

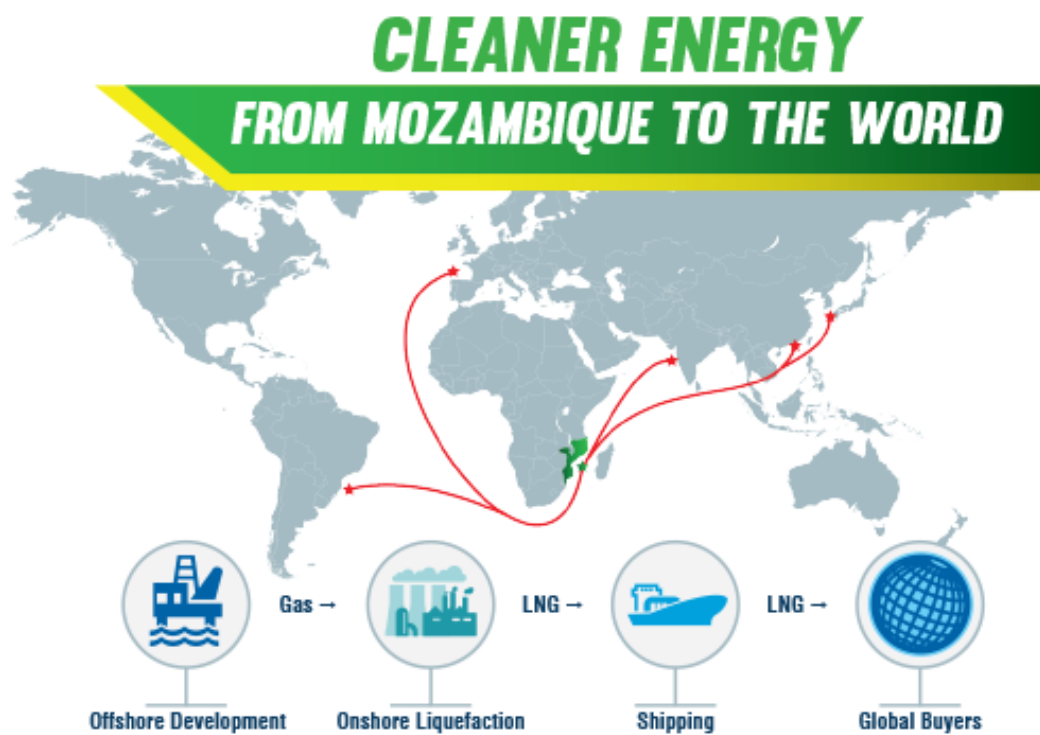


GÖTEBORGS
UNIVERSITET

Selling hope in Mozambique

Corporate framing and future forecasting of the natural gas development project

Mozambique LNG



Sonya Cunningham Oldenvik

School of Global Studies

Bachelor Thesis in Human ecology HT18

Supervisor: Jenny Friman

Acknowledgements

For Merlin, a great academic and an even greater friend.

Abstract

The discovery of large quantities of natural gas just off the Northern Mozambican coast has stirred much speculation about what the findings will mean for the country's economy, people and environment. The aim of this research is to identify how the future of Mozambique, as a result of natural gas development, is being framed by the consortium Mozambique Liquefied Natural Gas (henceforth referred to as Mozambique LNG). Equally important is understanding what is being left out or downplayed in these framings. This is achieved by performing a comparative framing analysis which entails identifying frames found on the consortium's website through a manual coding scheme. Those frames are then compared with research that frame possible futures for the Mozambican gas development using analytical forecasting tools. The main findings include how the consortium Mozambique LNG frame potential benefits for the people and economy of Mozambique, and exposes a lack of consideration for the effort needed to realize the future they have framed. The conclusion ought to be that informed positioning and decision-making require that optimistic corporate framings are balanced by looking outside the frame's edges, at a wider spectrum of considerations.

Key terms: LNG, framing, Mozambique

Table of contents

- 1. Introduction.....5**
 - 1.1 Problem statement.....5
 - 1.2 Purpose.....6
 - 1.3 Research questions.....6
 - 1.4 Limitations.....6
 - 1.5 Disposition.....7
 - 1.6 Background.....7
- 2. Theoretical approach.....10**
 - 2.1 Previous research.....10
 - 2.2 Chosen perspective - Political ecology.....13
 - 2.3 Framing theory..... 14
 - 2.4 Discussion of terms – power & ideology.....16
- 3. Methodology and material.....17**
 - 3.1 Analytical methodology - Frame analysis.....18
 - 3.2 Empirical methodology.....19
 - 3.3 Material discussion.....20
- 4. Result.....21**
 - 4.1 Key words and phrases.....21
 - 4.2 Framing the future.....24
 - 4.2.1 Main frame: Socioeconomic advantages through regional development.....24
 - 4.2.2 Oxford & ISS report perspectives.....25
 - 4.3 Supportive frames.....26
 - 4.3.1 Supportive frame: Boosting employment - “700 000 jobs”.....26
 - 4.3.2 Oxford & ISS report perspectives.....28
 - 4.3.3 Supportive frame: Educational improvements.....29
 - 4.3.4 Oxford & ISS report perspectives.....30
 - 4.3.5 Supportive frame: “Restoring livelihoods”.....31
 - 4.3.6 Oxford & ISS report perspectives.....31
 - 4.4 Unframed - additional considerations.....32
- 5. Conclusions & discussion.....35**
- 6. References.....38**

1. Introduction

There are striking similarities in the way large-scale resource extraction projects are being framed by their owners. Claims that the projects will bring future development, progress, economic growth and better lives for the people are common practice (Andersson & Carton, 2017:139; Afrikagrupperna, n.d; Santo Antonio Energia, n.d). When vast reserves of natural gas were discovered offshore the Palma town region in the Cabo Delgado province in 2010, the same logic was employed by Mozambique LNG, the consortium that was founded as a result of the discoveries. The development of natural gas soon became presented as the country's beacon of hope, a potential "golden goose" (Veras, 2018:May 24) that could bring prosperity, investments and human development to one of the world's least developed nations (UN, 2018). This makes up the main interest of this paper: how the future as a result of natural gas extraction is being framed by the consortium Mozambique LNG. But the interest also lies in examining how using those frames hold up when compared to academic research that uses analytical tools to make forecasts on the future development of Mozambique. The study also relies on the simple yet pertinent conviction that the consortium's use of communicative resources in constructing of frames can be understood as a tool for exercising power, a power that ultimately affects the hearts and minds of people as well as the biophysical condition of local and global environments.

1.1 Problem statement

Our world is constantly being framed. As pointed out by Kuypers (2009:181), framing is a powerful tool because it leads the receiver of the frame to filter their perception of the world in certain ways, highlighting some elements while omitting others. Framing can similarly also be understood as a strategy used to promote one way of interpreting the world over another (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996:2-4). Seeing as multinationals like Mozambique LNG have come to gain a "disproportionate influence" in global development (Robbins, 2011:22-23), their framings of potential outcomes are worth scrutinizing. The risk is that these corporate framings, because of their wide-ranging exposure, become unquestioned notions-of-truth, regardless of their actual feasibility. Meanwhile, the actual impacts are usually felt most by the local communities affected by big extraction projects, as they tend to end up with a disproportionate share of the risks

and costs, in terms of labor and relinquished land rights (Andersson & Carton, 2017:132; Fearnside, 2015:14).

1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to identify and problematize Mozambique LNG's framing of the country's future as a result of natural gas development. By comparing the corporate framings to other projections of Mozambique's future, a wider perspective will be illuminated, and a more holistic picture of the potential impacts of such a project will hopefully emerge. This thesis is partly an answer to a call for more critical research on Mozambique's natural gas development (Symons, 2016) as well as a contribution to a wider discussion on corporate influence in the discursive and biophysical spheres.

1.3 Research questions

In order to widen the arena of debate around the Mozambique LNG project using frame analysis, the research questions underlying this study are:

- How does the Mozambique LNG consortium frame the future of Mozambique as a result of LNG development?
- How do those frames differ from other projections on the future of Mozambique as a result of natural gas extraction?
- What is being omitted from the consortium's framing?

1.4 Limitations

The empirical data of this paper is limited to published material on the Mozambique LNG website (<http://www.mzlng.com>), the report *Prospects and Challenges: Mozambique's Growth and Human Development Outlook to 2040*, published by the African Institute for Security Studies (ISS)(Porter et al, 2017) and the risk analysis *Mozambique's LNG revolution: A political risk outlook for the Rovuma LNG ventures* published by The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies (Frühaufl, 2014). These reports are hereafter mentioned as "the ISS report" and "the Oxford report" respectively. Methodologically, sections of the consortium's website with references to the future are selected and analysed by using frame analysis to identify protruding framings. The

frames are then compared to the ISS and Oxford reports' perspectives on the topic, and interpreted using political ecology theory, and framing theory specifically.

1.5 Disposition

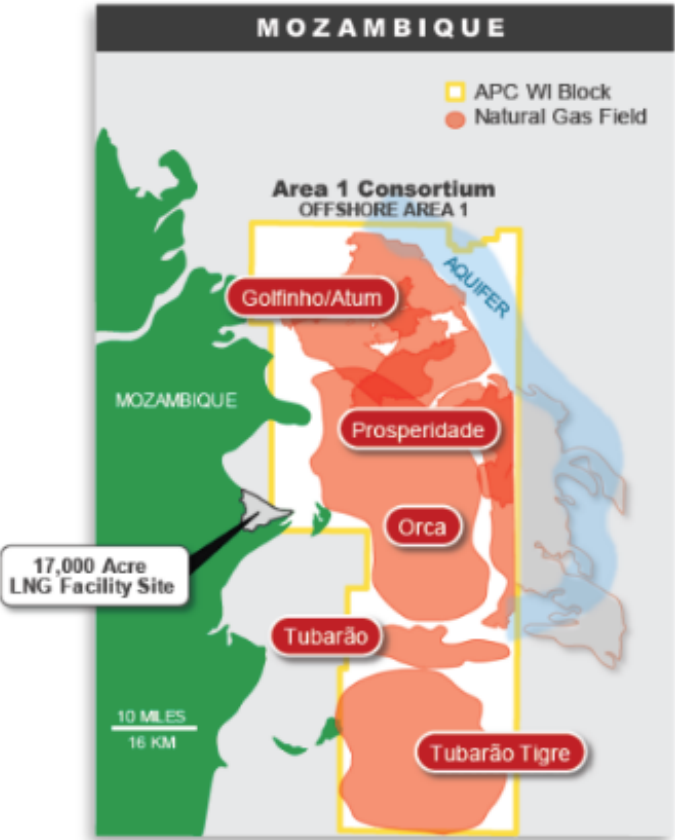
Starting with a background account to clarify the relevance of this paper and the context in which it has arisen, I continue by briefly defining some helpful terms. The results of the text coding process are then presented, using quotes and images to illuminate and exemplify the main and supportive frames identified. Each frame is accompanied by ISS and Oxford report perspectives, highlighting distinctions and/or similarities between the corporate framing and scientific forecasting of Mozambique's future. Finally, some additional considerations that were generated in the research process are presented.

