natural gas was found in Mozambique (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d). It is even comparable to the natural gas sources of Qatar (ibid.). These natural gas discoveries could turn Mozambique into the third largest exporter of natural gas in the world (ibid.). The legal conditions and investment security for the gas production were prepared at the end of 2014 (ibid.). Anyway, the Mozambican government still has to provide the necessary infrastructure and capacities for the production and export of natural gas in collaboration with its project partners and sponsors (ibid.). The German Ministry of Foreign Affairs argues that if Mozambique would wisely use the existing gas resources, it could lead to a sustainable reduction of poverty (ibid.). Nevertheless, they do not expect this event to occur before 2020 or 2021 (ibid.).

In addition to natural gas, Mozambique is also rich in other natural resources, such as coal, iron, titanium, tantalum, noble earths, gold, diamonds, uranium, industrial minerals and construction materials (ibid.). Moreover, the country possesses natural energy resources such as hydro power, geothermy, solar power and wind power (ibid.). Additionally, Mozambique has a wide arable land of 36 million hectares with a great agrarian potential which is yet to be used (ibid.). In addition, Mozambique has close economic ties with its neighbor South Africa and several other neighboring, mainly land-locked, countries are dependent from Mozambique's sea access, which connects them to the global market (World Bank 2018z10).

8.4 Social inequality

8.4.1 Social stratification, classes and inequality - a comparative sociological approach

There are plenty of sociological theories on the composition and structure of the society, including social stratification, social classes and social inequality. I am going to refer to the theories and definitions of the sociologists Theodor Geiger, Pierre Bourdieu and Stefan Hradil.

8.4.1.1 Social stratification

Social stratification is, according to the German sociologist Theodor Geiger, the structuring of the society based on the social status of their members (Geiger 1955, as cited in Geißler 1985, p. 392, as cited in Abels 2009, p. 281). Characteristics of the social strata are the people's access to the means of production, their professional situation, their educational background, their religious denomination and a typical mentality (Abels 2009, p. 281).

In accordance with Geiger, a mentality is a mental and spiritual disposition shaped by one's social environment and the experiences of life (Geiger 1932, p. 77, as cited in Abels 2009, p. 281).

The famous French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu also perceived the society as divisible into different status groups and social strata (Abels 2009, p. 310). The affiliation to a social stratum is, according to Bourdieu, determined by the income, profession and education of a person, similar to Geiger's thinking (ibid.).

8.4.1.2 Social classes

Geiger uses the term of a "social class" when the people's relations to the means of production determine their social status within the society and when an economic mentality exists therein (Abels 2009, p. 281).

According to Bourdieu, a social class is a social space with specific dispositions of thinking and acting (Abels 2009, p. 309). A social space is defined as a space with objective social positions (Abels 2009, p. 312). The class-specific dispositions within are referred to as the "Habitus" by Bourdieu (Abels 2009, p. 309). Bourdieu defines the "Habitus" as an internalized behavior resulting from the affiliation to a social class and creating new practices and evaluation patterns (Bourdieu 1979, p. 279, as cited in Abels 2009, p. 312).

One of his most famous theories is about the different types of capital determining the social classes. Bourdieu defined three types of capital: the economic, the cultural and the social capital (Bourdieu 1983b, p. 192, as cited in Abels 2009, p. 310f.).

The economic capital includes money and property, being an important factor for the differentiation of the society into social classes (Bourdieu 1983b, p. 192, as cited in Abels 2009, p. 310).

The cultural capital consists of knowledge, qualifications, educational achievements, attitudes and the behavior acquired in the family and in the educational system (Bourdieu 1983b, p. 192, as cited in Abels 2009, p. 311).

The social capital, formerly known as the symbolic capital, are social relationships (Bourdieu 1972, p. 348, as cited in Abels 2009, p. 311). To maintain, use and enlarge the social relations, it is necessary to invest time and other resources because relationships - even family, relatives, neighbors and colleagues - are neither self-evident nor self-sustaining (Abels 2009, p. 311).

Altogether, the specific combination of the three types of capital determines the position and the social class of an individual within the societal hierarchy (ibid.).

8.4.1.3 Social inequality

According to Pierre Bourdieu, social inequality depends on the possession of the above-mentioned economic, cultural and social capital (Abels 2009, p. 310f.).

The German sociologist Stefan Hradil states that social inequality exists when some people in a society, due to their societal position, regularly get more of the "valuable goods" of a society than others (Hradil 1999, p. 26, as cited in Abels 2009, p. 320). To concretize this general definition, Hradil mentions some dimensions determining social inequality, namely income, assets, education, professional power, prestige, leisure time, work, health, habitation and social security (Hradil 1992a, p. 160f., as cited in Abels 2009, p. 320). If some members of a society are disadvantaged in these aspects compared to other more advantaged people, social inequality emerges.

In my opinion, in the case of Mozambique, the different distribution of economic and cultural capital, referring to Bourdieu, are the key factors for inequality among the society, going along with different access to drinking water, food, health care, education and other resources.

In this particular case, social inequality is perceived as an economic inequality among the Mozambican population, indicated by the so-called "Gini Index" and the "shared prosperity", as mentioned below.

8.4.2 Statistical data: Shared prosperity, Gini Index and the distribution of income

An indicator for the well-being and level of (in)equality of a country's population is the "shared prosperity" indicator: It demonstrates the percentage growth of the mean consumption or income per person at an annual rate (World Bank 2018z).

Between 2010 and 2015, the growth of the mean consumption or income per capita in Mozambique was 1.60 percent for the poorest 40 percent of the population (ibid.). However, the shared prosperity of the total Mozambican population was far more than twice the growth rate of the bottom 40 percent (ibid.). This indicates a disparity amongst the population of their development toward increasing wealth. The poorer population is, as it is usually the case, underprivileged and the faster growth of the upper 60 percent of the population aggravates the disparity toward the poorest 40 percent even more. But to what extent does inequality exist among the Mozambican population?

The so-called "Gini Index" is an indicator for the distribution of income among a population: It indicates the degree to which the distribution of income or consumption expenditure of people within an economic area diverges from a totally equal distribution (World Bank 2018z1). The Gini Index ranges from 0 to 1 (ibid.). While an index of 0 represents total equality, a value of 1 depicts complete inequality among a population (ibid.).

