

**SOCIALLY SUSTAINABLE GOVERNANCE OF THE
MOZAMBICAN OIL AND GAS SECTOR:
Analysis on the Standpoints of the Representatives of the
Mozambican Civil Society**

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study is to examine the perceptions of the representatives of the civil society on socially sustainable governance of the Mozambican oil and gas sector. Mozambique is one of the poorest and least developed countries in the world. Recently massive natural gas resources were discovered in the country, posing great expectations for the future development in Mozambique. The aim of study is to find out how governing the oil and gas sector could be sustainable in a way that as many as possible could benefit from the sector.

The data for this qualitative research consists of semi-structured individual interviews. The interviews were conducted with the representatives of the Mozambican civil society in Maputo, Mozambique in spring 2019. The aim of the interviews was to find out what kind of perceptions the representatives of the civil society have about the socially sustainable governance of the oil and gas sector. The data was analyzed with the methods of theory-abducted content analysis.

The theoretical framework of this research is Feminist Political Ecology. The framework guides the research by bringing the focus on the questions of power, distribution of costs and benefits of the sector. An intersectional approach of the framework is used to deeper analyze social sustainability and inclusiveness.

The findings are that in order to govern the sector in a socially sustainable way, the institutional capacity should be enhanced and the decision-making processes made more inclusive. The challenges linked to the sector and socially sustainable governance of it are linked to the root causes of inequality and unequal distribution of power.

Based on this research, it can be argued that in order for everyone to benefit from the oil and gas sector in Mozambique, there needs to be actions to tackle the root causes of inequality. People, despite their gender, geographical location, religion or disability, should be able to take part in the decision-making processes and to be part of the development processes.

Key words: Mozambique, Socially Sustainable Governance, Civil Society, Oil and Gas, Extractive Industries, Feminist Political Ecology, Gender and Development

TIIVISTELMÄ

SOCIALLY SUSTAINABLE GOVERNANCE OF THE MOZAMBIKAN OIL AND GAS SECTOR:

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Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on kartoittaa Mosambikin kansalaisyhteiskunnan näkemyksiä maan kaasu- ja öljysektorin sosiaalisesti kestävästä hallinnasta. Mosambik on yksi maailman köyhimmistä ja vähiten kehittyneistä maista, jossa on kuitenkin hiljattain löydetty suuret kaasuesiintymät. Tavoitteena on selvittää, kuinka hallita Mosambikin öljy- ja kaasuvaroja sosiaalisesti kestävästi eli niin, että mahdollisimman moni voisi hyötyä sektorista.

Tutkimuksen aineisto on kerätty tekemällä puolistrukturoituja yksilöhaastatteluita Mosambikin kansalaisyhteiskunnan edustajien kanssa. Haastattelut on tehty Maputossa, Mosambikissa keväällä 2019. Yksilöhaastattelussa kartoitettiin kansalaisyhteiskunnan edustajien näkemyksiä öljy- ja kaasusektorin hallinnasta ja sen potentiaalista luoda sosiaalisesti kestävä kehitys maahan. Aineisto on analysoitu laadullisen, teoriaohjaavan sisällönanalyysin keinoin.

Teoreettisena viitekehyksenä tässä tutkimuksessa toimii feministinen poliittinen ekologia, jonka keinoin huomio tuodaan valta-asetelmiin sekä haittojen ja hyötyjen jakautumiseen. Viitekehyksestä kumpuaa myös intersektionaalinen lähestymistapa, jonka avulla tarkastellaan haittojen ja hyötyjen jakautumista eri väestöryhmien osalta.

Tulokset osoittavat, että jotta öljy- ja kaasusektorin hallinta olisi sosiaalisesti kestävä, on maan institutionaalista kapasiteettia kehitettävä ja päätöksentekoprosesseista tehtävä inklusiivisempia. Sosiaalisesti kestävä hallinnan haasteet liittyvät ennen kaikkea syvällä rakenteissa olevaan epätasa-arvoon, joka linkittyy myös vallan epätasa-arvoiseen jakautumiseen.

Tutkimuksen perusteella voidaan nähdä, että luonnonvaroista saatavien varojen johtamisen sosiaalisesti kestävään ja kaikki mukaan ottavaan kehitykseen vaatii epätasa-arvon juurisyihin puuttumista. Lisäksi ihmisillä tulisi olla mahdollisuus osallistua päätöksentekoprosesseihin ja olla mukana maan kehityksessä riippumatta heidän ominaisuuksistaan, kuten sukupuolestaan, uskonnostaan tai asuinpaikastaan.

Avainsanat: Mosambik, sosiaalisesti kestävä hallinta, kansalaisyhteiskunta, öljy ja kaasu, kaivannaiset, gender, feministinen poliittinen ekologia

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Lastly, I am forever grateful to all the people who helped me forward in learning the language and the culture while I was in Mozambique. Thanks to my local and international friends, colleagues, fellow interns with whom I have had the chance to explore, discuss, loudly debate and silently observe then, now and hopefully in the future, too. I could not capture all the discussions, observations, the smell of the air, salty breeze from the Indian Ocean mixed with dust, chicken, gas, nor describe the feeling of being smashed into someone in a small chapa – a minivan turned into a means of public transportation - full of people and loud music. However, what I managed to capture on paper, are the risks and possibilities of the booming oil and gas sector.

With gratitude,

Riitu Pirkkalainen

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

EITI - Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

FRELIMO - Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, the Mozambican Liberation Front

LGBTIQ+ - Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender/gender diverse, intersex and queer, or otherwise gender non-conforming

RENAMO - Resistência Nacional Moçambicana, The Mozambican National Resistance

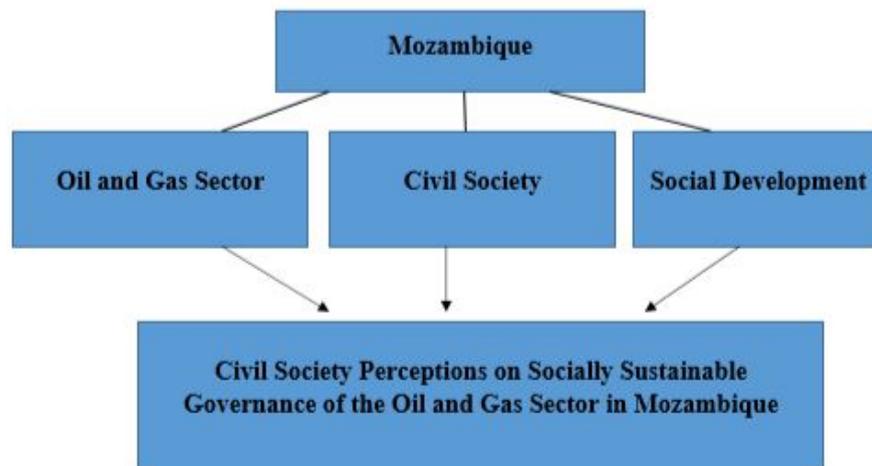
1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND THE CONTEXT IN MOZAMBIQUE

This research written on a topic that has made me contemplate for years: how to provide wealth and well-being in a more equal manner, how could we use the resources in a way that is sustainable for us - and at the same time for the planet. The aim of this thesis is to explore how the massive oil and gas resources could provide wealth in Mozambique, a poor country thriving for economic growth and increasing well-being of the people. I will examine the question with the help of the standpoints of the civil society members that I had a chance to interview while I was living in Mozambique.

In 2018-2019 I lived in Mozambique for ten months. Conducting internships at the Embassy of Finland in Mozambique and at the Delegation of European Union to Mozambique, I had a chance to dive into the topical development and political questions in the country; issues, such as a fastly growing population that is more and more educated, recently discovered massive natural gas findings, the thrive for creating more jobs for the almost half a million young people entering the labour force every year (Lachler & Walker, 2018), the still high poverty rates, and the fragilities of gender equality. Even in a larger context of Africa and the demographic change and population growth, one of the most important questions is to achieve growth that is also sustainable and inclusive (Choumert-Nkolo, 2018). This all merged into one in my head, resulting in studying the potential of the gas and oil sector in creating socially sustainable development, development that could potentially include all the groups and people of the country.

In the following sections I will briefly introduce the country, its oil and gas sector, civil society and the state of social development to set the context for this research (see table 1). Moreover, I will introduce the specific research questions.

Table 1: Visual Illustration of the Introduction



Having set the geographical and societal context of Mozambique, based on which I explain the research questions, the key terms used in the research will be introduced. Having the context of the country and the research in mind, in the latter parts of the research I will go through some of the existing research on the governance of the oil and gas sector, and introduce the wider theoretical approach, feminist political ecology, which is used in the research. After these the methodology will be introduced, before moving to the actual analysis on the civil society perceptions on governing the oil and gas sector in a socially sustainable way. Finally, the results will be discussed in more detail and then concluded.

1.1 Mozambique: From a Poor Post-Conflict Country to a Promising Oil and Gas Producer?

Mozambique is a country in southern Africa, bordering with South Africa, Eswatini (former Swaziland), Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania, and with a coastline of over 2000 kilometres in the Indian Ocean (see Figure 1). The population of Mozambique is very young, as out of the 27,9 million people in the country, 66 % are under 25 years old (Instituto Nacional De Estatística, 2019). Mozambique is one of the least developed

countries in the world, ranking 180 out of 189 countries in the Human Development Index (UNDP, 2019). All in all, the young and rapidly growing population and the demographic change create a demand for better health care, education and more job opportunities in the near future (Porter et al., 2017).



Figure 1: Map Placing Mozambique on the African Continent (Wikimedia Commons, 2020)

The country is young not only when it comes to its demographics, but also when it comes to its history: Mozambique gained independence in 1975 from the Portuguese rule. After gaining independence, the country experienced a 15-year-long civil war fought over ideologies and power between 1977-1992. The war was fought between the Mozambican Liberation Movement (FRELIMO) and the National Resistance Movement (RENAMO). The war resulted in 1 million dead people and 1,7 million people seeking refuge in the neighbouring countries. After the war, Mozambique moved to a one-party rule and centralised governance by the socialist FRELIMO, which has been in power since the end of the Portuguese rule until now. (Rocha Menocal, 2009).

During the past decades Mozambique has gone through several transition processes. The democratisation of Mozambique started in 1992 after the signature of the General Peace Accord, followed by a move towards a formal multi-party system (Topsøe-Jensen et al.,

2015; Rocha Menocal, 2009). As for the inclusivity, it is to be noted that other stakeholders, such as the representatives of the civil society nor traditional leaders were not able to take part in the peace negotiations (Rocha Menocal, 2009). While the transition to formal democracy took place, also the economy went through a transition process, as the country moved from the socialist model of planned economy to a market economy (Rocha Menocal, 2009). Ever since the Mozambican economic growth has been very fast. The World Bank Poverty Assessment (Baez-Ramirez et al., 2018) shows that the Gross Domestic Product grew on average 7.2 % in 2000-2016, which makes the Mozambican economic growth one of the biggest in Sub-Saharan Africa. Due to its quick economic growth, poverty reduction and neoliberal reforms, Mozambique has been often referred to as a success story (Castel-Branco, 2010; Symons, 2016). Despite the transitions and positive development that has taken place, the Mozambican economy remains dependent on external flows of capital, such as official development aid and direct foreign investment (Castel-Branco, 2010; Pérez Niño & Le Billon, 2014; Witter et al., 2015). Additionally, in the aftermaths of the civil war and transiting to a democratic system, Mozambique rapidly became one of the biggest receivers of official development aid (Pérez Niño & Le Billon, 2014). Castel-Branco (2010) notes that the capital flows, on the other hand, are mainly based on the interest of the multinational investors in the natural resources of the country. Moreover, the reliance on foreign aid is based on the fragile institutional capacity to generate tax revenues (Rocha Menocal, 2009), which is notable also when it comes to generating revenues from the oil and gas sector.

Despite the economic growth, the political aim has not been at reducing poverty (Kleibl & Munck, 2016). Also Porter et al. (2017) argue that during the past decades, the development has failed to include the most marginalized and poorest people in the country. Also the World Bank Poverty Assessment shows that the economic growth in Mozambique has not been inclusive during the past years, i.e. a big amount of the population is not benefitting from the economic growth in an equal manner ((Baez-Ramirez et al., 2018). The World Bank Poverty Assessment shows that in 2014/2015 48,4 % of the population live under the poverty line (Baez-Ramirez et al., 2018). All in all, the economic growth has not contributed to the poverty reduction as notably as in other poor countries

(Baez-Ramirez et al., 2018).

Moreover, the political system still remains a deficiency, despite the economic growth and the democratization process. The political system is characterized by corruption, the culture of impunity, and a centralized party system with no clear separation of the ruling party and the state (Rocha Menocal, 2009; Pérez Niño & Le Billon, 2014; Tvedten & Picardo, 2018). This is to say, the power is in the hands of the government (Topsøe-Jensen et al., 2015). Other questions that still remain as problems in Mozambique are low technical capacity, and poor educational level (Rocha Menocal, 2009).

Much of the Mozambican economy is based on the informal sector (Rocha Menocal, 2009; Tvedten, 2011). Moreover, the economy is fueled by the agricultural sector - both as a sector that employs big amounts of people and as a sector that generates tax revenues for the state (Cunguara, 2012; Tvedten, 2011; Baez-Ramirez et al., 2018; Porter et al., 2017). The agricultural sector employs more than 70 % of the Mozambican population, and it is argued that in terms of poverty reduction, it is the agricultural sector that plays the most important role (Porter et al., 2017). However, the energy sector has the potential of becoming the engine of the Mozambican economy in the near future (Porter et al., 2017). For the social development in general, it is argued that the investments in social sectors - such as education, health care system and sanitation are crucial (Porter et al., 2017).

Moreover, the violence in some parts of the country remains a challenge. In 2019 FRELIMO and RENAMO made a new peace agreement focusing on the disarmament and integration of the armed forces of RENAMO; despite this some armed groups of RENAMO continued making attacks (Amnesty International, 2020). The gas-rich province of Cabo Delgado (see Figure 2) has been under armed attacks since October 2017, when the first attacks took place (Human Rights Watch, 2020b). Since October 2017, more than 250 attacks have taken place in the province, resulting in 115,000 displaced people and around 350 casualties (Human Rights Watch, 2020b; Amnesty International, 2020). The attacks are done by an Islamist armed group, which is referred to with the name Al-Shabaab (Human Rights Watch 2020b; Amnesty International, 2020). After the

insurgencies started, the Mozambican security forces have been accused of several human rights violations when fighting the attacks (Amnesty International, 2020; Human Rights Watch, 2020b). Moreover, Human Rights Watch (2020b) and Amnesty International (2020) report that it is increasingly difficult for the journalists and researchers to work in the area to observe and report about the situation. The violent insurgencies are relevant especially in the context of this thesis, as they are taking place in the province of Cabo Delgado where massive natural gas findings were found.



Figure 2: Map of the Provinces of Mozambique (Fernandes et al., 2014)

After years of being one of the poorest and least developed countries with high poverty rates, the massive oil and gas resources were recently discovered in Mozambique, feeding a massive extractive boom in the country. The massive offshore natural gas and coking coal reserves were discovered in the mid-2000s, these two being the resources playing the key role in the extractive boom in Mozambique (Pérez Niño & Le Billon, 2014). In 2010-2011 the massive natural gas resources were found in the Rovuma Basin, in the northernmost province of Cabo Delgado (see Figure 3) (Roe, 2018). The findings has also attracted massive foreign direct investments in Mozambique (Topsøe-Jensen et al., 2015), and there are now several international companies operating in the Rovuma Basin's

concession areas, such as Anadarko, ENI, and ExxonMobil (Roe, 2018). It is estimated that the investments in the concession areas would reach US\$100 billion (approx. 91 billion €); if the estimations are correct, the investments in Rovuma Basin would be the single biggest investment in Sub-Saharan Africa (Roe, 2018). The findings have provoked high hopes for the economic growth in the country (Roe, 2018). To highlight the development potential of the sector, according to estimations, the revenues from the extractive industry in Mozambique could finance the education sector almost completely or one third of the health care sector (Witter et al., 2015). Despite the high hopes, Roe (2018) points out the massive challenge linked to the sector, from the policy-level to the environmental and community-levels. Roe (2018) emphasizes in their study that there is no guidebook example of how to turn the extractive resources into sustainable development. Also Porter et al. (2017) call for thoughtful actions in the sector in order to guarantee the transformation of the revenues into socially inclusive growth and development in Mozambique.