1.6 Background

In 2010, one of the world's largest natural gas fields were discovered in the so-called *Offshore Area 1* in the deep-water Rovuma basin in Northern Mozambique (Figure 1).

Anadarko, an American multinational corporation for oil and gas exploration, had struck gold. They quickly pledged to set up an extraction and liquification plant of grand proportions on the Afungi peninsula, close to Palma town in the Cabo Delgado province, the biggest foreign investment in Mozambique's history (Symons, 2016:154; Anadarko, 2014a:2). The consortium Mozambique LNG was formed by Anadarko, the Mozambican state oil company ENH (Empresa Nacional de Hidrocarbonetos) and other gas importing companies such as

Figure 1. Rovuma Basin Area 1.



Source: <http://www.mzlng.com/The-Project/>.

Japanese Mitsui&Co, Indian ONGC, Bharat PetroResources, Thai PTTEP and India Oil

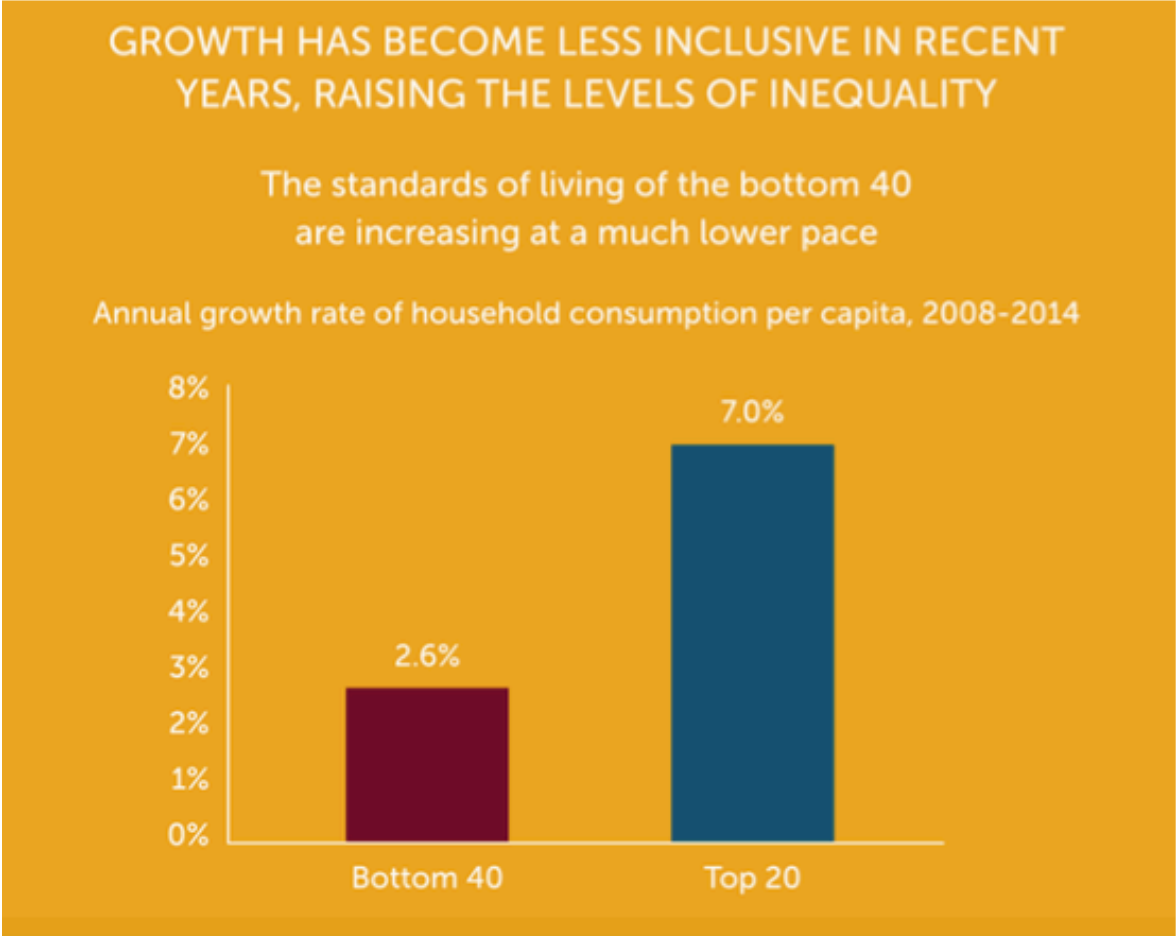
Limited. It has been suggested that the area contains 75 trillion cubic feet of recoverable natural gas, and the Mozambique LNG project involves drilling wells in the Rovuma Basin seabed, extracting natural gas, processing it and exporting it by sea, mainly to Asian markets (Mozambique LNGj).

Natural gas is a highly flammable gas and a fossil fuel used for electricity generation, heating, cooking and as a fuel for certain vehicles. It is also an important component in the manufacturing of plastic and other chemical product such as fertilizer and dyes (Encyclopaedia Britannica:2018). Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) refers to the natural gas that has been cooled down in a process that reduces its volume by more than 600 times (Nationalencyklopedin, n.d). LNG has become an increasingly important alternative to oil, woodfuel and coal, and due to its widespread areas of use, states and corporations worldwide are funnelling big investments into projects for its extraction and processing, not least of all in developing countries. According to the International Group of LNG Importers (GIIGNL), global LNG imports in 2017 recorded their highest annual growth rate (9.9%) since 2010 (GIIGNL, 2018). Since the discoveries were made in Mozambique, the consortium's plans have advanced and according to latest projections, final investment decisions (FID) will be made in 2019. Facilities are estimated to be completed in 2023-2024 and if everything goes according to their plan, Mozambique will become one of the world's largest exporters of natural gas. Before any such operation however, all communities currently residing within the project area will be resettled, and the overall impact on local communities and environments is assessed to be significant. Livelihood disruption, increased greenhouse gas emissions, ecological losses of wetlands and the birds and amphibians living there, damage on coral reef networks and coastal seabed dredging are some of the expected consequences (Anadarko, 2014a).

Mozambique rests on the East African coast, neighbouring to Tanzania, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and Swaziland. After a decade of armed struggle, Mozambique declared independence from Portugal in June 1975. A year later, a civil war broke out and ended only in 1992 as a second republic was founded (UNDP, 2018a). Over the following two decades, structural adjustment policies were imposed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Today Mozambique relies heavily on

foreign investments for development in all sectors, such as fishing, agriculture, resource extraction, infrastructure and education (UNAC GRAIN, 2015:2). The country has in recent years experienced an annual economic growth rate of 7.5 percent, mainly due to export of resources like hydro energy, coal and aluminium. Now there is great hope for the natural gas sector (Tvedten & Orre, 2016:10). Meanwhile, human development factors are lagging far behind. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) the national poverty rate is at 54.7 percent (UNDP, 2018b) and big parts of the population lack basic infrastructure such as water, sanitation and electricity (UNICEF, n.d; The World Bank, 2018a). Mozambique also has one of the highest unemployment ratings in the world (The World Bank, 2018b) and struggle with low educational attainments and a large communicable disease burden (UNDP, 2018b; WHO, n.d). Despite economic growth, inequality has actually increased in recent years and growth has become less inclusive (The World Bank, 2018c; Figure 2).

Figure 2. Mozambique Economic update: less poverty but more inequality.



Source: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/mozambique/publication/mozambique-economic-update-less-poverty-but-more-inequality>.

Mozambique has in other words, not experienced the “trickle-down” effect, referring to the assumption that economic benefits for corporations and the wealthy will indirectly contribute to improving the conditions for the population as a whole. One of the reasons for this is thought to be the country’s widespread corruption. According to Transparency International, Mozambique has one of the highest ranks of perceived corruption in the world, 153 out of 183, something that in combination with political instability is considered to be a major underlying cause of the country’s malaise (Transparency International, 2017, 2018). And while a more inclusive growth is failing to materialize in Mozambique, multinational enterprises are seen as increasingly responsible for community management, for example through corporate social responsibility programmes (CSR)(Symons, 2016:151). According to Professor George Frynas, specializing on the strategies of multinational enterprises, this is mainly due to their ability to move faster and more creatively than governments when it comes to investments and project implementation (Personal communication, October 24 2018). This ability has become an increasingly important argument for establishing transnational infrastructure projects in countries that struggle with widespread poverty, low levels of education, literacy and access to basic healthcare. The premise is that such problems can be alleviated by foreign investments. Meanwhile, there is heavy contestation whether mega-sized infrastructural projects actually contribute to local human development and environmental consideration (UNDP, 2018b; The World Bank, 2018c; Gqada, 2013:5). In the next section, some arguments of that contestation are lifted.

2. Theoretical approach

Below, I begin by addressing previous literature of use for this paper. I then define the epistemological foundations of political ecology and framing theory as well as give some illustrative examples of their relevance for this study. Lastly, I discuss the terms power and ideology and how they can be of help in understanding corporate framing in a wider context.