In 2014, the Gini Index in Mozambique had a value of 0,54 which indicates a high social inequality among the Mozambican population (World Bank Group 2018).

Inequality has undergone some changes over time: In 1996, the Gini Index in Mozambique was with 0,536 practically as high as in 2014 (World Bank 2018z). But in between, inequality declined to 0,47 in 2002 and further to 0,456 in 2008 (ibid.). Therefore, Mozambique's situation first seemed to evolve into more equality within the population, until drifting apart again recently, widening the gap between the few rich and the many poor (ibid.).

The inequality in Mozambique also becomes apparent in the distribution of income or consumption by quintile: In 2014, four fifths or 80 percent of the Mozambican population possessed less than half of the total income or consumption (ibid.). In contrast, the richest quintile

of the population in Mozambique had 59.50 percent of the total income or consumption, compared to only 4.20 percent of the income or consumption from the poorest quintile, 7.60 percent from the second quintile, 11.20 percent belonging to the third and 17.40 percent belonging to the fourth quintile (ibid.). These data show an inconceivable gap between the rich and the poor and indicate an enormous inequality among the population in Mozambique.

8.5 Poverty

Poverty is one of the most important factors hindering a less developed society from evolving into a society with a high standard of living. It affects numerous people worldwide, especially in least developed countries, such as Mozambique.

In 2014, the poverty rate indicated that 62.90 percent of the Mozambican population were living in extreme poverty (World Bank 2018z2). Despite seeming to be a remarkable part of the Mozambican population, poverty in Mozambique has significantly decreased from a poverty rate of 82.70 percent in 1996 to a value of 80.60 percent in 2002, 69.10 percent in 2008 and finally 62.90 percent in 2014, which is a steady decrease of nearly 20 percent in 18 years (ibid.). But what does the poverty rate exactly indicate?

The poverty rate indicates the percentage of people living in extreme poverty, so to speak the people having to live with less than 1.90 US dollars a day, converted into the local purchasing power based on the international Purchasing Power Parity from 2011 (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung 2018a).

However, the relative frequency of poverty doesn't correspond with the absolute frequency of people living in poverty in Mozambique: While the relative numbers have shown a steady decrease in the percentage of the Mozambican population, the absolute numbers demonstrate a constant increase in the number of people living in poverty (World Bank 2018z). This simply indicates that the Mozambican population has grown along the years, but that the percentage of people living below the international poverty line has decreased anyway (ibid.). In 2014, 17.1 million people were, according to the International Poverty Line definition, defined as poor in Mozambique, representing 62.90 percent of its population (ibid.).

When reading about poverty rates in countries, it is always important to take a precise look at the particular definition of poverty, which lies behind the data: As earlier mentioned, the international poverty definition defines poverty as the percentage of people having to live with less than 1.90 dollars a day, while the national poverty definition of Mozambique has lower limits (World Bank 2018z1). As a consequence, the country's national poverty line "only" classifies

12.5 million people, meaning less than half of the population (46.10 percent), as living in poverty, compared to 17.1 million people or 62.90 percent following the international poverty line benchmarks (ibid.).

8.6 Health

The health of a population and its healthcare system are important indicators for the stage of development of a society and a major factor determining life expectancy.

8.6.1 Current health expenditure

The current health expenditure in percent of a country's gross domestic product stands for the estimates of health expenditures in terms of healthcare goods and services (World Bank 2018d).

The amount of health expenditures has experienced yearly fluctuations since 2000, except for a continuous decline between the years 2005 and 2008, decreasing from a rate of 6.44 percent of Mozambique's GDP in 2005 to 4.62 percent in 2008 (ibid.).

From 2008 to 2010, the rate constantly increased from 4.62 percent in 2008 to 5.12 percent in 2010, until thereafter fluctuating again (ibid.).

Finally in 2015, the Mozambican health expenditure amounted to 5.35 percent of the country's GDP (ibid.).

8.6.2 Life expectancy

The life expectancy is, as already mentioned earlier, a relevant indicator for assessing the health situation and the stage of a society's development. It grew steadily from a value of only 35.03 years in 1960 to 42.05 years in 1978, until slightly declining in the first years of the Mozambican civil war (World Bank 2018q): From a value of 42.05 years in 1978, life expectancy declined to 41.66 years in 1983, until rising again continuously to a life expectancy of 58.32 years in 2016, which indicates a clear improvement of the population's overall health and the healthcare situation within the country (ibid.).

Despite the growth of life expectancy in Mozambique, it is still a very low value compared to developed countries, such as in the European Union with an average of 81 years in 2016 (ibid.).

The life expectancy at birth represents the amount of years "a newborn infant would live if prevailing patterns of mortality at the time of its birth were to stay the same throughout its life" (World Bank 2018q).

8.6.3 Maternal mortality

The maternal mortality ratio indicates the number of women dying from pregnancy-related causes during pregnancy or within 42 days of the parturition per 100,000 live births (World Bank 2018s).

Since 1990, the number of maternal deaths has significantly decreased from an amount of 1,390 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births in 1990 to 489 in 2015 (ibid.). This development evidences an improvement of hygienic conditions and of the health supply in Mozambique (ibid.).

8.6.4 Infant mortality rate

The infant mortality rate underwent a similar development as the maternal mortality ratio:

It constantly decreased, with some minor exceptions, e.g. from 1964 to 1968, when it increased from an amount of 265.2 infant deaths per 1,000 live births to 269.1 in 1968 (World Bank 2018u). Another slight exception was between 1979 and 1981, rising from a value of 258.4 infant deaths to 259 in 1981 (ibid.).

Apart from these slight increases, the infant mortality rate has steadily declined from a peak of 269.1 in 1968 to 71.30 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2016, which again demonstrates a continuous amelioration of the health care system in Mozambique (ibid.).

Included in the infant mortality rate are infants under 5 years, indicating the probability of a newborn baby to die before reaching the age of 5, per 1,000 live births (ibid.).

8.6.5 Prevalence of undernourishment

Undernourishment is a severe problem that primarily affects least developed countries and leads to a significantly lower life expectancy of the affected people.

The indicator "prevalence of undernourishment (% of population)" represents the percentage of the population whose alimentation is "insufficient to meet dietary energy requirements continuously" (World Bank 2018z4).

