

MA thesis

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**A Study Of Corruption: The Case of Maputo,
Mozambique**

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Summary

This diploma thesis observes the greater story of everyday practices of money extortion in the city of Maputo, Mozambique. A hypothesis of this thesis tackles the relationship between corruption and development in the country, where both of these concepts are defined by the author. Through the conceptual definition a particular relationship can be analyzed in an otherwise broad understanding of both terms. The thesis is based on a case study of the everyday money extortion in Maputo carried out in Autumn 2019 within a development project. The project was held by a non-profit organization called Skate World Better, founded in 2018 by the author of this thesis. The organization constructed two public skateparks in the city with numerous logistical difficulties that presented an opportunity for investigation of corruption. The main sources for this work are scholarly and empirical. The theoretical approaches of the three key concepts, namely authority, development and corruption are based on scholarly literature from various sources. The analytical part is based on the case study, where the data collected are mostly data gathered through thorough observation, communication and detailed marking of all cases of bribery, witnessed or experienced. The thesis further works with statistics provided by The World Bank and reports on corruption issued by international entities such as Transparency International. Lastly, all Skate World Better documents and accounting is made public for the purpose of this work. The analytical part is further enriched over three in-depth interviews with key figures, who were to a certain extent a part of this project, have a profound knowledge of the situation in Mozambique, or are native Mozambicans. The thesis starts with an introduction part, followed by a chapter on the conceptual framework defining the three key concepts. Chapter three is a chapter on methodology defining the methods used for the collection of the data. The fourth chapter describes the political and economical background to the situation in Mozambique with an overlap to the history of Mozambique and possible development curve of corrupt practices in the country. Chapter five is a descriptive story of the development project carried out by Skate World Better. This chapter drafts the situations that are elaborated on in the analytical part, which is also the sixth chapter of this thesis. The analytical part is divided into three arenas, namely transport arena, bureaucratic arena and a construction arena. Every particular arena investigates the experiences of the author supported over the testimonies of the respondents. An elaborate answer to the research question and the hypotheses is presented in the last chapter of this thesis, which is the conclusion.

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List of abbreviations

ASM - Associação do Skate de Moçambique
B. - Brendan Greene-Anderson
CEO - Chief Executive Officer
CPI - Corruption Perception Index
CSR - Corporate Social Responsibility
F. - Francisco Luis Vinho
FDI - Foreign Direct Investment
FRELIMO - Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
GCB - Global Corruption Barometer
GDP - Gross Domestic Product
GNI - Gross National Income
HDI - Human Development Index
K. - Kjeld Hassamo Olsen
MZN - Metical (Mozambican currency)
NGO - Non Governmental Organisation
PPP - Public Private Partnership
RENAMO - Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
SWB - Skate World Better
TI - Transparency International
UN - United Nations
U.S. - United States
U/U - Unicorn/Unicron
WAW - Wonders Around the World

Chapter one: Introduction

This master's thesis analyzes the everyday practices of corruption taking place in Maputo, Mozambique in relation to a small scale development project carried out in Autumn 2019. Together with my two fellow students I have founded a non-profit organization called Skate World Better that had the intention to carry out a construction of a skatepark in the urban setting of Maputo. We started our project with both academic and professional purposes with the possibility of changing the focus of our research while being present in Mozambique. Such an exact situation has indeed occurred when we started to have severe complications with the local authorities. I have immediately shifted my attention to all the cases of money extortion and although I could not be present to all the situations I have always carefully listened to the practices experienced by the participants of this project as I was responsible for reimbursing them on behalf of our organization when they were forced to pay a bribe. Consequently, our project presented a very unique situation that shows a case of exploitation of the police authority and bureaucratic positions and thus can contribute to the knowledge about the complex phenomenon of corruption in Mozambique.

This thesis does not have the ambition to reveal the big scale corrupt processes taking place on the level of national development, it is rather focused on explaining the motives and the “greater story” of the phenomenon. I have decided to work with three key concepts in this thesis. These concepts being the concept of “corruption”, “authority” and “development”. Each of the concepts is more thoroughly elaborated on in the conceptual framework chapter, where I shall indicate how I use these concepts for the analytical investigation. Given the central question of this master's thesis *“What do everyday practices of extortion in Maputo, Mozambique, explain about the complex phenomenon of corruption?”* the objective is to find out more about the practice of corruption, reveal the particular so-called corrupt behaviour and disclose the extent and motives of corruption in the case of a situational context.

My interest in this phenomenon developed from the common sense of understanding corruption through everyday experience in Maputo. Having been exposed to corruption on a daily basis my intention is to investigate the motives and the implications of money extortion on Mozambican society and urban development in particular. As argued, Maputo is among the growing and rapidly developing cities in Africa. (Carolini, 2017) The hypothesis that I shall try to affirm is that everyday money extortion supports urban development.

This work applies a mixed method research methodology consisting of semi-structured interviews with three key figures, participant observation, and most importantly a case study of the situations where corrupt behaviour takes place. As to the

structuring of this work, the introduction is followed by a chapter on the broad theoretical approach of the key concepts. In the conclusion of the chapter it is explained what is the theoretical framework selected for the analysis of this work and why it is defined as such. Chapter three is dedicated to methodology which identifies the key methods and reasons for selection of this topic. The fourth chapter provides the historical and political context of the current state of Mozambique. Fifth chapter provides a background to the development project that created space for the case study. Chapter six is engaged with the analysis of the empirical data assessed during the case study together with the narratives of the three key interviewees. With attention to the three undertaken interviews the findings from the case study are explained in a final assessment of the complex phenomenon of corruption in the conclusion of the fifth chapter. The last chapter is the conclusion of this thesis with a final answer to the hypothesis.

Chapter two: Conceptual framework

This section introduces a framework for the concepts that form the basis of the analysis in this thesis. Particularly, I focus on the concepts of corruption and development, but additionally the concept of authority, that has to be explained in order to be able to fully disclose the notion of corruption. This chapter presents an analytical view on the relationship between the three main concepts and identifies the key principles and points of analysis in this relationship.

The framework will cover theoretical approaches to the concept of corruption as explained by many scholars such as Heidenheimer et al., (1970), Philp (2002), Rider (1997) and others. Works of such scholars, who speak of corruption from the academic perspective, where the opinions vary, will be supported by more empirical reports on corruption issued by international multilateral organizations such as Transparency International, USAID or International Monetary Fund.

Corruption

Corruption is a complex phenomenon, often defined, understood, measured and prosecuted according to differing standards, however in most of the cases authority is employed as shall be proved in the scholarly explanations in this section. Apart from scholars, corruption has been defined by many governments and various international organizations that attempt to combat it. As put by Rieder: 'Corruption is and can be many things to many people, and is chameleon in its forms.' (Rider, 1997: 1) This notion is complemented by Anders (2008) who describes chameleon behaviour of protagonists who participate in corrupt acts.

Generally, corruption is addressed from three main perspectives that I shall discuss, it is academia, policy and legal framework. Most of the definitions centre around “one’s personal interests above the interests of the public.” (Mulgan, 2012) The political theorist Joseph Nye defines corruption as:

‘behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (family, close private clique), pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence.’ (Nye, 1967: 419)

Certain scholars, such as Morris (2011) have come to a different understanding. An action to be considered corrupt without the involvement of any public officials. Another political scientist David Bayley interprets corruption as follows:

‘While being tied particularly to the act of bribery, corruption is a general term covering the misuse of authority as a result of considerations of personal gain, which need not be monetary’ (Bayley 1966: 522)

The criminal law does not specifically define the term corruption due to its complex nature. Instead various categories that can be classified as corrupt behaviour are defined by the legal systems. These include embezzlement, bribery or fraud. The OECD, the Council of Europe, the African Union and the UN conventions do not have a definition of the term corruption either, but alike the law codex of many countries of both the global north and the global south establish a definition for a variety of corrupt offenses. (Kerusauskaite, 2018) A few examples are shown in detail in Figure 1.

Figure 1.

Activity	Description
Illicit financial flows	“Money that is illegally earned, transferred or utilised.”
Tax evasion	“Criminal non-payment of tax. Tax avoidance is a related practice that also leads to non-payment but is technically legal”
Deliberate bankruptcy	“Practices in which the owner of a company knowingly conducts a corporal affair for a short term private gain at the expense of the firm's continued operational viability.

(Kerusauskaite, 2018: 17)

Anti-corruption agencies and NGOs define the phenomenon with yet a different manner, which is in accord with their particular efforts to eradicate corruption, demonstrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2.

Organisation	Definition
European Commission	“Abuse of public office for private gain.” (European Commission, 2014, p.37)
World Bank	“A corrupt practice is the offering, giving, receiving or soliciting, directly or indirectly, anything of value to influence improperly the actions of another party.” (World Bank, 2017)
OECD	“Active or passive misuse of the powers of Public officials for private financial or other benefits.” (EOCD, 2013)

However, commonly these organizations could define corruption as ‘the unauthorized and undisclosed use of one’s status and power for private gains at the expense of the public interest.’ (Kerusauskaitė, 2018) In the broader understanding of the term, corrupt practices comprise many defined acts. Among such is for example nepotism, that does not necessarily include money exchange, but manifests as harmful to a democratic society. Nepotism means preferring one’s close relatives and in-laws, when appointing in official positions. Moreover other corrupt practices include vote buying, conflict of interest, patronage or cronyism.

Even though the theoretical approach to the term corruption is very broad, the many anti-corruption agencies, governments and other actors are capable of measuring the levels of corruption in the given countries or locations. A familiar endeavor of these actors is to include the notion of lack of transparency in the definition of corruption since any of the defined behaviours that can be considered corrupt definitely have a non-transparent character in common. (Ibid) Arguably the most widely used is the Corruption Perception index, also known as CPI, issued yearly by Amnesty International since 1995. The CPI’s for a particular country/territory is acquired from a combination of polls/surveys and assessments of corruption collected by renowned agencies such as Gallup International, World Economic Forum, the World Bank, Economic Intelligence Unit, or Political and Economic Risk Consultancy. Later, in 2003 Transparency International presented a new way of measuring corruption named the Global Corruption Barometer, also known as GCB. With a difference to the previous measure, the barometer presents the results of public opinion

surveys of many individuals around the world with respect to both their perceptions of corruption and their actual experiences with corruption. (Ogwang & Cho, 2014) Further, corruption can even be described in numbers, or rather in the estimated cost. The International Monetary Fund emits a country by country report with a broad explanation of counter actions and solutions to the issue, where corruption is understood very widely. Perhaps a common denominator is the transparency of the money exchange, where money is the measured value. (Monetary Fund, 2019)

Some political theorists describe numerous categorizations of corruption types. This framework shall recognize such characterizations, that are connectable to the case of Mozambique. Arnold Heidenheimer et al (1970) categorised corruption in terms of three types: black, white and grey. These types differ in the acceptance within the society. Black corruption is regarded as punishable by all classes, the public and the elite. Grey corruption is regarded as punishable by the elite, but considered within a norm by the public. And lastly the white corruption refers to an action that is tolerated by the majority of both the public and the elite. (Heidenheimer et al., 1970) In addition, the phenomenon can exist in the form of a grand or petty corruption. Grand corruption refers to the covert abuse of position by senior officials and authorities, in contrast to the smaller payments for particular services, often regarded as legitimate, called petty corruption. Lamour (2012) defines petty corruption in terms of small, visible payments made to get officials to do their jobs.

Margaret Beare (1997) offers a codification of corruption based largely on motive or outcome. She identifies four types: "election/campaign corruption", performed to ensure continuing influence, "bribes/kickbacks", which are paid or demanded in return for being allowed to do legitimate business, "protection corruption", payments in exchange for being allowed to carry out illegal actions and businesses and "systemic top-down corruption", where the nation's wealth and wealth from resources are systematically received by the ruling elites. (Beare, 1997: 161–169)

However, a broader argumentation to such labeling would consider the cultural and historic differences between investigated areas. What the western world might generally label as corruption, some developing countries may consider as entrenched and culturally acceptable. (Larsen & Jensen, 2019)

As argued by Baley:

'In developing non-Western societies that existing moral codes do not agree with Western norms as to what kinds of behaviour by public servants should be condemned. The Western observer is faced with an uncomfortable choice. He can adhere to the Western definition, in which case he lays himself open to the charge of being censorious and he finds that he is condemning not aberrant behaviour but normal, acceptable operating procedure.