2.1 Previous literature

It has been suggested that there is currently a lack of critical literature on the Mozambique extractives development (Symons, 2016). This knowledge gap calls for

further attention, and Symon's insights on the governance and civic contestation taking place around the Mozambique LNG project provide important inputs to this paper. For example, she makes the case that the consortium "deploy a range of authoritarian and persuasive tactics to demonstrate that gas is in the national interest" (Symons, 2016:150) in order to establish the Afungi Peninsula as a transnational space for gas processing rather than for habitation. This study, while inspired by the idea of such "persuasive tactics", instead goes deeper in examining the consortium's visions of the future and how they potentially differ from other projections.

Drawing valuable parallels

Symons also draws parallels between Mozambique and the Angolan oil industry, where "neither the oil nor most of the money it brings ever touches Angolan soil" and the labor is usually performed by an international skilled work force, typically not found in developing African nations (Symons, 2016:150). The Angolan oil industry, she claims, attracts big foreign investments but puts very little back into the national economy in the form of taxation, jobs, and provision and profits tend to end up with a small elite and its clients (Symons, 2016:151). It has similarly elsewhere been pointed out that natural resource wealth has not per se been translated into economic and human improvement for resource-rich countries such as Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo. They have instead been "less than successful in using their endowments to make the transition from low- to middle-income economies, or to reach acceptable developmental indices" (Gqada, 2013:5). The so-called "Dutch Disease" is an example of how making natural resources beneficial for a wider population is difficult. The term was coined after large tracts of natural gas were discovered in the Netherlands. The disease "symptoms" are that the appreciation of the country's real exchange rate interact with sharp rises in natural gas exports, adversely affecting the competitiveness in other sectors and cause inflation in the domestic cost of non-tradable goods and services (Barma, 2012:177). This renders the national economy vulnerable to external shocks and overly reliant on natural resource exports (Barma, 2012:6). In other words, the "Dutch disease" demonstrate how an abundance of natural resources can cause the real exchange rate to accelerate and have negative effects for the local economy.

Also consider Nigeria as an example, that despite being one of the world's largest exporters of oil, remains one of the poorest countries (Robbins, 2011:252). Shell's discovery of large oil reserves in 1956 was expected to result in great improvements for the people of the Niger Delta. But even though oil has generated around 500 billion USD for the country, the region is still the country's least developed, with high unemployment, extreme poverty rates (Rosenau et al, 2009:10), little access to electricity, high illiteracy, a life expectancy much below country average and "not a single kilometer of all-season road" (Watts, 2014:67). The oil development here has resulted in countless local conflicts regarding discharge of waste into communal lands and waters, delays in compensation, bitterly contested ownership and heightened communal tensions over jobs and revenues (Rosenau et al, 2009:11). According to Watts, oil in Nigeria has been used to create an illusion and a hope for a completely changed life, a fairy tale of wealth through a lucky accident that is also a bit of a lie (Watts, 2014:51). It is not farfetched to question whether the same can be said about natural gas in Mozambique, especially since similar conflicts arising around natural gas projects are numerous. In Tanzania for example, Mozambique's next-door neighbor, big protests erupted in 2012 when promises of regional development were not fulfilled in a large-scale natural gas project. Instead of locating the plant where it was initially planned, close to the Mozambican border, a pipeline was built to the capital Dar-Es-Salaam and the promised regional development was never realized. Other critics were concerned about the Tanzanian state's ability to effectively protect the coastal environment, an important source of income to locals (EJAtlas, n.d:a). Out of 150 listed fossil fuel conflicts on the Environmental Justice Atlas (EJAtlas) around half are related to natural gas (EJAtlas, n.d:b).

Framing megaprojects

While there may be little critical research on the extractive sector in Mozambique, there is a considerable amount of research on the framing of infrastructural projects. Of most relevance for this paper is the research of Jakob Matz', focusing on the American oil industry's PR operation "Energy in Depth" (Matz, 2013), setting out to define the dominant frames portrayed by that organization. Most importantly, Matz suggest how power is enforced and maintained in three ways: through threats of violence, threats of sanction and through "the invocation of ideology to manage and manipulate consent"

(Matz, 2013:22). The last point is similar to an idea put forth by Symons, stating that processes of consultation and participation are “managerial techniques for manufacturing consent and compliance” (Symons, 2016:152). Matz goes further in articulating this consent construction, arguing that a growing public awareness and concern for the environment and human health has led the energy industry to launch massive public relations initiatives (Matz, 2013:142). These initiatives serve to “mobilize bias” by creating an image that the industry is aligned with the interests of the population and the environment (Matz, 2013:145). He goes on to claim that these elaborate public relations lobbying strategies and “plain old corruption” has been used by the owners of capital to “inundate both the political arena, as well as the public mind, with neoliberal thought” (Matz, 2013:21). Combined, Symons and Matz make a point that ties together well with a theory presented by Brock and Dunlap (2018:43), regarding how corporations use public relations and favorable framings to gain acceptance. Brock and Dunlap go even further and argue that corporations are actually deploying military tactics in order to ‘stabilise public opinion,’ and ‘pacify’ opposition against megaprojects. This paper draws inspiration from these ideas, in assuming that corporations use framings to promote a certain image of reality and agrees that such strategies can have wide-ranging effects on public opinion.

2.2 Chosen perspective - Political ecology

One strand of political ecology (PE), as well as of this paper, focusses on exposing flaws “in dominant approaches (...) favored by states, corporate and international authorities” (Robbins, 2011:99). And while one common interest of PE is analyzing environmental conflict (Burman, 2017:338) and their socioecological implications (Hermele, 2017:86), the political ecologist’s view stretches beyond the material world and onto the discursive dimensions (Andersson & Carton, 2017:138; Hornborg, 2015:237). That is the starting point of this paper, attempting to understand the ways in which the LNG consortium frames the possible future outcomes of the project and how those frames have meaning. It has been suggested that corporate frames tend to be hard to kill because they fit well in with dominating ideologies and offer simple solutions that align with current political and economic interests, in spite of much contradicting empirical research and alternative interpretations (Andersson & Carton, 2017:126). This argument, that certain stories, or frames, become taken-for-granted notions of truth

because they blend in well with the wallpaper is of importance for this thesis, as they, echoing the words of Matz, contribute to submerging the social and political sphere with neoliberal ideology (Matz, 2013:21). An example of the dominance of this ideology is how coal mining in the Mozambican Tete region has failed to contribute to human development factors, something which Symons diagnoses as “a product of the country’s state-led extractive mentality and patrimonial politics, private company security practices and the dynamics of global capitalism” (Symons, 2016:151). In sum, these different perspectives all approach how dominating ideologies tend to reinforce themselves, for example through the act of framing. This is why it is imperative that we critically scrutinize such rhetoric.

2.3 Framing theory

Framing theory can be understood as a branch of PE, in that they both involve critically assessing the way in which issues are being represented in dominating discourses and how ideas and explanations are shaped around certain narratives (Robbins, 2011:70; Pan & Kosicki, 1993:56). And while political ecology acts as an umbrella term for the myriad of ways in which to interpret socioecological issues, framing theory provides a concrete analytical approach. The act of framing means to place something, like a picture or photograph, inside a frame. It can also signify constructing something by fitting parts together to serve a certain purpose. The word frame originates from the Germanic Old English word *framian* meaning “profit” or “be useful” (Mirriam-Webster, n.d). And indeed, frames can be very useful. In the area of communication, they are used to organize reality by promoting certain definitions and interpretations (Chong & Druckman, 2007:106), and serve as “mental shortcuts”, by transforming complex issues into manageable thought structures (Allen, 2017:584). They also have the ability to affect the attitudes and behaviors of those exposed to them (Chong & Druckman, 2007:109). More specifically, framing refers to the process by which a communicator constructs a certain point of view, as well as the process where people develop a particular conceptualization or reorient their thinking about an issue (Chong & Druckmann, 2007:104). These frames, or constructions, usually act to define problems, identify causes and suggest solutions (Esaiasson et al, 2017:218; Kuypers, 2009:182). In the case of the Mozambique LNG project, the “producers” of frames are the consortium,

while the “consumers” are assumedly the local population, potential investors and possibly some nosy researchers.

The foundation of framing theory is that phenomena in the social sphere do not have any given meaning, but are being represented, *framed*, in different ways. This matters for how “consumers” of the frames act towards the phenomenon (Esaiasson et al, 2017:218; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). This assumption is valuable in understanding how natural gas is being represented by the Mozambique LNG consortium as a way of exercising influence in the attitude towards the project. Understanding communication as a tool for subtle coercion is similar to the concept of “the third dimension of power” or “the power over thought”, stating that influencing people’s dreams and wishes so that it makes them act in a way that might actually not lie in their own interests is the ultimate form of power, and is based on the communicator’s ability to highlight some perspectives while pushing others out of the arena of debate (Bergström & Boréus, 2000:13).

Coming in from a different angle regarding framing theory is the book *The Art of Framing – Managing the Language of Leadership* by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996). Basically a manual for leaders on how to use framing for making others “accept one meaning over another” (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996:preface), framing is thought to help bring the abstract into focus but can admittedly also involve distorting reality (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996:4&7). According to the authors, framing and manipulating is sometimes “inappropriately confused”, but the distinction lies in the intention of the framing (Fairhurst and Sarr:1996:20). One of the book’s main claims, and one of special interest in this research, is that framing increases chances of getting people’s agreement (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996:21), partly because those offering enticing options are usually “those we seek for leadership” (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996:6). The authors are in other words saying that those who tell thrilling tales are more likely to gain approval from the general public, an assumption that is interesting to apply to the Mozambique LNG framing of natural gas. Regarding visions of the future, they are to be understood not so much as predictions, but more as the formation of a picture of how things might be “if we got what we want” (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996:66). I take this interpretation of framing

to mean that when the future is being framed in a certain way, it is likely to be more the projection of a desired outcome than a plan or a promise to realize such a future.