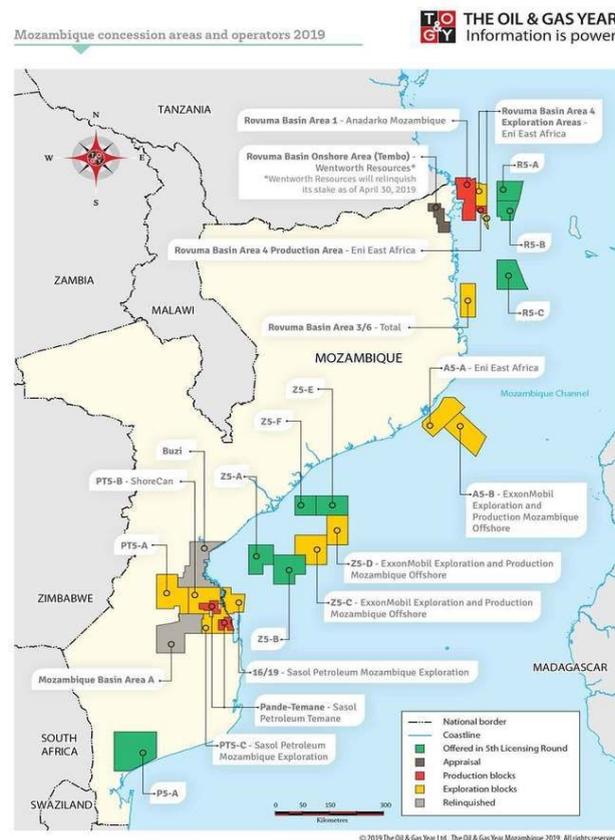


Figure 3. A Map of the Oil and Gas Concession Areas (The Oil and Gas Year, 2019)

Also the civil society has laid stress on the possible risks of the extractive sector to the community rights, principles of good governance as well as questions of transparency (Topsøe-Jensen et al., 2015). Concerns have been raised also related to the environmental costs (Topsøe-Jensen et al., 2015). In practical terms, civil society has, for instance, posed a legal challenge related to the land rights (Symons, 2016). In the next section the status of the Mozambican of civil society in general is introduced more closely.

1.2 Civil Society in Mozambique

Despite certain weaknesses and restraints of the civil society, the civil society can be seen as a relevant actor in Mozambique with a potential to influence. This is important in terms of the research, as it focuses on the perceptions of the members of the civil society on the governance of the oil and gas sector.

The democratization process along with the diminished control of state has enabled the work of the civil society organizations (Kleibl & Munck, 2017). During the past years, the amount of civil society actors has visibly risen (Topsøe-Jensen et al., 2015; Virtanen, 2015). Symons (2016) points out that some of the bigger civil society organizations in Mozambique do have the potential to influence the actions of the government. Moreover, current discourse enhances the role of the civil society organizations as the “watchdogs” also in Mozambique (Kleibl & Munck, 2017). The Government of Mozambique has officially recognized the advocating role of the civil society in developing the aspects of good governance and enhancing the democratic practices in the country (Topsøe-Jensen et al. 2015). Moreover, Virtanen (2015) states that operating within civil society organizations is of a comparatively inclusive nature. This supports the thesis aim to focus on the civil society perceptions on the governance of the oil and gas sector, as it can be seen that the civil society is not merely of a technocratic, exclusive nature.

However, the civil society in Mozambique remains comparatively weak (Rocha Menocal, 2009). Symons (2016) describes that the civil society organizations often lack human and financial capacities as well as power to influence. Moreover, the civil society

organizations often have to rely on the support of the donors to financially sustain their operation (Rocha Menocal, 2009; Symons, 2016). In spite of legislation and the changes in it, access to information remains a problem in Mozambique (Topsøe-Jensen et al., 2015). Moreover, during the past years the Mozambican Government has kept on reducing the space for freedom of expression, association and assembly (Amnesty International, 2020).

In the mapping study of the civil society actors in Mozambique, the following themes were raised as the most common developmental themes the organizations work with: governance, human rights, gender and civil rights, environment, education, rural development (Topsøe-Jensen et al., 2015). Therefore the civil society perspectives on the governance of the oil and gas sector are even more relevant, as they actively work with themes related to the sector. When it comes to Cabo Delgado, where the natural gas reserves have been found, the presence of the civil society across is not as strong as in some other parts of Mozambique. Topsøe-Jensen et al. (2015) note that the organizations that are active in the area lack technical, human and financial resources as well as support of any sort. On the other hand, the field of civil society actors in Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique, is rather wide and diverse. The organizations operating in the metropolitan area - in Maputo, its neighbouring city Matola and the surroundings - have better access to information and training for the staff. Moreover, the organizations in Maputo have a better access to resources due to the proximity to the sources of funding, i.a. international donors. On top of this, the organizations operating in Maputo are closer to the ones who hold the decision-making power (Topsøe-Jensen et al., 2015). Based on the existing information, the civil society actors can be seen as relevant actors in Mozambique, also in terms of the oil and gas sector. As for the extractive industry, the actions from the side of the civil society have led to certain actions from the side of the government, such as approving new regulations (Topsøe-Jensen et al., 2015).

It needs to be addressed that the long civil war had its implications on the Mozambican civil society, too. The civil society faced restraints during the armed conflict and in the aftermaths of the civil war (Kaarsholm, 2015). After the civil war, the civil society has raised again - however, it is to be noted that some of the civil society actors now have

strong connections to the ruling party, FRELIMO (Kaarsholm 2015). The politicization of the field of civil society actors is to be kept in mind.

1.3 Social Development in Mozambique

Some progress has been made in terms of human and social development in Mozambique. However, the geographical inequalities and gender equality remain problems in Mozambique; people in the rural areas, and women, children and elderly are the most affected by poverty (Durojaye, 2017). Mozambican women often have lower human capital, i.e. lower educational level, lower literacy and lower language skills, which results in higher numbers of unemployment for women (Gradín & Tarp, 2019). However, there are clear signs of positive social development in the country. Education and health care systems have developed and became more equal for men and women to access. (Tvedten, 2011).

The government has addressed gender inequality, resulting in positive developments such as enhancing and mainstreaming gender equality on policy-level, women's political representation and employment in state owned firms (Tvedten, 2011; Durojaye, 2017; Holvoet & Inberg, 2014). However, what seems to be characteristic to the Mozambican legislation as a whole, also applies to the legislation and policies connected to gender. The legislation itself is comparatively adequate, but the implementation of the laws is still poorly done due to the lacking capacity of the state and the judiciary (Tvedten, 2011). Moreover, the legislation regularly fails to arrive at the local level, i.e. the small towns, villages and countryside (Tvedten, 2011).

Mozambique is a home for people with various religions. According to the 2017 Census, 27 % Catholics, 18,9 % Muslims, 15,6 % Zionist Christian, 15,3 % Evangelical/Pentecostal, 13,9 % no religion, 4,8 % other religion, 2,5 % unspecified. It is to be noted that major part of the Muslim population of Mozambique inhabits the most remote and poor areas of Mozambique (Kaarsholm, 2015). In the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Nampula the Muslim population is the biggest group (Kaarsholm, 2015). This is to be noted also in terms of the oil and gas, which is mostly found in the

province of Cabo Delgado. Kaarsholm (2015) argues that the north of Mozambique has been neglected by the governors since the colonial times, continuing under the rule of FRELIMO, making the northernmost provinces less developed and poorer compared to the other provinces of Mozambique.

The existing discrimination in Mozambique is often based on the sexual orientation, gender identity or albinism. Mozambique has recently decriminalized homosexuality, but the discrimination towards lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender/gender diverse, intersex and queer and other gender-nonconforming groups (LGBTIQ+) still remains a problem in the society (Human Rights Watch, 2020a). Moreover, it has not registered the biggest LGBTIQ+ organization in Mozambique, LAMBDA (Human Rights Watch, 2020a). People with albinism are in the risk of facing discrimination at school and in their communities (Human Rights Watch, 2020a).

All in all, despite the - social - development that has taken place in the country, it is still argued that the development has not been and is not of an inclusive manner. The poorest are not likely to benefit from the development and economic growth in the country if actions are not taken (Porter et al., 2017). This is to say that not everyone has the possibility to benefit from the development - hence, not everyone might benefit from the development arising from the oil and gas sector. In a most marginalized position from the viewpoint of benefiting from the positive development of the country are the poorest people, the people living in the poorest areas of the country, women, LGBTIQ+, disabled, and albinos.

1.4 Research Questions & Objectives of The Study

As it is shown in the sections above, Mozambique is a developing country with clearly some space for socially sustainable and inclusive development - and the oil and gas findings provide a potentially huge opportunity to finance the social development. Based on the status of the civil society in Mozambique, I find it relevant to hear what they have to be told about the oil and gas sector in the country. Moreover, taken the status of women

and marginalized groups in the country, I find it important to try to find out the ways also they could benefit from the sector and how they could be included in the possible development taking place in Mozambique due to the increasing revenues coming from the oil and gas sector. Therefore, the aim of this research is to examine:

From the viewpoint of civil society,

- 1. What are the main challenges in everyone benefiting from the oil and gas sector in an inclusive manner?**
- 2. What are the possibilities of the oil and gas sector in terms of socially sustainable development?**
- 3. What kind of actions need to be taken for the oil and gas sector to result in socially sustainable development?**

These questions are examined through the interviews made with the representatives of the Mozambican civil society, and analyzed with the tools of feminist political ecology.

Even though the thesis focuses on the Mozambican context and how the Mozambican oil and gas findings could fuel the socially sustainable and gender-inclusive development in the country, the more philosophical, theoretical developmental question lies beneath this more practical and concrete question - how to provide equal, environmentally and socially sustainable development from natural resources? In this research, I try to find some answers, or find new ideas for the developmental questions through the study done in Mozambique and their struggle to find out how the natural resources can be used for a more common good.

All in all, the objective of this study is to find out how the Mozambican civil society - or, more precisely, the representatives of it - view possibilities of the governance of the oil and gas sector in Mozambique. Is there a way of getting inclusive, environmentally and socially sustainable development from the extractive industry? How could the ones in the margins of the society benefit from the massive boom on the extractive industries in the

country?

When going through existing literature on the topic, it shows that there is notably little research on the questions of social sustainability in relation to the oil and gas sector in Mozambique. Also Symons (2016) argues that there is still a shortage of research that critically examines the extractive industry in Mozambique. There are more studies on the inclusive growth in Mozambique in general as well as studies on the oil and gas sector in general. The studies on the oil and gas sector are often related to economic growth, resources as drivers for (economic) development, local content law and the economic diversification, which are studied for example by UNU-WIDER. Moreover, I did not find studies mapping the perceptions of the representatives of the civil society related to the oil and gas sector. As the sector and the extractive boom are rather new, I find it relevant to seek for and provide more information on the topic.

Furthermore, there are few studies on the gendered realities, implications of the oil and gas sector in Mozambique. I argue that this study fills in the gaps in the body of knowledge when it comes to analyzing wider gendered realities that go beyond women's role - job opportunities and women as victims of the impacts of the sector. The aim is to expand the study to analyze the implications for a wider net of marginalized people or people that are in a vulnerable position in the Mozambican society and exploring the wider social development shortages and potential of the revenues from the sector. All in all, development potential of the sector in general and of Mozambique has been studied - but I see that there is still more space for studies that grasp the aspect of social sustainability of the oil and gas sector in Mozambique.

1.5 Defining The Key Terms: Gender, Social Sustainability, Civil Society

The key terms of this research are gender, social sustainability, civil society and governance. In this section I will explain how the key terms are used and understood in the context of this research. The following is the technical, practical approach to the definitions of the key terms; a more profound reflection on the terms and the use of them will take

place in the section 4.3 Ethical Reflections. However, to help read the following sections - literature review on the existing research on governing the oil and gas sector in a socially sustainable way and the theoretical framework, feminist political ecology - the key terms and their definitions are introduced here.

Social sustainability can be defined as a concept consisting of the dimensions of the relationship of nature and society, “the relationships within the society” and work (Littig and Grießler, 2005, p. 73). Littig and Grießler (2005) see work - would it be labour, unpaid, care work - as a crucial player in defining social sustainability, as normally it is a way of creating the human-nature linkage and also as a tool satisfying the human needs. This is to say, a society can reach social sustainability if the work done in the society does not exceed the carrying capacity of nature, the needs of the people are met while the principles of social justice and participation in the society are respected. Another aspect to social sustainability is that people have the access to health, influencing, competence and impartiality (Missimer, 2015). This is to say, that people can live a healthy life, are able to be involved in influencing and transforming the society where they live in, they do not suffer from lack of freedom of speech, they have the possibility to learn and that the people are not treated in a discriminatory manner (Missimer, 2015). Based on these insights of social sustainability, the questions of gender and inclusion remain relevant.

The main focus in this research is how to govern the oil and gas sector in a *socially* sustainable way. It is to be noted that throughout the whole thesis it is understood that ecological sustainability is a crucial and inalienable part of social sustainability, i.e. creating the foundation for social sustainability or our social reality. In this research the analysis and understanding follows the understanding that is more common in environmental social sciences: the human beings and nature are and have always been connected (Massa, 2014). I draw on the understanding that the welfare of human beings is based on the wellbeing of nature, highlighting the social scientific understanding of the ecosocial wellbeing. Social sustainability walks hand in hand with environmental sustainability especially in the context of this research. In the areas of extraction, many of the people live off the land and the ocean, and their livelihood is dependent on nature.

Therefore environmental sustainability plays a crucial role in ensuring the well-being of the people - ensuring that social sustainability can also take place.

Based on this understanding of social sustainability, I draw on the importance of gender and civil society as parts of it. For the principles of impartiality, social justice and participation of the people to be fulfilled, everyone needs to have their needs satisfied - everyone regardless of their sex, race, class, culture or any other aspect that shapes their identity and reality. Therefore I see that gender is a useful tool in understanding social sustainability. Gender is in this research understood as according to the definition of Fröhlich and Gioli (2015) and Gupta (2006) as men's and women's roles, expectations, identities and responsibilities that are socially and politico-economically constructed and influenced by the existing power relations, history and socio-cultural contexts. Moreover, when I write about gender in this research, I do not write merely on the questions related to the equality between men and women, but I use gender as an intersectional term cross-cutting race, class, ethnicity, sexuality as well as sex. Referring to Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter and Wangari (1996), gender is understood in a wider perspective; i.e gender is "a critical variable in shaping resource access and control interacting with class, caste, race, culture, and ethnicity to shape processes of ecological change" (1996, p. 4). Hence, when examining the civil society perceptions on governing the oil and gas sector in Mozambique in a socially sustainable way, I am not solely examining how to include "all the people" or "women" - but how the oil and gas sector could fuel social development to all the people in the margins of the society, despite their race, class, socio-economic status, ethnicity and sexuality.

According to the definition introduced by Littig and Grießler (2005), also participation and interactions *within society* are important dimensions of social sustainability. This highlights the importance of civic participation and civil society as factors of social sustainability. While reading literature on the civil society and civil rights in Mozambique as well as the civil society in general, the most common definition of the civil society seemed to be the one of CIVICUS (2013) , where the civil society is:

“the arena, outside of the family, the state, and the market, which is created by individual and collective actions, organisations and institutions to advance shared interests.” (p. 5)

When referring to civil society, it can still mean various kinds of actors. In the context of Mozambique, a mapping study on the elements of the civil society identified several different types on organizations that are active in the field of civil society: “research and advocacy organizations; knowledge-based organizations; faith-based organizations; -- organizations of defence of common interests; service provision organizations; community-based organizations; movements; platforms; forums; and thematic networks” as well as international non-governmental organizations. (Topsøe-Jensen et al., 2015). Moreover, the civil society actors in Mozambique can be identified through the following categorizations: informal-formal, urban-rural, academic-implementing, professional-volunteer (Topsøe-Jensen et al., 2015). Civil society as a concept has very diverse connotations (Kleibl & Munck, 2016). Later, the deeper reflection on the concept of civil society in general and in Mozambique is available in the ethical reflections as well as in the discussion part at the very end of the research.