Undernourishment has historically always been a problem in Mozambique, especially in times of natural disasters such as droughts (Staal Jensen 2005, p. 22 and Vestbø 2016, p. 15f.). However, the amount of undernourishment among the Mozambican population has recently decreased year by year, from a value of 40.30 percent of the population in 2000 to 26.60 percent

in 2015 (World Bank 2018z4). Despite having significantly declined in the past years, under-nourishment is still a grave obstacle for Mozambique's development, affecting more than a quarter of its population (ibid.).

8.6.6 Prevalence of HIV

The prevalence of HIV is also an important indicator for the health and well-being of a society as well as for the healthcare system as a whole. HIV is a leading cause for early deaths and is particularly a major problem in developing countries. The prevalence of HIV includes people aged between 15 and 49 years infected with the HIV virus (World Bank 2018z3).

In the European Union, the amount of infected people lies between 0.1 and 0.7 percent of the population in its member states (ibid.).

In contrast, the rate of infected people among the Mozambican population is much higher (ibid.): After increasing from 1990 with an amount of 1.8 percent of the population to 14.1 percent in 2007, the number of persons infected with HIV has steadily declined since 2007 to 12.3 percent in 2016 (ibid.).

Nevertheless, the amount of HIV positive people is still very high in Mozambique, compared to many other, especially developed countries (ibid.). In 2016, 1,800,000 people were living with HIV in Mozambique, from which 62,000 died of AIDS (UNAIDS 2018). More than half of the infected people, 54 percent to be exact, had access to antiretroviral therapy in the same year (ibid.). With respect to pregnant HIV-positive women, almost 80 percent of them were able to access treatment or prophylaxis to avoid transmitting the virus to their children (ibid.). Despite these measures, approximately 13,000 newborns were infected with HIV through mother-to-child transmission in 2016 (ibid.).

The highest values of HIV prevalence are found among prisoners in Mozambique with a rate of 24 percent of the total imprisoned population (ibid.).

As a result of this alarming situation, many development projects focus on the reduction of HIV infections, as for example mentioned in the Millennium Development Goals from 2000 (United Nations Development Programme 2018). Within the next years, Mozambique is planning to implement measures to substantially reduce new infections with HIV as well as to enhance prevention, particularly regarding mother-to-child transmissions (UNAIDS 2018). To name one of many examples, the country "plans to extend antiretroviral therapy coverage to 81% of adults and 67% of children living with HIV by 2020" (ibid.). Fortunately, Mozambique's path

toward a reduction of new HIV infections is developing positively since 2007 (World Bank 2018z3).

8.7 Drinking water and sanitation

8.7.1 Drinking water

An additional indicator for the quality of living and for the stage of development of a society is the appropriate access to safe drinking water: In 2015, 51.10 percent of the population in Mozambique had appropriate access to safe drinking water (World Bank 2018, as cited in Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung 2018a). Appropriate access to safe drinking water is defined as the availability of a minimum of 20 liters of water per person and per day from a source not farther than one kilometer from the habitation (World Bank 2018, as cited in Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung 2018a). Enhanced sources of water are for example a water-connection in one's house, a public filling station, a bore hole, a safe fountain, as well as a safe source or a rain water tank (ibid.). Water sellers, road tankers, unsafe fountains and unsafe sources are not defined as enhanced sources of water and therefore do not count as an appropriate access to safe drinking water (ibid.).

8.7.2 Sanitation

Sanitation is a substantial indicator for "progress in the fight against poverty, disease, and death", used by several international organizations (World Bank 2018w). It is defined as "facilities and services for the safe disposal of human urine and feces" (ibid.). Worldwide it is estimated, that unsafe sanitation is the global leading cause for diseases (ibid.). Access to safe sanitation is also considered as a basic human right for everyone (ibid.).

Nevertheless, around three quarters of the Mozambican population are still deprived of basic sanitation facilities (ibid.):

Despite a steady annual rise, the number of people using at least basic sanitation services was still very low in 2015, being only 23.56 percent of the population (ibid.). Included in this amount are people having access to basic, as well as improved sanitation facilities, which they do not have to share with other households (ibid.). Therefore, sanitation is a major factor which has to be improved in Mozambique in order to lastingly enhance the living conditions and health among its population.

8.8 Education

The improvement of the quantity and quality of education is one of the top priorities of the Mozambican government and one of the main measures to reduce poverty within the country (Auswärtiges Amt 2015c). The international donor community supports Mozambique in the process of improving its educational sector, which is one of the core focus areas of development assistance in Mozambique (ibid.).

8.8.1 Government expenditure on education

In the past years, the governmental expenses on the education sector have constantly increased (Auswärtiges Amt 2015c). From educational expenses of 2.05 percent of Mozambique's gross domestic product in 1998 to 6.48 percent in 2013, the Mozambican government has spent a significantly greater part of its state budget on education in the past years (World Bank 2018l). Furthermore, the government expenditure on education was comparatively higher than the health expenditure in 2013, amounting to only 4.70 percent of Mozambique's GDP (World Bank 2018d).

8.8.2 Primary education

8.8.2.1 School enrollment

The primary school enrollment rate indicates the percentage of children of official school age who are enrolled in primary school (World Bank 2018z8). On the whole, the number of students has increased in Mozambique over the years, despite some declines (ibid.).

From a trough of 34.46 percent of primary school students in 1982 during the civil war, the amount of children in primary schools has increased up to 89.75 percent in 2015, which represents a remarkable growth (ibid.).

Moreover, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasizes that almost as many girls as boys are enrolled in school, which indicates a growing gender equality in the educational area in Mozambique as well (Auswärtiges Amt 2015c).

Nevertheless, this kind of gender equality is not surprising for Mozambique as a country with women making up more than half of the working population in Mozambique (Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 4): Already in the years 2000, 2005, 2010, 2016 more than 54 percent of the Mozambican working population were women, amounting to 54.80 percent in 2017 (ibid.).

8.8.2.2 Primary completion rate

The primary completion rate indicates the ratio between children who entered the last grade of primary education and all children at the age of their envisaged last grade of primary school (World Bank 2018z5). The number of children in the last grade of primary school has experienced several fluctuations, from lows of only 8.37 percent in 1973 and 14.19 percent in 1999 to peaks of 44.28 percent amidst the civil war in 1986 and 57.20 percent in 2010 (ibid.).