On the other hand, he may face up to the fact that corruption, if it requires moral censure, is culturally conditioned.' (Bayley, 1966: 523)

Such a notion is challenged by Widmalm (2008) and Alatas (1968):

'The view that corruption is rampant where it is culturally accepted is an explanation which easily turns into a circular argument. When the claim is made that corruption is prevalent in a particular area, or even a whole state, the 'proof' of the cultural acceptance is the existence of corruption.' (Widmalm, 2008: 122)

'Cultural practices are used for the purposes of corruption rather than being the cause of corruption.' (Alatas, 1968: 96–97)

As it appears, the normative perception of corruption is changing with the cultural, but also geographical setting. Certain societies have a different understanding of what is understood by corruption. As Kaufmann argues, some cultures may consider gift giving as morally acceptable while others could consider such actions as corrupt. The absence of cultural understanding could therefore lead to a misguided interpretation of some actions in different parts of the world. (Kaufmann, 1997:115-116)

Authority

When elaborating on the concept of corruption, one can not proceed without a concise conceptual explanation on the idea of *authority* as some form of authority is always engaged during the process of any corrupt behaviour. While this claim could be considered problematic due to its normative character, in the approach of this work, that uses the small scale development project as a case study for analyzing the broad phenomenon of corruption a particular agency with formal state authority was always engaged. The phenomenon of authority can be analyzed from a number of perspectives. I shall discuss two main perspectives which regard authority, that is the perspective of sociology explained by Weber and the perspective of political theory described by Arendt. From the perspective of sociology, as described by Weber, power is a generalized phenomenon, while authority relates more specifically to institutionalized command. With regard to authority, Weber explains that authority with a difference to power contains a particular amount of voluntary submission. This relationship is derived from the belief of legitimacy of authority.

'Power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis upon which that probability rests. Authority is the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons.' (Weber, 1978: 53)

The most notable basis of power according to Weber is coercion and coercion entails either the threat of violence or the threat of material or financial sanction.

Weber's understanding of the difference between power and authority was later extended by Dahl into: 'A has power over B to the extent to which A can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do'. (Dahl, 1957: 202)

Authority can be individual, but in societies authority can also have a character of an office, that is a part of a broader chain. To summarize, authority and power are two different things, where authority can be seen as a form of power that is usually pursued through an office or institution. Moreover, authority is entailed by a level of consent by the individual upon whom the authority is based. That is, how sociologists such as Weber perceive authority.

The political theory of Arendt sees power as a very opposite to authority. In such understanding power is linked to coercion or violence and the argument continues that where force is used, authority itself has failed.

'Politically speaking, it is insufficient to say that power and violence are opposites; where one rules absolutely, the other is absent. Violence appears when power is in jeopardy, but left to its own course it ends in power's disappearance.' (Arendt, 1970: 56)

Arendt further continues, that authority is undermined by the use of either coercion or argumentation as a source of power. Joseph Raz adds to this idea by explaining that if authority implies obedience then authority and freedom appear to be incompatible. (Arendt, 1970)

Development

The idea of what constitutes 'development' remains very broad and abstract. That is because it is contextual and can materialize in many forms in its guiding designs or principles and therefore it has been problematic for scholars to establish a single universal notion for it. Without dispute, just like in the case of the concept of corruption, different scholarly discourses, different disciplines and different entities would regard development differently. As put by Seers, development is a normative concept and is therefore subject to value judgments. 'Generally, development is a realization of human personality, the absolute necessity of which is adequate nutrition.' (Seers, 1972: 21)

Furthermore, development can be regarded with the general notion of "eradicating a problematic reality" such as undernourishment, unemployment and inequality dwindle, it can signify an improvement in the level of human needs, such as education, political participation, followed by freedom from repressive sexual codes or pollution. (Seers, 1972: 24) Development can be certainly further subdivided into particular understandings of the term where the most evident understanding of the word can be regarded as development of a space or an urban area, thus development in terms of "production" or "construction". While

following this notion, urban spatial development is referred to as the 'process of organized growth and restructuring of human settlements', which is restrained by planning regulations and impact assessments (Quadeer, 2012: 207)

The problem of this approach is that it solely concentrates on physical changes of urban space, which is only a small proportion of what falls under the hat of development in urban space. Generally, any initiative with the intention to make a change in urban space by improving or adjusting living conditions is considered to be part of urban development. Further, we speak of urban development when the long term socio economic needs of its population are being addressed. (Quadeer, 2012) For the purpose of this work, I shall focus on this particular component of development. Development in this understanding is measurable by the Human Development Index (HDI).

HDI is yet another evaluation of development that is connected to the living conditions. Formulating this index lies with Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq and is regularly used in an United Nations (UN) yearly report since 1990. HDI stands for *Human Development Index* which is a tool for measuring the increase or decrease in human living conditions measured by three key indicators. life expectancy, education (Literacy Rate, Gross Enrollment Ratio at different levels and Net Attendance Ratio), and per capita income indicator. The scope spans from zero to one, where the countries closest to one are considered the most developed. Further, most of the countries of the world where data can be collected are ranked into four tiers of human development. (Bilbao-Ubillos, 2013)

Conclusion

This chapter has broadly disclosed the interpretation of the three key concepts that this thesis is working with, namely corruption, authority and development. These general concepts are sub-defined to a particular understanding that will be engaged in this work to further analyze what do the regular money extortion processes in Maputo explain about corruption. While analyzing corruption, the notion of "authority" had to be explained as some sort of authority was always engaged when corrupt practices were taking place within the research frame of this study. As explained in this chapter, the most common context of usage of the word "corruption" is the abuse of public authority for private gain. Therefore corruption is often embodied in the bribery of public officials. Hence, it seems appropriate to use this broad understanding of the term corruption in the discourse of this work. Lastly, given the approaches in the section above I shall, due to the nature of lived experiences and endeavors during the third semester, understand the term "urban development" in the broader context argued above by Quadeer. I will work with the conception of "urban development" as of a physical change and adjustment to an urban setting, but also as of an

improvement or adjustment to the living conditions, which is not necessarily subject to a physical change. In my framework the term urban development shall refer to a broader compound of physical construction and an uplift of the living conditions by nature closer to indexes such as the Human Development Index, so that I can evaluate the impact of everyday money extortion on this understanding of development. Having done so, I want to employ an analytical framework that will allow me to address the lived experiences within our third semester spent in Maputo, that constituted the case study of corruption further analyzed in this thesis. As we experienced most of the cases of money extortion only due to the nature of our stay and character of our activities in Maputo I decided to employ the development project as the primary empirical focus for the analysis of the money extortion processes. I regard the experienced cases of exploitation with the researcher's hat on, and, drawing on the definition of corrupt behaviours described above, I investigate which kinds of authority are engaged when corruption takes place and what kind of corruption is being committed when a small scale urban development project is taking place.

Chapter three: Methodology

In this chapter I will bring explanations of the ways that I have chosen for my research, and how I gathered the necessary data. Through the methods described below I tried to come to understand, from my particular point of view as a CEO of a non-profit organization, the situation behind money extortion in Maputo. I have addressed the concepts of corruption, authority and development as I am using the development project as a way to illustrate the dynamics of corruption. This chapter addresses the methodological choices and considerations that were made for the collection of the data used in this work. This chapter explains the usage of both qualitative, but also quantitative data, secondary literature and most importantly the case study of the situations where corrupt behaviour takes place, that provided an access to the empirical data and thus to the examined problematic.

Why Mozambique

It would certainly be useful to explain why I chose to study Mozambique and how did I manage to spend a period of time there. As a part of the MA degree at the University of Copenhagen, we were given a chance to spend a full semester abroad engaging in a field study or an internship. Having the intention to work in the field of African development one day, I really wanted to use this opportunity to get some practical skills and knowledge within my studies, having the right time for such a venture. For this we have created an organization, with my fellow students, that was to carry out a development project. Most

importantly for this work, I had the chance to get a first hand experience of a phenomenon that I can approach academically and use the lived situations as an important source.

The choosing of Mozambique for carrying out this project was not incidental. Being very interested in the Lusophone world and the Portuguese colonial experience in general, I had a clear idea that I would like to focus on the current social situation in Angola or in Mozambique. Given their size and importance they seemed more feasible for the actual impact of our development activities than other former Portuguese possessions. Eventually we decided for Mozambique as a group since we had valuable contacts there to be used for our development activities. The decision to learn more and enrich my long time study of the Lusophone Africa was however conclusive. As much as our field study lasted only from September to December 2019, we actually spent an entire year before the field study itself thoroughly planning and preparing for our project. That gave us a profound knowledge of the situation in Mozambique and corruption was certainly one of the things that we did get a lot of information about, especially as we were warned by our partners in Mozambique, to take this reality into an account. We had the chance to discuss this issue with people who were helping us with the preparation, that is namely members of the Maputo-Skate organization and Mozambicans living in Copenhagen with whom we got in contact at events hosted in Copenhagen after the cyclone hit Mozambique in early 2019. Some of these individuals became key respondents of the interviews carried out for the purpose of this work. In addition, the development intervention required much more dealings with local authorities than we expected and this provided a very rich insight into the matter. In fact, it was through the daily experience of money extortion while in Maputo that this became increasingly interesting to me and I therefore decided to focus on this as a topic of my final thesis.

Case study

Briefly, a case study is a research strategy that allows a researcher to understand phenomena in real-life situations. The strategy can be used in a variety of fields, such as psychology, sociology, political science, social work and business (Yin, 2003). A case study does not offer statistical representativeness (Halinen & Törnroos, 2005), but as argued by Gerring, 'Sometimes, in-depth knowledge of an individual example is more helpful than fleeting knowledge about a larger number of examples.' (Gerring, 2004: 1) Some scholarly literature describes a case as a phenomenon which is spatially delimited and that the unit is studied either at one point or over a bounded period of time. A case can be of particular measures depending on the object of the case study – as an example, it can be a case of a country, a city, a social group or a single individual (Gerring, 2004) In my case I shall focus on the city of Maputo which is admittedly important as I have gathered all my empirical data

there, however I am examining the particular phenomenon of everyday corruption in Maputo in a specific period of time (September-December 2019), and in a particular period in Mozambique's history which will be elaborated in the chapter four.

Interviews with key figures

To support the empirical data over opinions and experiences of individuals whom I find relevant due to their position in our project, but also due to the relationship that we have developed over the last year I conducted three in-depth interviews with three key figures. It occurred to be a better idea to ask elaborate questions to people who have likely experienced situations in all, or most of the described arenas of my research. Particularly I have carried out interviews with three individuals who are key figures in all of our projects. I have tried to keep their answers as genuine as possible, without any linguistic corrections. This may be apparent from the responses of the Mozambicans for whom English is not a native language. It seemed important to me to explain this reality. Their backgrounds differ, which I found to be an important element to getting broader answers with a broader value. For the purpose of this work I will only be calling them by their initials, however there was no need to keep their anonymity as they all agreed to their names being revealed in this study. The first respondent is the founder and the leader of the organization that we supported, Maputo-Skate. He is a resident of the Khongolote district and he was present to most of the interactions that we had with the police. He has lived in Maputo all of his life and he was giving us many advice on how to deal with the local bureaucracy. His name is Francisco and for the purpose of this work I shall occasionally call him F. The second respondent going under a pseudonym B., is my partner in this project Brandan. He was engaged equally in the development project as me and I shall use his narrative as an evidence to the empirical data that I have collected. He is not a native Mozambican and all of his responses are based on his lived experiences during the development intervention in Maputo. I will take this reality into an account while considering his responses. The last respondent is half Mozambican and half Danish. He was helping us the entire time with the organization of the project and the entire logistics. He is the only respondent that I have had the chance to interview in person, with a difference to the other two online interviews carried out via Messenger. His pseudonym for the purpose of this work is K as his real name is Kjeld. The interviews were semi-structured, led rather as discussions about the experiences of the respondents. However, each time, there were key questions that were asked in a similar manner. In all cases I let my respondents define the three key concepts that I work with, I asked questions about types of police, their general definitions and participation in corrupt behaviour and I asked about regularities behind the money extortion and more.

Participant observation

As explained in the section above, the development project itself provided the key empirical bases for the conclusions that are made in this work. As most of the particular situations are divided into the three mentioned arenas, (transport arena, bureaucratic arena and construction arena) the subject of corruption is very present in the daily discussions on any level of the Mozambican society. I have been fortunate enough to be present at a couple of events with local politicians, or local businessmen with whom we engaged in interesting conversations. Most of the Mozambican citizens would open up to me with their opinions on local police and on corruption in general. As much as I do not base this work on these conversations, I do find these perspectives of the local residents relevant to the analysis of this thesis. By asking questions, listening to opinions and observing the daily life in the city of Maputo, where many of the situations fit to the described arenas, one can actively explore the daily encounters with money extortion.

According to Becker, it is crucial to keep the position of a researcher as a secret in order to get access to the information while being in a position of an observer,

‘If he is known to be a researcher, he must learn how group members define him and in particular whether or not they believe that certain kinds of information and events should be kept hidden from him’ (Becker, 1958, 655).

It was not necessary in our case as we usually presented ourselves as an “organization” and much of our ethnographic research in the field was done informally through casual conversations and observations.