In this research, the concepts of social sustainability, socially sustainable development and social inclusion have been used. The understanding is, as presented by Dillard et al. (2013) that social inclusion is one of the components of social sustainability or socially sustainable development. It is argued that the presence of social inclusion is a tool for creating wider social sustainability, that takes everyone into account (Dillard et al., 2013). Moreover, Dillar et al. (2013) conclude that social sustainability cannot be fully achieved without the practices of inclusion and participation. This is to say, that if the social sustainability projects or as a concept lacks the component of social inclusion, not everyone is included in the process, which then results in weaker social sustainability. Also in this research social inclusion is understood to be a crucial part of being able to achieve socially sustainable development. Furthermore, the social inclusion can be further divided into inclusion in the economic activities, inclusion in the “community health and well-being” (p. 5), as well as inclusion in the “community resources and resilience” (p.5) (Dillard et al., 2013).

In the next section I introduce some of the existing research on the - socially sustainable - governance of the oil and gas sector; the concept and practice of “governance” will be thus introduced more thoroughly in the following section.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW: CONTEXTUALIZING GOVERNANCE OF THE OIL AND GAS SECTOR

In this section of the thesis I will go through some of the existing research on the governance of the oil and gas sector, with a focus on governance of the sector in a socially sustainable way and the relations of gender and the sector. The aim of this chapter is to set the context to the complex world of governing the oil and gas resources in a socially sustainable way. Even if the focus of this thesis, and the literature review too, is socially sustainable governance, I find it worthwhile to explore the consequences of malgovernance in order to highlight the importance of the socially sustainable governance. This is especially important when governing the oil and gas sector, as the sector is often related to, or causes more problems. Through existing research on the topic, this section and its subsections aim at answering briefly to the following questions:

- What is the governance of the resources, especially oil and gas?
- Who is involved in the governance?
- Why is it important that they are governed in a sustainable way? What could happen if they are not?
- What does it mean to govern the sector in a socially sustainable way?
- How is gender a relevant variable in the governance of the oil and gas sector?

In general, natural resource governance, thus also the governance of the oil and gas, can be understood as questions on how the decision-making power is allocated and how institutions put this power into practice (Ascher, 2013). When talking about the governance of the extractive industries, also the oil and gas sector, it is the capital flows and the geographical spaces that are being governed (Bebbington, 2013).

Most of the natural resources in the world are controlled and governed by 194 governments of the world (Collier, 2010). Despite the dominant role of the governments, also civil society does play a role in governance of the natural resources, such as oil and gas, as the

governance of natural resources includes questions of networks and cooperation between different actors, such as the public sector, civil society, and the private sector (Sairinen, 2009). Sairinen (2009) highlights that the various actors involved in the governance work together and influence each other in several ways. However, the governance of the oil and gas sector is not only a question of working together and cooperating. Klare (2012) describes that the resource extraction is a part of the competition of governments and companies to obtain governance over the competing resources.

The multiple actors involved in the oil and gas sector operate in the areas of extraction, selling, governing the resources or namely the capital flows of the sector (Bebbington, 2013). These actors governing the capital flows vary from national institutions, international financial institutions, such as the World Bank to global bodies regulating the sector, such as ILO, trade agreements (Bebbington, 2013). Other bodies and actors can be involved too. These could be for instance Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) (Bebbington, 2013). EITI works especially with the questions of the transparent taxation system (Bebbington, 2013). EITI is also an active partner in governing the oil and gas sector in Mozambique.

The risks arising from not governing the resources in a sustainable way, are many. When going through the existing literature on the governance of the oil and gas sector, one cannot avoid the references to the resource curse. The resource curse is a term often used when referring to problems with or occurred by natural resources, especially when connected to governance of natural resources. According to Collier (2008) and Ross (2015) resource curse is a phenomena where a resource-rich country relies on their primary natural resources, which hinders the economic growth of the country, compared to the economic growth of similar countries with less resources. Additionally, resource-rich countries often have problems with corruption and transparency, and conflicts are more likely to take place as compared to other countries with less resources but same income (Siegle, 2005). Many resource-rich countries suffer from unsustainability, conflicts, dysfunctional institutions, poor governance, corruption and weak economic performance (Chêne, 2017).

In the context of Africa there is a strong linkage between being rich in resources and malgovernance (McFerson, 2009). Carbonnier & Wagner (2011) note that in many of the African countries what harms the economy and the development potential is not actually being dependent on the resources but the lack of practices of good governance. Furthermore, the abundance of a primary commodity can have negative impacts on the governance, as it increases the potential of the government becoming corrupt, and the potential of having weaker democratic practices (Ross 2003). One of the problems that the low-income countries often face is suddenly having to manage and govern the revenues coming from the primary commodity that it has an abundance of (Bannon & Collier, 2003).

Natural resource abundance tends to increase the potential for conflicts or violent movements (Bannon & Collier, 2003, p. 5; Ross, 2003). Oil and natural gas are some of the resources that have the biggest potential for fueling problems (Ross, 2003). It is not the resource itself that causes a conflict, violent movement or another problem - rather than that, the abundance of a certain valuable resource raises the potential for a conflict in a context that is already prone to a conflict (Ross 2003). Such conflicts connected to natural resources, have often also to do with questions such as indigenous rights, gender, caste, ethnicity, class and territorial rights (Martinez-Alier et al. 2016). Also Klare (2002) states that such conflicts are connected to other regional, ethnic or political issues and disputes and that in many of such conflicts occur for the sake of power struggles of certain ethnic or religious groups. Moreover, Bannon and Collier (2003) continue that weak practices of governance and the presence of corrupted practices related to the natural resources enhance the possibility for violent movements. Moreover, the use of natural resources can enhance many other unsustainable and undesired situations, such as “famines, the spread of diseases, population displacement, and serious environmental damage” (Bannon & Collier, 2003, p. 7).

In the context of Mozambique, the good governance of the extractive resources plays an even more important role. Bannon and Collier (2003) also argue that if a country has already experienced a civil war, like Mozambique has, there is a greater possibility for a

civil war to take place again. Moreover, Bannon and Collier (2003) argue that “secessionist tendencies” (p. 6) may be enhanced if the state is corrupted and lacks the practices of good governance. To even more highlight the relevance of viewing and introducing these theories, is the notion of terrorist attacks that have taken place in the gas-rich province of Cabo Delgado, Mozambique since October 2017.

Moreover, resource abundance might not result in social development in the country, and there are various practical examples of the risks that the abundance of oil and gas might do in terms of social development. For example Mbazira and Namatovu (2018) state in their study that the discovery of oil and gas in Uganda has hastened the violations of human rights in the country, especially in the areas of extraction. Their study also points out that the space of civil society is more and more controlled by the government, especially for those working with themes related to the oil and gas sector. In many cases, the oil and gas revenues do not result in poverty reduction and might result even in deteriorating living conditions for the local people (Tomlinson, 2018). Also Ross (2003) states that countries depending on a primary commodity often are notably high in statistics measuring poverty. Furthermore, Ross (2003) argues that the poverty rates could be due to the deficiency of the educational and health care systems in such countries depending on a certain natural resource. All in all, the discovery of massive natural resources can often lead to a more miserable outcome related to the situation of the country before the discovery:

“Abundant natural resources, which should be a blessing for a low-income country, in most cases make poor people poorer.” (Bannon & Collier 2003, p. 7).

However, there is a lot of potential in what the abundance of a certain natural resource could do to a country, and therefore the questions of governance have become important. Governance plays a crucial role in creating development especially in countries that are resource-abundant (Carbonnier & Wagner, 2011). Natural resource wealth can potentially contribute to development outcomes (Chêne 2017). Collier (2010) argues that the developing countries would have a lot of development potential in the use of natural

resources. The governance of natural resources, hence also the governance of the oil and gas sector is crucially important in relation to the development potential of the states. Collier (2010) states that for the developing countries ”- known natural capital has been estimated to be worth double their produced capital. The failure to harness natural capital is the single-most important missed opportunity in economic development” (p. 37). Scott et al. (2013) conclude based on their study on the gendered realities of the oil and gas sector that the resource curse has to be viewed also as a “missed opportunity” (p. 3) for the country to develop. Also Khodeli (2009) highlights the possibilities of natural resources as drivers for both human and economic development. All in all, the resources need to be governed in a sustainable way to

- 1) benefit from the resources as a fuel for sustainable development, and
- 2) avoid the “plunder”, i.e. taking all the goods from nature and not benefiting from them. (Collier, 2010).

Furthermore, Khodeli (2009) points out the importance of institutions as contributors to natural resource governance; they state that practices of good governance make poverty reduction and economic development possible. Also Collier (2010) points out the need for good governance in order to manage and regulate the use of natural resources. There are cases where a country has managed to turn the natural resources into economic growth and development, such as Botswana (Bannon & Collier, 2003). Despite the negative implications that often are connected to resource abundance, the examples from a few countries that have managed to win the resource curse, show that it could be also possible for Mozambique to fuel sustainable growth and development. To avoid the worst case scenarios, Bannon and Collier (2003) highlight the importance of practices of good, transparent governance as well as decision-making aimed at poverty reduction and economic growth. Also McFerson (2009) points out that resource curse is not a necessary, unavoidable path - there are also several examples of corrupted resource-poor countries or resource rich countries managing their economy well.

Despite the huge risks related to the abundance of natural resources, the existing literature on the topic shows that there is also a massive development potential arising from the

natural resources. Having set the context for the risks and potential of natural resource governance, in the next section, research on the governance of the oil and gas sector in a socially sustainable way is introduced more thoroughly.

2.1 Governing the Oil and Gas Sector in a Socially Sustainable Way

In this section, I will introduce research on the social sustainability in relation to governance of the oil and gas sector. All in all, the existing research on the topic shows that the extractive industries, or more specifically also the oil and gas sector have a lot of potential to be transformed into development. On the other hand, being rich in resources poses a great challenge for the country. The resource, which the country has an abundance of, and the revenue flows coming from in, need to be governed well for it to generate any kind of development for the country - would it be socially sustainable development or not. After having introduced the basic concepts related to the research on the governance of the natural resources, extractive industries and oil and gas sector, in this section I will introduce in a more profound manner research on the sustainable or socially inclusive governance of the sector in general and through a few selected case studies. Afterwards, the research on the gender-component related to the oil and gas sector will be further introduced. First more theoretical approaches are introduced, followed by a few country-case examples.

In the existing research on ways in which the extractive industry, thus also the oil and gas sector, could result in inclusive and socially sustainable development, there are several points that arise. Based on Bebbington (2013), Ross (2003), Ovadia (2014), Okpanachi (2011), Henstridge (2013) the most crucial factors of governing the extractive industry in a way that would result in socially sustainable and inclusive development, would be for instance employment, diversification, transparency and dialogue with the local people along with good governance (see Table 2.)

Table 2. Key Factors of Socially Sustainable Governance of the Extractive Industries



Based on the existing studies, I will briefly open up few of the most crucial factors of governing the sector in a socially sustainable way. The sector needs to create jobs of a direct and indirect nature (Bebbington, 2013; Henstridge, 2013). Moreover, the volume of supply chain management bringing work possibilities for the local people needs to be addressed (Bebbington, 2013). Ovadia (2014), for one, emphasises that in terms of sustainability, the local content policies are crucial. Also Henstridge (2013) mentions well-functioning local content policies as one of the key factors. Such policies aim at enhancing the inclusion of local and national actors in the industry (Ovadia, 2014). Moreover, Ross (2003) states that what is central in avoiding the problems of poor governance and corruption, is transparency: they argue that the international and national resource revenues should be able to be tracked. Bebbington (2013) argues that it needs to be carefully examined “who is and is not included in the benefits of extraction” (p. 26). As for the taxation and the use of revenues, Bebbington (2013) highlights that it plays a crucial role in the development, how the revenues are invested into social sectors or projects that foster development.

Bebbington (2013) also points out that the local ownership could be an important factor in creating more inclusive development from the extractive industries. This means that local

people would have an ownership of the extraction company, or a public ownership of a company operating in the sector (Bebbington, 2013). Bebbington (2013) highlights that for the development to be inclusive, the local people need to be consulted and included in the planning of the extraction processes.

Moreover, Ross (2003) suggests the countries to take action in diversification of the economy as well as creating “stabilization funds” or “savings funds” (p. 24) to overcome the instability of the revenues. The prices of the primary commodities tend to be notably volatile, i.e. the prices may change rapidly or in an unpredictable manner, in the global market, and therefore the states would need to create a fund to balance the loss of revenues at the times when the commodity prices are low (Ross, 2003). Carbonnier & Wagner (2011) conclude that to create development from the extractive industries: “effective legislative chambers”, “independent judiciary” (p. 14). On top of these suggestions, also the environmental questions are emphasized. There is a need for governance that enables the future generations to not bear only the negative environmental impacts of the sector (Bebbington 2013).

Getting back to the very aspect of socially sustainable and inclusive development, Bebbington (2013) concludes based on several studies on the topic that the best way of creating socially inclusive development from the extractive sector, is to invest the capital flows generated through taxation in social projects (see table 3 and table 4 below).

Table 3: Simplified Version on Generating Inclusive Development from Extractive Industry (based on Bebbington, 2013)

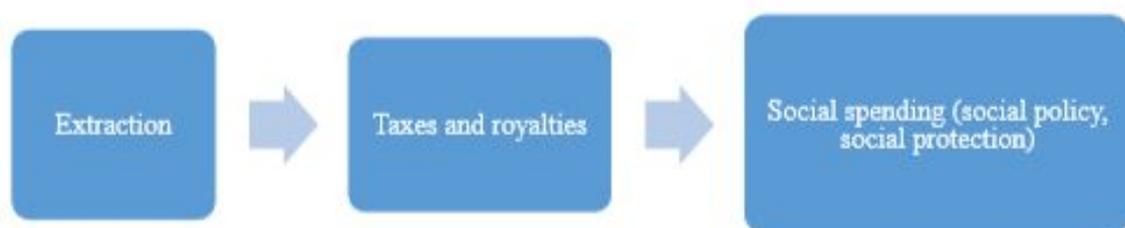


Table 4. Comprehensive version on How to Generate Inclusive Development from the Extractive Industry (based on Bebbington, 2013)



Moreover, the sustainability of the sector can be divided into three categories. Based on the study of Choumert-Nkolo (2018) on the socially inclusive and sustainable gas sector in Tanzania the focus should be put especially into the revenues and the impacts of the industry. More specifically, it should be analyzed who benefits from the revenues coming from the sector and where are the revenues used at. Moreover, the impacts should be looked at in four different aspects: economic, environmental, social and institutional. Moving to the practical solutions of using the revenues for social spending, a study on focusing on the human development potential of the natural gas sector in Tanzania suggests that the revenues should be used for “public physical and social infrastructure” (Henstridge, 2013, p. 12). Henstridge (2013) also points out the need to improve the health care and education systems in order to enhance human development.

In Okpanachi’s (2011) study raising up the human development aspects of the oil and gas sector in Nigeria, they go through policies trying to tackle the resource curse and reach a more comprehensive, sustainable way of governing the oil and gas sector. Okpanachi (2011) states that despite the common phenomena of resource curse, the wealth in natural resources may lead to various different economic and political results - not only weak results. The results of the study show that actions taken to create social sustainability in Nigeria included community development projects, building and reconstructing infrastructure, health care improvements, training scholarships by the oil companies and the local content policies. Moreover, there were actions to improve the peace and security

situation, fight the poverty, and create job opportunities for the people in the area. Moreover, in the context of Nigeria, EITI and NEITI (Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative) have played a big role in enhancing the transparency, accountability of the sector and good governance in Nigeria; their actions resulted in the Nigerian government publishing its revenues monthly. This is relevant also in the context of Mozambique, where EITI is also one of the key players. (Okpanachi, 2011.)

Furthermore, it is to be noted that civil society can be of an important role in reducing the potential social and environmental problems at the local level (Slack, 2018). Therefore it can be seen that the civil society can be a crucial player in the social sustainability and also inclusive development generated from the extractive industries, so also from the oil and gas sector specifically. Moreover, as for the inclusiveness or social sustainability of the oil and gas sector, studies find that the sector often is of use to “benefit investors” and “those with high-level skills” (Porter et al. 2017, p. 4). This is to say that the ones who are already poor and otherwise in the margins of the society are not that likely to benefit from the sector.