Research on public opinion indicates that the public rarely hold opinions that are stable, consistent, informed and able to grasp abstract principles and values. Even support for basic democracy has shown to be weak (Chong & Druckman, 2007:103). Instead, public opinion is seemingly and in a significant way impacted by the way things are framed, something also known as framing effects. These happen when (usually small) changes in the presentation of an issue result in significant changes in opinion (Chong & Druckman, 2007:104). An illustrative example is when researchers performed a study using a news story about a local Klu Klux Klan (KKK) march in Ohio, USA as the controlled frame. The participants of the study were presented with one of two videos, where the first one emphasized a free speech frame and both the KKK and the group protesting against them were shown wanting to share their messages. Images with protesters carrying signs saying “no free speech for racists” were shown, as well as interviews with Klan supporters saying that they felt they had a right to hear the Klan message. The second video indicated that Klan marches tend to be disorderly and even violent, enhanced by reporters stating that the tension between the groups came “within seconds of violence”. The results of the study showed that those who were presented with the “free speech” framing expressed more tolerance for the KKK than those who watched the “disturbance of public order” framing (Kuypers, 2009:190). The study demonstrates the power of frames to impact opinions and gives good reason to look more closely at the framings of high-impact projects. It could for example, be one contributing factor to the relatively widespread belief among Mozambique’s affected communities that natural gas development is going to result in great economic benefits for the people of Mozambique, especially the prospect of employment (DeAngelis, 2016:3).

2.4 Discussion of terms – power & ideology

It has been pointed out that power analysis is central in any critical analysis (Esaiasson et al, 2017:214). But in order to understand the term power in the context of Mozambique LNG, we must first have a mutual understanding of another concept – ideology. Literally meaning “the science of ideas”, ideology usually refers to a particular set of fundamental ideas and beliefs around which a system, party or organization is

built (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d). An older definition of ideology is that it is something used as a way of concealing or embellishing the real underlying interests (Bergström & Boréus, 2000:149). Both definitions suggest that ideology can be understood as a way of viewing as well as organizing society and as constituting the tapestry in which power is constructed and maintained. Whomever is in a position to formulate and successfully proliferate their ideologies are hence exercising some kind of power. So again, what is power? Hornborg defines power as a hybrid phenomenon that includes both material and cultural aspects, and that understanding the term begins with the observation that there is unequal access to resources everywhere around us (Hornborg, 2015:237). My claim is that this unequal access also includes communicative resources, and that this resource can be used to gain an even greater access to material resources. A self-enhancing circle of sorts.

As a societal actor, the Mozambique LNG consortium can be said to have a “problem forming privilege” regarding natural gas in Mozambique, as it is constituted by both the Mozambican government and a series of powerful companies with a strong agenda and plenty of money to spend on communication. According to Hermele (2017:87), the problem forming privilege means having the power to retain a hegemonic vocabulary that might otherwise have been abandoned. It is for example reasonable to question whether the project would be realized at all if the consortium participants were seriously committed to reducing dependency of fossil fuels that is being put forward as imperative by environmental scientists worldwide, not least by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)(Bruckner et al, 2014:516).

3. Methodology and material

Referrals to the future on the Mozambique LNG consortium’s website, www.mzlng.com, will make out the empirical foundation of this paper. This data is then processed through performing a systematic framing analysis. Dominant patterns are revealed as parts of the content are brought to the foreground by organizing them into “frames” (Esaiasson et al, 2017:211&213). The identified frames are then compared to other projections of the future of Mozambique as a result of natural gas development.

Of most importance will be the previously mentioned ISS and Oxford reports. The ISS report has been realized through the African Futures Project, a collaboration between

the ISS and Frederick S Pardee Center for International Futures at the University of Denver (the Pardee Center). It is multi-method research endeavor "designed to map out potential future paths for different African countries and regions" (Porter et al, 2017:5). A forecasting tool developed and hosted by the Pardee Center, as well as research field trips to Mozambique were used in making the report. The forecasting tool integrates forecasts across different sub-models, including: agriculture, demography, education, energy, economy, environment, health, governance, infrastructure, international politics and technology. Through dynamically connecting these sub-models, the tool "endogenizes a large number of relationships from a wide range of key global systems" and aims to help users think systematically about potential futures and development goals (Porter et al, 2017:5-6).

The Oxford institute for Energy Studies' risk outlook is an extensive assessment and analysis of the complexities involved in the possible assimilation of Mozambique's unexpected resource wealth. It includes potential developmental outlooks like projections of export trends, national development priorities, political trends, and stakeholder influence.

3.1 Analytical methodology - Frame analysis

Frame analysis methodology often center around actors that use framing in a strategic and conscious manner, and serve to lay bare the fundamental ideas, representations or dominant values in a certain context (Esaiasson et al, 2017:218). Frames can include key words, metaphors, catchphrases, jargon, concepts, symbols, stories and visual images (Kuypers:2009:182; Pan & Kosicki, 1993:56; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996:100) as well as overall presentation styles used by communicators when relaying information towards an audience (Chong & Druckmann, 2007:100). Specifically, *metaphors* refer to figurative analogies that evoke images in the mind of the consumer and make abstract ideas concrete, *jargon and catchphrases* mean using familiar language to make summarizing statements and lastly, *stories* engage our attention and "move us to think in new ways" (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996:103:108:117).

While there are no uniform measurement standards for identifying frames, I have chosen to follow a number of steps used in many studies of similar nature (Chong & Druckman, 2007:106). First, I identified the issue: the framing of the future as a result of

natural gas development in Mozambique. Second, I isolated a specific attitude: acceptance. This in order to understand how frames can affect public opinion. Third, I gathered referrals to the future on the consortium's website and a set of frames were identified inductively and processed by a manual coding scheme (Chong & Druckman, 2007:106). Fourth, when the initial set of frames were identified, representative parts were selected for closer examination in order to answer the research questions (Chong & Druckman, 2007:107). Crucial is that the research questions are formulated from the framing perspective and that they are being systematically asked to the empirical data (Esaiasson et al, 2017:216). Further, it has been pointed out that the validity of the analysis does not lie in the resourcefulness of the scholar in ways of reading texts, but more in the retaining of a systematic process gathering data in order to determine meaningful elements (Pan & Kosicki, 1993:58).

As it has as well been argued that a fruitful way of detecting frames is using comparative analysis (Kuypers, 2009:182; Chong & Druckman, 2007:102). The frames of the Mozambique LNG consortium are therefore compared to other future projections for Mozambique. This helps in gaining a clearer picture of what is being left unproblematic, something which, according to Kuypers (2009:181), is crucial but easy to overlook, "as we too often rely upon information that is easily available".

3.2 Empirical methodology

A primary reading on the consortium's website was carried out without taking notes in order to gain an overview. Thereafter, the collection of text selection began based on their relevance for the study, where references to the future and assumed project outcomes were prioritized. A document was then created where all the relevant texts were gathered. Reoccurring words, metaphors, concepts, symbols, images and phrases were deciphered by color coding certain key words and themes. For example, mentions of future education benefits were marked red, benefits for the local or national economy were marked purple and phrases including the terms "opportunity" and "commitment" were marked blue. This inductive coding, fragmenting and categorizing the text, revealed a main frame, as well as supportive frames, that are presented in the results section in the shape of quotes, text extracts and argumentative conclusions, in line with framing methodology literature (Esaiasson et al, 2017:228-229).

I have not found any existing research or framing analysis on how natural gas can be understood as a tool constructing visions of the future, and a strategy for gaining acceptance. It has as well been pointed out that there is a lack of systematic investigation of corporate efforts to win popular and elite support for multinational operations, especially in conflicted areas (Rosenau et al, 2009:2).

3.3 Material discussion

Regarding the material providing the basis for this thesis, the Mozambique LNG website and the ISS and Oxford reports, there are certain aspects worth addressing. For example, critics might say that the information posted on the Mozambique LNG website has little relevance for what goes on “in the real world”. Not least because of the fact that most of the content is published in English and Portuguese, neither of which is the mother tongue of many people in Northern Mozambique. Never mind the fact that only 50 percent of the adult Mozambican population is literate (The World Bank, 2018d). I would however, claim that the statements and visions published on the consortium’s website are of importance because they reflect the way in which the consortium wishes the outside world to perceive the project. The fact that the material is published in English and Portuguese can also be understood as an advantage in the perspective of a researcher who does not speak the local languages.

When it comes to the ISS and Oxford reports, they are not to be understood as neutral “counter forces” to the Mozambique LNG consortium. On the contrary, both the ISS and the Oxford Institute operate within the previously mentioned neoliberally imbued sphere of debate. In fact, The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, an “independent and autonomous research institute”, have a Natural Gas Research Programme that is sponsored by various actors with commercial interests, including Anadarko and the Swedish Energy Agency (Energimyndigheten)(The Oxford Institute For Energy Studies, 2016). The ISS, a non-profit organization, has partnerships and sponsors including with the Swedish government, UNICEF, UNDP and the Ford Foundation (The African Institute of Security Studies., n.d). The point is that this study does not aim to account for the whole spectrum of perspectives regarding the natural gas situation in Mozambique, but rather give some idea as to how its future is framed and contested in the corporate and scientific arena.

Motivating the decision to perform a manual coding of the text material, as opposed to computerized, is the greater flexibility in discovering frames that were not initially identified. This decision does, however, come at the cost of reliability and smaller samples (Chong & Druckmann, 2007:108). Also, Kuypers (2009:189) warns researchers not to assume a certain frame and then go to look for it. In the best case, he claims, the empirical data is allowed to speak for itself. This is also why the utilization of representative quotes, the importance of which cannot be overestimated (Esaiasson et al, 2017:233).

4. Result

In this section, I begin by introducing key words and phrases– mainly “opportunity” and “commitment” - that were identified as important in the formulation of Mozambique LNG’s frames. The main findings of the website frame analysis are then presented in terms of dominant and supportive frames. The ISS and Oxford reports perspectives are addressed in relation to each frame, in order to broaden the spectrum of considerations regarding how natural gas might impact Mozambique. Lastly, attention is brought to some additional Mozambique LNG project impacts that are being largely left unaddressed by both the consortium and the ISS and Oxford reports.