Conclusion

The material collected for this work is a combination of data gathered during the development project in Maputo, supported by the combination of interview testimonials and observations of the given problematic of corruption, through active communication with various individuals on various levels of the society. It is therefore the emic and the etic research approach that are combined in order to provide both the observer's perspective on the problematic but also the subject's perspectives. According to many scholars, such practice is crucial for achieving better results with empirical research (Punnett, B. et al., 2017).

Furthermore, the analytical data are combined with statistical data that complement the work with specific numbers assessed in reports on corruption. Among such are the CPI index issued by Amnesty International, corruption assessment issued by USAID, and a corruption report from the International Monetary Fund. As much as these reports and literature on corruption are taken into account, the main analysis is conducted through the

case study data with the analytical framework established for understanding of the key concepts.

Chapter four: The context of Mozambique

In this chapter I shall briefly explain the history of Mozambique with regard to its colonial past under the rule of the former regime, The New State in Portugal. The culture of money extortion practice during that period is mostly explained by De Sousa and Moriconi in their research on the discourse on corruption during the authoritarian period in Portugal. Further, this chapter will describe the historical events that took place after 1975 when Mozambique gained its independence. The chapter will also provide a solid background to the political economy and politics of post-independence Mozambique. The events from the civil war between the two dominant parties that are still prevalent in Mozambique will illustrate the general shape of Mozambique on the verge of the twentieth century and will be updated over recent developments in the country.

Historical context and political background in Mozambique

The history of Mozambique is very closely connected to the history of Portugal. From the turn of the thirteenth to the fourteenth century Portugal was to a certain extent influencing the rule and the politics in the area where the modern state of Mozambique exists now. The most notable era is the period after 1885 when the Berlin congress took place and the European superpowers have divided their influence throughout Africa excluding only few countries such as Liberia, Egypt or the Union of South Africa. This period is spoken about as the modern era of colonialism and the Portuguese role within that historical event is indisputable. The colonial politics of the *New State*, which was the regime in Portugal embodied by the figure of the superior leader Antonio Oliveira de Salazar, tightened the bond between mother Portugal and Mozambique. Until the early 1920's many international corporations and investors had their interests in Mozambique, but that was to be eradicated by the strong rule of Antonio Salazar and the politics of *lusotropicalism* and social darwinism. From 1930 all of the territory of the current Mozambique was liable to Lisbon. (Pimenta, 2014) Lusotropicalism was the key ideology that would describe the nature of the relationship between Portugal and its colonies. Being discovered by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in his study *Casa-Grande & Senzala* the theory spoke of the archetype of a Portuguese man that is eligible and entitled to breed with any other ethnics whatsoever due to the history of the Portuguese nation that is by itself a result of a multiracial breeding. Lusotropicalism was to legitimize the Portuguese superiority over other nations. (Freyre, 1953)

Mozambique, being one of the two major colonies to Portugal, together with Angola, was by law a territory of the Kingdom of Portugal and later the Republic of Portugal until 1974. Although Portugal would proudly claim its superiority over the African possessions, colonial war erupted in the 1960s in nearly all of the Portuguese African territory. In Mozambique, the colonial war took place between 1964 and 1974, when the country gained its independence under the first president Samora Machel. Shortly after, the civil war erupted between the two major political parties. FRELIMO (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*) that was liberating the country during the colonial war on most of its territory, being supported by Soviet Union, China and the eastern block in general and RENAMO (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana*) that was artificially set up by the neighboring nations in the spirit of the peaking Cold War to counterpart the socialist character of FRELIMO.

Sékou Touré, who was Guinea's first president, expressed the following sentiment in his autobiography: 'Everybody desperately tried to draw us to this side or that side, but our wish was to remain on the side of Africa. The world does not consist of only the East and the West.' (Funada-Classen & Osada, 2013: 2012)

The war lasted between 1977 to 1992 when a peace agreement was negotiated by the United Nations and signed in Rome. Mozambique was the poorest country in the world in 1992, when the war that followed from the early 1980s came to an end. (Gradín, 2019) After the consensus was made that FRELIMO would become the ruling party in the country, several scholars have argued that the establishment of a material and ideological basis for a socialist society became an overall goal and emphasis was laid on the role of the state in savings, investment, production and trade. (Phiri, 2012)

'Frelimo consolidated its control over the state and economy during the first multiparty democratic reign of Joaquim Chissano's (1994-2004) and became a vulnerable authoritarian coalition, as the coalition was fragmented, with rudimentary control over lower-level factions and considerable electoral success on the part of the opposition. It strangled and excluded political factions by cutting off access to resources and generally undermined any opposition.' (Buur, 2018: 7)

The era of president Chissano was followed by a period of instability under president Armando Guebuza. 'Guebuza first revitalised the party cells from the grassroots up to the highest levels of the state and parastatal companies, including independent or semi-independent units like universities and legal training institutions. This basically maintained a high degree of exclusion of any people considered to be in opposition to the dominance of the Frelimo party.' (Ibid)

The insurgency between RENAMO and FRELIMO spurs an ongoing debate. Although the state of peace has not been officially broken since 1992 the hostile atmosphere between the two parties is still very present. The country is politically heterogeneous also

due to its geography and generally the area of politics is not strongly present in the lives of regular citizens. 'Frequently illiterate and cut off from information by poor roads and lack of electricity, rural Mozambicans are largely left out of national political debates and structures. Competing elites from Frelimo and Renamo squabble in Maputo to advance their own respective agendas, and spare little time or attention for local party administration and other matters related to "grassroots" politics.' (Weinstein, 2002: 152)

Although Mozambique was for many years considered a UN success story of restoration. It is lately being disputed whether the development of the country is equal to its economic potential. The political instability of the country (perhaps burdened with the terrorist religion-driven insurgencies in Cabo Delgado, that erupted in 2020) remains only one aspect of the uncertain situation in Mozambique. The poverty situation does not seem to be getting resolved in the near future, which in contrast to the growing wealth of the top level of society and the growing curve of the GINI index. Mozambique, among most of the African countries, has signed the Cotonou Agreement in 2000, which was to eradicate poverty and to contribute to sustainable development. Without greater investigation, it seems apparent that money donations and international aid are not being spent appropriately when the indicators are put together. In spite of this argument being purely normative, having spent a couple of months in Mozambique I feel entitled to conclude that the difference in wealth of different levels of society is very obvious. The Cotonou Agreement did not pave the path towards reduction of poverty and inequality as argued by Buur. Many funds and financial injections, that can not be all considered due to the scope of this work, were allocated for Mozambique during the presidency of president Guebuza. 'The allocation of the seven-million fund to district government was an essential part of the patron-client relationships that Guebuza was building up by making sure that the funds mostly benefited Frelimo members and supporters, thereby securing party control over resources and underpinning the quest for 'national unity' organised in and around Frelimo.' (Buur, 2018: 16) The country was getting stronger economically, but the poverty level did not move much, which can be explained by the share of international investments on the GDP which is to represent the "well being" of the country. (Sjeerm et Ad., 2016)

In 2008 and 2010, Mozambique fell into deep riots, when the situation in the country was not enhancing in contrast with the public knowledge about discoveries of natural resources in the north of the country. After the 2010 riots, the government admitted for the first time that 'poverty is increasing'. The poverty survey was submitted to the Council of Ministers in July 2010 clearly showing that the poverty rates had increased from 54 percent in 2002-03 to 55 percent in 2008-09. In some provinces like Zambezia (but also Nampula or Manica), the most populous and poorest of all provinces, the poverty level even rose from 68% in 1996-97 to 70 %in 2008-09, after years of government neglect as a 'rebel' province.

Thereafter a clear link can be found between the political reasons and level of development of particular provinces in Mozambique. (Buur, 2018)

Moreover, since the end of the first decade of the present millenium, Mozambique is considered to have fallen into the big family of countries affected by the resource curse which resources leave the country while the domestic economy stagnates. China has been signing several bilateral agreements with Mozambique since 2007 and has become the second largest foreign investor after the Republic of South Africa. The foreign direct investment (FDI) together with development assistance does not help the fact that Mozambique remains a fragile state. The question arises why has not been the economic growth accompanied by equity, as would be demonstrated by improved human development indicators. (Phiri, 2012)

Mozambique, as noted earlier, has received large amounts of financial aid. Mozambique has been aid-dependent since 1992, as aid levels have only continued to rise overall, with an increase of 38% between 1992 and 2008. Actually, between 1992 and 1999, almost a decade after the General Peace Agreement was signed, total average aid given to Mozambique stood at \$1.364 billion per year. Multilateral institutions such as the World Bank have become major development financiers in Mozambique, providing multilateral loans and grants to the government. (Ibid)

Phiri further argues that: 'FRELIMO and the ruling oligarchs have strategically positioned themselves to benefit from the drivers of growth like FDI and even donors promotion of the Mozambican 'success story', thereby maintaining a parasitic relationship that feeds corruption, nepotism, clientelism and abuse of public funds.' further he claims that:

'What is needed at this point is a 'social democracy', by which is meant a government that is committed to justice and fairness and an emphasis on addressing polarised social conditions such as lack of housing, access to health care and rural poverty, and is also informed by a suspicion of authoritarian government.' (Phiri, 2012: 238)

In 2015 another presidential election was held. In the history of Mozambique it occurred twice that RENAMO was close to a victory, however the modern history of the independent country has always been in the hands of FRELIMO. The elections of 2015 were not different, when Filipe Nyusi, a FRELIMO candidate won the presidency. Allegations of nepotism and systematic corruption have not changed with the new head of state and as noted by Alden: 'Mozambique remains in certain crucial respects an unconsolidated democracy built upon a fragile economic base. FRELIMO has had an unbroken hold of the levers of power for thirty years, though since 1994 through the ballot box (and with manipulation where necessary) thus disabling the possibility of opposition challenges in the management of the country's affairs.' (Alden, 2006: 163)

The Platforma magazine claims that Filipe Nyusi and Armando Guebuza, nicknamed Gue-business are the two richest men in the country. This very fact may not be too strange as high positioned political figures are often connected to big businesses, however in the case of a government suspected from massive corrupt scandals is the information rather striking. (Platforma, 2020) In April of 2016 the nation acknowledged that it had hidden over \$1.4 billion in debt from the International Monetary Fund and other investors, after which the IMF, the World Bank, and the UK promptly suspended aid to the country. Since 2011, there was a promise of becoming considerably rich after the resources on the north coast of Mozambique were discovered. The country had attracted large investment projects in natural resources and it was believed that Mozambique might be able to generate revenues from natural gas, coal, and hydroelectric capacity greater than its donor assistance within five years. But even though Mozambique's economy had grown rapidly over the past decade, over half of the population remains below the poverty line, and the vast majority of the country works in subsistence agriculture. And the country's GDP per capita is one of the lowest in the world at just \$585.6. (Holodny, 2016) In 2017 the government announced that the country will not be able to pay off its debt in the near future.

Many civil society groups started fighting against the loans in an effort to declare them illegal. Eufregina dos Reis is the national coordinator of the Mozambique Debt Group and she comments the government's suspicious spending as: 'The people responsible must be prosecuted but our government protects those responsible. It's their party members, \$2 billion has gone underground and it's the people who are now paying!' (Cascais, 2018)

The recent years in Mozambique have brought loads of foreign investors and especially extractors of natural gas and oil. However, the government has continuously struggled with obtaining tax revenues from these companies. The alleged calculations were to provide Mozambique with as much as \$2.3 million a year, but these figures are still far too small in comparison with the dept. 'The Mozambican state is losing millions of dollars in revenues, and corruption and mismanagement and generally weak governance are making matters worse, we can't wait that long. We need a functioning health and education system today' according to Fátima Mimbire in an interview for Deutsche Welle. (Cascais, 2018)

The culture of corruption in Mozambique under Portugal

Corruption is a phenomenon observable in both dictatorships and democracies, and salient in different periods of the history of mankind. However the broad understanding of the term, explained above, between legal/formal and social/cultural standards defining corrupt behaviour in a given society at a particular time is what makes the study of corruption so challenging. The notion of corruption in the modern democratic world is certainly different

and understood differently by the society than it was in an autocratic regime, where basic freedoms were restricted and citizens in dictatorships did not voice openly and in particular when it concerned misconduct by regime officials. As explained earlier in the text, Mozambique, like other African territories, were considered to be part of the greater Portugal, with New State being the ruling regime. Whichever laws and rules were presented in the Portuguese constitution, the same rules applied for Mozambique. Both of the New State constitutions, from 1911 and 1933 provided a definition for abuse of office applicable to public and elective officials. Similarly, the misuse of public funds was also considered an offence against the public interest. In 1937, the impediments set under article 90 were extended to include business relations with state owned enterprises. The accumulation of positions in public companies was considered contrary to the public moral and the proper functioning of the economy. (De Sousa & Moriconi, 2015). When corruption was treated as the abuse of office it was always by reference to outsiders, opponents, or an external feature of the regime. In other words, the term corruption as the abuse of office was used as an offensive label to diminish the opponents to the regime. According to the propaganda, there was no Portuguese DNA of corruption. The Portuguese were a humble and innocent people that needed moral guidance and Salazar was regarded as a leader. This notion, especially in Africa, would be supported over the theory of lusotropicalism. According to this narrative, the problem of corruption had its roots elsewhere. Corruption was among the improper influences from abroad and supported the moral decay of the world's social order. 'Every suspicion or fact susceptible of directly or indirectly affecting the integrity of the political class and regime supporters was swept under the carpet. In those few cases where parliamentarians actually referred to abuse of office, the targets were the lower strata of the hierarchy, and always in a very vague manner as a potential danger and not as a fact of misconduct.' (De Sousa & Moriconi, 2015: 179)

These findings were collected from a study of the discourses on corruption in the National Assembly of Portugal between 1933-1974 carried out by De Sousa. What we can learn from her research is that corruption was not publicly talked about, nor measured as it would undermine the authority of the regime. It is therefore impossible to make conclusions about the corruption levels in the Portuguese colonies during the Portuguese rule. However, it can be argued that the Portuguese era in Mozambique was an era of exploitation and sheer profit for Portugal, when translated, sheer profit for the authority at power.