2.2 Gender and the Oil and Gas Sector

Many of the studies on the gendered aspects of natural resources in general and the oil and gas sector highlight the inequality, gendered roles and responsibilities. Macdonald (2018) argues that in order to have the full social development potential that would be drawn from the extractive sector, is to include women and focus on gender equality.

According to the study of Dankelman (2002) access to and effective control over natural resources, access to means of production, access to technology and decision-making power are important gendered factors when it comes to natural resources. As for governance, it is stated that women are underrepresented in the decision-making processes concerning natural resources (Flintan & Tedla, 2010). Also Baumgartner (2004) points out the lack of and the necessity of women’s participation decision-making processes. Furthermore, Gupta (2006) argues that women are underrepresented in the decision-making processes as well as negotiation processes connected to environmental issues. Scott et. al (2013) also

highlight the fact that women are not as represented in the decision-making processes related to governing the sector and what is linked to it. It is stated that the lack of women applies to all the levels of decision-making (Gupta, 2006). As this study is precisely on the governance of the oil and gas sector, the repeated notion on the underrepresentation of women in the decision-making processes is very relevant.

In the practical level, the extraction can have very different implications to different genders and to marginalized people, too. Scott et al.'s (2013) study on the impacts of the oil and gas sector at the local level shows that there are patterns of "unequal distribution of assets and risks" (p. 1) between men and women. Scott et al. (2013) also argue that there is not that much research on the gendered realities of the oil and gas sector. This is to say that the sector at the very practical level - and its consequences on the more societal and economic level - has very different implications on different people. Scott et al. (2013) argue in their analysis on the gendered realities of the oil and gas sector that there are clear gender-differentiated inequalities, which do have further consequences on the development of the country or area.

One aspect in relation to gender and the oil and gas sector, is that the companies are much more likely to hire men than women (Landau & Lewis, 2019). Moreover, on the societal level or when it comes to the development of the country as a whole, Landau & Lewis (2019) point out that women's inclusion in the economic activities is crucial for the development of the country as a whole. Also Scott et al. (2013) state that the gender-differentiated realities could be seen especially in employment opportunities. Women have less access to the jobs and thus less possibilities for economic empowerment. As shown in the previous sector, employment is one of the key variables in turning extraction into inclusive - or socially sustainable - development. However, if women face more barriers and have less access to jobs, they are already facing a big constraint to be part of the inclusive development that the extractive sector could possibly create. Or vice versa, social sustainability cannot be fully achieved, if approximately half of the population face barriers in accessing jobs and economic stability. As for the oil and gas sector, it often creates very little job opportunities for the local people. The little opportunities that might

occur for the local people are often accessible for men only (Scott et al., 2013). All in all, to have all the social development potential, it should be ensured that also women are “able to participate as fully as males in all aspects of resources activity and consequent economic development and social progress” (Macdonald, 2018, p. 442)

Lot of the research on gender and extractive industries draws on the notion that the sector is “masculine” (Macdonald, 2018, p. 444). Macdonald (2018) also points out that women are more likely to experience or be affected by the negative impacts of the extractive industry. Such negative impacts affecting women more than men could be, for instance, are the relocation processes and problems related to the environment. Moreover, sex work done by women and gender-based violence is a question linked to the presence of extractive industries in the area (Macdonald, 2018).

Next the themes of the governance of the natural resources, in the context of the oil and gas sector, will be discussed through the lense of this thesis’ theoretical framework. In the next section the notion of gender will be discussed more thoroughly. Moreover, other vulnerable and marginalized groups in relation to the sector will be discussed in more detail.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: FEMINIST POLITICAL ECOLOGY

There is a variety of feminist development theories that also grasp the question of governing the natural resources and the social aspects of the governance. In this section, I will explore some of these feminist development theories, focusing on the theories especially connected with environmental issues and research. Firstly, I briefly introduce some of the main discussions and debates connecting women or gender and environment in the field of international development. Then, in the subsections, I will further introduce the approach called Feminist Political Ecology, which also works as the theoretical framework for this research.

According to Sapra (2012), there are two main branches of feminist environmental studies, the ecofeminist and the materialist one, the materialist one consisting of feminist environmentalism and Feminist Political Ecology. First the environment and gender questions in the field of development studies were brought up by ecofeminist scholars (Fröhlich & Gioli 2015). Ecofeminism is based on the idea that patriarchy and the Western culture have suppressed both nature and women (Rocheleau et al., 1996). However, ecofeminism has been criticized for essentializing women as having innate understanding of nature and a close relationship to nature due to their gender (Fröhlich & Gioli, 2015; Nelson, 2015). The materialistic branch has partly been developed to oppose the ecofeminist school of thought, especially criticizing the connection of nature and women to be natural (Sapra, 2012). As opposed to ecofeminist theories, the feminist political ecology school of thought started addressing the questions of distribution, material realities and power relations (Fröhlich & Gioli, 2015).

All in all, gender can be seen as a critical variable that influences ecological change, livelihoods and sustainable development (Elmhirst & Resurreccion, 2008). For this research, feminist political ecology seems to be a relevant framing because of its focus on

the power relations linked to the nature and natural resources. In the following subsection I will more thoroughly introduce the Feminist Political Ecology school of thought, justify its relevancy for this research and explain how it will be used in relation to the research problem.

3.1 Feminist Political Ecology

Feminist political ecology is a school of thought that focuses on the gendered aspects that are prevalent in ecology, economy and political decision-making (Rocheleau et al., 1996). Feminist political ecology arose from the need to link the environmental questions to political decision-making and socio-economic realities (Rocheleau et al., 1996). The idea behind approaching the governance of the oil and gas sector through a feminist theory perspective arises from the notion that individuals and groups, depending on their gender and other factors interlinked with it, are “affected by the constraints imposed by inequitable political and economic structures” (Rocheleau et al. 1996, p. 3).

As a school of thought, or an approach, feminist political ecology has its roots in political ecology. Political ecology, for one, is an approach that is used to examine the connections of the natural resources, environment and the societal and cultural factors; how the change in the resources, resource use or in the environment affects the society and the different groups of the society as well as the power-relations of these groups (Robbins, 2004). Wilshusen (2004) points out that political ecology traditionally combines different levels from local to non-local and examines the power relations. Political ecology itself is one of the most used tools of environmental social sciences to analyze environmental questions of the global south (Nygren, 2009). According to Nygren (2009) the central theoretical basis of political ecology is to take various actors and socio-political processes on various levels of society into account. Furthermore, political ecology can be used to analyze the situationality of environmental problems as well as the wide political, social and economical connections of local environmental problems. Thus, in the center of analysis is often the use, control over and management of natural resources as well as the power relations of them (Nygren, 2009). Moreover, as stated by Elmhirst (2011) political ecology addresses the question of power and governance related to the environment or natural

resources.

It is said that traditionally political ecology is used as a tool to understand forms of arguing about natural resources, decision-making processes and the institutional ways of governing resources as well as analyzing the several ways of describing control over resources and ways of using them (Nygren, 2009). Therefore, using political ecology as a wider theoretical framework for my thesis would be very suitable and adequate in order to analyze my research questions. Adding the feminist approaches of this theoretical framework and stepping to feminist political ecology, I will be able to explore the gendered aspects of the questions present in political ecology too. This is relevant in terms of social sustainability, which is in the spotlight of this research. In this research it is understood that the key principles of social sustainability - social justice and participation - can be fulfilled only if everyone is included in it despite their gender, and other factors shaping their identity and social reality. Moreover, the gendered realities affect the questions of power and governance.

Like political ecology, feminist political ecology emphasizes the questions of distribution of resources and power (Sapra, 2012). Moreover, feminist political ecology focuses on analysing the ways gender and gender relations influence the realities of people with different possibilities, for instance, to get education or get access to resources (Fröhlich & Gioli, 2015). Feminist political ecology also sets its focus on 'constructions of knowledge' and control over resources (Elmhirst & Resurreccion, 2008, p.7). The core argument of feminist political ecology is that depending on the gender, people have differentiated possibilities and problems, and this is due to existing structures and roles (Fröhlich & Gioli, 2015).

However, there are problems in this theoretical approach, too. Fröhlich & Gioli (2015) point out that in feminist political ecology, as in many of the feminist studies, the focus is still often merely on women while gender and women are used as equivalent terms. Furthermore, feminist political ecology has been criticized for ignoring the diversity of the people categorized under the term women. Therefore, Fröhlich and Gioli (2015) call for a more intense presence of intersectionality in the research based on the theories of feminist

political ecology, putting more emphasis on the relations and connections of other social factors, such as class, age, race.

Intersectionality draws on the idea that when viewing gender as a variable, it should be viewed *in relation* to the other categories that define the person, their identity, status in the society and in relation to the other people (Mattila et al., 2016). Mattila et. al (2016, p. 260) divide these categories relevant in intersectionality into two categories:

1. “Bodily identity” (p. 260): ethnicity, age, disability, sexuality
2. Socio-economic: class, caste, nationality, geographical location

Intersectionality in the feminist political ecology especially implies the need for understanding the variety of identities under the same category and thus variety of realities with different possibilities to access or have control over natural resources (Fröhlich & Gioli, 2015). Faria and Mollet (2013) raise up the question of postcolonial intersectional analysis, especially when viewing the Global South through the lense of feminist political ecology. Questions of race, caste, and ethnicity should be in the centre of the feminist political ecology analysis, as it is argued that they are relevant factors when it comes to the connection of gender and the environment (Faria & Mollet, 2013; Sapra, 2012). Moreover, taking a more intersectional approach to the questions of governance of resources and other questions central to feminist political ecology, also helps to move away from the men-women division and the discourse of women being naturally connected to the nature (Sapra, 2012). In the context of Mozambique, the gender blends especially with class, religion and ethnicity. Thus, the intersectional approach can be seen relevant in this research and in relation to the research questions.

Despite the aim, the gender has been the most dominant and analyzed variable in the Feminist Political Ecology analyses, whereas the other variables have been very little studied (Mollet & Faria, 2013). In terms of this research, I have tried to follow the ideas brought up by Faria and Mollet by viewing the questions of gender not only as questions of women and men, but of gender and sexual minorities, disabled people, people with albinism and people with different ethnic or religious backgrounds.

When it comes to this exact research, feminist political ecology as a theoretical framework works as a way of approaching the topic itself, it helps to define the key terms and the formulation of the research problem. The theoretical framework has been of use while formulating the research questions, the way of approaching the topic. Moreover, it shapes the way gender is seen in this throughout the research; as a concept intersecting through various characteristics from sex to ethnicity. It shapes the way the connections of politics, economy and nature are seen - as inter-connected. The significance of this master's thesis in relation to feminist political ecology school of thought is the following: it builds in on the existing theoretical literature of feminist political ecology related to the questions of power over and control of natural resources.

All in all, the feminist political ecology approach examining the socio-political aspects in relation to the environment enables the in-depth understanding of the complex world of governing natural resources. In relation to this research, I argue that especially the questions of distribution of power, distribution of costs and benefits are central. The tools of thinking provided by feminist political ecology also help forward in examining whether the oil and gas sector could be governed in a way that is socially sustainable for all the Mozambicans. It works as a tool to access the question from the sustainability angle too and as concluded by Wichterich (2015) it can be used as a tool for “redirecting the whole economy at well-being and social cohesion, human and social growth, sustainable and society–nature relations without renewed domination and exploitation of the ‘other’, the global South, ‘cheap’ labour and nature” (p.94).

4 METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

This research is a qualitative research aimed at getting to know the civil society perceptions on the socially sustainable governance of the oil and gas sector in Mozambique. As the aim of the research was to focus on the opinions and the views of the representatives of the civil society, it was clear that this would be a qualitative research instead of a quantitative one. Qualitative research is aimed at understanding and describing a phenomena or an event (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). In the context of this research, the aim is to understand and describe the potential of socially sustainable governance of the oil and gas sector in Mozambique from the view-point of the members of the civil society. To best understand the perceptions of the civil society members, a qualitative approach was chosen.

The data for this research is collected through individual interviews conducted with the members of the civil society in Mozambique. The analysis of the data is done with the methods of content analysis. The data collection and data analysis methods are based on the objective of the thesis, to analyze the viewpoints of the representatives of the civil society on the extractive boom and its implications to the social development in the country. In the following subsections, the data collection and analysis methods are introduced in more detail. Before moving to the actual analysis and its results in the section 5, the subsections are followed by an ethical reflection of this research in general, data collection and of the terms and concepts used in the research.

4.1 Research Data: Semi-Structured Individual Interviews

The data for this research is primary data gathered through individual interviews. The research data consists of the seven individual interviews. I chose to not include any other primary data - i.a. interviews of the representatives of the government or the companies - nor secondary data to complement the findings of the interviews conducted with the

members of the civil society. The reason for this is that I wanted to give more space for and focus only on the interviews of the civil society.

I collected the data in Maputo, Mozambique during March and April 2019. I interviewed seven people who worked in various sectors and had different kinds of background organizations (see table 5 below). As for choosing the informants, it is said that the informants should not be chosen randomly but rather that, in a thoughtful manner so that the information gathered from the interviews serve the intentions of the research, i.e. they have information that is relevant in terms of the research question (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). This idea worked as a guidance when contacting various civil society actors. I contacted civil society organisations that were based in the metropolitan area of Maputo - i.e. capital city Maputo and the neighbouring cities Matola & Marracuene - and that work with questions of gender, environment, governance, natural resources or extractive industries. I tried to contact all the local civil society organizations that had a link to one or more of the themes of this thesis; i.e. organizations working only with themes not related to the research, such as animal rights, sexual health, were not contacted. The interviewees were found using my existing knowledge on the civil society actors and networks. I contacted 26 organizations and 32 individuals working with the civil society organizations through social media (Facebook, LinkedIn), email and phone. I obtained the contact information of the people and organizations through the websites or social media pages of the organizations, with the help of some of the interviewees and through the networks that I had earlier created. All of the people who were interviewed are Mozambicans. Finally, I am content with the diversity of the interviewees in terms of their background organizations as well as areas of work. However, a deeper reflection of the representativity of the interviewees will be discussed in the section 4.3.

Table 5. Introduction of the Interviewees

Interviewee	Gender	Background Organization	Main Area(s) of Work
Interviewee 1	Male	Advocacy Organization	Good Governance, Extractive Industry
Interviewee 2	Male	Research Organization	Good Governance, Development
Interviewee 3	Female	Advocacy Organization	Good Governance
Interviewee 4	Female	INGO	Human Rights, Gender Rights
Interviewee 5	Female	Grass-roots organization	Women's Rights, Extractives Industry
Interviewee 6	Male	Service Provider Organization	Environment, Human Development
Interviewee 7	Male	Service Provider Organization	Environment, Women's Rights

The interviewees were contacted from the beginning of March until the beginning of April 2019. The seven interviews were conducted over three weeks, between a timeframe of March 26th until April 15th, which enabled me to practice the interviewing procedures. Moreover, I had the chance get in touch with the new pieces of contact information that I got along the process of doing the interviews and discussing about the thesis with the existing network that I had in Maputo. I had previously conducted internships at the Embassy of Finland in Mozambique and at the Delegation of the European Union in Mozambique, thus already gaining information about the field of civil society actors and the key organizations and actors in terms of the extractive industries and oil and gas sector.

The length of the interviews varies from 30 minutes to 1 hour (see table 6). The interviews followed the structure of a list of questions prepared beforehand (see annex I). The interviews were recorded with the permission of the interviewees, later transcribed and then translated into English. During the interviews I also took notes on the most important topics, facts and opinions that occurred, as well as wrote down key words, in order to help the analysis process. The analysis process itself will be discussed more thoroughly in the following sub-section.