However, the amount of students completing primary school has declined in recent years from 57.20 percent in 2010 to less than half, 48.37 percent, in 2015 (ibid.).

8.8.2.3 Early school leavers

The quality of the educational offer is still insufficient, along with a large number of early school leavers, as the low primary completion rate evidences (Auswärtiges Amt 2015c and (World Bank 2018z5).

Aggravating factors for this condition are shortcomings in teachers, a too short teacher-training, lacking school equipment, multi-shift operations in schools and large classes in the primary education (Auswärtiges Amt 2015c). Further structural causes for the low graduation rates in Mozambique are the poverty across the population, as well as the lack of proper perspectives for students after their graduation (ibid.).

8.8.2.4 Pupil-teacher ratio

The pupil-teacher ratio indicates the average number of students per teacher in primary schools (World Bank 2018z6). It has experienced significant changes in Mozambique, ranging from a trough of 53.37 students per teacher in 1992, which is still very high, to a peak of 87.46 students per teacher in 1979 (ibid.).

Since 2006, a significant downward trend in the pupil-teacher ratio is observable, leading to an average ratio of 54.66 in 2015 (ibid.).

The problem with large classes is that teachers cannot focus and committ themselves to individual pupils as they have to teach them as a group and en masse (ibid.).

Nonetheless, it is a good sign that the average number of pupils per teacher is decreasing simultaneously to an increase in the number of primary students (ibid.). This points to a positive increase in primary school teachers.

8.8.3 Secondary education

The secondary school enrollment ratio indicates the number of children and adolescents, regardless of age, who are enrolled in secondary schools, divided by the population of official secondary school age (Unicef (n.d.)).

Overall, the number of students in secondary education has increased in Mozambique, from a secondary school enrollment rate of only 2.60 percent at the beginning of the civil war in 1977 to a ratio of 32.80 percent in 2015 (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2018b).

However, the increase in secondary school enrollments was not a steady one: There were some minor decreases during the civil war, between 1977 and 1992, but the most significant decline was from an amount of 7.40 percent in 1995 to 5.20 percent in 1999 (*ibid.*). In contrast, the strongest increase was registered from 24.70 percent in 2012 to a peak of 33.10 percent in 2013, until flattening out at around 33 percent in the subsequent years (*ibid.*).

8.8.4 Higher education

Higher education is still uncommon and considered a privilege in developing countries. Nevertheless, the number of students enrolled at Mozambican universities has increased over the years (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2018c).

The tertiary education enrollment ratio indicates the number of students enrolled in higher education, regardless of age, divided by the population between the official secondary school graduation age and up to 5 years past that age (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2018a).

The enrollment rate demonstrated a steady growth in the number of students at Mozambican universities, rising from 0.00 percent in 1981 to 7.00 percent of the people in tertiary education age in 2016 (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2018c). In 2015, approximately 115,000 people were studying at national universities (Auswärtiges Amt 2015c) and the number of students is rising.

Currently there are 49 universities in Mozambique, including public and private institutions (Ministério da Ciência e Tecnologia Ensino Superior e Técnico-Profissional 2015). The oldest university of the country is the "Universidade Eduardo Mondlane" (UEM), founded in 1962 by the Portuguese during colonialization (*ibid.*).

8.8.5 Literacy rate

The literacy rate is an indicator for the educational background of a country's population and for the quality and accessibility of the educational system. The literacy rate is defined as the percentage of people aged 15 years and older who are able to read and write a short and simple statement about their day-to-day life (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung 2018a).

In 2009, Mozambique reached a literacy rate of 50.58 percent among the population, which is slightly more than half of the population (World Bank 2018r).

From an educational point of view, Mozambique's development has been a positive and remarkable one in the past few decades: From a literacy rate of only 27 percent of the population in 1980, to a rate of already 38.71 percent in 1997, to 48.16 percent in 2003 and finally up to more than half of the population - 50.58 percent - in 2009 (ibid.). However, the low literacy rate indicates at the same time a high rate of illiteracy among the Mozambican population. In 2014, the illiteracy rate in Mozambique was 44.90 percent, indicating a further increased literacy of 55.10 percent among the population (IOF 2014/15, as cited in UNESCO Moçambique 2015, p. 12).

According to data from the Mozambican National Institute for Statistics, the highest illiteracy rates prevail in rural regions of the country (IOF 2014/15, as cited in UNESCO Moçambique 2015, p. 20). In 2014 and 2015, illiterate persons were primarily found in the provinces of Cabo-Delgado with an illiteracy rate of 61 percent, followed by Niassa, Nampula, Tete and Zambezia, each with approximately more than half of the local population being illiterate (ibid.). The region with the lowest illiteracy rate in Mozambique is the capital region of Maputo with only 10 percent of illiterates and 90 percent of literates (ibid.). Particularly interesting is the fact that the two provinces with the highest illiterate rates, Cabo Delgado and Niassa, are the furthest away from the capital Maputo with the lowest illiteracy rate, evidencing the above-mentioned North-South divide (Figure 1: Map of Mozambique and Auswärtiges Amt 2015d).

Compared to other countries, Mozambique's literacy rate of 55.10 percent in 2014 is still very low: Having an average literacy rate in 2016 of 99 percent in the European Union and of 86 percent in the world, the Southeast-African country clearly lags behind (World Bank 2018r). Even compared to the average rate of least developed countries, which was 63 percent in 2016, Mozambique was clearly underperforming in 2014 (ibid.).

Nonetheless, it is important to recognize Mozambique's progress in the educational area, which has been a remarkable one in recent years.

8.9 Internet and cell phones

8.9.1 Internet

Being considered as an indispensable good in modern developed societies, the internet is still not accessible to everyone, particularly not in least developed countries (World Bank 2018n).

However, the number of internet users has substantially increased year by year in Mozambique, from nearly one percent of the population - 0.91 - in 2007 to 17.52 percent in 2016 (ibid.). This shows the growing interconnectedness of Mozambique with the rest of the world and the increased utilization of modern technologies (ibid.).

8.9.2 Cell phones

Another essential modern technology are cell phones. While they are already seen as an essential part of modern life in developed countries, they are gradually also becoming so in developing countries, such as Mozambique (World Bank 2018t).