Portuguese colonial rule left a legacy of blight and neglect for Mozambican citizens, as they were subjected to the interest of the empire and therefore treated accordingly, which created a void, that was filled by the political manoeuvring of the FRELIMO party, especially under the leadership of the first president Samora Machel. Again, without any tangible evidence, it can be speculated that the ruling elites in Mozambique have learnt ways how to

misuse the wealth of the country for individual profiting. Quite naturally when being left without any experiences with leading a country and maintaining a level of development the vacuum after the independence created a space for the men in power to misuse their position as they have seen before under their predecessors.

Conclusion

This chapter provided information on the recent history of Mozambique in connection to the alleged levels of corruption in the government, patrimonialism and nepotism. The history of the independent Mozambique starting in 1975 is connected with a rule of a single party FRELIMO, with RENAMO being in opposition, first in a civil war and later on a political level. The FRELIMO rule has filled the vacuum after long years of instability and slow development under the Portuguese regime New State, proving signs of building a cult of a single party. Disputably, corruption was a common practice under the New State regime, however no particular proof of that was documented, so the only evidence is the research carried out by De Sousa. However, the political elite in Mozambique, perhaps being inspired by the Portuguese politics of exploitation, has been acting as an elite representing their individual interests rather than those of the entire country.

Chapter five: The development project as a case study

In this chapter I shall specify how we prepared the grounds for the very development project that serves the purpose of a case study for new findings about corruption in a particular setting. I shall explain the origins and organization of the project and its daily routines that led to regular encounters with everyday corruption which created the foundation of this thesis. Moreover, I shall explain the daily processes within the development project, including its implications and repetitive matters that we had to face in order to succeed with it. Most importantly I shall explain how these encounters are relevant to the research about corruption, as it was due to these very repetitive processes that I had a chance to gather both qualitative and quantitative information.

Skate World Better

At the beginning of our studies I founded a non profit organization with two of my colleagues, namely Brendan Greene-Anderson and Tomas Erskog demonstrated in Figure 3. We did so, to be able to experience first hand the processes behind making a

development project in Africa. Our goal was to gather finances, a team of volunteers and all the necessary knowledge in order to be able to build a first public skatepark in Maputo, Mozambique. The very project successfully took place in the third semester of our studies as our field work project with great changes to our original plan. We ended up building two skateparks in two different neighborhoods of the capital city instead of just one. In simple words, this reality gave us the chance to experience every step of the implementation twice, in two different settings, which allowed me to get more information and material for this thesis. This project served multiple purposes on multiple levels. For personal purposes, it allowed us to get the empirical knowledge behind making development projects in Africa of whichever scale. We will indisputably use these experiences for our further action in Africa, but importantly for this thesis, I have gained valuable understanding of the local situation behind money extortion, among other things. The very unexpected findings and reality led me to a decision to actually focus this work specifically on corruption. As mentioned in the text above, my intention is to use the everyday encounters we had with the local police and local bureaucrats to try to draw broad conclusions about the general phenomenon of corruption in a context such as urban Mozambique.

The preparation for our project took about ten months of intensive work. We had to find local partners with whom we could embark on such a project as we were in need of land with a building permit. We finally managed to get that from an organization called *Associação do Skate de Moçambique*, that was to provide us with land of about 700 square meters in a suburban district called Costa do Sol. Unfortunately, the president of the mentioned organization passed away before we even left for Mozambique, therefore all of our preparation for this project had to be started over. We continued to work with the same organization, but we could no longer reach the promised property for our project as there were family disputes over the ownership. Luckily enough we were able to use another land that belonged to ASM in the center of the city in the Maxaquene district. This land was much smaller, about 120 square meters, very exposed to the life around and much further from our accommodation. We also managed to get in contact with yet another organization called Maputo-Skate that allowed us to build on land that they were using for their own activities. This land was around 500 square meters on the edge of the city in a slum-like area with no tar road access whatsoever.

In order to carry out this project we sold merchandise, we started a crowdfunding campaign and we received generous contributions from companies through the Corporate Social Responsibility (CRS).

We found professional organizations and individuals who wanted to partner with us on this project and each of them provided a piece of help that made this project possible. A Prague based U/U studio made a feasible design for both of the constructions for us, WAW

as an international builders organization came to Mozambique with us to provide professional engineering and construction work and many media outlets gave us the opportunity to be featured and thus helped us spread the awareness about our actions.

In terms of logistics during the very project, we suffered many problems especially the necessary transport. As planned originally, we were supposed to be accommodated with all thirty-six international volunteers in a walking distance to the building site. As elaborated in the text above, our situation changed and we suddenly had to transport all the volunteers to two different locations in different parts of the city.

As this chapter explains very briefly the situation that occurred during our project brought us to daily encounters with police and local bureaucracy, such as the district authorities. Very simply put, in every situation there was an easy way out through paying an amount of money that differed in the sum depending on the situation and entity that we had to deal with. Having developed such a project together with an established NGO, I also had the opportunity to bring testimonies from the perspective of both an organization and individuals.

Figure 3.

Skate World Better (SWB), Standard regulations agreement.

§ 1. Name and registered office

1. The association's name is: Skate World Better, abbreviated: SWB.
2. The association is based in Copenhagen, Denmark. The association has an office registered at Stampesgade 6, 1702 Kobenhavn.
3. The association will operate outside of Europe, primarily in Southern Africa.
4. The association is an independent organisation that is not affiliated with any national organizations.
5. English will be used as an official language of the association.

§ 2. Purpose

1. The association is founded to implement youth empowerment projects that will further serve for conducting university research.
2. The purpose of the association is:
 - a) Empower youth in developing nations through recreational and sporting activities.
 - b) The primary recreational and sporting activity is: Skateboarding.
 - c) Based on local needs secondary recreational and sporting activities may include; basketball, football amongst other sports.
3. The goal of youth empowerment will be achieved through the construction of a skatepark, which will entail:
 - a) Sharing knowledge about construction building and project management.
 - b) Skateboarding lessons given by relevant professionals.
 - c) Health education given by an implementing partners through playful sporting activities.

(Skate World Better, 2019: founding agreement)

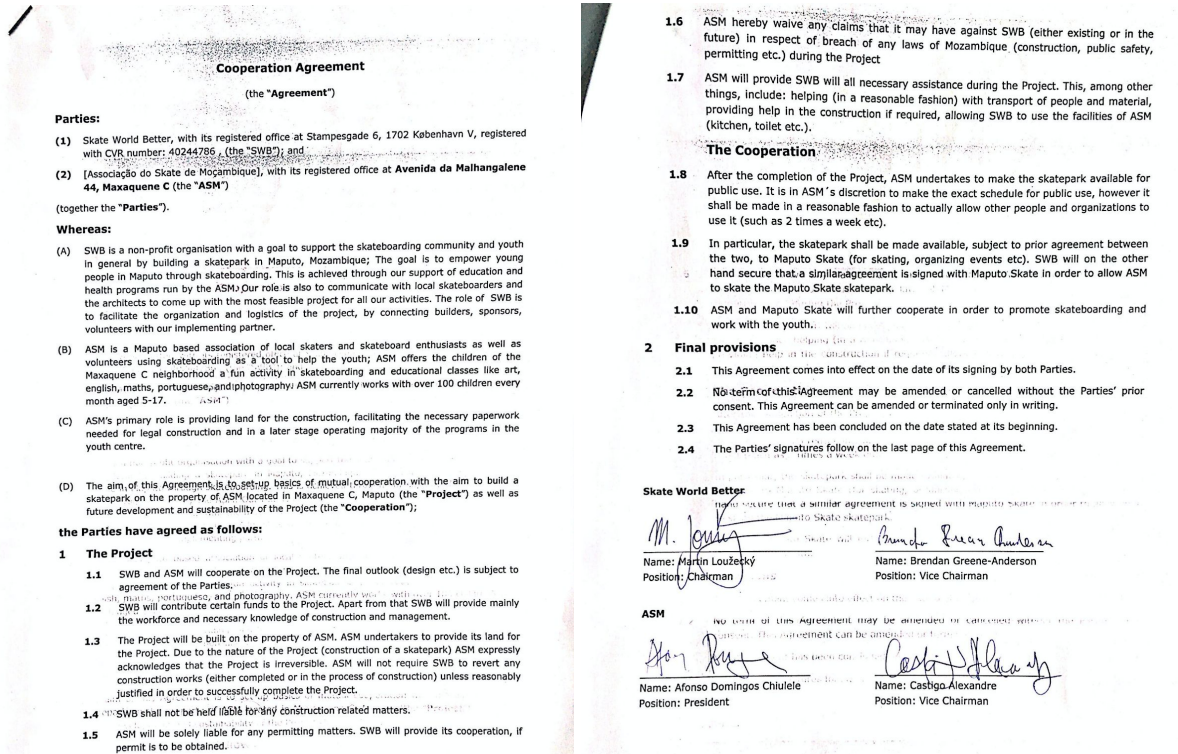
Skatepark in Maxaquene

The skatepark in Maxaquene is the substitution for our original project for ASM. The already established organization had another land at disposal that we could use for the intended building. Since we were for many months in a thorough contact with the members of this organization, we still wanted to support them as much as we could even though their long time president had passed away. With the difference to the original plan this particular land is to be found in the very center of the city, at the headquarters of ASM, in the nearby surrounding of many bureaus, ministries and the city council. The location itself is rather small, neighboring a variety of bars. After the agreement with the local organization (Figure 4) we tore down one part of the building that was located on the property in order to maximize the space for the construction of the skatepark. Such a decision required not only permission to build on the property, but also permission to alter the urban setting. This required further communication with the city in order to have the electricity wire system disconnected for a while. We were building on the location for approximately four weeks, as we struggled with difficulties with the police and with the city council. The skatepark itself was inaugurated in the beginning of December 2019 without any further complications.

In terms of logistics, the group of volunteers was usually dropped off at the skatepark in the early hours and then stayed alone most of the day. Their work was dependent on the concrete delivery that we were getting from a local concrete plant called Nifiquile¹. While delivering the materials and labour (meaning the international volunteers provided by us) we faced a complicated situation as the location was in a very busy district. It was impossible not to be spotted when bringing materials to the location so nearly every time we had the attention of people around or a police patrol. With regard to the proportion of the skatepark not many volunteers were needed on the location. In total a group of about eight people was shifting on this construction every day. Their presence did not cause too much excitement among the people in the area due to the character of the district. Maxaquene is a residential district with many mentioned governmental buildings, but also embassies and thus a number of white residents. Being a white-skinned construction worker in that area was not therefore too extraordinary and to my surprise the volunteers did not have to explain their status nor the reasons for their stay. The result of this construction is shown in Figure 5.

¹ <http://www.nifiquile.co.mz/>

Figure 4.



(Skate World Better, 2019: cooperation agreement)

Figure 5.





(Martin Loužecký photography, 2019)

Skatepark in Khongolote

The skatepark in Khongolote is situated in a very poor area in the north of the city. The area itself does not have regular access by a tar road and there is nothing but small houses in the vast surroundings. The skatepark is built on privately owned land with public access to anybody around and this makes it the only playground around. The skatepark was about 500 square meters big, which was more than enough to do a proper park that can facilitate many children at the same time. As a plan B, for obvious reasons, we partnered with another grassroots organization Maputo-Skate that had the same objective as ASM and as us (Figure 6). It was to make a safe space for the children, where skateboarding can be practiced. Maputo-Skate provided us with this land in an area that I describe as forgotten by the authorities. As we did not really have time to go through the processes of submitting all the necessary paperwork and the decision to attempt to build two skateparks instead of one was rather spontaneous, we decided to start the building process along the way with obtaining the permits, which caused us trouble later in the process. The nature of the property also seemed more feasible for an unauthorized building as it was a location very far from any governmental buildings, and even a local police station and the municipal house of that particular neighborhood were really distant. In addition, it was a private land, where we did not do any wider urban changes and we did not have to deal with the water or electricity connection which is a difference to the skatepark in Maxaquene. Due to the size of the construction between 25-30 people were present every day and their presence had very opposite implications than in the centrally located skatepark. None of the people in the neighborhood was used to the company of people seemingly from Europe. This reality was only fueled by the fact that we had to walk about 2 kilometers every day to the particular location from the nearest parking station. Soon enough it was known in all of the neighborhood, that a construction of an unprecedented shape was taking place in the area. To our advantage, the area was experiencing a vast development in recent years, therefore movement of materials of all kinds was rather usual. This reality was to our benefit as we were easily able to get hold of any tool or material we desired very promptly. Importantly, for clarification of the situation, it did not seem unusual to any other day when we were receiving deliveries of materials, such as sand, granite stone, wood or cement bags.