Table 6: Length of the Interviews

Length of the Interviews (min)	
60	In Total 309 minutes: 5 Hours 9 Minutes
46	
31	
45	
41	On Average 44 Minutes/Interview
56	
30	

As for the interview questions (see ANNEX I), I formulated them with the help of the existing research on the governance of the oil and gas sector, and the concepts and understanding drawn from the theoretical framework. I picked up some central themes of

the existing research on the topic to be discussed in the interviews - such as local content law and corporate social responsibility. The theoretical framework helped framing the questions and bringing up the questions of including the marginalized or vulnerable groups. One of the benefits of doing interviews in order to collect the research data is the flexibility of the interviewing and the data collection process. During the interview the interviewer can reformulate the question, ask further questions based on the answers of the informant and dig deeper into the topic (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). During the interviews I conducted for this research, I took the advantage of this characteristic of the interview as a data collection method. I reformulated the original interview questions in order to fit the nature of the discussion. Moreover, I had the possibility to create a bit of a dialogue, and ask further questions based on the answers of the interviewees. Moreover, Tuomi & Sarajärvi (2018) note that during the interviews, certain kinds of changes can be made, for instance, changing the order of asking the interview questions. I also used this opportunity during the interviews to connect the questions to the current topic of the discussion, in order to make the interviews more conversation-like. Moreover, as the interviews were conducted in the course of three weeks, I had the chance to reshape the questions and my interviewing technique during the process. Moreover, the interviews were semi-structured. Semi-structured interviews are guided by chosen themes and questions related to the themes (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). The perk of conducting the interviews in a semi-structured form is that the questions can be specified and focused based on the replies the informants are providing.

The data is collected through doing individual interviews. According to Willis (2011) interviews can be a tool for understanding individuals' attitudes and perceptions. In the context of my thesis, I am interested in hearing the people's opinions on the practices, decision-making processes and the policy considering the governance of the oil and gas sector in Mozambique. Thus, the individual interviews are a good way of collecting data and getting viewpoints to the insights of the people working with the themes linked to the sector in Mozambique. As the goal of conducting the interviews is to get as much information as possible on a wanted theme, question or topic, it is recommended to give the interview questions or the themes for the informants prior to the interview (Tuomi &

Sarajärvi, 2018). Therefore I provided the informants with the overall research questions and the themes that would be discussed in the interviews. This information was sent via email when arranging the times and places for the interviews.

I decided to conduct the interviews solely in the capital city of Mozambique, Maputo, instead of doing field visits in the actual areas of the extraction. I made the decision due to not only time and monetary constraints but also the security situation. Most of the extraction is taking place in the northernmost province of Cabo Delgado. During the time I was living in Mozambique and conducting the interviews, the Embassy of Finland in Mozambique among other embassies had strict travel restrictions for traveling in the province of Cabo Delgado due to the terrorist attacks that have taken place in the area. In addition, I decided to focus on the policy-level of the socially sustainable and gender-inclusive governance of the oil and gas sector, and therefore conducting interviews with the organizations that work with such questions close to the decision-making powers in Maputo. Moreover, it was a question of time and access to information. Through the internships conducted at the Embassy of Finland in Mozambique and the Delegation of the European Union in Mozambique, I was already somewhat familiar with the civil society and the relevant organizations operating in Maputo. Often I was asked why I would not interview also the government officials or the representatives of the oil and gas companies. I decided to focus on the representatives of the civil society merely, as I wanted to dig deeper into one of the aspects and not get a bit of information from all the stakeholders. Moreover, I felt that there was more of a need to hear the insights of the civil society than those of the government or the companies, who are already active in the sector and policy-making. Hence, taking into account the limited time and resources that I had, as well as my interest in the insights of the civil society, I took the decision to focus on doing the interviews only with the representatives of the civil society and only in the Maputo metropolitan area..

4.2 Content Analysis

After having conducted the interviews and transcribed them, the next step was to analyze the data. I did the analysis through the methods of content analysis, as it was the most suitable analysis methods in terms of the research problem and the data that I had available for the thesis. Content analysis is a research method that focuses on the patterns and meanings found in the given document (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). Content analysis can be used to analyse various different kinds of documents, such as articles, interviews, reports in a “systematic and objective form” (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, p. 117). All in all, the aim of content analysis is to describe the contents of the data in a form that enables the researcher to make conclusions or speculations relevant to the phenomena that is being researched (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018).

In this analysis process I followed the steps written by Silvasti (2014) as follows:

1. Parsing the material relevant for the research question.
2. Organizing the material according to a theme, concept or a notion
3. Coding the data
4. Categorization of the codes

Coding could be done in a data-oriented, theory-oriented or a theory-abducted way (Silvasti, 2014). To analyse the data of this research, I used the theory-abductive way, i.e. the abductive approach. In a theory-abducted analysis, the theory works as a framework or as a guidance in the analysis process, but the analysis is not fully based on the theory (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). The coding categories can be modified during the process; it enables the wide-scale analysis of the existing data, for instance doing the coding based on the interviews and complementing the coding with the concepts and perspective arising from the literature (Silvasti, 2014). While doing the analysis, my intention was to give space for the interviewees and interviews, but then add some structure for the coding process with the help of the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework is used as a wider frame to view, understand and comprehend the phenomena and as a tool of grasping the interviews and their content.

The theory-abducted content analysis as an analysis method in this research seemed relevant also given the nature of the theoretical framework, feminist political ecology. Feminist political ecology has been often described more as an approach than an actual and strict frame for a research. Also in this research, the theoretical framework is seen rather as a tool that provides terms, concepts and ways of approaching the data and the research problem.

As stated, the analysis of the data is done with the theory-abducted approach. To justify the decision, I will next introduce the other options, briefly analyze their relevance in terms of this research and explain why I did not choose them. Theory-oriented analysis, on the other hand, is more used when testing an existing theory in the context of the new research (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). In this form of analysis, the theoretical framework shapes the analysis process and the ways the phenomena that is researched is seen or defined (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). Theory-oriented content analysis was not the choice for this research, as I wanted to leave more room for the insights of interviewees, that professionals in the area. Moreover, I thought that a merely data-oriented approach would not have been as useful and information-providing in terms of the research problem. Many kinds of themes and topics were discussed in the interviews, and using the existing literature as a help in the coding process enables to find the most relevant information in terms of the research problem. In the data-oriented analysis, for one, the existing theories or information should not affect the analysis process itself (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). This seemed to be a little too broad of an approach in order to grasp the most relevant information related to the research problem.

Therefore I chose to use the theory-abducted content analysis; the wider theoretical framework of the research, feminist political ecology, gives guidance in formulating the categories and analysing the data itself. With the theory-abducted analysis method I could focus on certain aspects of power, representation that were brought up in the interviews and that are present in feminist political ecology. But by leaving space for the interviews themselves with all the content they had, I had the chance to spot other topics that kept on being repeated - such as the contemplation around the question of development itself.

Another option for the analysis method could have been discourse analysis, that focuses more on the ways the meanings are produced, how something is said and what kind of terms are used (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). However, as the focus of the research is on the civil society *perceptions*, the views of the civil society members, the tools of content analysis seemed more relevant: focusing on the actual content of the interviews instead of the meaning, discourses and the ideas in between the lines. The data and the aim of the research shaped the decision of the analysis method. The aim of the analysis in general is to find answers to the research questions. In this case, the aim of the analysis is to generate information on the civil society perceptions on the socially sustainable governance of the oil and gas sector in Mozambique. More precisely, the aim of the analysis is to find out how the representatives of the civil society view the potential and the risks of the oil and gas sectors in relation to the socially sustainable development of Mozambique. Hence the analysis methods are chosen according to the goal of finding answers to the research questions.

One of the downsides of a qualitative analysis is that many of the interesting points that arise from the data need to be excluded from the study itself (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). This is the case in this analysis, too. There were several interesting issues that were brought up during the interviews, but no matter how interesting some of them are, they had to be excluded if they were not relevant in terms of the research problem. Only the very relevant ideas, opinions and themes that were discussed in the interviews are included in the analysis. Moreover, as the point is to focus on the civil society perceptions and ideas in general, I did not find it relevant to quantify the data in this research; quantifying the data would have not given much of added value for the research questions and the research problem.

This subsection introduced the way the analysis was done. The actual analysis will follow in section 5, which is the next section. Before that an ethical reflection on the study, including the data collection and analysis, is made in the next subsection.

4.3 Ethical Reflections and Limitations of the Study

In this section I will first go through the ethical reflections that I have come across while writing my thesis. There were several ethical reflections that needed to be thought through throughout the thesis-writing process, for instance the questions of positionality, the ways of understanding the concepts, and the question of credibility. It is argued that the credibility of the research needs to be addressed throughout the whole process (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). Moreover Tuomi & Sarajärvi (2018) state that “if the research is not ethically sustainable, it cannot be credible, but being ethically sustainable does not yet guarantee the credibility of the research” (p. 182). Therefore I have grasped several ethical questions that have arisen during the research process, and have explained what has been done and how it has been done throughout the whole text. The ethical reflections are discussed not only to assure the credibility of the research but also to bring forth questions that I find important to be discussed and reflected in the field of international development work and research. As a part of this ethical reflection, also the credibility and the limitations of the study will be discussed. The limitations are mostly related to the data collection.

Taking into account the nature of international development, I found it important to analyze my positionality throughout the process. As a student of Development Studies, and even as a researcher I am positioned and originated from the Global North. This might have an influence on me writing a development-related thesis, as there has been “Western dominance of the global agenda for international development cooperation” and that that developmentalism is not common sense but an ideology (Mikkelsen, 2005 p. 327). Additionally, Iphofen (2013) points out the necessity to avoid ethnocentrism. These comments and criticisms are important for me, as I have been studying and living the western ideas, theories and practices of gender, environment and commons. Some of these theories or ideas might not be applicable or relevant in the context of Mozambique, the context of my thesis. The notion of ethnocentrism also applies to analyzing the ways I understand and use the concepts. The relativity of the concepts is necessary to be kept in mind, especially when writing about questions such as gender. The questions of gender are

culturally interpretable, and there are different ways of femininity, masculinity and views of gender (Mikkelsen, 2005; Willis, 2011).

Another aspect to critically examine is the objectivity of the research. Objectivity can be understood as following: the researcher understands and listens to the informants and what they tell as it is regardless of the characteristics of the researcher (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). This is to say, whether the age, sex, political views, religion or any other feature of the researcher affects the way they listen to and observe what the informant is saying (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). However, Tuomi & Sarajärvi (2018) note that often this cannot be fully avoided, as the researcher is the one setting the research questions, choosing the data and analyzing this. All in all, I believe it is important to note what shapes the formulation of the research problem, the approach and the decisions taken during the analysis. There is a strive for objectivity, as the research process is clearly explained, decision justified and explained as comprehensively as possible.

It is also mentioned by Russell (2011) as well as Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2018) that despite the strive for objectivity, the research is not intended to be neutral. As for the objectivity but having a specific kind of a vision or a world view, it is crucial to analyze feminist political ecology as a theoretical framework, too. As Rocheleau (2015, p. 57) states: “FPE [Feminist Political Ecology] as a networked and expanded feminist endeavour to deal with the social relations of power and justice connected to cultures, ecologies and economies is alive and well”. There is a certain kind of “endeavour” or an aspiration behind feminist political ecology, which is used as the theoretical framework of this thesis. How does this affect the objectivity of the research? I would argue that it certainly can affect *neutrality* of this research by emphasizing certain questions related to marginalized groups or power structure. However, as stated above, the objectivity of the research is guaranteed by clearly explaining and justifying the decisions taken and the concepts used.

To continue with the values, values of the researcher have an influence on the work the researcher is doing - starting from the problematization, choosing the approach (Koponen, 2016). This itself is not a problem, as long as the researcher clearly states the values behind the research (Koponen 2016). There are a myriad of different types of definitions for

gender, civil society, social sustainability that at least have different kinds of connotations. However, certain types of definitions were chosen to be used in this research. The definitions come from the existing literature but are chosen by the researcher. In section 1.5. I have explained where I draw the definitions and the understanding of the concepts.

Moreover, I find it worthwhile to examine the aim of this research. Aim of development research in general is to solve problems related to global inequalities and other development problems (Koponen, 2016). Moreover, Koponen (2016) argues that one of the crucial endeavours of development research is to criticize and critically examine the development itself. It needs to be asked how this study contributes to that goal of development research. After all, as an aspiring professional in the field of international development, I should be asking myself whether I am doing the research for my own interest or for greater good. For whose good? And why? There are always several interlinked motives behind a research – thus I need to ask myself how will that affect the approaches, the ways of doing research, ways of observing the culture, local context or the discussions with the people. From the development research perspective it should be addressed how the study enhances or deconstructs the existing - possibly harmful or false - narratives or discourses? How are the women, Mozambicans, marginalized people presented and discussed in the research? Does this research fall into the trap of repeating the same narratives and end up being critical only on the surface? Therefore, I have tried to be as critical as possible when approaching the topic, when writing the thesis and while using certain concepts.

Again linking the research to the wider theoretical framework, feminist political ecology and especially the intersectional approach, it can be noted that it is still mainly the women, their role, their status that are discussed in the literature review before and in the analysis of the data. Even if the intention of seeing gender as a wider concept including not only women, but also, for instance, disabled people, sexual and gender minorities, the same intention is not always present in the existing literature nor in the research data. Therefore the focus is often shifted towards talking about the ways women could be included in the extractive boom and benefiting from the possible development generated through the oil and gas sector. This also shows that whereas “women” are already well incorporated and

mainstreamed in the development practice, policies and talk, the same does not go for the other marginalized groups. As stated in the introduction of the theoretical framework, there are several characteristics or categorizations that affect the possibilities of human beings, and the gender being only one of them. Therefore, I find it important to try to incorporate the other aspects of gender as much as possible. Despite the deficiencies, I see this research as an attempt of drawing more attention to the questions of marginalized people, trying to at least not forget them and focus solely on women.

Moreover, the ethical reflections can be extended to the reflection of what the civil society actually is. In certain countries, an active civil society can be viewed as something very exclusive. What are then the ‘civil society standpoints’ that this thesis is analyzing? The question was also brought up by two of the interviewees. However, I chose to conduct interviews with people working for civil society organizations, as it would be clearer in terms of categorization. Moreover, I thought such people would have better access to information connected to the sector. This categorization can be viewed as a limitation of the study. In this study I justify the choice by categorization in a form of exclusion: civil society as an opposition of the business world or the public sector.

“I am not here to represent the civil society, but I am here as I”, stated one of the interviewees during the interview highlighting that they are not talking on behalf of the civil society nor the CSO they are representing but as themselves, as a Mozambican individual. This provokes a question on whether the interviewees feel that they are part of the “Mozambican civil society”? This also falls into the category of limitations of the study. When contacting the interviewees, I have expressed that I am willing to hear the opinions, ideas and concerns of the members of the civil society. However, during the interview itself, I did not ask the interviewees about their relation to the civil society - civil society either as a term or as a group they are or are not a part of. Is it enough that I have highlighted the purpose of the study in the first emails and calls?

Moreover, it can be argued that the whole perception of the concept ‘civil society’ is eurocentric (Kleibl & Munck, 2016). What is viewed as civil society or civil society organizations in the context of Africa in general often portrays the Eurocentric way of

understanding the civil society - and the organizations that do not fall into the Eurocentric categories are not necessarily perceived to be part of the civil society (Kleibl & Munck, 2016). However, this again comes back to the question of positionality and western ways of viewing the questions of development. I have my idea of who are the “marginalized groups” in Mozambique, the idea based on my existing knowledge, perceptions obtained through the education and the culture I am surrounded by, the idea taken from the reports on the human rights situation and human rights violations written by international organizations, such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty, who also follow the western views and ideas of development. This is one of the reasons I decided to keep the questions quite open and analyse merely the data obtained from the interviews with the representatives of the Mozambican civil society - to hear how they view the questions of being marginalized, who is marginalized.

Moving to the more practical level of the limitations of the study, the amount of interviews needs to be raised up. The data of this research consists of seven individual interviews. It needs to be admitted that there is still plenty of expertise and experience on the topic that is not included in the data, as I did not manage to interview all of the people that would have probably had lots of relevant information in terms of the thesis. Many of the environmental organizations did not respond and thus conducting interviews with them was not possible. However, Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2018) claim that when it comes to a master’s or bachelor’s thesis, the amount of the interviews conducted for the research should not be one of the main criterias in evaluating the work. I rely on this view, and the feeling that by the seven interviews conducted I gathered enough relevant information to answer the research questions of this research. I will not justify the amount of the interviews by saying that the content of the interviews started to saturate. However, there were certain patterns that could be clearly noted. This is not to say that three or four more interviews would have not been able to introduce new, relevant information. All in all, despite the comparatively low number of interviews, I argue that the content of the interviews is wide and deep enough to be used for this master’s thesis.