4.1 Key words and phrases

“A once in a generation opportunity”

The words “opportunity” and “commitment” kept coming up in references to the future and seemed to be of special importance, functioning as tools in the construction of frames. These, in combination with other hope-bearing words and phrases are used repeatedly in presenting visions and predictions, for example in the description of the project’s “transformative” (Anadarko, 2018:10) potential and “unique” character (Mozambique LNGc). The word opportunity suggests an event or situation that enables something else to happen and in this case, the “opportunity” is the discovery of natural gas and the consortium’s engagement in processing it, summarized in in the project’s catchphrase “a once in a generation opportunity” (Mozambique LNGg; Figure 3). The project is for instance presented both as a chance to “enhance economic activity”

(Mozambique LNGc), and as a “catalyst opportunity” for national development (Mozambique LNGh).

Figure 3. The Mozambique LNG consortium’s catchphrase.



Source: <http://www.mzlng.com/content/documents/MZLNG/LNG/Media/MZLNG-GenerationOpportunity.pdf>.

There are also a series of promise-like statements about the future foreign investments that the project will stimulate. Under the headline “Fueling Economic Growth” it is stated that the LNG facility will “require significant investment and resources from around the world, presenting opportunities for Mozambican companies to benefit from the growing economy” (Anadarko, 2013:6). The sheer economic momentum of the project is believed to have positive effects on local businesses and to encourage “unprecedented” and “significant” foreign investments. (Mozambique LNGi; Mozambique LNGj; Mozambique LNGk).

“Committed to Shared Benefit”

The other key word is the concept of commitments. While the term is not a frame in and of itself, it is used to demonstrate a willingness to give time, money and energy for desired outcomes. There are for instance commitments to “maximize opportunities for Mozambicans in the workforce”, and to work “collaboratively with Mozambican communities” in a way that “contributes to the long-term economic stability of the region” (Mozambique LNGj; Figure 4). Under one website headline, “committed to shared benefit”, the Anadarko-led consortium asserts that it is approaching “one of Africa’s largest projects” with a “commitment to transform the development of the project into benefits that extend to the lives and economy of Mozambique and its people” (Mozambique LNGc). The project participants also “share a commitment to

ensure the development of these resources carry tangible benefits for the people of Mozambique” and a “dedication” to provide “shared prosperity” for the nation and its people (Mozambique LNGI). The consortium expects to support and invest in programs that will “improve educational and training opportunities aimed at building capacity to sustain a strong business environment” all the while taking great care to “protect Mozambique’s natural environment“ (Anadarko, 2013:1). Further, it is also said to be considered a “business priority” to establish and maintain “mutually beneficial relationships” with those who are affected and have interests in the consortium’s activities and operations (Mozambique LNGm). In other words, the consortium, through repeatedly using words like “commitment”, present themselves as an enterprise willing to work collaboratively with local communities, and as wanting to act in a way that promotes mutual benefits and shared gains for all stakeholders.

Figure 4. Together, changing lives. Mozambique LNG fact sheet.



Source: <http://www.mzlmg.com/content/documents/MZLNG/LNG/Media/MZLNG-ChangingLives.pdf>.

4.2 Framing the future

4.2.1 Main frame: Socioeconomic advantages through regional development

The most protruding and reoccurring framing of the future found on the consortium's website is undoubtedly the notion of how extracting and processing natural gas will result in regional and national economic development for Mozambique. Natural gas development, and Mozambique LNG in particular, is presented as a potential generator of socioeconomic advantages in a number of ways. For example in speaking of how the "long-term benefits" (Mozambique LNGa; Mozambique LNGb) of gas development will "extend to the lives and economy of Mozambique and its people" and that "revenue from natural gas can be used to generate significant benefits for the nation's citizens" (Mozambique LNGc). Similarly, there is a commitment to "supporting socio-economic development and to broadening sustainable socio-economic benefits" (Mozambique LNGb) and the project is expected to "transform the local and country economy, bringing about significant improvements in people's lives and livelihoods" (Mozambique LNGd). In the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), published on the consortium's website, it is stated that the project will have a range of positive economic impacts "at the local, regional, and national levels, including income growth (linked to employment and procurement opportunities), capacity development and increased government revenue." (Anadarko, 2014:17). The extraction and processing of natural gas is in other words framed, as a carrier, supporter and generator of great potential to improve Mozambique's human and economic condition.

Moreover, development of natural gas is not only said to be an opportunity to strengthen the Mozambican economy but will also put the country on the map as a global supplier of natural gas (Mozambique LNGi) something which is seemingly very desirable. The gas field's "favorable location" on the coast facilitates export on the sea and therefore makes it well positioned to "tap into growing demand for energy in the Middle East and Indian sub-continent" (Mozambique LNGj) and to "pursue LNG buyers in various attractive markets around the globe" (Mozambique LNGa.) Assuming to export to "premium markets", the Mozambican government "should see a significant increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and increased revenue through its royalty, tax and equity gas rights". This "substantial increase" in government revenue "could be used" to "improve the health, education and quality of life of the people of Mozambique" (Anadarko:2014:2). In other words, the project is presented as having the potential to

make Mozambique a hotshot in the global league of natural gas exporters and significantly improve the lives of the Mozambicans.

4.2.2 Oxford & ISS report perspectives

Not unlike Mozambique LNG, the Oxford risk outlook report express little doubt that the resource boom can be a potential “game changer” for Mozambique, providing an opportunity to rapidly advance a country that is currently one of the world’s least developed, “perhaps even within one single generation” (Frühau, 2014:13). The ISS similarly contend that revenue from the export of natural gas “could provide a major boost to the government’s fiscal balance and, if invested back into the country, could help improve basic human development outcomes” and put Mozambique “on the path towards sustainable development” (Porter et al, 2017:7). Obvious concerns are, however, that the government will fail to justly distribute gas income and could instead become the source of drastically increasing inequality (Frühau, 2014:13). Likewise, the ISS report forecasts that the energy sector is likely to be the main driver of the country’s economic growth from the mid 2020s to the mid 2030s, but poses the key question of whether massive growth and a shift to an energy-oriented economy will result in inclusive development. The case is made that if history is any indication, the connection between resource-based growth and inclusive development is weak, and that what usually happens as economies become more focussed on extractive industries, is that profits are likely to accumulate among investors and those with high-level skills (Porter et al, 2017:10), rather than to extend to a large number of people, as suggested by Mozambique LNG.

Both the consortium and the two reports predict that the main impact on the overall economy will come from foreign direct investment in relation to exploration and construction phases. And while LNG-related investments are projected to constitute 2.7 times the size of Mozambique’s 2012 GDP, and imports are expected to rise significantly, the Oxford report concludes that from a revenue perspective, LNG contribution will be “extremely modest over the next 10 years, apart from one-off (albeit significant) capital gains tax payments driven by the farm-in frenzy” (Frühau, 2014:10). The ISS report concurs with this stance when warning that while natural gas production is likely to enhance economic activity and GDP growth, it is no “silver bullet”, or effortless solution,

for human development in Mozambique (Porter et al:2017:8). An argument for this raised by the ISS, is that the absolute number of people living in extreme poverty is forecast to be almost the same in 2040 (18.7 million) as it is today (19 million)(Porter et al, 2017:2). Another argument is that there is a lack of plans and strategies to address urgent needs of the population, for example in bringing access to basic services, sanitation and infrastructure to all Mozambicans, an inequality expected to accelerate rapidly as gas production increases from the mid 2020s to the early 2030s (Porter et al, 2017:11).

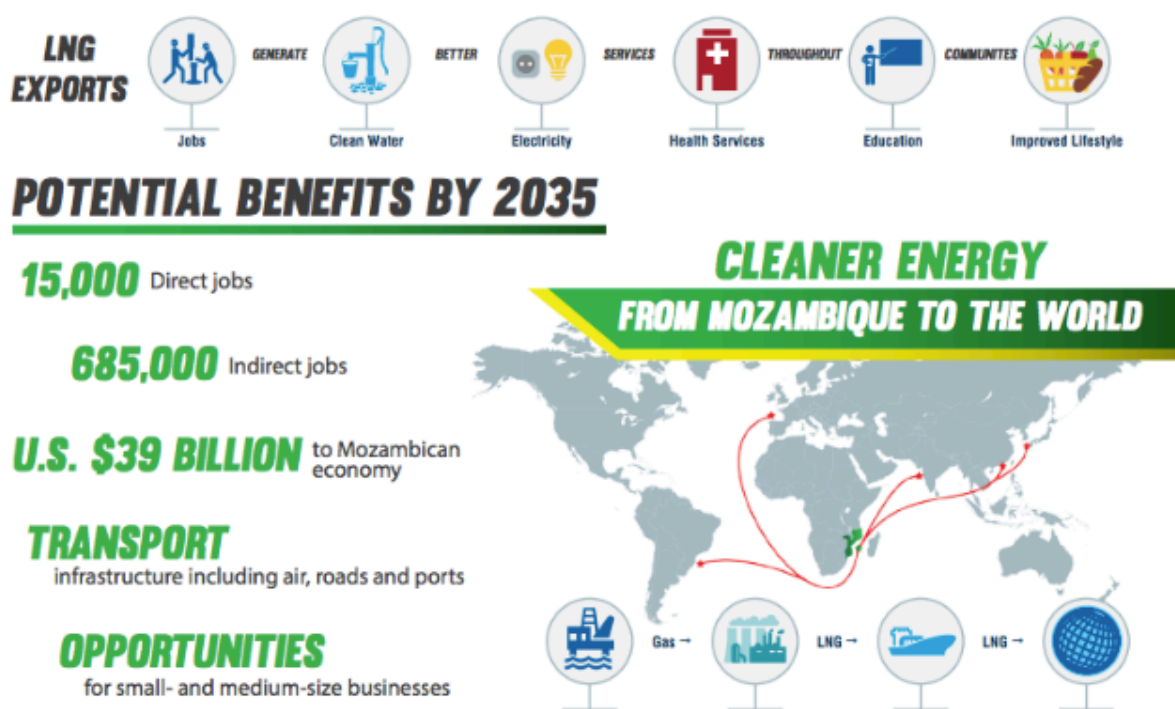
4.3 Supportive frames

The Mozambique LNG's main frame of regional and national development is made concrete by some supportive frames. These help tell a story and portray a future of increased employment, improvements in education as well as a resettlement process that could improve the standard of living for affected communities (Mozambique LNGb; Mozambique LNGe; Mozambique LNGp; Anadarko 2013; Anadarko, 2014a; Anadarko, 2018). The ISS and Oxford perspectives are presented in relation to each supportive frame.