In terms of logistics, this group was doing everything by themselves from scratch. They were hand mixing all of the concrete and thus were not dependent on any delivery. Most of the time we have pre ordered deliveries of sand and other materials to arrive in the morning, so we were rarely connected to a particular delivery of any material whatsoever.

This gave us an advantage, that any arriving truck was not connected to our activity, therefore every time these deliveries were spared from any problems or bribes.

Our own transport to the location was however very complicated. With a difference to the first location where we were only following the coastline going towards the center to get there, to this location we had to use the highway. While the first road was rarely occupied with roadblocks and police controls, it was nearly impossible to avoid being stopped on the highway. More than that, we were using this route daily for about four weeks in a row, so the police have very soon realized that we are an easy target having always the same cars, as the highways were not being used all that often by other travellers. Unfortunately, being a larger group than in the first skatepark, we always travelled with at least two cars, so the chances of being stopped were indeed very high. The result of the construction can be seen in figure 7.

Figure 6

Cooperation Agreement
(the "Agreement")

Parties:

(1) **Skate World Better**, with its registered office at Stampedgade 6, 1702 København V, (the "SWB"); and

(2) **Associação Amigos Do Skate De Maputo**, with its registered office at Bairro da Malhangalene, Olof Palme Avenue , N° 1100, Maputo (the "Maputo-Skate")

(together the "Parties").

Whereas:

(A) SWB is a non-profit organisation with a goal to support skateboarding community and youth in general by building a skatepark in Maputo, Mozambique; The goal is to empower young people in Maputo through skateboarding. This is achieved through our support of education and health programs to educate the youth. Our role is to also to communicate with local skateboarders and the architects to come up with the most feasible project for all our activities. The role of SWB is to facilitate the organization and logistics of the project, by connecting builders, sponsors, volunteers with our implementing partner.

(B) Maputo-Skate is a Maputo based association of local skaters and skateboard enthusiasts as well as volunteers using skateboarding as a tool to help the youth; Maputo-Skate offers the children of the Khongolote neighborhood a fun activity in skateboarding and educational classes like art, english, photography and other. Maputo-Skate currently works with over 100 children every month and financially supports some of them.

(C) Maputo-Skate's primary role is providing a land for the construction, facilitating the necessary paperwork needed for legal construction initiation and in a later stage operating majority of the programs in the youth centre.

(D) The aim of this Agreement is to set-up basics of mutual cooperation with the aim to build a skatepark on the property of Maputo-Skate located in Khongolote, Matola (the "Project") as well as future development and sustainability of the Project (the "Cooperation");

the Parties have agreed as follows:

1 The Project

1.1 SWB and Maputo-Skate will cooperate on the Project. The final outlook (design etc.) is subject to agreement of the Parties.

1.2 SWB will contribute certain funds to the Project. Apart from that SWB will provide mainly the workforce and necessary knowledge of construction and management.

1.3 The Project will be built on the property of Maputo-Skate. Maputo-Skate undertakes to provide its land for the Project. Due to the nature of the Project (construction of a skatepark) Maputo-Skate expressly acknowledges that the Project is irreversible. Maputo-Skate will not require SWB to revert any construction works (either completed or in the process of construction) unless reasonably justified in order to successfully complete the Project.

1.4 SWB shall not be held liable for any construction related matters.

1.5 Maputo-Skate will be solely liable for any permitting matters. SWB will provide its cooperation, if permit is to be obtained.

1.6 Maputo-Skate hereby waive any claims that it may have against SWB (either existing or in the future) in respect of breach of any laws of Mozambique (construction, public safety, permitting etc.) during the Project

1.7 Maputo-Skate will provide SWB will all necessary assistance during the Project. This, among other things, include: helping (in a reasonable fashion) with transport of people and material, providing help in the construction if required, allowing SWB to use the facilities (kitchen, toilet etc.).

2 The Cooperation

2.1 After the completion of the Project, Maputo-Skate undertakes to make the skatepark available for public use. It is in Maputo-Skate's discretion to make the exact schedule for public use, however it shall be made in a reasonable fashion to actually allow other people and organizations to use it (such as 2 times a week etc).

2.2 In particular, the skatepark shall be made available, subject to prior agreement between the two, to Maputo Skate (for skating, organizing events etc). SWB will on the other hand secure that a similar agreement is signed with Maputo Skate in order to allow ASM to skate the Maputo Skate skatepark. ASM and Maputo Skate will further cooperate in order to promote skateboarding and work with the youth.

3 Final provisions

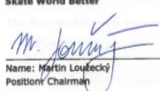
3.1 This Agreement comes into effect on the date of its signing by both Parties.

3.2 No term of this Agreement may be amended or cancelled without the Parties' prior consent. This Agreement can be amended or terminated only in writing.


3.3 This Agreement has been concluded on the date stated at its beginning.

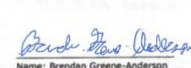
3.4 The Parties' signatures follow on the last page of this Agreement.

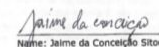
Skate World Better


Name: Martin Loudecký
Position: Chairman

Maputo - Skate


Name: Francisco Luis Vinho
Position: President


Name: Brendan Greene-Anderson
Position: Vice Chairman


Name: Jaime da Conceição Site
Position: Vice President

(Skate World Better, 2019: cooperation agreement)

Figure 7.





(Martin Loužecký photography, 2019)

Conclusion

As explained, we have managed to build two skateparks in two different locations with a non profit organization registered under the laws of Denmark. Apart from the very complicated and difficult preparation for the project we faced numerous issues with the local legal system that manifested itself mostly through police interventions. By the nature of our project as described in this chapter we were most of the time forced to pay a particular bribe in order to be able to continue with our activity, that led me to understand the local condition behind money extortion from a very close perspective. Repeatedly we have faced the necessity to pay a bribe at various stages of the building process, which allowed me to divide the scrutinized situations into multiple arenas. These being the situation on the very construction, connected solely to the civil police interruption, further the transport of both people and materials to the two locations, where we have most of the time faced difficulties and scrutiny from the civil and transport police. Lastly the situations connected rather to the government of Mozambique and local governance of the two districts with whom we had to engage in order to obtain all the legal documentation necessary for such a project, but also all the necessary papers to be able to even get ourselves to Mozambique with such purpose. More detailed and further explanation of particular situations which I examine for the purpose of this work will be elaborated in the following chapter, but It seemed important to me to explain the broader circumstance of my research.

Chapter six: Analysis

In this chapter I shall analyze the empirical data that I have gathered during my stay in Mozambique, particularly within the period of our development activities carried out with SWB. Firstly, I shall make a summary of the assessments on corruption issued by various actors. I will work with indicators described in the conceptual framework chapter, but will further discuss quantitative and qualitative data from different sources. In the second section of this chapter I shall indicate the nature of the recent urban development as I have defined it in the conceptual framework chapter.

Due to the nature of the project and immediate change of circumstances we had to put a lot of effort into transporting people and materials. Nearly every journey presented a case of negotiation, persuasion, trouble and eventual escape from the potential penalty after paying a sum that differed in the amount based on a variety of factors. This situation also impacted the second arena of this research (the bureaucratic arena) that I have defined for the purpose of this thesis. The sudden changes forced us to deal with permits last minute at

the local offices so theoretically this reality allowed me to gather a lot of material for the purpose of this work. Being forced to engage in corrupt behaviour if we were to succeed with our project, my attention shifted to this phenomenon in general. The following text will reveal the personal experiences I had during our development activity which will be analyzed through the analytical tools I have defined in the second chapter of this thesis. These data will be supported over three in-depth interviews with key figures who have profound experience with the scrutinized matter.

Corruption assessment on Mozambique

In this section I shall address data and results of reports of various national and international entities on corruption levels in Mozambique of today. Unfortunately not all the assessments were publicly available from the recent years, therefore the information listed below cover a timeframe of a last decade in Mozambique.

A Transparency International report from 2012 presents various indicators on growing corruption levels in the country. According to a corruption survey from 2011 around 56% of the respondents were of the opinion that corruption has increased in the three years preceding the survey. 17,2 % of the companies surveyed considered corruption and an inefficient government bureaucracy the two most severe problems affecting the business environment. Particularly small and medium size enterprises deem the corruption and bureaucracy as the main impediments to their operations and business progression. Moreover, according to the TI assessment, the current system relies on patronage and personal relationships with members of the ruling party. On the other hand, corruption is also among citizens. Commonly experienced in the area of the access to the public services, with more than two out of three people reporting paying a bribe to one of nine service providers in the 12 months preceding the survey. Even though Mozambique has one of the most comprehensive legislative frameworks governing political party financing in Southern Africa, these laws are not enforced in practice. The international minimum standards of transparency in party finance are also not met in the legislative framework. The requirement of the political parties by law to disclose information on their expenditures in election campaigns, which should be published in the largest circulation newspaper in the country are not met either. Actually this requirement has not been met in any of the elections held since the democratic Mozambique was established. Evidence suggests corruption pervades many of the country's key sectors and institutions. According to the perceptions of Mozambican citizens (including the interviewees of this work), the police is perceived to be the sector most affected by corruption (scoring 4,3 on a 1 to 5 scale) in Transparency International's Daily Lives and Corruption survey, followed by public officials and political

parties (4,0), education (3,9), judiciary and the business sector (scoring 3,0). In addition, according to the survey 47% of those who had been in contact with the police reported paying bribes. Corruption is particularly high in the circles of the traffic police, as traffic violations are usually seen as opportunities for corruption by traffic police officers in Maputo. An investigative study declares that the traffic police collects between 2 to 3,000,000.00 Meticais (approximately 70,000 Euros) in fines per month, the Department of Transit has channelled as few as a monthly average of 600,000.00 Meticais (approximately 14,000 Euros). In an interview the officials have revealed that many fines are removed from the books without apparent justification following the order of high-level officials. Corruption, lack of transparency and accountability, and an inefficient public administration still have a negative impact on the quality of the services provided. Especially affected are the poor as most of the services do not reach them. A daily lives survey says that 35.3% of Mozambicans perceive public officials/civil servants to be extremely corrupt. Government accountability and civil service performance are seen as extremely weak in the Global Integrity Report and the country scores 28 out of 100 in the Open Budget Index, one of the lowest scores in the Southern Africa region. The index indicates that the government provides very little information to the public, making it rather impossible for citizens to hold the government accountable for its management of public resources. (Martini, 2012).

The first page of the USAID report answers the question “Why is there corruption in Mozambique” with a following answer:

‘Corruption thrives in Mozambique because the government is not sufficiently accountable to the citizens of the country or to the law. This system is facilitated by a lack of independent oversight from the National Assembly, a judicial system that puts politics above the law, and a lack of transparency. While some laws and regulations exist on paper that provide a framework for good governance, few control mechanisms are established or operate in reality to ensure that these frameworks function honestly, transparently and in accordance with the public good. These dynamics are at work at both the elite and administrative levels. However, it is the grand corruption at the elite level that sets the tone for and limits the ability of even those brave individuals who want to make a difference to do so. Low pay and poor conditions of service make lower-level officials more likely to participate in corruption, but leadership by example and effective oversight both within government and by the public are the keys to reducing administrative corruption.’ (Spector, Schloss and Green (ed.), 2005: iv).

Moreover the report indicates very similar information as Transparency International, with a few supplemental information. Among these are for example the alleged linkages between the government and organized crime in the country. These links range from active participation in illegal activities to receiving kickbacks from those activities to turning a blind

eye to what is going on for a price. Drug trafficking, which is quite common in the country due to its relatively small distance from the golden crescent area (South East Asia) and illegal mining and timber operations are common operations where the government officials receive payments for a facilitating role. According to the report, the public will to complain about the corruption problem is very low.