Moreover, the language in which the interviews were conducted could be seen as a limitation - or an asset - of the study. The interviews were conducted in Portuguese, a

language in which I as an interviewer have a working knowledge but am not fluent. One could ask, whether this affects the communication, if something has been left unseen during the interviews, if the interviewer has not been able to react to some interesting points that arose during an interview. However, on the other hand the interviewees have had the chance to speak in their working language. The focus is on the interviews and the information the informants, experts in the area, are providing. Therefore, I found it more crucial to have the opportunity to have them speaking freely and more widely than the opportunity of the interviewer to be able to absolutely fluently communicate and discuss with the interviewees. Moreover, I estimated that my language skills were strong enough to be able to conduct the interviews in Portuguese and later be able to make an analysis of them. Portuguese was one of my working languages while conducting the internships at the Embassy of Finland in Mozambique and at the Delegation of the European Union in Mozambique, and based on that I came to the conclusion that my language skills are strong enough to conduct the interviews in Portuguese.

There is also another limitation related to the interviews. Despite not naming the organizations interviewed for the research, it must be stated that I did not manage to have an interview with a representative of LAMBDA, the key organization working with gender and sexual minorities in Mozambique. Despite the attempts of contacting them via email, social media and phone and through the help of one of the interviewees, I did not manage to contact them in order to organize a meeting of any sort. This is absolutely one of the biggest shortcomings of this research: to talk about inclusion, the intersectionality and the broadness of the concept of gender, and lacking the interview with an expert on the area. It made me contemplate whether the research is of an exclusive nature. However, I have tried my best to bring forth the question of gender and sexual minorities during the other interviews, in the literature review, theoretical framework as well as in the discussion. Maybe this leads to a broader question related to development research - how to connect the ones that are not that well represented, how to not fall into the same old narratives over and over again and failing in reaching out to something new. How to ensure the inclusion of someone, if they are not represented?

Another limitation related to the representation needs to be mentioned. The religious diversity was not taken into account while mapping the possible actors, organizations and interviewees. The aim was to have an even number of men and women interviewed, but the religious or ethnic component was not viewed during this process. Also, I did not contact any specifically religious civil society organizations, while I was looking for the interviewees. Moreover, the religious component was not present in the interview questions, not even in the ones addressing the questions of inclusivity. This can be seen as a big limitation, considering that the massive gas resources are discovered especially in the province of Cabo Delgado, where the single biggest ethni/religious group are the Muslims (Kaarsholm, 2015).

Lastly, one aspect of the credibility of the research is the references used in the research (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). Moreover, it is noted that normally the literature used for the review should not be published more than 10 years ago (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). In this research I have used some older references, such as the literature of Diane Rocheleau even from the 1990s, as their texts are the pioneer work of feminist political ecology and thus relevant for describing and understanding the theoretical framework. Moreover, some of the literature used in this research dates back to the early 2000s, such as the work of Michael T. Klare, Michael L. Ross, Ian Bannon and Paul Collier. I have considered using these sources in the research and came to the conclusion that they are still relevant for understanding certain phenomena.

All in all, the ethical reflections of this research are linked to the questions of positionality, values, objectivity and the ways of using and understanding the terms and concepts. As for the limitations, the amount of interviews seems to be the greatest limitation along with the relevancy of interviewing the representatives of the civil society. Having discussed these limitations and reflected on the ethical side of the study, it is time to move on to the next section, which is the actual analysis of the data.

5 ANALYSIS: WHOSE DEVELOPMENT, WHOSE POWER?

In this section of the research, I will go through the analysis of the data. The aim of the section is to introduce the findings of the interviews conducted with the representatives of the Mozambican civil society; the findings relevant to the research questions will be discussed. The research questions, more in-depth introduced in the first section of the study, are:

From the viewpoint of civil society,

- 1. What are the main challenges in everyone benefiting from the oil and gas sector in an inclusive manner?**
- 2. What are the possibilities of the oil and gas sector in terms of socially sustainable development?**
- 3. What kind of actions need to be taken for the oil and gas sector to result in socially sustainable development?**

As introduced in the previous section, the analysis is done with the tools of content analysis. The content analysis of the data is guided by the theoretical framework, feminist political ecology. The theoretical framework guides the analysis by helping to bring the focus to the power relations, namely the distribution of power and resources, and the distribution of costs and benefits of the oil and gas sector. Moreover, the intersectional approach of feminist political ecology is used in the approach: how the relations and connections of other social factors such as class, age and race affect the possibilities to, for instance, get access to resources or bear the negative costs (Fröhlich & Gioli, 2015). The seven individual interviews with representatives of the Mozambican civil society serve as the data for this analysis. The analysis was done in a data-abducted way, so the coding of the data was done based on the themes and issues most present in the data, after which the codes were categorized with the help of the concepts of the theoretical framework, feminist political ecology. I used the concepts to help frame and dig deeper in between the lines and bring focus to the questions relevant to the questions related to governing the Mozambican oil and gas sector in a socially sustainable way.

First, I will go through the findings of the data that answer the research questions 2. and 3., i.e., according to the representatives of the civil society, what kind of solutions there are to govern the sector in a socially sustainable way and what kind of possibilities the sector has to enhance the socially sustainable development in Mozambique. When analyzing the solutions and the possibilities, I used the theoretical framework to comprehensively view the questions from the economic, ecological viewpoints as well as taking into account political decision-making and socio-economic realities (Rocheleau et al. 1996). These findings are analyzed in this section before moving to the subchapters to further analyze the challenges of governing the oil and gas sector in a way that would result in a more socially sustainable situation in Mozambique.

As for the solutions to govern the sector in a socially sustainable way, some solutions were mentioned and discussed more frequently (see ANNEX II). These practical solutions include enhancing the institutional capacity and creating more inclusive decision-making practice, namely hearing the local people and doing cooperation with the civil society. Also responsabilization of the companies as well as capacity building of the Mozambicans were mentioned. These views highlight the understanding that there is a demand for dialogue, communications, strong institutions and the ability to trust them. There is also a clear demand to include the environmental and social questions to be part of the governance processes. From the feminist political ecology perspective, the issues most highlighted have to do with access to resources and access to decision-making, i.e. access to vocational education and better access to information. Moreover, from the theoretical viewpoint it can be seen that the local people's access to decision-making processes is highlighted. The technical solutions given are well in line with the existing research on socially sustainable governance of the oil and gas sector (see for instance Bebbington, 2013; Henstridge, 2013; Ross, 2003). However, to find even more effective solutions to govern the sector in a socially sustainable way, I find it important to look at the challenges related to the sector. A deeper analysis on the challenges will be presented in the following subchapters.

Possibilities, for one, are many, if the oil and gas sector was governed in a socially sustainable way (see ANNEX III). Local, economic, social and institutional development were the aspects mentioned as positive, socially sustainable outcomes that the oil and gas

sector could possibly result in in the context of Mozambique. Local development, or local empowerment highlights the will to have a more equal distribution of costs and benefits of the extraction by creating social projects, empowering the local communities and generating more income for the areas. Furthermore, the interviewees emphasized the potential for economic development that could further be turned into social development through growth, job creation, diversification of the other sectors, and especially enhancing the agricultural sector. As for social development per sé, the interviewees highlighted the potential of the sector in funding and improving health care and education systems, capacity to improve social services in general:

“To invest in education: when there are no resources left, at least we have people who can think about the country and bring other alternatives to survive.”

- Interviewee 1

Moreover it was seen that the sector could possibly enhance social development by using the revenues to strengthen the infrastructure, improve the sanitary network and bring water points closer to homes. Furthermore, the interviewees see that it could result in improved institutional capacity, for instance the possibility to invest in the environment or increase the disaster preparedness to respond to catastrophes. All in all, the interviewees saw that governing the sector in a socially sustainable way could improve the quality of life of the Mozambicans, especially in terms of fulfilling the basic needs of the people with a special emphasis on the basic needs of the people living in the areas of extraction. From the feminist political ecology perspective, it can be seen that the findings are connected especially to the questions of distributing the benefits in a more equal manner, with the emphasis on the local people.

All in all, the development potential as seen by the interviewees, the representatives of the civil society, follow the overall visions that are present in the studies and reports written about Mozambique. Moreover, the visions on the solutions and possibilities are coherent with the already existing literature on the governance of the oil and gas sector in a socially sustainable way. The views on the possibilities and solutions are quite straight-forward. However, the interviewees seem to think that despite the potential and the visions, a lot

needs to be changed and many challenges need to be solved in order to reach the full development potential of the sector. In the following subsections, the issues of power and socially sustainable development are further analyzed.

What I found to be the most interesting and important part of the interviews, is to analyze the deeper development visions, underlying fears and questions of governance and the questions of power that were presented in the interviews by the interviewees. Therefore, in this analysis I will focus on the questions and issues that enable the deeper analysis with the concepts of feminist political ecology, focusing on the questions of power. I see that even if the solutions suggested by the civil society are presented and shortly analyzed, the deeper understanding of the development and the possibilities of obtaining socially sustainable development from the oil and gas sector is the key in providing solutions for the enabling environment for socially sustainable development arising from the sector. In order to achieve the possible potential of the sector, the societal, institutional and developmental challenges need to be identified and analyzed. Therefore, I find it crucial to look deeper into the questions of power and development as such. Most of the analysis section focuses on the issues related to the challenges of governing the sector in a socially sustainable way. Despite this, the aim is to identify the underlying challenges in order to then provide tools to tackle the challenges and manage to transform the resources and revenues into socially sustainable development. Shortly, by further analyzing the challenges, might enable digging deeper and finding more comprehensive solutions to govern the oil and gas sector in a socially sustainable way.

As said, the perceptions of the representatives of the civil society mirror the already existing research on the possibilities and technical solutions to govern the oil and gas sector in a way that would also be socially sustainable. However, when talking about the possibilities of transforming the revenues of the sector into socially sustainable development, the questions that arise are: whose development visions are we talking about and who would benefit from such development? This is also linked to the gender question. It is a finding as itself that linking the gender questions to the discussions with the interviewees seemed rather demanding. This notion also provokes the question of whose development are we talking about - and whether the development is socially sustainable.

Who are the ones that the socially sustainable governance of the oil and gas sector could actually benefit? Findings in relation to this notion will be discussed next.

5.1. Whose Development?

To further discuss the research question number 1 on the challenges of governing the oil and gas sector in a way that would benefit all of the Mozambicans, I want to analyze the questions of power and development. The findings of the data show that the challenges of socially sustainable governance seem to center around the questions of ‘whose development’ and ‘whose power’. These questions of distribution of costs and benefits, distribution of power seem to be at the core of the challenges in everyone benefitting from the possible development in the country (Bailey & Bryant, 1997). These questions are also in the centre of feminist political ecology, that emphasizes the questions of distribution of resources and power (Sapra 2012). In this subsection I will first explore the exclusive processes of development that hinder certain groups or people from benefiting from the possible development dripping from the gas and oil pipes. In the following subsection I will focus on the unequal distribution of power, which also hinders governing the oil and gas sector in a way that everyone could benefit from it.

The analysis of the data, namely the coding and categorization process, was done mostly based on the data itself, but with the help of the concepts and understandings drawn from the feminist political ecology, bringing focus to women, local people and to the unequal distribution of the benefits of the development. What I found to be present in the interview data are the descriptions of the root problems or causes of inequality; weak status of local people, weak status of women, threats to civil rights. Moreover, there was general critique on the perceptions and processes of development. All of these notions around the root causes of inequality and the differing development visions can be seen as a contemplation around the question of whose development are we talking about (see ANNEX IV). These findings will be discussed in this section.

Based on the findings from the data, it seems that the costs and benefits of the extractive sector have been and will be distributed in a way that is not equal or fair. This is to say

that, according to the representatives of the Mozambican civil society, there are certain groups that are and will not be included in the development processes. From the feminist political ecology viewpoint, the new ways of using the natural resources, such as extraction of oil and gas, have different kind of implications for different groups (Robbins, 2004). Based on feminist political ecology, such groups could be especially women, and other marginalized or vulnerable groups, as introduced in the chapter 4 the theoretical framework. In line with the feminist political ecology approach, and especially its intersectional approach, I will next analyze the findings related to such groups, that are prone to unequal share of the costs and benefits of the extraction in Mozambique according to the findings from the data.

Moving on to the status of the local people, which is often in the spotlight of feminist political ecology analysis. The finding from the data is that the local people, living in the areas of extraction, have a weak status. The interviewees highlight that the local people are very likely to not be included in the possible development, distribution of the benefits coming from the oil and gas sector:

“This will limit the life of the people, increase poverty. Instead of bringing improvements, it simply will worsen the conditions of a population that already has degradable conditions.” - Interviewee 2

“It does not make a lot of sense that you are making exploration in the Rovuma basin while the people there are suffering and do not have food. They are making billions and billions and billions, and people in the area are suffering!” - Interviewee 7

This is in line with the existing research introduced in the literature review. In many cases, the oil and gas revenues do not result in poverty reduction and might result even in deteriorating living conditions for the local people (Tomlinson, 2018). Moreover, as highlighted in the literature review governing the extractive industry in a way that would result in socially sustainable and inclusive development, the dialogue with local people is

crucial (Bebbington 2013). In this case, the findings show that there is not enough dialogue, but instead of that a monologue by the government. The findings highlight the notion that the local people are not included, or are not being heard, in the development processes.

However, the contradicting opinions on the distribution of costs and benefits needs to be pointed out. Some of the interviewees argued more on the behalf that Mozambique is one country and the possible benefits should be shared to everyone in an equal manner, whereas some of the interviewees highlighted the need to distribute extra resources to the local level. They based their opinion on the notion that the local people are bearing the negative costs of the extraction, such as loss of livelihood and environmental problems, and therefore they should have extra benefits. All in all, there was no clear line on the distribution of the costs and benefits for the local people among the interviewees.

Beside the local people bearing the costs, based on the data it seems that also the women will be bearing the costs instead of enjoying the possible benefits. The findings show that women are more likely to enjoy the benefits of the sector, such as getting access to jobs, decision-making processes or compensations. Moreover, in the data it is shown that the women also bear the negative consequences of the sector, such as prostitution. All in all, the findings show that the comparatively weak status of women in relation to men also hinders their possibilities to enjoy the possible benefits of the oil and gas sector:

“The question of gender is still a big deficiency in Mozambique - not only in the extractive industry sector but in general in Mozambique” - Interviewee 1

To further analyze the challenge of having everyone included in the possible development coming from the sector, it is worthwhile to link the findings with the intersectional approach of feminist political ecology. As introduced in the chapter 3 on the theoretical framework, intersectionality is used to understand the variety of categories, such as gender, race, class, ethnicity and place, that affect the person's possibilities to access or to have control over a certain resource (Fröhlich & Gioli, 2015; Elmhirst & Resurreccion, 2008). This is to say that when certain dimensions or categories are combined in an individual or a group, they might have even less access to the resources or benefits. In this case the

findings show that whereas women and local people have weak status, the local women do have even a weaker status. The interviewees argue that the women do not have actual decision-making power in the local committees. It was also argued that women have fewer possibilities to access the possible benefits of the possible - namely employment opportunities - this is the same at the local level. The concern was also raised that when it comes to certain kinds of compensations for the local people or hearing the local people, women are often excluded from the processes.

Another aspect of social sustainability and challenges in achieving it, is the inclusion of marginalized groups. From the intersectional viewpoint, it can be argued that the marginalized groups often are even further away from having a fair share, or even a small share, of the possible benefits trickling down from the sector. From the data I draw on the understanding that groups such as sexual and gender minorities and disabled people are very likely to be excluded from the processes, and the possible development generated from the oil and gas sector will not benefit them. This finding is drawn from the comments given by the interviewees:

“The question of homosexuality - we are very faaaaaaaaar away from that. To talk about homosexuality, we are entering a very big social taboo.” - Interviewee 7

This aspect of marginalized groups is relevant in terms of social sustainability, which is in the spotlight of this research. In this research it is understood that the key principles of social sustainability - social justice, participation and the ability to influence - can be fulfilled only if everyone is included in it despite their gender, and other factors shaping their identity and social reality (Littig & Grießler, 2005; Missimer, 2015). The findings of the data show that there are remarkable challenges in this dimension of social sustainability.