From 0.82 mobile cellular subscriptions per 100 people in 2001 in Mozambique, the amount skyrocketed to 71.88 subscriptions in 2015 (World Bank 2018n). However, probably caused by the aforementioned armed escalations between RENAMO members and security guards in 2015 (Auswärtiges Amt 2015b), the number of cell phone subscriptions dropped to 52.12 subscriptions per 100 people in 2016 (World Bank 2018n).

The data evidences an increasing accessibility of modern communication technologies for the population, which in turn indicates a successive modernization and a worldwide interconnectedness of Mozambique.

8.10 Environment

8.10.1 Carbon dioxide emissions

According to World Bank data, carbon dioxide emissions "account for the largest share of greenhouse gases, which are associated with global warming" (World Bank 2018c). Carbon dioxide emissions arise from the burning of fuel and biomass, including industrial processes as well as changes in the land use (ibid.). Because of their impact on global warming, they are a crucial factor in analyzing the ecological situation of any country.

Between 1960 and 1982, the CO₂ emissions in Mozambique fluctuated between 0.21 and 0.39 metric tons per capita, until declining to a trough of 0.06 in 1996(ibid.). However, within one year - between 2013 and 2014 - the carbon dioxide emissions doubled from a value of 0.15 to 0.31 tons per capita in 2014 (World Bank 2018c). Finally, in 2016, the emissions decreased again to 0.20 tons per capita (Wirtschaftskammer Österreich 2018, p. 5).

Compared with other countries and the global average, Mozambique is very environmentally friendly in this aspect: With a value of only 0.20 in 2016, compared to 4.80 tons of CO₂ emissions per capita worldwide, 6.75 in average in the European Union and 15.56 in the United States of America, Mozambique's carbon dioxide emissions are very modest (ibid.).

8.10.2 Total greenhouse gas emissions

Nevertheless, total greenhouse gas emissions in Mozambique, including carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide and fluorinated gases, have increased more severely in the past years (World Bank 2018z11):

Between the years 1970 and 1997, total greenhouse gas emissions reached a peak of 53,298 kT in 1992 in Mozambique, until skyrocketing to a value of more than three hundred thousand, to be precise 301,746 kT, in 1998 (ibid.). From this year onwards, greenhouse gas emissions experienced several ups and downs which were considerably less extreme than in the past (ibid.). Eventually, from 2010 to 2012, greenhouse gas emissions remained on a constant level of around 380,000 kT, which was their all-time high at the same time (ibid.).

Given that the agricultural sector is a significant contributor of greenhouse emissions, (particularly through methane and nitrous oxide), the significant increase in those emissions may be linked to the expansion of agricultural land since the 1960s, as already mentioned in the chapter on the primary sector (World Bank 2018a).

8.10.3. Environmental situation

Being one of the poorest countries in the world, environmental protection is not the first priority in Mozambique's policy (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d). In addition, there is a lack of resources to test the environmental soundness of projects (ibid.). A further concern is that infrastructural projects, such as the deepwater port "Techobanine", compete against projects for environmental protection, such as the world natural heritage project "Elephant Coast" (ibid.).

Standard" from June 19, 2018, an Islamist terrorist group called "Ahlu Sunnah Wa-Jamâ" was responsible for the attacks (ibid.). Armed with machetes and rifles, they decapitated and assassinated 18 people, set nearly 100 huts on fire and kidnapped ten of the 18 victims, who were later found beheaded (ibid.).

"Ahlu Sunnah Wa-Jamâ" was founded in 2015, consisting of an estimated group of people between 350 and 1,500, who are between 20 and 35 years old (ibid.). They reject the national power and urge the population not to visit Western schools and hospitals (ibid.).

The Islamist terrorist group is destabilizing the overall safety in Mozambique. As a consequence, the Mozambican government tries to minimize the violence by detaining hundreds of people and closing mosques (ibid.). However, the author of this article, Johannes Dieterich, fears a contrary effect of these measures: He argues that the closing of mosques could lead to an enlargement of the terrorist group by easing the recruitment of new members (ibid.).

8.11.5 Drug trafficking

In the past years, Mozambique has become an important transit country for international heroin smuggling to Europe (Dieterich 2018b). Dieterich claims that drug traffickers have bribed Mozambican government officials to perform drug smuggling by boat at least once a week (Dieterich 2018b). The country earns an estimated 600 to 800 million US dollars per year with the foreign trade of heroin, amounting to the same earnings as from the exportation of coal (ibid.).

Mozambique expert Joseph Hanlon criticizes the international community for not having intervened in the organized crime despite being aware of it and for misusing the country as a "best-practice" example (ibid.).

Authors from a study on drug trafficking in Mozambique argue that an independent elimination of corruption and organized crime by the corrupt government is rather unlikely (ibid.). They emphasize that the international donor community should put pressure on the Mozambican government and that in addition a long-term awareness training is necessary (ibid.).

A ray of hope comes from Mozambique's neighboring country South Africa, which is the main transit country in the Southern route for drug trafficking to Europe (ibid.): The new South African president Cyril Ramaphosa has promised to stop the collusion between politics and organized crime, which could bring to an end the Southern route for drug trafficking in South Africa and Mozambique (ibid.).

8.12 Freedoms

8.12.1 Media

The freedom of information and freedom of opinion are laid down in the Mozambican constitution and in the press law (Auswärtiges Amt 2015c). President Filipe Nyusi's government emphasized on the occasion of the World Press Freedom Day in 2017 that journalists played an important role in advancing the country's democracy. In response to this, he promised that the government would establish a proper environment for the freedom of information (Reporters without borders 2018b).

However, the freedom of the press is not always guaranteed (Auswärtiges Amt 2015c). Several media are associated with the Mozambican government, primarily the most widely-used and the influential newspapers, radio stations and television channels (ibid.). Despite existing independent newspapers, radio stations and television channels, they do not have the largest audience (ibid.).

In addition, media and journalists who are critical toward the government are often threatened and intimidated (Reporters without borders 2018b). This primarily leads to self-censorship, particularly in rural areas (ibid.).

According to Reporters Without Borders, the media sector in Mozambique is lacking resources and training (ibid.).

An indicator for the freedom of the press and of the media is the so-called "World Press Freedom Index", which is published annually since 2002 by "Reporters Without Borders" (RSF) (Reporters without borders 2018d). Relevant dimensions for the index are the pluralism of the media, their independence, the safety of journalists and the quality of the legislation (ibid.). 180 countries are included in this index, among them Mozambique (ibid.).