‘There is a general culture of not complaining about corruption -- “letting it go,” “not making waves” -- because there is both a fear of retribution and a desire to avoid problems, especially given the popular perspective that there are few, if any, feasible ways to combat the problem.’ (Ibid: 7)

There is also the aspect of the social legacy. The extended family, rather than the state, continues to provide the basic social security system for individuals. As a result, many behaviours that might be viewed as conflicts of interest (apropos listed among corrupt behaviours by the policy makers as explained in the conceptual framework chapter), nepotism, and favoritism are not generally viewed as corrupt practices. Instead, Mozambicans who are in a position of authority and influence are often expected to use their position to circumvent the system and help their family members and friends get jobs (Ibid)

The report further introduces a public survey which did assess that public corruption is one of many major problems facing citizens, but it is not perceived to be the most important. Of 12 problem areas presented to respondents, corruption was ranked eighth, after problem areas that deal specifically with survival issues such as employment, cost of living, water, food, etc. Yet another survey from 2009 showed that the primary recipients of bribes were doctors (30%), teachers (26%), and police (21%). Among businesses questioned in the newer survey, 29% said they were asked to pay bribes to customs officials, 28% asked to pay bribes to get public services installed, and 28% asked to pay to win public contracts. When asked who has great or total influence over the exercise of state power the public in Mozambique responded as designed in the figure 8 below:

Figure 8

Groups that have total influence over the state	% Household respondents	% Civil Servant respondents
Political leaders for their own benefit	50	60
Multinational firms	36	66
Drug traffickers	32	64

(Spector, Schloss and Green (ed.), 2005: 12)

The conclusions from a report issued by The International Monetary Fund from 2019 speak of the very same issues and very same figures as the two previous reports. The report

characterizes the situation in Mozambique with a lack of transparency, insufficient implementation of existing legislation and regulations, public mismanagement, misuse of external donations and misuse of authority. (International monetary fund, 2019: 6-10) These results suggest the idea of a persistent problem that is not changing over time and is not nearly on the path to being eradicated. The proof of that is the broad temporal range of the information listed above in reports from the three independent observers in different time periods under different presidents, before and after the notorious 2016 scandals.

Urban development in the recent years

In this section I shall very briefly list a few indicators of the recent urban development as I have specified in my conceptual framework. Listing recent urban changes in the city of Maputo would be beyond the scope of this work, therefore I shall focus mostly on the aspect of urban development in terms of livelihood changes and later work with these figures in the analytical part. Most notable development in terms of construction can be seen with a realization of the so-called mega-projects that include international participation and have very little to do with any progress in terms of citizen livelihood. In May 2011 the country adopted a revolutionary law introducing a dedicated public-private partnership (PPP) unit in its Ministry of Finance, providing a regulatory framework for PPPs and mega - projects. Most mega - projects in Mozambique have been based outside the capital city, but some are also found within and often include financing from partnerships between the foreign private sector, international financial institutions, and of course, the public sector. (Carolini, 2017). The Figure 9 shows just a couple of examples that took place in recent years with the indication of international participation. What is striking is that despite such continuous growth prospects and funded infrastructure projects, little has changed for the poor in Maputo's most vulnerable neighborhoods. There is an unfortunate divergence in the rates of growth of economic productivity (GDP) and poverty reduction (from 81% below poverty line in 1990, to 68% in 2008 and 64% in 2004). (The World Bank)

Figure 9.

World Bank	Water supply extension in Maputo	US \$178 million loan
African Development Bank	Electricity extension throughout city of Maputo	US \$26 million loan
China EXIM Bank	Katembe Bridge	US \$681 million commercial loan and US \$72.5 million subsidized loan

(Carolini, 2017: 133)

Mozambique's rating according to the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) showed a substantial improvement in the early years after the end of the war. With regard to the evident such as a general living condition in circumstances that go along with an erupted conflict, it is important to mention that the Portuguese colonial politics did not bring much development to the African possessions. The substantial improvement after 1992 can be therefore considered as a natural effect of independence and peace. Between 1990 and 2010, Mozambique's HDI rose from 0.273 to 0.322 (relative to the 0.943 of Norway, which tops the index) The post-conflict peace settlement provided an impetus for growth and the economic and political stability that was needed for the country to move forward. In almost two decades of post-conflict peace, HDI average growth rose by 22.5%. (Phiri, 2012)

The literacy level has gone from 38% in 1995 to 60% in 2015 (The World Bank, 2017), which goes hand in hand with the gross school enrollment that has gone from 65 in 1995 to 112 in 2018. (The World Bank, 2018) Gross enrollment ratio for primary school is calculated by dividing the number of students enrolled in primary education regardless of age by the population of the age group which officially corresponds to primary education, and multiplying by 100. The same happened with secondary education, which grew from 7 in 1995 to 35 in 2017. (The World Bank, 2017) Life expectancy grew from 45 years to 60 years between 1990 and present. (The World Bank, 2018) The GNI growth index however peaked in 2003 at 15% and has been slowly declining to 1.5% at present. (The World Bank, 2018)

Case Study on money extortion

As explained throughout the text above I have divided the areas of examination into three arenas as they each presented a unique opportunity for investigating the complexity of the phenomenon of corruption from a different angle with different actors engaged in the processes. I shall explain one arena after another with possible linkages using the data I have collected together with transparent information provided by SWB. Throughout the analysis I shall imply particular responses from the three interviewees as I have designed my questions towards them in relation to the examined arenas and the concepts that are pivotal to this work. In all three of the defined arenas authority was engaged. It was always me as an individual or me representing our NGO versus someone who embodied the authority. To the question "what is authority in the case of Mozambique" I have been given these answers by the respondents:

'I see authority as someone trying to influence every aspect of life. The purpose is to do it so that the people are fearful and are less likely to fight against the FRELIMO. I see it as a system of political control and a general societal control.' (Anderson, 2020, Interview 1: 0:40-01:00)

Local Mozambicans have answered to me as follows: 'Authority to me is public control. When I hear the word authority I think about the police' (Vinho, 2020, Interview 2: 03:00-03:40) and 'Authority to me are the people who have the last say, the people in power. It can be your parents, but also the police and politicians'. (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 07:48-08:20) Without bringing forward my data, all of the interviewees agreed upon the fact that "police" is the first word or institution they think about when authority is being discussed. As shall be demonstrated in the following text, police is also the entity that is engaged the most in the daily money extortion practices. As a matter of fact, the reports issued by international subjects addressed in chapter four also declare police to be receiving a majority of the bribes. This situation that I have read about and heard about before we even landed in Mozambique made me wonder why and how is that acceptable in the Mozambican society. I have through the three arenas and the interviews tried to understand what position does money extortion have in Mozambique, how is it acceptable by the society and what are the implications, therefore what is the greater story of this phenomenon.

Before I lean into theorizing over the very reasons and triggers of corruption in the country I will disclose some figures that can give a better idea of what are the particular amounts and what was our expense on bribes. Figure 10 shows the bottom of the long list of expenses that were necessary for the construction itself. The final number is around 9 thousand euro spent just on materials and tools. This number excludes housing, food transport costs, rent of three vehicles and the bribes. Taking into account that we paid seven thousand for the villa for thirty people and around four thousand for the car rental, we are on 20.000 euro. We calculated that the entire project cost us around 25.000 euro excluding visa and flight tickets. This simple calculation leaves us with three thousand euro that were spent on gas, food and bribes. Now it is up to everybody to figure out what is the ratio between these three, but let me just say, that a bread in Mozambique is around 0.20 eur, lunch in a restaurant around 4 eur and a litre of gas is around 0.70 eur. I dare say, that bribes were the main component of the remaining 5.000 euro.

reality is not exactly specific to Mozambique, but apparently, the police would use their authority to get us to do what they say. Following the notion of the theories as described by Raz and Arendt, no power had to be ever used on us and we would still obey whatever we are asked to do. I never disputed the police authority due to the rational grounds - resting on a belief in the legality of normative rules, as described by Haugaard. The amount that we would usually pay was between one and two thousand Meticaís (MZN) as B puts it: 'It depends on what you did, but usually you would pay as a white person, or someone who is not from there and doesn't speak Portuguese between one to two thousand MZN' (Ibid: 5:00-5:20, 6.50-7:40) while the local people would rarely pay more than 200 MZN as argued by F and K:

'If you are not Mozambican they will charge you more. The amount you pay depends always on what kind of police stops you and what is the situation. As a European you could probably pay up to 10.000 MZN, if you are Mozambican you normally pay 100-200 MZN.' (Vinho, 2020, Interview 2: 26:40-27:00, 40:00-42:00)

'Everything depends on the background, the situation, the time of the day and other aspects. For example I speak the language and I know how to go about such situations, so I could probably get away with paying 200 Meticaís maximum.' (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 40:07-41:01)

'They know how to work with your mentality, they know that 1000 Meticaís is not much for you, but if you are a local guy paying this much it would completely ruin you, so they know they can not dare asking that much' (Ibid: 41:00-42:18)

It is true that the bribery is rather systematic, if there is somebody taking the same route every day, the police shall consider this individual as a means of regular income, so they will not try to scare this individual or present themselves as dangerous. They would rather negotiate with you until you come to a mutual understanding. After all, the individual could decide to take a different road next time which would mean a loss for the police patrol. This exact situation is described according to my experience because we would take the same route from our house to the Khongolote district on the Maputo ring every day. The first few days I would stubbornly argue with them and pay double the price than any day after that when we mutually started respecting one another. They let us pass every now and then so that they would secure our trust in taking this route regularly. According to B:

'They are looking for an opportunity, it is like a game to them. The worst time is definitely after seven on a Friday night when they know everybody is out, or in hours when nobody is around, so usually early morning.' (Anderson, 2020, Interview 1: 7:40-7:59)

As I learned and as I shall discuss further in the text, bribing transit police is a very common practice in Maputo and there is a set of practices and regularities to it. I was myself stopped more than forty times, almost always by men. When such a situation occurred it

always ended up with paying a bribe. Only once I was stopped by a female officer and to my surprise I was let go as I was not violating any rules and it was only a regular check. When trying to find out more about gender and attitude to accepting bribes I was answered by K: 'Female cops are very harsh to other female drivers, while men are more soft to them' (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 45:00-46:00) I have not seen many female officers during my stay in Maputo, except for this one case and later one more time on the construction. Both situations ended without bribing. Most of the local people know what time of the day it is not smart to drive on the main highway and what areas in the city are not smart to enter without any company. As obscure as this may seem the police are looking for situations and locations where no witnesses are present. Although bribery is very common and not a single situation occurred during my stay, where the officer would refuse my proposal, the everyday practice is still being done "in secret". This means that it is publicly known about, even taken into account as explained a few sentences above, but still the entire society pretends that no such thing is happening. When being very exposed to the public, the patrol would rather tell me to follow them a bit further and negotiate as it would be unacceptable to receive a bribe among too many people. Everybody has to play by the same rules and work as a team. When discussing the reality of everyday corruption with residents of Maputo everybody would agree that all the police structures work together and they would never betray one another. If I tried to go and complain about anything, I would be denied as the high positioned officer is receiving a share of all the amounts received by the officers in the streets. According to K: 'Mozambique and the whole structure is very bureaucratic' and 'There is a system and it's not just me who knows it, its a general knowledge of Mozambicans, high positioned officials protect the smaller officers as they get a share of their birbes' (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 18:00-18:15, 30:05-31:20)

From my own experience I could recognize that nobody really dares arguing with the police. Any time I tried to talk myself out of such an uncomfortable situation, even when the law was technically in my favor, disputing the authority of the police always ended with a bad result. To elaborate more on the notion of authority, police is a repressive organ appointed by the governing party which is FRELIMO. Considering the grand scandals and big corrupt processes (which are not the focus of this thesis) the police also may feel entitled to participate in withdrawing money from the society with an imaginary consent of the party. Regular Mozambicans have no means of disputing that or complaining about the reality, because there is a hierarchy of backing each other within the FRELIMO structures. This opinion can be demonstrated by the public knowledge of Mozambicans about the time of the year when money extortion from the police is rather common and when it is rather occasional. It seems apparent that there is a dialog about "taking bribes" between police and the ruling elite.