Moreover, it is worthwhile to take a look at the findings related to the threats to civil rights. Civil participation is seen to be a part of social sustainability (Littig and Grießler, 2005). Hence the threats to civil rights pose also a threat to social sustainability of the sector. The findings show that there are certain threats to civil rights due to the extraction. The

interviewees argue that the extractive industry starts closing the civic space and poses a threat to freedom of expression. In addition, there are several weaknesses in the protection of the rights of the citizens. Based on this finding it seems that the citizens do not fully enjoy the possibility to participate in the defining and benefiting from the development processes. This is in line with findings of some of the existing studies on the topic. The earlier studies also show that the oil and gas sector can result in human rights violation and closing of the civic space (Mbazira and Namatovu, 2018).

These findings bring us to the actual challenge of everyone benefitting from the oil and gas sector. If the oil and gas sector is governed in a way that creates any kind of development in Mozambique, who is actually included in the development? Are the local people involved, are the women involved? Are the other marginalized groups involved? Whose development are we talking about? Another approach to this question is the question on who gets to define the development visions and to define who is included in the processes. Next I will introduce the findings related to the notion of differing development visions as a barrier to everyone benefitting from the oil and gas sector in an inclusive manner.

Another relevant finding in relation to the challenges of everyone benefitting from the sector, are the differing development visions. The findings show that there are certain challenges in defining the development vision - what kind of development and change should be pursued. The criticism goes to the government, which does not involve the other institutions or groups in defining the development vision. An important factor of this that the representatives of the Mozambican civil society interviewed for this research argue that the local people are not involved in the development processes. This is important, as they argue that the local people might have very different kinds of ideas of development in comparison to the development visions of the government. From the theoretical viewpoint it shows that there is no equal access to decision-making, or more precisely defining the development vision. What is more, the government and the sector are criticised for having no clear vision on what to aim for, how to achieve socially sustainable development. All in all, the interviewees see that that the visions of the government do not support the realization of socially sustainable development in Mozambique:

“Looking at any exploration of a natural resource, if they follow all the social forms of inclusion, promotion of local development etcetera, it would logically be a better thing, but in the present moment I do not see to what extent the oil and gas industry could bring change, rather than suffering to the Mozambican community.” - Interviewee 6

“These resources are not well renewables, if we do not have clear politics on how to use the revenues, 50 years from now we will continue being poor, continue having problems with health, education and access to water “ - Interviewee 1

“I do not know if it is possible, but it would be better to leave the resources and to prepare first - this is my vision for the sector. I am not radical in the sense of saying that they should not be explored at all, but we are not prepared yet. Some say that we are learning while making mistakes, but there are just mistakes after mistakes!” - Interviewee 6

Moreover, it is argued that in general there is no open discussion on the direction of the development related to the oil and gas sector in Mozambique. This is relevant especially in terms of social sustainability, where the participation and the potential to influence are seen as crucial factors (Littig and Grießler, 2005; Missimer, 2015). These notions on the criticism of the current development provoke the finding that the people - would it be individuals or civil society organizations - do not enjoy the possibility to participate and have an influence on the development visions of the sector and the country in general. The development visions and the possible development paths are not jointly discussed. This is also a question of power, which will be discussed more in-depth in the following subchapter.

Another finding related to the differing development visions and the challenges of everyone benefitting from the oil and gas sector, are the environmental concerns. From the data it can be seen that the interviewees are concerned with the environment - and especially the factor that it is not included in the development visions of the government or the sector. The main concern was that the actions done do not support environmental sustainability, which might also result in harming the social sustainability in the form of

loss of livelihood and environmental degradation. The interviewees point out that

“We cannot talk about sustainable development without taking a look at the environmental questions.” - Interviewee 4

All in all, this shows that there are certain challenges linked to the inclusive development and the social sustainability of such development processes. The underlying root causes of inequality and the differing development visions create a foundation where there are several difficulties to govern the sector in a way that is socially sustainable; in a way that everyone could enjoy the benefits of the sector. Based on the interviews conducted with the representatives of the civil society, certain groups are not well included in the development processes. This critique brings us to the question of defining the development, i.e. who has the power to influence, govern and discuss the possible development visions. If certain groups are not involved in the processes - should it be decision-making, or in the processes of sharing the benefits - how sustainable the development can be? These are some of the most central questions that I found from the data. The questions of power will be discussed more in the following subsection.

5.2. Whose Power?

Beside the exclusive development processes, another finding is that the unequal distribution of power is a challenge for governing the oil and gas sector in a socially sustainable way. Based on the data collected for this research - the interviews conducted with the representatives of the Mozambican civil society - it seems that the unequal distribution of power is one of the core problems in governing the sector in general. The main categories contributing to the unequal share of power are access to resources, deficiencies in good governance and access to decision-making processes (see ANNEX V). In this section I will go through these dimensions to analyze how this is a challenge for governing the sector in a socially sustainable way.

Analysing the distribution of power, or power over resources is one of the key aspects of

feminist political ecology (Elmhirst & Resurreccion, 2008). I used this understanding as the basis of categorizing some of the challenges drawn from the data, with a focus on access to decision-making as well as resources. From the theoretical viewpoint, the focus can be also put on the social relations of power (Rocheleau, 2015). This is to say, it is analyzed who has the power and how it is shaped. The first category consisting of lack of technical capacity and asymmetry of information was drawn from the concepts of feminist political ecology: access to resources, to highlight and problematize the unequal access to resources stated by the interviewees. The other subcategory, deficiencies in good governance, was drawn simply from the data, based, for instance, on the comments of the implementation of law, critique of institutions, mentioning corruption. The third category, access to decision-making processes, was also labelled according with the feminist political ecology.

First of all, the access to resources related to the oil and gas sector seems to be limited or exclusive. In the centre of feminist political ecology analysis is who has the control over resources (Gay-Antaki, 2016). If viewing resources such as information, technical capacity, the finding from the data is that a very limited number of people or institutions have access to such resources. Another theoretical aspect to this is the ways the knowledge or the information is built (Elmhirst & Resurreccion). According to the findings from the data, it seems that the companies operating in the sector have most of the information, whereas the government and the society in general lack or have a shortage of certain pieces of information, such as contracts. In the interviews it was highlighted that the agenda of the companies is not to create socially sustainable development but to “make profit, profit and profit”, as stated by one of the interviewees. This together with the fact that not all the information or professional expertise is widely available, supports the finding that the unequal access to information does not enhance social sustainability.

Second finding in relation to power are the deficiencies in good governance. The data supports the already existing research on the deficiencies of good governance in Mozambique. The critique is linked especially to the deficiencies in implementing the laws. It was highlighted that would it be social, environmental question, the policies are good but the practice is not:

“If you look at what the Ministry of Land, Environment and Human Development has written on the environmental aspects, you will be totally amazed, but in practical terms, what all these multinational companies are doing, any observance of the environmental sustainability, we can see that in practice everything that is written is not being implemented.” - Interviewee 6

This is to say, that despite the good laws, action plans and aims, the theory often does not meet the practice when it comes to governing the oil and gas sector. Another aspect to is the corruption, which also hinders the governance of the sector:

“Corruption is stronger than the aim to protect people.”- Interviewee 6

This is why it is crucial to examine the aspects of power in this research and in relation to the research questions. The interviewees highlighted that they do not believe that the decision-makers, the ones who govern the sector, the revenues and the state in general, would prioritize the wellbeing of the people and sustainable development of the country. If the ones in power do not enhance inclusion and social sustainability, achieving it will be difficult. What is crucially linked to this is the access to decision-making processes in general.

Access to decision-making processes plays a crucial role in governing the sector. From the theoretical viewpoint, the focus is not only on the equal or unequal distribution of resources, but also on *who* has the control over the resources (Gay-Antaki, 2016). The interviewees highlighted the concentration of powers in Mozambique. It was argued that the party in power, FRELIMO, holds all the power. Based on these findings it seems that it is a very limited number of people and only one political party that has the access to power, i.e. access to governing the revenues coming from the oil and gas sector and access to defining the development visions of Mozambique. Moreover, it was argued that the existing platforms for civil society and government do not function in a way they should function for the dialogue to be effective. It was argued that the civil society cannot get their voices heard:

“If the government is part of the platform, the platform remains without a voice.”

-Interviewee 5

Based on all of this the question of power seems to be one of the key questions in relation to governing the sector in a socially sustainable way. The good laws do not enhance socially sustainable development, and the revenues of the sector cannot be transformed into socially sustainable development that includes all the Mozambicans if the laws are not implemented, if the decision-makers do not help the progress of such actions. Moreover, if the access to the decision-making processes is limited, it seems rather difficult to turn the direction. Moreover, the exclusive governance processes hinder the possibilities of the people to influence on the development processes, power to influence on the sector that could possibly contribute to the development of the country.

The question of power also links to the question of inclusive development. In relation to the previous subchapter contemplating the question of whose development, also the inclusion of everyone into the extractive boom was highlighted to be a political question, a question of power. The interviewees saw that in order to include everyone in the potential development actualizing from the oil and gas sector, political decisions are required:

“The gender questions are a question of decision-making, also at the local level”

- Interviewee 4

These questions are relevant in terms of the research question, as the findings underline the challenges of governance of the sector; the challenges that are also linked to governing the sector in a way that would be socially sustainable. All in all, it is a question of who has the power to govern the sector and how the power is used. If the power to govern does not result in enhancing social development, implementing the laws, it does not support the thrive for socially sustainable development. Especially when taking into account the questions of exclusive development processes and the criticism towards the current development visions introduced in the previous subchapter, the distribution of power

seems to be a crucial factor in governing the oil and gas sector. The questions that the finding provokes are: who gets to govern, who is being heard, who gets to define what is development, who is included in the dialogue. This is also relevant, as the power to participate and influence in transforming the society are understood to be one of the key dimensions of social sustainability (Missimer, 2015). This is to say, if the power is not equally - or even somewhat equally - shared, how to have social sustainability from the sector? How can the sector contribute to a more socially sustainable development and society, if it does not enable or enhance participation and the possibility to influence?

All in all, the finding here is that the power is not equally distributed, which might hamper the socially sustainable governance of the oil and gas sector. Based on the views of the representatives of the Mozambican civil society, it seems that this is one of the key challenges that hinders the transformation of the oil and gas sector into socially sustainable development in Mozambique. These findings of power and development are somewhat in accordance with the existing research on socially sustainable governance of the oil and gas sector, by bringing the focus to transparent and inclusive governance, and the inclusion of local people. When discussing the challenges related to the governance of the sector, it is notable that the resource curse and the resource conflicts were not at all mentioned during the interviews by the interviewees. This aspect will be discussed further in the next chapter, the discussion. Before that, I will briefly conclude the findings in the next subchapter.

5.3. Summary of the Findings

In this section, I will briefly summarize the findings of the analysis done on the data of this research. The findings respond to the research questions related to the challenges and possibilities of governing the sector as well as highlight some solutions drawn from the analysis.

First of all, the main challenges in everyone benefitting from the oil and gas sector in an inclusive manner are the unequal distribution of costs, benefits and power. The challenges drawn from the data are especially related to the deficiencies in governance, exclusive

development processes and the unequal distribution of power.

Secondly, the possibilities of the oil and gas sector in relation to socially sustainable development in Mozambique are connected to human and economic development. Based on the data, the oil and gas sector could contribute to the socially sustainable development of Mozambique especially in the areas of local development, social development. Social development at very practical level: revenues to be invested in health care, education, infrastructure. Moreover, it could enable enhancing the institutional capacity to better respond to certain problems, such as natural disasters.

Lastly, based on the findings there are two types of solutions in order to enhance the social sustainability in relation to governing the oil and gas sector. The technical solutions drawn from the data highlight the need to enhance institutional capacity, and make decision-making more inclusive, namely by including the local people. Moreover, the responsibility and role of the companies were highlighted. On the other hand, based on the findings, a more comprehensive way of governing the sector in a way that enhances socially sustainable development in Mozambique is needed in order to make the development processes more inclusive. Based on the challenges drawn from the data, it can be suggested that tackling the root causes of inequality, making the distribution of costs and benefits more equal and distributing the power in a more equal manner are the key factors that would result in a more sustainable governance of the oil and gas sector.

All in all, the analysis shows that despite some vision for the possibilities, the underlying challenges in the development processes and in the unfair distribution of costs and benefits hinder and will hinder the possibilities to govern the oil and gas sector in a way that would benefit most of the people in Mozambique. The selected themes of the results will be discussed in the following section.

6 DISCUSSION ON THE FINDINGS AND THE STUDY

As shown in the previous section, the main findings are that, from the perspective of the representatives of the civil society, the main challenges hindering everyone benefiting from the oil and gas sector are the exclusive processes of development and distribution of power. The possibilities of the sector are seen to be in human development and economic development, that could also be turned into social development. Based on the findings, the solutions to govern the sector in a socially sustainable manner are related to making the development and decision-making processes more inclusive, as well as enhancing the capacity of local people, companies and institutions. In this section I will further discuss the findings with a focus on the possibilities and risks related to socially sustainable governance of the oil and gas sector. I will also discuss the study and its objectives in general. In this section I will more closely discuss the socially sustainable governance of the oil and gas sector in Mozambique drawing from the findings from the data and also drawing on the remarkable absences of certain aspects from the data. Moreover, I will discuss this study on a more general level.

One of the main findings are questions that remain absent in the data, namely the absence of the ongoing conflict and certain groups of people. As shown in the literature review on the governance of the oil and gas sector, the resource curse and resource conflicts are an embedded part of governing the oil and gas sector. Multiple studies show the connection of natural resources and malgovernance to conflicts. Moreover, as shown in the introduction chapter contextualizing the situation in Mozambique, the terrorist attacks have taken place in the gas-rich province of Cabo Delgado since October 2017. Despite these factors, the conflict was not mentioned in the interviews by the interviewees. Given the linkages, it is very interesting that the interviewees did not grasp the topic at all - not when examining the challenges linked to the sector, nor when talking about the inclusion of different groups of people. Only one of the interviewees referred to the “diminishing civic space” and the possible “reprisals”, i.e. attacks, towards the civil society actors “as has happened in Cabo Delgado”. Other than that, the attacks were not mentioned at all.

Given the institutional and historical context of Mozambique, the possibility of suffering from the resource curse or even conflicts over resources is comparatively high. As stated in the literature review, weak practices of governance enhance the possibility for resource conflicts (Bannon & Collier, 2003). In the context of governance in Mozambique, the deficiencies of good governance and institutional weaknesses are highlighted. Moreover, it was stated that if a country has experienced a civil war, it is more prone to a (resource) conflict in the future, too (Bannon & Collier, 2003). This is to say, Mozambique has a lot of factors that do not support its possibilities to manage the situation well, and govern the sector in a socially sustainable way. Therefore it is also quite striking that the attacks or the possibility of a resource war was not mentioned at all in the interviews.

The attacks have been called Islamist insurgencies, done by a group called Al-Shabaab (Amnesty International, 2020; Human Rights Watch, 2020b). As written previously, most of the people living in Cabo Delgado are muslims, and it is one of the poorest provinces in the country (Kaarsholm, 2015). All in all, most of the Muslim population of Mozambique inhabits the poorest and the most remotes areas of the country (Kaarsholm, 2015). This notion again links to the question of social sustainability and inclusion. Based on these notions, could it be that it is also the Muslim population that is not included in the development and governance processes? As for distribution of costs and benefits, the local people in the area are bearing the costs. How could they be included in the development processes, have they not been included even before? How much does it have to do with the religious component? Or just being local? Would they be more included if the majority of the habitants of Cabo Delgado were Christians? Are the Islamist insurgencies in the area part of the power struggle, struggle over the resources and power in the area?