4.3.1 Supportive frame: Boosting employment - "700 000 jobs"

The prospect of future employment possibilities plays a big part in framing Mozambique's future. For example, the commitment to "the recruitment and career development of Mozambican citizens for all phases of the LNG park development" (Mozambique LNGp). In a fact sheet, the "potential benefits by 2035", the creation of 15 000 direct jobs and 685 000 indirect jobs are at the top of the list (Mozambique LNGg; Figure 4). It is in other words implied that the Mozambique LNG project will lead to the creation of 700 000 jobs.

Figure 4. Mozambique LNG fact sheet “potential benefits by 2035”.



Source: <http://www.mzlmg.com/content/documents/MZLNG/LNG/Media/MZLNG-GenerationOpportunity.pdf>.

Under the headline “Creating Local Opportunities”, reasoning goes that the participation of “a Mozambican workforce, procurement of local goods and services, technology, capital and research capability” is essential for the successful development and operation of the Mozambique LNG project (Mozambique LNGh). Who will be enjoying these employment opportunities is framed through several photographs on the website, depicting young and happy-looking (assumably) Mozambicans wearing helmets or positioned behind tables with blueprints (Figure 5; Figure 6). It is also stated that some of the construction workers who have already been employed, “may have formerly resorted to poaching,” but have now learned a variety of new skills

Figure 5. Creating local opportunities.



Source: <http://www.mzlmg.com/Responsibility/>.

(Mozambique LNGf), implicitly suggesting that project-induced employment can come to mitigate such problems. A related frame is that the Mozambique LNG enterprise will benefit medium and small-sized businesses, for example by “building capacity to sustain a strong business environment” (Anadarko, 2013:6). Enhancing the business environment is believed to be realized partly through the commitment to “preferential purchasing of local goods and services when internationally comparable in terms of quality, availability quantity and price” (Mozambique LNGh). The framing of the consortium as a capacity builder is also expressed in the intention to host training sessions for small- and medium-sized businesses “on topics such as health, safety and environment, contracting process, invoicing, quality control, business planning and ethics to meet the high international standards of the oil and natural gas industry” (Anadarko, 2013).

Figure 6. Creating local opportunities.



Source: <http://www.mzlng.com/Responsibility/National-Content/>.

4.3.2 Oxford & ISS report perspectives

Regarding job creation there is a strong contrast between the future envisioned by the consortium, claiming that the project might generate as many as 700 000 employment possibilities, and the Oxford report, referring to estimates that the Mozambique LNG

ventures will create between 7 000 and 7 500 jobs (Frühauf, 2014:48). In striving toward a more inclusive growth, the Oxford report concludes that a key challenge will be “the ability to link the extractive sector”, known for being capital intensive and responsible for little direct job creation, to the wider economy (Frühauf, 2014:16). This would call for a “broad-based development agenda” that can ensure that the natural gas boom is used to create a diversified economy that is capable of job creation on a large scale, including improved agricultural productivity, and the promotion of small- and medium-sized enterprises” (Frühauf, 2014:16). One obstacle for this however, is the skills shortage that will make it very difficult for local Mozambicans to “obtain anything other than menial jobs during the construction phase”, and it is believed that importing skilled staff could easily become a source of tension (Frühauf, 2014:13). The “extremely limited” direct contribution to job creation is believed to be aggravated by “underdeveloped local supply networks, which limits the linkages that might create jobs” (Frühauf, 2014:10). It seems then, that while Mozambique LNG fuel the idea that the LNG ventures might have a significant impact in employment, the Oxford report that such a development would require considerate efforts in training and connecting the gas industry to the wider economy.

4.3.3 Supportive frame: Educational improvements

The educational possibilities framed by Mozambique LNG mainly revolves around “supporting advanced education”. This support primarily comes through an investment in the capital-based Eduardo Mondlane University engineering faculty, sponsoring a Master of Science program in Petroleum Engineering. The idea is that this will support “the growing petroleum industry and Mozambican economy for the future” and enable “capacity building within the country” (Mozambique LNGe). Continuing on the theme of advanced education, the section “Local Stories” links to an article about “inspirational women in engineering”, based on interviews with three Mozambican women working as engineers for Anadarko (Muchanga, 2017, September 8). Working in a highly male-dominated profession, they, and implicitly Anadarko, are presented as “breaking stereotypes”.

The consortium also present themselves as promoters of reading in Mozambique, having developed “high-quality concept books” in collaboration with a Canadian

development agency. There are also plans to help “print more than 60,000 copies in six different languages of the publication to further promote reading interests and an overall culture of reading in Mozambique” (Mozambique LNGf). The framing of Mozambique’s future in terms of education in other words involve the consortium’s engagement in training engineers (encouraging the participation of a female workforce) as well as widening the interest for reading among Mozambican children.

4.3.4 Oxford & ISS report perspectives

It is suggested by the ISS and the Oxford reports that a higher educational attainment level will be achieved through facilitating access to primary school. Meanwhile, the consortium’s main educational commitment lies in supporting higher education, for example in financing a Master’s program in Petroleum Engineering.

Regarding education in Mozambique, the ISS report presses that very few make it to the end of primary school, despite the fact that it is free and compulsory. A number of barriers such as supply costs, preschool malnutrition, gender roles and transport infrastructure are claimed to limit the ability for students to access and stay in school (Porter et al, 2017:23). It is believed that reducing these barriers and ensuring students stay in primary school, and receive quality education will “help increase both primary survival rates and overall educational attainment” (Porter et al, 2017:23). Also relevant here is the Oxford report assertion that rural regions like Cabo Delgado typically produces the fewest matriculants of all provinces and that education is the single biggest obstacle for developing the labour market and human capital (Frühau, 2014:47).

There is in other words a discrepancy between what the Oxford and ISS reports claim will have the biggest positive impact on educational attainment, namely access to primary education, especially in rural areas, and what Mozambique LNG sees as a priority: supporting higher levels of education in the country’s capital. This reinforces the idea presented previously in this paper, that the extractive industry primarily gains a small, highly-educated portion of the population (Porter et al, 2017:10).

4.3.5 Supportive frame: “Restoring livelihoods”

Resettlement is a big piece of the puzzle in implementing a project like Mozambique LNG. On their website, the process of moving everyone currently residing within the project area on the Afungi peninsula is being framed as an opportunity to improve housing condition, the standard of living and livelihoods for the affected population. These possibilities will be materialized by provisioning “improved housing and social infrastructure, livelihood improvements and integration into development programs” (Mozambique LNGn). The declared intention is further to “consult meaningfully with communities in order to design and implement culturally appropriate and economically sustainable ways to restore livelihoods” (Mozambique LNGb). Regarding the resettlement process, the consortium also commits to ensure “free, prior and informed” participation of affected people and communities in decisions making related to impacts that may affect them, and to compensate those people “at the full replacement value of the property that is lost, as is prescribed in Mozambican legislation and international guidelines (Mozambique LNGo). This is preceded by “learning about project-affected people’s socio-cultural and economic status” as well as their property and use of natural resources in order to provide compensation for “losses caused by project activities, restoring livelihoods and integrating them into ‘the local social economy’”. Resettlement commitments include establishing programs and initiatives through which displaced people can benefit from the project, and the implementation of a grievance redress process (Mozambique LNGo).

4.3.6 Oxford & ISS report perspectives

The resettlement process is usually one of the most contested aspects of megaproject implementation, bringing forth a number of complex questions. Is it for example possible to, in an appropriate and for all stakeholders satisfying way, “restore” the livelihoods of the affected population? And how exactly is a “just compensation” for physical and economic displacement calculated? As pointed out by Symons, the concept of “just compensation” is open to interpretation, and rests on communities’ abilities to negotiate with large corporations (Symons, 2016:153) something which is likely to become a source for tension (Frühau, 2014:54). With these considerations, it can be concluded that compensating the affected communities and people “at the full replacement value of the property lost” is not to be understood as something that is

easily agreed upon. According to the Oxford report, the stakes for local communities are incredibly high, and although some steps have been taken by the government in addressing a “legal vacuum” regarding resettlement, the new framework seems to fall short international best practice (Frühauf, 2014:51). This somewhat contradicts the Mozambique LNG’s claims that the resettlement process is in line with international practice standards and guidelines.

The Oxford report also state that more attention in establishing proper processes of consultation is necessary to ensure adequate compensation in terms of lost livelihoods and access to social services. With around 1 500 households planned to be resettled, there has already been disagreements over the process, with allegations surfacing that title transferring has occurred without prior consultation and concerns that Quitupo – a fishing village – will be moved 50 kilometers inland (Frühauf, 2014:51). In other words, if not conducted properly, the resettlement process could potentially lead to tension, unrest and “derailed” corporate relations with local communities (Frühauf, 2014:50).

4.4 Unframed - additional considerations

Migratory influx and community health impacts

Something that is being kept out of the main frames of the consortium, but that is anticipated in the EIA, are the impacts of “project related in-migration”. It is believed that an influx of people, mainly workforce for the construction and operation of the LNG facilities, will have a wide range of direct and indirect negative environmental, social, and economic impacts on local communities in terms of “social services, infrastructure and utilities, social dynamics and cultural life, economy and livelihoods and community health” (Anadarko, 2014:17). They include a likely increase in transmission of communicable diseases like respiratory disease, sexually-transmitted infections and malaria. These impacts are largely neglected in the consortium’s framing of the future, despite the fact the EIA admits that they will potentially lead to “deterioration in the socio-economic environment of the Project’s host communities” (Anadarko, 2014:17). Also, it is believed that a series of indirect impacts may arise with increased demand for health infrastructure, such as food and nutrition related issues, community accidents and injuries, and soil, water and waste borne diseases. Implementing mitigation

measures are believed to “reduce most impacts” to moderate significance, and some to minor significance (Anadarko, 2014:17).