‘During Christmas times there is a lot of pressure, drunk driving is a big thing, not exactly looking good for the reputation of the politicians so they enforce more of the law. You can spot such periods within the year, usually before a big contract or agreement is about to be signed. January, February everybody is out of money after christmas so it starts all over and with doubled intensity.’ (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 48:20-49:00, 49:00-50:00)

In other words, as all three of the respondents agreed, there seems to be a silent agreement between the higher bureaucracy and the police. The higher bureaucracy closes an eye to any suspicion of corruption among police, because the police is necessary to maintain the rule of FRELIMO, but on the other hand the police need to supplement the poor salaries from the government through the everyday money extortion. According to B:

‘It’s a tool for police officials and government officials to add to their salary and the government turns a blind eye to it because they know the salaries are poor, so it’s a mutual symbiosis. Everytime you get stopped by a police, they are looking for a reason to get money off of you as it’s a common way for them to enrich their normally poor salary, so in my opinion, rent seeking is commonly allowed in Maputo.’ (Anderson, 2020, Interview 1: 2:00-2:25, 3:10-3:30)

And according to K:

‘They do it for survival, the official salary from the state is not sufficient, normally the average is a family of five members. Some are kids, some are elder parents and one is a woman who usually does not have a good position, or maintains the household so it all falls under one income for a five member family. So they usually do it for the need of feeding the family.’ (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 52:00-54:10)

The report from the Overseas Security Advisory Council states that:

‘The Mozambique Police Force (PRM) suffers from limited resources, lack of human capacity, and widespread corruption. Police are under-funded, under-staffed, poorly trained, and poorly equipped. Most PRM officers lack conventional police equipment, impeding their ability to be effective. Police response is often slow and unreliable; the quality of service declines as one moves farther from Maputo. Loose security protocols, lack of capacity, and corruption-related issues in the security services exacerbate terrorism threats.’ (OSAC, 2019: 6)

There are multiple kinds of police in Mozambique clearly distinguishable by the color of their uniform. The white uniform is only worn by the transit police, blue uniform by the civil police and grey uniform only by the municipal police. They all have a slightly different competence, so it happens quite regularly that the transit police are accompanied by civil police. They work symbiotically and they divide the earning in the form of received bribes. As put by K:

‘Transit police are only entitled to check you in your car, that you have your license, that you don't overcrowd the car. Civilian police check you on the street, they often work with the transit police, they are entitled to carry weapons.’ (Ibid: 19:15-20:30)

At the beginning of our stay in Maputo, I had the tendency to always argue with the police and explain how I have not crossed any rules. I realized that these arguments have zero chance of succeeding and that I am wasting the time. When agreeing to the ticket I was always explained that there are ways around it and slowly I would be manipulated into offering a bribe myself. They never explicitly ask you for a bribe, they only lead you to a corner until you say it yourself. As K puts it:

‘It happens mostly in a place that is a little bit more secluded and it always happens through a more discreet way. What they would usually say is that I helped you, so how can you help me? You could literally go and buy them a soda and say that it's so that they are not thirsty, but it's often easier just to give them cash.’ (Ibid: 46:45-47:00)

To our situation, the regular transport complications were definitely a burden. Most of the time I ended up paying something that I would call “a fee” to pass, because we were not guilty of anything. In this sense the everyday corruption was a constraint to our project. To a certain limit, this reality can be pleasant as the amount of a bribe for local Mozambicans are way smaller than the regular ticket would be. So the Mozambican society actually benefits from this when committing a small violation of the rules. ‘The regular fine is normally more than five hundred Meticaís.’ (Vinho, 2020, Interview 2: 26:40-27:00)

And as put by K:

‘The police are underpaid for what they are doing, so this becomes their second income. The easier the violation is, the bigger chance that you can get away with it as there is no social pressure on you and you do yourselves a mutual service. If you run someone over with a car, I guarantee you, that you won't get away with it that easy.’ (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 35:00-35:50)

Bureaucracy

The process behind obtaining all necessary paperwork is probably the most stressful and possibly also the most difficult part of the entire project according to the European standards. Getting permits and necessary stamps for all the paperwork, working visa and other documents would require a lot of time and effort, but to us, this was possibly the easiest part. As explained in the previous chapter, due to sudden changes in the planning of the project we had to find a different location for the construction. The time space between our arrival and the beginning of the construction was less than four weeks and within that we managed to get all the necessary paperwork and most of the permits. What we had to do, is to have around 35 letters of invitation issued for the volunteers coming over to work on the

construction. Normally this process requires a local person to go to the particular office with an identification card and personally fill in a paper that is later signed by somebody at the bureau. This letter later needs to be shown on an embassy of Mozambique in order for the visa to be issued. One citizen of Mozambique can have up to three letters of invitation issued under his name for his visiting friends. We were instructed by our local friends that this process can certainly be speeded up if we are willing to pay an express fee, which turned out to be a non-official, but ordinary express fee. When I asked my respondents, what do they understand under the term “corruption” in the context of Mozambique, I received the following answers:

‘I see Corruption as an action that allows one to go outside of the rules for personal gains. Anybody can engage, not necessarily a person in power, in Maputo context corruption is a tool.’ (Anderson, 2020, Interview 1: 1:20-2:20) Another opinion by K is that: ‘Corruption is when you give advantage to someone over others for a beneficial compensation.’ (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 8:20-8:40) However, as described by the same respondent, there is a payment for an extra service, which is mostly mistaken for corruption. People in Mozambique call it many names like “express fee” or a “fast track”. Usually this service is within the law, however gives the payer an assurance of prompting the service.

‘If you want to get all your documents straight up, you may spend three days, a week or three weeks waiting for it, but if you don't want to lose your opportunity, you can go with the fasttrack. Bribery is when someone ignores the law in your favor. Fasttrack or an express fee is when you have all it needs but you don't have time, therefore you request help that you can prioritize for a greater good. Bribery is automatically more expensive because it is a higher risk.’ (Ibid: 37:00-37:30, 1:08:20-1:08:35, 1:08:00-1:08:20, 1:07:00-1:07:30)

I experienced very little voluntary help from the people in Mozambique. Most of the help was facilitated only on the basis of being paid for the service. The same situation occurs in the bureaucratic levels. Hardly anybody would do something extra if not being paid for the service, considering the poor situation in the country, such opportunity can contribute to the salaries of an individual. The amount I paid is definitely dependent on the urge of the service. With a difference to the situation in the transport arena, where we were forced to pay even without breaking any rules, on the bureaucratic level, we managed to obtain the necessary stamps only thanks to the culture of “express fees”. From the legal perspective, no such behaviour is described as an offence, therefore facilitating something that is within the legal frame does not fall under the umbrella of corrupt behaviours. Taking into account the interpretation of academics such as Nye, such an act would neither be considered as corrupt. ‘behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of a public role because of private-regarding.’ (Nye,1967: 419) This discourse describes a behaviour where one deviates from his normal duties, which is not the case here, although money is the means of

getting an advantage over others and the payee uses his official position for a private gain. Also the notion of authority is definitely different in this case. Taking into account Weber's understanding of authority for example: 'Authority is the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons.' (Weber, 1978: 53) The civil servant had no particular command towards us, therefore from a variety of perspectives these cases with express fees do not fit to none of the theoretical understandings of corruption. Cultural aspects as described by Kaufman (1997) or different labeling or naming as described by Anders (2008) are to be considered in this case.

Eventually we managed to get a building permit, a permission for an urban change and an approval for disconnection of electrical wires at one of the locations and all the invitation letters in about a one week time. These documents were all issued to us for an express fee which I do not label in the same category of money extortion as the previous section. An example of these documents is shown in Figure 11. and Figure 12.

Figure 11.

Pedido de Visto Provisório I

[LOCATION OF ENTRY]

[DEPARTMENT/Section]

Maputo aos [Day] de [MONTH] de 2019

Eu **[Host name]**, de nacionalidade **[host nationality]**, maior de idade, portador do passaporte número **[Host Passport number]**, a residir em Moçambique com o DIRE número **[DIRE No#]** na **[Host address]**, pela presente, convido o amigo do **[Friend of whom]**, com os seguintes dados mencionados abaixo, a efectuar uma visita de férias a Moçambique com base Maputo e alguns destinos turísticos para o interior do mesmo, e um visitas aos países vizinhos Africa do Sul e Swazilândia.

[Guest name], de nacionalidade **[guest nationality]**, portador do passaporte número **[Guest Passport number]**, emitido aos **[day issued]** de **[month issued]** de **[year issued]** e valido até **[expiry day]** de **[expiry month issued]** de **[expiry year issued]**

Mais declaro que me responsabilizo por todas suas despesas em Moçambique, incluindo viagem de vinda e de regresso, alojamento, alimentação, e toda e qualquer despesa que for necessária.

E, para que conste e sirva para obtenção, de visto de turismo **[simples/múltiplo]** de **[1/3]** meses com intenção de férias turísticas, assino a presente declaração, apresentado os mais respeitosos cumprimentos.

[Host Name] _____.


(Skate World Better, 2019: invitation letter template)

The Figure 12. shows a building permit signed by the municipality officer. The process of obtaining this document was rather simple. Our Mozambican partner went to apply to the office stating that we will need the document as soon as possible. Normal waiting time for this document and revision of all the paperwork would take months, but we were able to obtain the document in two days thanks to an express fee that we paid in cash in a small bar outside of the municipal office. We paid about eight times more than the regular price, however it was still absolutely worth the cost as we were in an urgent need of the document. A similar situation happened with all the other permits, but I was not present to them personally. As put by K: 'The price of the express fee varies on how expressly you need to have it done. If you ask someone to stay overtime to do work for you, then you pay for it.' (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 1:09:00-1:10:00)

Figure 12.

Av. 24 de Julho n°
Tel: 21313186

500,00 Meticals
N° ____/2019



MUNICÍPIO DE MAPUTO
CONSELHO MUNICIPAL
DIRECÇÃO MUNICIPAL DE INFRA ESTRUTURAS
DEPARTAMENTO DE URBANIZAÇÃO E CONSTRUÇÃO
AUTORIZAÇÃO PARA OBRAS DE 6ª CATEGORIA

É autorizado o pedido de V.Excia (s) para execução de obras de melhoramento do Imóvel sito no Bairro
Machangalena Quarteirão n° Casa n°
AW/Rn/a *Machangalena* n° *49* Andar n° *etc* Flat n°
Pertencente ao/a Senhor (s) *Associação do Skate de Mocimboa*

Nota: O uso desta autorização para excepção de obras diferentes das abaxto listadas será punido nos termos do Regulamento Geral de Edificações Urbanas no que se refere a obras clandestinas;
- Qualquer dano que for a causar nas fideis vizinhas ou outras instalações, resultantes das obras, será da inteira responsabilidade do titular desta autorização. Devendo respeitar o horário de descanso.

Pinturas interiores/Exteriores.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição de Azulejos.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição/Reparação do pavimento (tjoleira, parquet, etc).....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição/Reparação de tubagem de água.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição/Reparação de tubagem de esgoto.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição/Reparação da Rede Eléctrica.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição/Reparação da Louça Sanitária.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição/Reparação da Banca Lava-loupa.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição/Reparação das Chapas de Cobertura.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição/Reparação do Tecto Falso.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Impermeabilização da Laje de Cobertura.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição de Caixilhanas (Portas/Janelas)/Vidros.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição de Rebocos.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição de Rede Mosquiteira.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Substituição de Fechaduras e tranquetas.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Reparação do pavimento Exterior.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Gradeamento.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não
Ornamentação no interior dos terrenos particulares.....	Sim	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Não

Termo de compromisso: Tendo em conta as obras acima listadas, comprometo-me a executar-las num prazo de *30* dias, sem violação do previsto no decreto 2/2004 de 31 de Março.
Assinatura do/a requerente *Verónica Patricia Joia Simango*

Chefe da Repartição do Arquivo e Documentação

/Sérgio Guedes Esteves Maciel/
(Técnico Superior NI)
Maputo, aos *19* de *Novembro* 2019

(Skate World Better, 2019: Building permit)

According to the reports and indicators described in the corruption assessment section, the bureaucratic tempo and corruption seem to be the biggest constraints to development and business environment. This does make sense when considered the reality described in this section. There is simply a lack of willingness in the bureaucratic circles and almost whichever service requires an extra fee. Although this fee should not be mistaken with a corrupt behaviour, it remains true that public office workers are being paid to actually do their work, because the regular waiting time has been strongly influenced by the eagerness to receive a fee.

Construction

The construction arena is defined as the period of actual construction of the two skateparks. The arena is spatially defined to the two locations where we were building, namely Khongolote on the edge of the city and Maxaquene being among the very central districts of the city.

Before we started with the realization of the project I feared that we would be regularly checked and interrupted by the police patrols because we were a group of white-skinned people that attracted a lot of attention. Fortunately, this concern turned out to be only partially on point. We were interrupted by the police only one time at each of the locations rather later in the construction process.

The first case was a situation when a squad of municipal police together with representatives from the municipality came to the construction in Khongolote and required all passports of the international volunteers and the necessary permits. The municipal police itself is not entitled to issue tickets, therefore somebody from the municipality had to be present to intervene if a law was to be enforced. As put by K: 'Municipal police's main responsibility is to ensure that constructions and businesses have the right documentation and licenses to operate where they operate. The municipal police are not entitled to give you a ticket, they can assess the situation and bring a higher person from the municipality to give you the fine.' (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 22:20-22:46, 20:40-21:10) I was surprised that this situation occurred at such a late stage of the process as we were an unexpected group in the setting of this particular district. After we were checked I was asked to go to the municipal office to answer a few questions. I was warned that we forgot to notify the local police station of the construction and that a particular document has to be issued from their part as well. For this service I was charged an amount of money which did not exceed the prices that we were regularly paying to the transit police. Having the experience from the other location, I know that there was no such thing as an "approval from the local police station" needed, but I respected the authority of the municipal police and I paid the sum. Since the municipal police are not entitled to issue tickets they are therefore not entitled to

threaten with a fine. In order for them to collect any extra money, finding ways around, such as working with the transit police or the municipal office is the only opportunity. This situation clearly depicts that the requested sum is dependent on the location. Maputo prices are generally higher than the rest of the country, but even within the city, the periphery is cheaper to live at, therefore the police also needed less money to acquire from their “additional salary”. After this incident we were never bothered again and our endeavor was genuinely celebrated by all residents of this neighborhood because Khongolote belongs to the parts of the city with very slow progression in living conditions.