In this year of 2018, Mozambique ranked 99th out of 180 countries with a World Press Freedom Index of 31.12 which counts as "problematic" (Reporters without borders 2018c and Reporters without borders 2018d). A score of 0 represents the best possible value, while 100 is the worst (Reporters without borders 2018a). In any case, scores from 55.01 to 100 already count as "very bad", while a value of 31.12 is defined as a "problematic" situation for the freedom of the press and of journalists in Mozambique (ibid.).

8.12.2 Human Rights

The basic human rights are guaranteed in the Mozambican constitution (Auswärtiges Amt 2015b). In addition, Mozambique has ratified the most important conventions on the protection of human rights (ibid.). There were no systematic human rights violations reported in Mozambique by governmental actors (ibid.). Nevertheless, the excessive use of force in actions from the police and security guards often lead to violations of human rights (ibid.).

As a consequence, Mozambique voluntarily underwent the "Universal Periodic Review" of the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2011 and is currently elaborating strategies to implement its recommendations (ibid.). However, as one of the poorest countries worldwide, Mozambique is often unable to comply with the requirements of international agreements due to the lack of financial and human resources (ibid.).

A worldwide index for human freedom and rights is the "Human Freedom Index" (HFI) (Vásquez, Porčnik 2017, p. 5). It measured 79 different indicators of personal and economic freedom for 159 countries worldwide in the year 2015 (ibid.). Areas of the investigated indicators include the "Rule of Law, Security and Safety, Movement, Religion, Association, Assembly, and Civil Society, Expression and Information, Identity and Relationships, Size of Government, Legal System and Property Rights, Access to Sound Money, Freedom to Trade Internationally, Regulation of Credit, Labor, and Business" (ibid.).

In 2015, the average global score of human freedom was 6.93, while 0 represents no freedom and 10 represents more freedom (ibid.).

Mozambique scored lower than the global average with a value of 6.23 in 2015, ranking on the 122nd position out of 159 countries in the overall category "human freedom" (Vásquez, Porčnik 2017, p. 258). The Human Freedom Index had risen constantly since 2009 in Mozambique from a score of 5.85 to 6.51 in 2014, but suddenly decreased to 6.23 in 2015, presumably due to the armed conflicts between the RENAMO party and security guards in the same year (Vásquez, Porčnik 2017, p. 259 and Auswärtiges Amt 2015b).

Mozambique scored higher in the personal freedom than in the economic freedom, with a value of 6.85 compared to 5.62 (Vásquez, Porčnik 2017, p. 258).

The personal freedom includes indicators for the "Rule of Law", "Security and Safety", "Movement", "Religious Freedom", "Association", "Expression and Information" and "Identity and Relationships" (ibid.). The personal freedom in Mozambique was particularly threatened in the

categories "Rule of Law" and "Association" with values of 3.8, while the "Identity and Relationships" are secured and free with a score of 10 out of 10 (ibid.).

Relevant for the economic freedom are the categories "Size of Government", "Legal System and Prop.¹ Rights", "Sound Money", "Freedom to Trade Int'l²" and "Regulation" (ibid.). The lowest economic freedom within the variables was in the "Legal System and Prop. Rights" with a value of 4 out of 10 and the highest, but still quite unsatisfying scores, were identified in the "Sound Money" and the "Freedom to Trade Int'l" category (ibid.).

Therefore, Mozambique is far more advanced and provides more freedom in some areas than in others, but is still seriously affected and influenced by the confrontations between RENAMO troops and security guards within the country.

9. External relations

9.1 Memberships in Organizations

Mozambique is a member of several international and multilateral organizations, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the African Union (AU), the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the Commonwealth and since 2006 also an observer of the Francophonie (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d and Auswärtiges Amt 2015a).

Furthermore, Mozambique regularly participates in meetings of the "Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa" (CPLP), the Community of Portuguese speaking countries, and in meetings of the "Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa" (PALOP), the Union of African states with Portuguese as their official language (Auswärtiges Amt 2015a and Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa 2018 and European Commission 2018e).

9.2 Political relations

Mozambique's foreign policy focuses mainly on the relations with OECD donor countries regarding development cooperation and further on the relations with its neighboring countries in southern Africa and lusophone (Portuguese speaking) countries (Auswärtiges Amt 2015a).

¹ = Property

² = Internationally

9.3 Economic relations

To its former colonial ruler Portugal, Mozambique has close and amicable relations with an intensive exchange of visitors from and to Portugal, with an increasing Portuguese entrepreneurial participation in Mozambique and moreover with the immigration of Portuguese citizens to Mozambique (Auswärtiges Amt 2015a).

South Africa is the most important bilateral trading partner of Mozambique, actively exchanging trading goods, opinions and visitors (ibid.).

In addition, Brazil, China and India are important economic partners of Mozambique, investing in different areas, such as infrastructure and raw materials (ibid.).

The country's most important trading partners were the European Union and South Africa, followed by China, India and the United Arab Emirates in 2015 (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d).

Mozambique exported goods mainly to India, comprising 34 percent of all Mozambican exports and an amount of 1,62 billion US dollars in 2017 (United Nations COMTRADE database on international trade, as cited in Trading Economics 2018a). The second largest amount of exports went to South Africa, amounting to 19 percent or 883.87 million US dollars (ibid.). The third and fourth most important export partners of Mozambique are two countries from the European Union: The Netherlands and Italy (ibid.). The Netherlands received 10 percent of Mozambique's total exports with a merchandise value of 472.47 million US dollars in 2017, while Mozambique exported goods with a value of 270.16 million US dollars to Italy, making up 5.7 percent of all Mozambican exports (ibid.). The fifth largest export partner of Mozambique was China, receiving 5.3 percent of Mozambique's exports with an amount of 252.61 million US dollars (ibid.).

Portugal, as the former colonial ruler of Mozambique, is the 18th biggest export partner of Mozambique, receiving a share of 0.46 percent of Mozambique's total exports in 2017 with a merchandise value of 21,73 million US dollars (ibid.).