Further, the influx of people to the region as a result of the project is expected to put pressure on reptiles and amphibian population density through “increased bush fires, reduced water quality from poor sanitation, subsistence poaching and hunting.” Such activities could potentially result in reduced breeding success and depleted local populations of reptiles and amphibians. (Anadarko, 2014:15). Lastly, migratory influx can and has induced speculative investment in land, something which “may put cash into people’s pockets”, but could in the long run lead to resentment as villagers “lose access to land and sustainable livelihoods (Frühaufl, 2014:51).

Greenhouse gas emissions and climate change

Something else being left largely overlooked by the consortium is the effect the project will have on Mozambique’s gas (GHG) emissions levels. The EIA estimate that the pre-mitigation impact of the project on Mozambique’s national GHG emissions is likely to be of major significance both during the construction and operational phases. The project is calculated to increase Mozambique’s global contribution of GHG emissions by between 0.4 percent per year up to 10 percent per year, and while it is granted that “good practice can be employed to reduce the GHG emissions,” the overall significance of the impact is “not expected to significantly change post-mitigation” (Anadarko, 2014:14).

Unmet expectations

I would also like to bring the reader’s attention to the fine print of a slide in a Mozambique LNG project overview presentation, with a headline saying: “Cautionary Language Regarding Forward-Looking Statements and Other Matters”. Here, Mozambique LNG states that they believe that their expectations are based on reasonable assumptions. “No assurance however” the text continues, “can be given that such expectations will prove to have been correct”. The text then goes on to say that a number of factors could cause the actual result to differ substantially from the projections, anticipated results or other expressed expectations including:

Mozambique LNG's ability to successfully plan, secure additional governmental approvals, enter into long-term sales contracts and time charter agreements, take FID and the timing thereof, finance, build and operate the necessary infrastructure and LNG park in Mozambique; produce and market the additional recoverable resources identified (...) (Anadarko, 2018:2).

This is followed by a statement that “neither Mozambique (sic) nor its sponsors undertake and (sic) obligation to publicly update or revise any forward-looking statements” (Anadarko, 2018:2). What the slide is actually saying is that the consortium waives any responsibility for fulfilling framings of the future. In a similar way, it is expressed in the EIA that there are high expectations associated with the project in providing opportunities for employment and general economic development, and a potential negative impact is associated with “unmet community expectations in relation to these opportunities”. The unmet expectations are thought to be of moderate significance during all phases of the project, even with the implementation of mitigation measures (Anadarko:2014:17). In other words, a disillusionment related to unfulfilled anticipations regarding the Mozambique LNG project is not only feasible but expected by the consortium.

Final Oxford & ISS report considerations

A reason for the lack of trust that gas industry revenues will benefit Mozambique's general public, is the fact that the governments capacity to efficiently raise and distribute such revenues toward public goods, services and systems has been trending down for the past two decades (Porter et al, 2017:34). While it is conceded that there is a possibility that windfall from the gas sector could make Mozambique less dependent on foreign aid for supporting poverty and development programs, there is also a risk that the country's “low levels of capacity to administer those extra revenues could lead to mismanagement” (Porter et al, 2017:34). In other words, the inflow of natural gas revenue could prove to be “a double-edged sword”, bringing both the opportunity to expand access to basic services and goods and promote inclusive growth, and at the same time the risk of “perpetuating the status quo of governance” (Porter et al, 2017:32). It is even believed that big energy windfalls can “disincentivize improvements in government effectiveness and transparency” (Porter et al, 2017:8). Therefore, it is concluded, that without meaningful efforts to improve government capability and human development, it will be hard for Mozambique to secure long-term development

and inclusive growth “regardless of the outcome of natural gas production” (Porter et al, 2017:2). The ISS report calls upon Mozambique and its development partners to a series of actions, including improving family planning and care, advancing education, extending health care services, boosting agricultural production and strengthening governance (Porter et al, 2017:3).

In a similar way, in reference to a recent World Bank policy note, the author of the Oxford report claim that “sustainable wealth generation from a resource boom depends entirely on factors such as effective policy-making, the quality of government spending, and mitigation of political risk, among other factors” (Frühauf, 2014:16). The bottom line is that while it is as of yet impossible to say something certain about the impact of Mozambique’s gas development on poverty levels, there is great confidence that government policies and legislation will be key in determining whether “poverty will be significantly affected by the resource boom, or largely bypassed” and that civil society has a big role in pushing for transparency and ensuring that the pledged development is realized (Frühauf, 2014:16:52).

5. Conclusions and discussion

The main conclusion of this paper is that the Mozambique LNG consortium in different ways frame development of natural gas as a potential contributor to the country’s human development. While I have found few who oppose the idea that the discovery of natural gas in Mozambique *could* be of great significance for improving socioeconomic standards, many raise crucial questions of whether it actually *will*, and if so, *how*? The image that emerges when putting together the different perspectives on Mozambique’s future, and not just the framings of the consortium, is parted and complex. It suggests that it is of outmost importance that policy makers, investors and affected communities develop wide-ranging action plans, strategies and legislation to ensure that Mozambique does not become a “second Nigeria”, where hope-infused extraction projects have monumentally failed in improving the lives of the population.

The framings of the future constructed by the consortium and identified in this paper include regional development, a story told through frames of opportunities for boosted employment, growth possibilities for small and medium-sized businesses, improved

education and higher standards of living for Mozambicans. These are all framings of a future that both the Oxford and ISS reports and many Mozambicans consider desirable. Unemployment for example, is a major problem amongst young Mozambicans, which is certainly why the consortium put emphasis of job creation and a reason as to why Mozambicans would be prone to accept such framings, driven by the hope that they will become reality. It seems therefore, that framings are being maintained intact both by the actors presenting them, as well as by the audience wanting to believe in them.

Also of interest turned out to be the key words and phrases were used for constructing frames, such as “commitment” and “opportunity”. I would claim that they, while not bearing meaning in and of themselves, function as hope-invokers and substrate for the frames used to project future possibilities within. The word “opportunity” is for example also used in the ISS and Oxford reports, however usually followed by an “if”, meaning that in order for any given opportunity to materialize, certain other things need to happen and interconnect.

In terms of similarities found in the empirical data, there seems to be a general agreement that the Mozambique LNG project could be a game-changer and indeed, an opportunity for human development. There is however, a general lack of suggestions of compliance mechanisms and monitoring organs that would demand accountability for making sure that the consortium’s “commitments” are being followed through. This could be seen as particularly worrying when considering the previously mentioned consortium’s responsibility-waiving attitude towards forward-looking statements. A final concern that I would like to raise is the fact that the consortium repeatedly refers to different impacts having the potential to become reduced with “appropriate mitigation”. Mentioned mitigation measures are for example “engagement” and “coordination with relevant authorities” (Anadarko, 2014a), something which suggests a generally semi-passive and abstract attitude towards mitigating project impacts. The question of who will ultimately be responsible for mitigation action, in other words, remains unanswered.

In summary, while it can be acknowledged that while the consortium (unsurprisingly) present an image of a bright future for Mozambique as a result of gas development, both

the Oxford and ISS reports put uncertainties enshrouding the Mozambique LNG project into focus. These uncertainties concern the government's ability to manage natural gas revenues, the actual job creation that the project will generate, and the country's small and medium sized businesses' capacity to benefit from the project in a significant way. There is also concern that the country will become overly dependent on natural resource export and therefore vulnerable to external shocks. Both reports make a call for the adoption and implementation of a series of actions that are considered crucial in turning profit into socioeconomic benefits. Specifically, these actions involve sound government policies, transparent and competent administrative processes as well as effective, independent and functional institutions and pressure from civil society.

Additional conclusions are that the Mozambique LNG consortium is a powerful actor, that with its access to communicative resources has a "problem forming privilege" regarding natural gas in Mozambique. Framing the future in a way that invokes hope and high-set expectations can therefore be seen as a strategy to manufacture consent, partly realized through the formulation of frames that fit well into a neoliberal ideology and its perceptions of progress.

An interesting extension and continuation of the research presented in this paper would be to interview scientists, politicians and the local communities regarding their expectations and perceptions of the Mozambique LNG project outcomes and impacts.

6. References

Afrikagrupperna. (u.å). *I skuggan av träden. Konsekvenserna av Green Resources skogsplanteringar i Moçambique*. Stockholm: Afrikagrupperna.

Allen M. (Ed.). (2017). *Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*. SAGE Publications Inc.

Anadarko. (2013). *Anadarko in Mozambique. Our values in action*. Retrieved 2018-12-01 from
http://www.mzlng.com/content/documents/MZLNG/LNG/Sustainability/APC_in_Mozambique_2013_English.pdf.

Anadarko. (2014a). *Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) Report for the Liquefied Natural Gas Project in Cabo Delgado FINAL EIA REPORT- VOLUME I*. (0133576). ERM & IMPACTO. Retrieved 2018-11-27 from
http://www.mzlng.com/pt/content/documents/MZLNG/EIA/Volume_I/English/Vol_I-_front_pages_NTS_LNG_Final_EIA_Sept_2014_Eng.pdf.

Anadarko. (2018). *Mozambique LNG Project – Overview*. Retrieved 2018-11-20 from
http://www.mzlng.com/content/documents/SOL_Event_-_Ingram.pdf.

Anadarko. (2014b). *Socio-economic Impact Assessment and Mitigation, Chapter 13*. Retrieved 2019-01-02 from
http://www.mzlng.com/pt/content/documents/MZLNG/EIA/Volume_II/English/Chapter_13-_LNG_Final_EIA_Sept_2014_Eng.pdf.

Andersson, E., & Carton, W. (2017). Sälja luft? Om klimatkompensation och miljö rättvisa i Uganda. In E. Jönsson, & E. Andersson (Eds.). In *Politisk ekologi: om makt och miljöer*. Lund: Studentlitteratur AB.