On the second location, we were once surprised by a very similar group of municipal police with municipal representatives. They acted much more hostile to us and they took our tools. The construction was blocked for a couple of days until we managed to get in contact with an influential person in the FRELIMO elite, who made a call to the municipality office which immediately contacted us, saying that we can have a meeting at their office and resolve the matter. It was a good proof of the interconnectivity and hierarchy within the FRELIMO party. We were told that the municipality had the need to revise our papers and that everything seems to be in order. When we requested our tools back, we were told that they are on a central deposit and that we can have them in a few days. That presented the very same situation as was described in the “bureaucracy” section. We were told that if somebody was to go and collect it immediately we would have to “help” them in return. Technically we paid an express fee so that we can have our tools and continue in our work. The price was much higher than prices we were used to which again proves the aspect of location and the prices within. The area itself is swarming with foreigners and due to the size of this construction only few people were present at the location and it was therefore quite difficult to notice that there is a European NGO facilitating a project. It seemed quite apparent that the intervention by municipal police was a planned action to get some extra money after they had learned that this project was to be carried out. In both cases I spotted a symbiosis between the municipal police and civil servants on their mission to have a chance to receive extra income through fast track payments.

Conclusion

The assessments provided by International Monetary Fund, USAid and Transparency International all classify Mozambique as a highly corrupt country with government, civil servants and particularly the police being the most corrupt components as testified by the citizens. The problem was defined in a similar manner in a variety of reports that cover a timeframe of the last twenty years. Namely, the reports described a lack of transparency, poor implementation of laws and the issue of social legacy, that is a common thing in the African heritage. Among the strongest constraints to business progress most of the

respondents of the surveys named bureaucratic challenges and corruption. From a development perspective, the country has experienced rapid development of livelihood which is rather natural given the colonial war and civil war past. The enhancement of HDI indicators has been stagnating since the early 2000's which is disproportionate to the growing GDP of the country. Mozambique, or the urban Maputo in particular, has experienced many so-called mega-projects in recent years, however most of the areas of the city remain with a poor living condition.

To translate the findings and conclusions of the surveys and indicators in the first two sections with regard to my personal findings acquired within the case study I shall first interpret the problem of corruption in the country. Apparently, not everything that is by many considered to be corruption is an actual corruption. On the bureaucratic level, special payments that can prompt somebody's request are regular and not illegal, as this act technically does not fall under the umbrella of corrupt offences. However, the bureaucratic apparatus is strongly weakened by the efforts of its employees to obtain these special payments. Frequently police and other actors distract themselves from their regular tasks in order to find ways to force individuals into situations, where those individuals will have to pay for a service. Again, these actions are not technically corrupt until the police use their authority to scare the individual. In that case the individual would commit a corrupt behaviour of bribing someone in order to get away with something (that might be illusional). Understanding the difference between fast track payments and corruption, perhaps the only actor who engages in corruption through daily money extortion is the transit police and perhaps the border police. As put by F: 'The most money in the corrupt processes are going to the border police, they let you import things if you pay them and normally you would have to pay the customs.' (Vinho, 2020, Interview 2: 24:40-27:00) They use their position to get money from individuals which is outside of the scope of their actions, whether the individual did or did not violate the law. In this case we talk about corruption from the legal point of view, scholarly point of view and also popular point of view. Relating to definitions of these acts, the everyday money extortion carried out by the police falls under the group of petty corruption and white corruption as described by Heidenheimer et al (1970) and Lamour (2012). However, given the concise section on corruption assessment and the legal understanding of the term corruption, the most severe corrupt acts are not the daily money extortion processes. Rather, the country is experiencing big corrupt scandals on the governmental level, which blockades the modernisation of the country and poverty reduction. Despite the persistent donations from international organizations, the country remains aid dependent and the everyday money extortion processes are a result of this situation, whether considered as corruption or express payments. Where the salaries of the civil servants are insufficient, other means of income substitute the deprivation. From my own

personal opinion, I saw that the majority of the officers whom I paid felt remorseful for their action. Naturally, I felt very angry from time to time, when we were bothered by the transit police so I would say mean things to the officers and I saw that it hurt them and they felt sorry for having to engage in money extortion. As already mentioned, if a family of five members is depending on only one salary it is insufficient for survival. Not every case is like that, some of the public servants may be coming from better backgrounds and they simply misuse their position because it is common to engage in this activity. As put by F:

‘The salary here of the police is short, so some of them are doing it to support the family, that is most of the corruption, but the officials in the public services misuse it to buy nice houses and cars, they have better salaries.’ (Vinho, 2020, Interview 2: 16:20-17:30)

B says: ‘I don't see it as a hateful act, I just see it as a tool to get a better life.’ (Anderson, 2020, Interview 1: 4:00-4:16) Findings such as the greater tolerance of women in the police circles supports this idea. Being a working woman, it is possible that in their families more salaries secure the family livelihood, therefore the female officers do not have such an urgency to get extra income through bribes.

What I see is a vicious circle. The government consumes most of the international aid and profit in order to remain in power in the country. Although I could not find information about the quantity of police officers in the country when I compare it to Europe I definitely saw much more officers in the streets in Maputo. There is therefore, according to my observation a lot of policemen in the service, because being employed is a stable source of income, however an insufficient one. As put by F:

‘Not all the policemen do the same thing, but most of the police officers are frustrated that they have to do what they do. Most of them are young and they choose to become a police officer because the salary is fixed, so it's tempting but they soon learn that it's not enough money so they turn to bribery.’

And,

‘People go and become a police as a last option, the police are mostly people who don't have much education, it is not a preferable job. If I want to talk to the police I have to go to the station, because the officers on the station are usually much better than the ones on the street.’ (Vinho, 2020, Interview 2: 38:00-39:30, 34:30-36:00)

Relating back to the surveys, with the exception of the big corrupt scandals as those of 2016, people in the country do not have much information about the politics (as lack of transparency was described by Transparency International) therefore their opinion is that the country is deteriorated by the small scale, or petty corruption. When explained by K:

‘People who live day to day do not see the effect of the big corruption cases on the level of the state and a big investor, so people only criticize that corrupt cases are happening.’ (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 13:00-15:00)

K further continues with his argument:

‘Maputo people are complaining and trying to figure out how to change the situation in the country. An impact on a change in education is the way to start a domino effect and leave this necessity to participate in bribery.’ (Ibid: 15:20-16:00)

To elaborate on this idea, education is generally a key to better work opportunities and therefore better salaries. To get to my hypothesis, when I asked K and F what do they understand under the term “development” in the Mozambican context I was given the following answer:

‘Development to me is a change, so when you create something that wasn't there which can be physical, but can also be an enhancement of the conditions of the society, that is development.’ (Ibid: 8:40-9:26)

‘When I hear the word development I think about different kinds of service, mostly education. Education is still a big thing, the government does not invest money into education and education to me is the main thing that could help the community to fight against the poor situation.’ (Vinho, 2020, Interview 2: 6:50-8:20)

Education in Mozambique, even on the primary level, is not free. There is a tuition that has to be paid, the amount depending on the quality of school, then there is extra investment into tools and uniforms and usually also an investment into the transport.

‘In public school you pay a little bit and the books are for free now, but that is only a recent thing, you still need to organize money for extra things that the school requires (sanitation and guards).’ (Ibid: 8:40-10:20)

In the current setting, considering that police officers and civil servants bring their extra income to their households and distribute the money in the family, the everyday money extortion does then help the microeconomics and thus urban development (as I have defined it). ‘The lower class corruption has a bigger impact on the economy due to the money rotation.’ (Hassamo, 2020, Interview 3: 12:30-13:00) This sums gathered through everyday money extortion allow the individuals receiving them to open small businesses or invest into the education, as well summarized by K:

‘I feel ok paying the particular guy on the spot, because I know it helps him and the economy more in the long run, than paying the government, who could easily just keep it, but it's just my opinion and I would be careful claiming this. I believe that regular bribery in the streets helps the microeconomics. If you pay a policeman, he will bring it home and his wife might open a small store selling basic needs, so that creates a little bit of employment and for such a business you need electricity which you pay to the government and that helps the development. At the end the store will have to pay taxes and the money will rotate there.’ (Ibid: 56:30-58:00, 1:02:00-1:03:35)

The figures from the previous chapter correspond with this finding. Figures such as literacy, school attendance and HDI in general register better results, while the GNI index is actually lowering. There can be definitely more explanations to this, but considering the fact that the “bribe” or “express fee” money fall under the grey economy that can not be monitored and can not be calculated within the GNI index, it is a possible reason to the improvement of indicators that require money investments in a society that is getting poorer.

Chapter seven: Conclusion

This work is based on a case study of money extortion in Maputo enriched over valuable personal observations and testimonies of three key figures to our development project. The thesis was observing the relationship between the three key concepts to this work, namely “corruption”, “authority” and “development”. The case study was carried out within a development project in Maputo, that presented an opportunity to gather data from a variety of fields. The objective to answer the research question *What do everyday practices of extortion in Maputo, Mozambique, explain about the complex phenomenon of corruption?* was met in the final chapter of this thesis and further the hypothesis that the everyday money extortion supports urban development as I have defined it within the conceptual framework chapter was also confirmed.

I elaborated on the personal experiences in three different arenas, namely transport, bureaucracy and construction through conceptual lenses and I have explored the impulses and practices of the money extortion. As a result I proposed an explanation to the current habit of money extortion among public servants and I further presented the difference between payments that fall under the umbrella as understood by legal framework and by scholarly interpretations and payments that can be labeled as “fast tracks” which are technically not corrupt offences, with reference to Widmalm (2008) and Alatas (1968) who claim cultural explanations to be often used for the very purposes of corruption.

In terms of the relationship between development and petty corruption - everyday money extortion, or fast track payments the thesis concluded that the money rotation helps the microeconomics and thus money can be invested into services and education which are, also according to my Mozambican respondents, the key elements of development. If urban development was to be understood as a change in the urban setting, then the existence of fast track payments definitely prompts the entire process of obtaining necessary permits and documentation. Both of these information are demonstrated in the last chapter of this thesis.

Finally, Mozambique remains a poor country with international debts and a government consuming most of the state revenues and international aid for the purpose of self establishment. After the independence in 1975 a long civil war erupted which led to an

establishment of FRELIMO as a ruling party. Since the party was in power many corrupt scandals were monitored. It can be argued that the politics of private gaining over the interest of the nation is a relic of the colonial times, which was taken over by the new garniture. In reaction, the society, where civil servants were a scrutinized group in this thesis, is engaged in a self conducted money circulation (where not only civil servants participate or profit) which is in favor for the development of the living conditions. Should I have the chance to speak outside of this research and outside of the case of Mozambique. Africa is experiencing a situation where general society is being condemned for being corrupt, the very word corruption became a label for the continent and without further thinking and examining, this status (which is indisputably relevant) is preventing progress. What I wish to acquire with these words and my testimony projected in this thesis, is to bring justification to the daily money extortion taking place not just in Mozambique, but all around Africa. All fifty pages of text above pretty much only describe a simple effect that is known worldwide. It is a domino effect. Where there is money that should cover general needs of a country being used privately and where there are assets that are to be enjoyed by all citizens splitted up among individuals and international players, there has to be a reaction to it. The reaction being a violent-less hunt for money as money are means of survival in the modern world. Where money is hard to make in an undeveloped society, that is only undeveloped for reasons described in the sentence above, other ways of making money will surface. Given the fact that African society, as unfair as it is to generalize something on the entire society, is rather traditional and there is a sense of leadership and followers. So what the elite is doing might seem to the rest of the society as morally acceptable and legitimate. Following this pattern, known and apparent in the entire society, is therefore the easiest means of survival and also somehow "granted" but the elites that are themselves involved in such a way of living. The message to the rest of the world, to the global north, to the west or to whomever. Our role is to reconsider the ways in which we help, if we really try to help. Simply supporting an elite or leaders that we think are representing the needs and wishes of the entire society, because that is how democracy and modern political setting work is apparently not the way. Democracy and the modern political setting is after all something that yet again the west has introduced to Africa and simply thinking that it will work well in their setting is foolish. Even more foolish is however, to condemn someone and label them "bad", because they do not comply with rules and aid that the west is providing. I would like to break these labels.

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