Additionally, this brings us to the other question that was absent from the data: the question of marginalized groups. As for the gender-inclusiveness, it seems to be still quite far away - when it comes to the sector itself and the Mozambican society as a whole. The hindering of the experts of civil society to talk about gender, women's rights - not to mention LGBTIQ+ minority or other marginalized groups - indicates that a lot of work needs to be done for everyone to enjoy the same rights, opportunities and the possible benefits of the gas and oil sector. The findings do implicate that the women are not equally

included in the development and governance processes. However, the other groups are not even mentioned. To me it seems that if certain groups are not included even at the discursive level, it might imply that they would not be included in the development either. How to include certain groups in the extractive boom when they are not even included in the society? Again linking the research to the wider theoretical framework, feminist political ecology and especially the intersectional approach, it can be noted that it is still merely the women, their role, their status that are discussed in the literature review before and in the analysis of the data. Even if the intention of seeing gender as a wider concept including not only women, but also, for instance, disabled people, sexual and gender minorities, the same intention is not always present in the existing literature nor in the research data. Therefore the focus is often shifted towards talking about the ways women could be included in the extractive boom, governance and benefiting from the massive resources. This also shows that whereas “women” are already well incorporated and mainstreamed in the development practice, policies and talk, the same does not go for the other marginalized groups. I see this study as an attempt of provoking attention to the questions of marginalized people - trying to at least not forget them and focus solely on women. As stated in the introduction of the theoretical framework, there are several characteristics or categorizations that affect the possibilities of human beings, and the gender being only one of them. Therefore, I find it important to try to incorporate the other aspects of gender as much as possible.

It might seem a bit marginal or irrelevant to examine whether these groups are included in the development processes or benefit from the sector. However, based on the understanding of social sustainability, I see that it is extremely relevant to try to grasp the topic in a wider manner. Based on the findings of the study it also seems to be a question of decision-making whether certain groups are included in the possible development processes or not. This is to say, that if the ones in power do not enhance inclusion and social sustainability, achieving it will be difficult. What if the ones in the power are not willing to take those steps? Even if the education systems, health care systems, the infrastructure would be improved? Where would they be improved? In Maputo, for certain people? What about the ones that are already somehow excluded from the society? Would they be able to benefit from such developments? How about the people who are

marginalised from the viewpoint of Maputo, living hundreds, maybe more than a thousand kilometres away from the capital, in remote villages? This is the question I wanted to find out in the research, how to include all the people in the research, but I guess this research leaves me with even more questions.

Another topic that I find relevant to be further discussed is the role of civil society in general in this research. As introduced previously, Mozambique is an authoritarian state, with the same party in power since the independence of the country in 1975. The studies show that the space for the civil society actors is rather restricted. On the other hand, given the politicization of the field of the civil society actors, also the credibility of such interviews can be questioned. The question then is, whether it is relevant to interview civil society, as already discussed in the ethical reflections. However, the findings show that by interviewing the representatives of the Mozambican civil society, it is possible to grasp on some of the underlying development issues and problems, which are also connected to the oil and gas sector. Moreover, the interviews show what is not talked about, who is not being mentioned, who is not included even at the narrative level. Also, Taken the reports on the deteriorating civil rights, freedom of speech, closing of civic space, threats to journalists and some civil society actors criticizing the government, I find it worthwhile to try to hear the opinions of the ones that might be influenced by such development taking place in Mozambique. However, it is to remember that the results are not the voice of the whole civil society, but voices of some of the representatives of the civil society that are heard to better understand the phenomena.

All the interviewees did have visions on how to develop the country and on what should be done at the local and national level. Still they did not believe that things would happen according to their visions. On the contrary, they described the reality to worsen and that the oil and gas sector would bring more problems to the Mozambican society at the local and national level. These notions come back to the original question I had in mind even before starting to formulate the research problem and having the exact context, Mozambique and its oil and gas sector, for the research: how can we benefit from the nature, to what extent it is rightful or even sustainable to use the natural resources to create well-being for the people? Is it more rightful to use the the natural resources to fuel the development in a

context where most of the people live under the poverty line and there are plenty of problems - such as related to health care, sanitation, infrastructure, education - that could possibly be fixed by fueling the economic growth with the use of natural resources, taking advantage of nature? Is it more acceptable if there is human suffering that could be lessened with the help of using the natural resources? But what if taking advantage of nature does not bring any good for the people? Or it brings good to only a small amount, a minority of the people - is it then justified to exploit nature, to extract oil and gas?

This brings us to another question: how to achieve some kind of change when we are still contemplating the basic question of what is development? How can we start overcoming the other problems, development issues if they are still there, pondering what is development? Or is the discussion around it the key to change? While the concept and what it entails, occurs to be rather controversial or disputed, as the process is questioned the whole time, it might also bring forth new ideas, new visions. And especially - what is the contribution of this study, if it cannot step up to the next level but stays on the ground contemplating on what is development. In the interviews the question of “what is development”, “who defines what is development” arose plenty of times. Before making the interviews, formulating the research questions and even while immersing myself in the literature of resource governance and feminist political ecology, I did not expect that the question of development itself would become so central in the study. I did not expect that while discussing the socially sustainable governance of natural resources, we would end up going back to the very roots - what is it that we are aiming for, what kind of societies do we want. For me, it acted as a reminder of the reality that development as a concept or a process is not the same for all and it needs to be discussed and reviewed over and over again.

In the beginning, the purpose of the study was to find out the ways and practical solutions to govern the oil and gas sector in a way that would enhance the positive, socially sustainable development in Mozambique. However, as the interviews and the analysis based on them shows that rather than focusing on the practical solutions - such as creating a sovereign fund or specific policy recommendations - it is more crucial to focus on the underlying questions of inequality, governance and the development visions in general to

find wider and more comprehensive ways of making the development more socially sustainable and inclusive. For me it was maybe a bit of a surprise that the data seemed to consist more of philosophical discussions on the development rather than practical solutions. It shows how there are no straight-forward, ready plans that a certain country could just apply and follow. Moreover, the reality around the topic poses a challenge to the research. As the topic is connected to the general development visions, the on-going conflict in the areas of extraction, the overall inequality and marginalization of certain groups, it is a very wide topic to grasp. All in all, the study shows that studying something as simple as the civil society perceptions on the governance of the oil and gas sector in a specific country can turn out to be a lot messier than thought; the various interpretations of the terms and concepts, the multi-faced socio-economic realities and the political reality in the country influence the topic of the study at various levels from adjusting the research problem, to understanding the context to analyzing the data.

However, what I believe is that this study contributes to the notion that there is not that much more comprehensive, intersectional analysis on the social sustainability of the sector. Who all are included. All in all, the topic is a lot wider than I ever thought when starting the research process and when starting to gather the data. All of the research questions I have are rather broad, and focusing even one of them would have been enough, I assume. Had I realized the several interconnected aspects, which make the topic quite broad, I would have focused more on the mere challenges, maybe just from the power-perspective. Based on my own perceptions from the research process, the findings and the further discussion, I see that there is room for more research on topics such as the religious component and more intersectional approach. The suggestions of the further research will be discussed in the next subchapter. Even if this research cannot provide practical solutions to include the women, gender and sexual minorities, albinos, disabled people, different ethnic or religious groups into the development, I want to see that even trying to take these into account are a crucial part of trying to tackle the challenges.

Before moving to the conclusions, which is the last chapter of this research, I will briefly go through some recommendations for further research. The recommendations that arose during the writing process are introduced in the next subchapter.

6.1 Further Research

Based on this study and the notions occurred during the research process, there are several interesting and relevant topics for further research. The governance of the oil and gas sector could be further researched from societal, economic and environmental perspectives.

Firstly, I would recommend conducting a study with the local civil society and with the local people in general. Findings from this study show that there are differing development visions; the interviewees highlighted that the development visions of the local people might remarkably differ from the visions of the decision-makers. Therefore I would find it very important to also examine the development visions and perceptions of the local people living in the areas of extraction, or areas affected by the extraction.

Another topic that would be worthwhile to be studied is human rights and civil rights and the implications of the extractive industry for them. It could be studied how the oil and gas sector affects the political and civil rights, the spaces for civil society, as well as possibilities for communication between the government and the civil society. Moreover, the linkages to the human rights violations, especially those of women, in the extraction areas could be studied. Moreover, I would find it important to further analyze the religious aspect. I realized a little too late to emphasize it when collecting the data. However, a further study of the inclusion of the Muslims in the area would be of relevance. Moreover, this study could be extended into studying the connections of the oil and gas sector and the islamist insurgencies taking place in the province of Cabo Delgado.

One of the questions that seemed to appear as very contradictory in my data, was the role and responsibilities of the companies operating in the sector. These questions were not incorporated in the actual analysis and discussion, as they were not that relevant for the research questions. However, I would find it worthwhile to research the corporate social responsibility in more detail in other studies. The emphasis could be, for instance, on the perceptions of the companies on their responsibilities. Moreover, it could be studied how the government representatives see the responsibilities of the companies and the ways of doing cooperation with the companies. What could be done as well, is a longer study on

the corporate social responsibility in the area. It could be studied how the companies implement their corporate social responsibility strategies in the long run - with an emphasis on whether the corporate social responsibility projects have worked or not and what kind of impact they have had. A study conducted with the companies, such as Anadarko, ENI, Exxon, that work in the area would be of relevance, too. What are the visions of the companies, how do they see the future, are their actions aligned with their goals of corporate social responsibility?

7 CONCLUSIONS

To conclude this study, I will summarize the main points that can be drawn from this research. I will first briefly summarize the basis of the study and then move on to the results of the analysis.

The aim of this research in general was to examine the perceptions of the representatives of the Mozambican civil society on how to govern the oil and gas sector in a socially sustainable way, i.e. in a way that would benefit all the Mozambicans. The aim is based on the notion that Mozambique is a post-conflict country, one of the poorest countries in the world with deficiencies in good governance and social development. On the other hand the recently discovered massive gas findings provoke great expectations for the development in the country. The data for this research was collected through semi-structured individual interviews conducted with the representatives of the civil society organizations in Maputo, Mozambique. The data was analyzed with the methods of content analysis, which was guided by the feminist political ecology approach.

The findings are divided into three categories according to the research questions. Firstly, the unequal distribution of power as well as the unequal distribution of costs and benefits are the main challenges in everyone benefitting from the oil and gas sector in an inclusive manner. This is to say that not all the people are included in the development processes, and thus they would not benefit from the possible development generated by the oil and gas sector. Moreover, not all the people are included or represented in the decision-making processes. Other than that, the challenges of governing the sector in a socially sustainable way have to do with the deficiencies in good governance and access to resources, such as information and technical education.

Secondly, based on the findings, the representatives of the civil society see that there is a great potential for social and economic development to be generated from the sector. If the sector was governed in a socially sustainable manner, it could enhance the local

development and the institutional capacity. It was seen that it could improve practical questions such as health care, education and infrastructure.

Lastly, for the governance of the sector to actually result in socially sustainable development, all the processes related to it should be more inclusive. The technical solutions suggested are improving the institutional capacity, making the decision-making more inclusive, and putting more emphasis on the responsibility of the companies. All in all, based on the study it can be suggested that the more vulnerable groups should be taken more into the account at all levels of the society, especially when it comes to distributing the benefits from the sector and when distributing the power. This is to say, the local people, despite their gender and religion, should be included in the decision-making processes and defining what kind of development is desired.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX I: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Describe how the oil and gas sector could create inclusive growth in Mozambique in a way that everyone would be included.
2. What are the main challenges in everyone benefiting from the sector in an inclusive manner? Policy-wise, legislation-wise, in practice?
3. Describe what are the possibilities of the sector for social development and for the society in general.
4. What kind of policies would be needed to enhance social sustainability of the sector? What kind of practices or legislation is needed?
5. How to include women, kids, marginalized groups such as LGBTIQ+, albinos, disabled people in the extractive boom? How could they benefit from the sector?
6. Role of civil society: is it included in the decision-making related to the sector, should it be included?
7. How do you view the role of corporate social responsibility in the oil and gas sector; how could it contribute to the sustainability of the sector?
8. What is the role of local governance of the oil and gas sector? Should it be enhanced?
9. In your opinion, how the revenues should be used?
10. How do you view the environmental aspects related to the sector?

ANNEX II VISUALIZATION OF DATA ANALYSIS: SOLUTIONS

Reduced textual data (meaning units)	Category
Companies to invest in technical education	Responsibility of the Companies
Companies to implement sustainability projects	
Companies to coordinate and communicate with the local people	
Vocational Education	Capacity Building
Training for Mozambican companies	
Investments in the education Sector	
Diversification of the economy	
Investing in social services	
Enhancing the local companies	
Use of local workforce	
Entity or institute to manage the CSR projects	Institutional Capacity
CSR to become obligatory	
More accessible information	
Creating a sovereign fund	
Public Consultancies	Inclusive Decision-Making & Governance
Identifying the needs of the local people	
Platforms for decision-making	
Local organizations to be heard	
Steering committee	
Civil society to be included in the decision-making	
NGOs to monitor the CSR activities	
More transparent policy-making	
Mobilizing the people	
Environmental projects	
Environmental assessments	

ANNEX III VISUALIZATION OF DATA ANALYSIS: POSSIBILITIES

Reduced textual data (meaning units)	Category
Local Empowerment	Local Development
Generate social impact in the extraction areas	
Generate income for the local communities	
Create more jobs	Economic Development
Enhance agricultural sector	
Diversify economy	
More income	
Economic Growth	
Reduce dependency on aid	
Investments in Health Care	Social Development
Investments in Education	
Investments in Infrastructure	
Capacity to improve social services	
Improve sanitary network	
Water points closer to homes	
Develop all the Mozambicans	
Improve the quality of life of the people	
Possibility to invest in the environment	Institutional Capacity
Increase disaster preparedness	

ANNEX IV VISUALIZATION OF DATA ANALYSIS: WHOSE DEVELOPMENT?

Reduced textual data (meaning units)	Code	Subcategory	Category
Not sufficient information available for the local people	Weak Status of Local People	Root Causes of Inequality	Whose Development?
Resettlement processes failed			
Affecting the livelihood of the local people in a negative way			
Violation of the rights of the communities			
Local people not consulted but informed			
Worsening living conditions of local people			
Masculinized oil and gas sector	Weak Status of Women		
Mozambican girls socialized to be inferior to men			
Women have fewer job prospectives			
Gender strategy not clear enough			
Compensations of the resettlements go to the men, not women			
Women do not have decision-making power in the local committees			
Gender policies good but now well implemented	Threats to Civil Rights		
Deficiencies in protection of the rights of the citizens			
Extractive industry starts closing the civic space			
Attacks towards the civil society	Critique of the Current Development		
Local communities not involved in the development processes			
Government takes the lead in the development process			
The ideas of development vary			
Local people maybe have a different idea of development			
No open discussion on what is the best for the country			
What is presented as development, worsens the living conditions			
The country does not have a clear vision on steps towards sustainable development			
The sector does not have a vision			
No plan for the environmental impacts		Environmental Concerns	
Studies on environmental liability not credible			
Negative impact on the ecosystem			

ANNEX V VISUALIZATION OF DATA ANALYSIS: WHOSE POWER?

Reduced textual data (meaning units)	Code	Subcategory	Category
Little professional knowledge on oil and gas	Lack of Technical Capacity	Access to Resources	Whose Power?
No schools to respond the demands of the sector			
Dependency on the information provided by the companies	Asymmetry of Information		
Not all the contracts and information are public			
Companies do not provide information			
Corporate social responsibility not clearly defined or regulated	Vague Policies and Implementation		
Laws not implemented well			
Local content law practices not clear			
Social projects disparent; philanthropy, little concern on sustainability	Lack of Credibility of Social Actions	Deficiencies in Good Governance	
CSR actions not sustainable			
Companies' social actions fake			
Need for an independent entity to coordinate	Institutional Fragility		
Corruption blocks the inclusion			
Lack of transparency			
Critique of EITI			
No instrument to manage the revenues			
Contracts between companies and government should have been negotiated better			
Documents badly prepared			
No capacity to inspect the sector			
The decisions are not made together with civil society	Critique of Decision-Makers	Access to Decision-Making Processes	
Lack of interest to create inclusive growth			
Financial interests prioritized			
Decision-makers not concerned with the development questions			
The focus on maintaining the political power			
Politicians defend their interests, not the interests of the community			
Dispute of protagonism inside the government			
Government wants to hold the protagonism			
Need for a dialogue between CS and government	Inclusion of Civil Society		
CS-government platforms do not function well enough or are fake			
CS does not have enough access to information			
CS not included in creating policies			
CS not included in the debates			
CS could have a monitoring role			