However, in the area of imported goods and services, Portugal is a more significant trading partner of Mozambique, ranking seventh, amounting to 4.3 percent of Mozambique's imports with a value of 242.32 million US dollars in 2017 (United Nations COMTRADE database on international trade, as cited in Trading Economics 2018b).

The most significant trading partner for Mozambique is, as already mentioned above, South Africa. They provided 29 percent of the total imports with an amount of 1.65 billion US dollars to Mozambique in 2017 (ibid.). The second largest import partner are the United Arab Emirates,

comprising 9.3 percent of the total imports with a merchandise value of 531.21 million US dollars (ibid.). Mozambique further imported 8.7 percent from China with a value of 493.35 million US dollars, closely followed by the Netherlands with 8.6 percent or 493.35 million US dollars and in the fifth place is India, providing 7.9 percent of Mozambique's imports with an amount of 450.86 million US dollars (ibid.).

10. Development projects in Mozambique

The World Bank mentions some development challenges which Mozambique is facing. Some of which include stabilizing its macroeconomy, enhancing the economic governance and creating more transparency, also referring to the hidden debts investigation (World Bank 2018z10). In accordance with the World Bank, structural reforms should be installed to support the private sector (ibid.). Other provided recommendations for the solution of the economic obstacles in Mozambique are a change from “capital-intensive projects and low-productivity subsistence agriculture toward a more diverse and competitive economy, all the while strengthening the key drivers of inclusion, such as improved quality education and health service delivery, which could in turn improve social indicators” (World Bank 2018.).

11. Actors of development cooperation in Mozambique

The development cooperation actors in Mozambique include the UN peacekeeping forces (Manning, Malbrough 2012, p. 3) as well as bilateral and multilateral donors, such as the African Development Bank, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the European Union (more precisely the European Commission), Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the World Bank (Manning, Malbrough 2012, p. 4). The United States and the United Nations in general also became associative members with mainly coordinating actions (ibid.). Together, they donated 471 million US dollars in 2009 (ibid.). The amount of official development assistance increased significantly in recent years, as discussed in the next chapter on official development assistance.

25 countries, as well as 25 multilateral organizations and suborganizations of the United Nations act as sponsors of development assistance in Mozambique (Auswärtiges Amt 2015d).

Almost a quarter of Mozambique's national budget, about 24 percent, is financed by funds from the international development cooperation and private loans (ibid.).

12. Official Development Assistance to Mozambique

In 2016, Mozambique received a total amount of more than one and a half billion US dollars, 1,531,400,000 US dollars to be precise, of official development assistance (ODA) (World Bank 2018, as cited in Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung 2018b). Relative to the Mozambican population, the amount of the official development assistance in 2016 was around 53 US dollars per person (ibid.).

The official development assistance, consists of loans with favorable conditions (minus the repayments) and of subsidies (ibid.). The subsidies come from public posts of the members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC), from multilateral institutions and from Non-DAC-countries (ibid.). The official development assistance includes financial resources to support the economic development and to improve the standard of living in the countries and regions listed in the Development Assistance Committee list of ODA recipients (ibid.).

As an example, Germany, as the biggest donor of development assistance within the European Union, donated in 2016 and 2017 a total amount of 89,5 million euros for development affairs to Mozambique (ibid.). However, Germany is not the biggest donor of official development assistance to Mozambique within the European Union. When it comes to the European institutions, the following picture can be drawn:

Between 2013 and 2014, Eastern Europe received with 32 percent the largest share of bilateral ODA by the institutions of the European Union, with an amount of 5.8 billion US dollars in 2014 (OECD 2016, p. 188). The second largest recipient and beneficiary of the EU institutions' funds was Sub-Saharan Africa with 28 percent in total, where Mozambique is also located (ibid.). The region received a total amount of 5.3 billion US dollars by the European institutions in 2014 (ibid.). The third largest beneficiary was with 15 percent the Middle East and North Africa region with a share of 15 percent, followed by South and Central Asia with 7, Latin America and the Caribbean with 6 and "Other Asia" and Oceania with an amount of 3 percent of bilateral ODA (ibid.).

However, although Mozambique's region was in the second place of the largest ODA recipients by EU institutions in 2013-2014, the country itself was not among the ten highest recipients of official development assistance during this period (OECD 2016, p. 188). The highest beneficiary of the EU institutions' ODA was Turkey between 2013 and 2014 (ibid.).

Nevertheless, concerning Portugal as a donor of ODA, the situation was completely different: Between 2013 and 2014, the Sub-Saharan Africa region clearly received the lion's share of

Portugal's bilateral official development assistance, amounting to 83 percent in total (OECD 2016, p. 248). As a former colonial ruler in Mozambique and other African countries, this may not seem surprising for Portugal though (ibid.).

Hence, Mozambique got a considerably higher share in Portugal's ODA than regarding the EU institutions' assistance, being the second largest recipient of Portuguese ODA between 2013 and 2014, receiving an amount of 70 million US dollars in total (ibid.).

Key areas of the development cooperation by the European Union are the democratic governance, agriculture and food security, trade as well as water and energy (European Commission 2014, p. 10f.).

The official development assistance, which Mozambique has received and is still receiving, has undergone deep changes over the past decades:

Until 1975, the year of Mozambique's independence, Mozambique usually received less than one million US dollars of development assistance per year with some exceptions in the years 1966 and 1967, in which it received 6,850,000 and 18,030,000 US dollars respectively (World Bank 2018v). From its independence onwards, the official development assistance in Mozambique steadily rose, starting with 20,330,000 US dollars in 1975 and reaching a peak of 2,313 billion US dollars in 2013 (ibid.). On the whole, the development assistance has increased along the past decades in Mozambique, but nevertheless, there were significant fluctuations identifiable: Significant peaks were the one in 2013, one in 2002 with 2,217 billion US dollars, another in 1992 at the end of the civil war with 1,46 billion US dollars and in 1988 with 916,600,000 US dollars (ibid.). Since 2013, the amount of the received official development assistance has constantly decreased to 1,531,400,000 US dollars in 2016, as a result to the aforementioned hidden debt crisis in Mozambique (World Bank 2018, as cited in Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung 2018b).

According to Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues, Mozambique is one of the biggest recipients of official development assistance in Africa (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 4). In 2015, Mozambique received official development assistance in the amount of 12.5 percent of the gross national income, which is approximately five times more than the African average of 2.4 percent (ibid.).

According to the OECD Query Wizard for International Development Statistics, the main donors of official development assistance in Mozambique in 2015 were the World Bank's International Development Association with funds of 346 million US dollars, followed by the United States of America with 302 million US dollars, the Global Fund with 97 million US dollars and

Sweden with 91 million US dollars (OECD Query Wizard for International Development Statistics, as cited in Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 4). Therefore, Sweden is the biggest donor of development assistance for Mozambique in the European Union.

Other relevant donors of official development assistance in Mozambique were in 2015 the International Monetary Fund, Germany, the United Kingdom, the institutions of the European Union, Japan, France and other countries and organizations (OECD Query Wizard for International Development Statistics, as cited in Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 4). Altogether, the European Union, with its institutions and its Member States, was and still is the biggest donor of ODA in Mozambique and the entire world (OECD, as cited in Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 4 and European Commission. (n.d.)).

According to Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues, "the country's (Mozambique's) reliance on donor money practically became its most salient economic characteristic" (Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 5). This is due to the fact that Mozambique had been "the darling of the international donor community" for many years (Macuane, Buur and Monjane 2017, as cited in Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 5).

Mozambique's dependence on development aid was problematic, since, according to Joseph Hanlon, donors and creditors "largely acted as a group to impose policies" on Mozambique (Hanlon 2017, as cited in Navarra and Udelsmann Rodrigues 2018, p. 5). He further questions if donors were supporting corruption by providing incentives and pushing for the privatization and liberalization with intransparent actions (ibid.). Hanlon assumes that the utilization of the donors' powerful position and the privatization and liberalization led to the hidden debt crisis, mentioned in chapter 8.3 on Mozambique's economy (ibid.).

13. Development projects in Mozambique

The "Austrian Development Agency", or ADA in short, supports projects in Mozambique with 58 percent mainly going into the agricultural sector, 34 percent into social infrastructure and services, 4 percent into humanitarian aid and 1 percent into education (Austrian Development Agency 2018).

In particular, the European Union as the largest donor of development aid worldwide (European Commission (n.d)) has so far improved many areas with the help of its development aid money in Mozambique (European Commission 2018d). These areas primarily include food safety, market access, production technologies, road infrastructure, reduced transport costs and the associated improved trading conditions and economic development (ibid.).

In the funding period from 2014 to 2020, the European Union is supporting Mozambique with a budget of 734 million euros together with measures to deepen the democratic system and to ensure transparency (ibid.). Additionally, the areas of legislative processes, poverty reduction, sustainable and inclusive growth, income redistribution, social stability and inclusive economic development are part of the "National Indicative Programme for Mozambique for the period 2014-2020" (ibid.).

An example of a current project in Mozambique being funded by the European Union is the “Protecção (sic!) patrimonial & desenvolvimento local: valorização histórico, cultural e ambiental” project for the protection of property and for the local development, which is targeted at the historical, cultural and environmental enhancement (ODAdatabase (n.d.)). The project runs from September 27, 2016 to January 14, 2020 (ibid.) and is being implemented in the two Mozambican provinces Maputo (the capital region) and Inhambane (Official Development Assistance to Mozambique Database (n.d.)).

14. Conclusion

After various attempts of gaining independence from the Portuguese colonial power, Mozambique, after nearly 500 years of colonial rule, broke away from its mother country in 1975 as a direct consequence of the historic carnation revolution of April 25, 1974. In the subsequent years, Mozambique faced numerous economic, political and social difficulties from which it has not fully recovered to this day. In particular, the 16-year long civil war weakened Mozambique's economy and led to political instability, famine and tougher living conditions for the local population. However, Mozambique has enjoyed considerable economic growth in recent years.

Nevertheless, this has not been enough to stop categorizing Mozambique as a developing country: The country continues to be one of the poorest countries in the world and ranked 181st out of 188 countries in the Human Development Index in 2015 (Jahan et al 2016, p. 200f.). Therefore, development cooperation in Mozambique is urgently needed to sustainably improve and stabilize the country's situation and the living conditions of its population. An indicator of its positive development since the end of the civil war in 1992 is the constantly increasing Human Development Index, which reflects various dimensions of the human development, such as life expectancy, education and gross national income (United Nations Development Programme 2016, p. 3).

Despite the country's ongoing debt crisis and strong dependence on foreign debt relief, international development indicators generally suggest a positive outlook for the Southeast African country. Particularly from an economic point of view, the inflation as well as gross domestic product are both expected to improve considerably in the next years. However, debt levels and their drastic consequences remain of high importance as they represent one of the most pressing challenges the country is currently faced with.

Concerning the specific development actors, the largest donor of development aid worldwide is the European Union with the European Commission and its Member States. The African Development Bank, the World Bank, the UN peacekeeping forces and, as associative members, the United Nations and the United States of America also act as significant development actors in the country. The European Union applies a variety of specific measures to improve development cooperation in Mozambique and around the world. Numerous examples were given, such as collaborations with other international development agencies, the establishment of international trade agreements as well as various external aid instruments which are allocated to specific geographical and thematic areas in order to actively combat poverty on a global scale.

Overall, development projects are being funded in Mozambique in a number of areas, including the economy (especially the agriculture), food and water supplies, infrastructure, policies (particularly democratization measures) and education. Thanks to the committed development cooperation of the involved actors and to the constantly improving living conditions in Mozambique, nothing stands in the way of a positive future for the Southeast African country. Particular focus must be placed on the growth and stabilization of the Mozambican economy, on increased political democratization, on food and water supplies and on the improved access to health care and education. With these points in mind, the living conditions can be sustainably improved and decisive factors for the development status of a society, such as life expectancy, can be lastingly increased.

As a final remark, I would like to raise awareness for the continuing importance of development cooperation for least-developed countries and would therefore like to invite the reader to keep the following quote always in mind:

"It is recognised today that we have the technological, financial and material resources to eliminate extreme poverty from our planet by 2030. There is no excuse not to do so."

(European Commission 2014, p. 1)

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18. Table of figures

Figure 1: Map of Mozambique. <https://www.ezilon.com/maps/africa/mozambique-maps.html> (11.07.2018)

Figure 2: National flag of Mozambique. <http://www.portaldogoverno.gov.mz/por/Imprensa/Simbolos-Oficiais/A-Bandeira-Nacional> (15.07.2018)