Barma, N. H., Kaiser, Kai, Minh Le, T, Viñuela, L. (2012). *Rents to Riches? The Political Economy of Natural Resource–Led Development*. The World Bank. Retrieved 2019-01-10 from

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/545221468150583397/pdf/659570PUB0EPI10737B0Rents0to0Riches.pdf>.

Bergström, G. & Boréus, K. (2000). *Textens mening och makt: Metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig textanalys*. Lund: Studentlitteratur AB.

Brock A., & Dunlap A. (2018). Normalising Corporate Counterinsurgency: Engineering Consent, Managing Resistance and Greening Destruction around the Hambach Coal Mine and beyond. *Political Geography* 62, no. C.

Bruckner T., I.A. Bashmakov, Y. Mulugetta, H. Chum, A. de la Vega Navarro, J. Edmonds, A. Faaij, B. Fungtammasan, A. Garg, E. Hertwich, D. Honnery, D. Infield, M. Kainuma, S. Khennas, S. Kim, H.B. Nimir, K. Riahi, N. Strachan, R. Wisser, and X. Zhang. (2014). *Energy Systems. In: Climate Change 2014: Mitigation of Climate Change. Contribution of Working Group III to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Edenhofer, O., R. Pichs-Madruga, Y. Sokona, E. Farahani, S. Kadner, K. Seyboth, A. Adler, I. Baum, S. Brunner, P. Eickemeier, B. Kriemann, J. Savolainen, S. Schlömer, C. von Stechow, T. Zwickel and J.C. Minx (eds.). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA. Retrieved 2019-01-10 from http://report.mitigation2014.org/report/ipcc_wg3_ar5_chapter7.pdf.

Burman, A. (2017). Politisk ekologi som politisk ontologi: kolonialitet, konflikt och klimaträttvisa i de bolivianska Anderna. In E. Jönsson, & E. Andersson (Eds.) In *Politisk ekologi: om makt och miljöer*. Lund: Studentlitteratur AB.

Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d). *Ideology*. Retrieved 2019-01-06 from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/ideology#dataset-cald4>.

Chong, D. & Druckman, J.N. (2007). Framing Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*. Vol. 10:103-126.

DeAngelis, K. (2016). *Report from the Field: Perspectives and Experiences of Mozambican Communities and Civil Society on Liquefied Natural Gas Exploitation*. Retrieved 2018-12-

08 from https://1bps6437gg8c169i0y1drtgz-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/2016.09.14_Mozambique_LNG_Trip_Report.pdf.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2018). *Natural Gas*. Retrieved 2019-01-06 from <https://www.britannica.com/science/natural-gas>.

Environmental Justice Atlas. (n.d;a). Mtwara – Dar Es Salaam gas pipeline, Tanzania. Retrieved 2018-12-06 from <https://ejatlas.org/conflict/mtwara-dar-es-salaam-gas-pipeline>.

Environmental Justice Atlas. (n.d;b). *Blockadia: Keep Fossil Fuels in the Ground!* Retrieved 2018-12-06 from <https://ejatlas.org/featured/blockadia>.

Esaiasson, P., Gilljam, M., Oscarsson, H., Towns, A., Wägnerud, L. (2017). *Metodpraktikan: konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Wolters Kluwer.

Fairhurst, Gail T. & Sarr, Robert A. (1996). *The art of framing, managing the language of leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Fearnside, P. M. (2015). *Hidrelétricas na Amazônia: impactos ambientais e sociais na tomada de decisões sobre grandes obras*. Manaus: INPA

Frühauf, A. (2014). *Mozambique's LNG revolution: A political risk outlook for the Rovuma LNG ventures* (286084). Oxford Institute for Energy Studies.

Gqada, I. (2013). *A Boom for Whom? Mozambique's Natural Gas and the New Development Opportunity. Occasional Paper No 151*. Retrieved 2019-01-09 from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/168968/saia_sop_151_gqada_20130826.pdf.

Hornborg, A. (2015). *Nollsummespelet, Teknikfetischism och global miljö rättvisa*. Lund: Daidalos AB.

International Group of LNG Importers (GIIGNL). (2018). *2018 Annual report*. Retrieved 2019-01-11 from

https://giignl.org/sites/default/files/PUBLIC_AREA/Publications/rapportannuel-2018pdf.pdf.

Kuypers, J. A. (2009). *Rhetorical criticism. Perspectives in action*. Lanham: Lexington books.

Matz, J. R. (2013). *Selling 'Fracking': Legitimation of High Speed Oil and Gas Extraction in the Marcellus Shale Region*. (Master's thesis). Morgantown, West Virginia: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, West Virginia University. Retrieved 2018-12-05 from <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/docview/1418472300?pq-origsite=primo>.

Merriam-Webster. (n.d). *Frame*. Retrieved 2018-12-20 from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/frame>.

Mozambique LNGa. *Marketing. The Potential to Become a World-Class LNG Exporter*. Retrieved 2018-12-01 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Marketing/>.

Mozambique LNGb. *Social Investment. Focused on Sustainable Benefits*. Retrieved 2018-12-12 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Responsibility/Social-Investment/>.

Mozambique LNGc. *Responsibility. Committed to Shared Benefit*. Retrieved 2018-12-13 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Responsibility/>.

Mozambique LNGd. *Environmental & Social Management. Environmental Impact Assessment*. Retrieved 2018-12-13 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Responsibility/Environmental-Social-Management/>.

Mozambique LNGe. *Regional Development Initiatives. Supporting Advanced Education*. Retrieved 2018-12-22 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Responsibility/Social-Investment/Regional-Development-Initiatives/>.

Mozambique LNGf. *Community Investment Programs. Enhancing Health Awareness*. Retrieved 2018-12-22 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Responsibility/Social-Investment/Community-Investment-Programs/>.

Mozambique LNGg. *A comprehensive plan for the future*. Retrieved 2018-11-08 from <http://www.mzlng.com/content/documents/MZLNG/LNG/Media/MZLNG-Future.pdf>.

Mozambique LNGh. *National Content. Creating Local Opportunities*. Retrieved 2018-11-05 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Responsibility/National-Content/>.

Mozambique LNGi. *FAQs*. Retrieved 2018-11-12 from <http://www.mzlng.com/News/FAQs/>.

Mozambique LNGj. *The Project. A Cleaner Source of Energy for the World*. Retrieved 2018-11-12 from <http://www.mzlng.com/The-Project/>

Mozambique LNGk. *The Sale and Purchase Process. Sales & Purchase Agreements (SPAs)*. Retrieved 2018-11-15 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Marketing/The-Sale-and-Purchase-Process/>.

Mozambique LNGl. *Mozambique Fact Sheet*. Retrieved 2018-11-12 from http://www.mzlng.com/content/documents/MZLNG/LNG/Development/Mozambique_Fact_Sheet.pdf.

Mozambique LNGm. *Stakeholder Engagement. Building Relationships*. Retrieved 2018-11-12 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Responsibility/Stakeholder-Engagement/>.

Mozambique LNGn. *Resettlement. Approach to Resettlement*. Retrieved 2018-11-12 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Responsibility/Resettlement/>.

Mozambique LNGo. *Resettlement Commitments*. Retrieved 2018-11-12 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Responsibility/Resettlement/Resettlement-Commitments/>.

Mozambique LNGp. *Local Stories. Training to Provide Jobs in the Future*. Retrieved 2018-11-12 from <http://www.mzlng.com/Responsibility/National-Content/Local-Stories/>.

Muchanga, E. Quando mulheres desafiam engenharias. (2017, September 8). *Notícias*. Retrieved 2019-01-12 from http://www.mzlng.com/content/documents/NOTICIAS09_08_17_P_2_combined.pdf.

Pan, Z & Kosicki, G. M. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse, *Political Communication*, 10:1, 55-75.

Porter, A., Bohl, D., Kwasi, S., Donnenfeld Z. & Cilliers, J. (2017). *Prospects and Challenges: Mozambique's Growth and Human Development Outlook to 2040*. African Institute for Security Studies (ISS).

Robbins, P. (2011). *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction*. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rosenau, W., Chalk P., McPherson, R., Parker, M. & Long, A. (2009). *Corporations and Counterinsurgency*. National Security Research Division, RAND Corporation.

Santo Antonio Energia. (n.d). *Progress in the North Region*. Retrieved 2018-12-27 from <http://www.santoantonioenergia.com.br/en/desenvolvimento/dev-2/>.

Symons, K. (2016). Transnational Spaces, Hybrid Governance and Civil Society Contestation in Mozambique's Gas Boom. *The Extractive Industries and Society* 3, no. 1.

The African Institute of Security Studies (ISS). (n.d). *How we work*. Retrieved 2019-01-11 from <https://issafrica.org/about-us/how-we-work>.

The National Farmers Union (UNAC). (2015). *The land grabbers of the Nacala corridor. A new era of struggle against colonial plantations in Northern Mozambique*. UNAC. UNAC & GRAIN.

The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies. (2016). *About us*. Retrieved 2019-01-11 from

<https://www.oxfordenergy.org/about/>

The World Bank. (2018a). *Access to electricity (% of population)*. Retrieved 2018-12-21 from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EG.ELC.ACCS.ZS>.

The World Bank. (2018b). *Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modeled ILO estimate)*. Retrieved 2019-01-13 from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS>.

The World Bank. (2018c). *Mozambique Economic Update: Less Poverty, but More Inequality*. Retrieved 2018-12-21 from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/mozambique/publication/mozambique-economic-update-less-poverty-but-more-inequality>.

The World Bank. (2018d). *Literacy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)*. Retrieved 2018-12-14 from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.ZS?locations=MZ>.

Transparency International. (2018). *Corruption Perceptions Index 2017*. Retrieved 2018-01-11 from https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017.

Transparency International. (2017). *Mozambique: Overview of corruption and anti-corruption*. Retrieved 2018-01-11 from <https://knowledgehub.transparency.org/helpdesk/mozambique-overview-of-corruption-and-anti-corruption1>.

Tvedten, I. & Orre, A. (2016). *Mozambique, Country evaluation brief*. Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) Evaluation department.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (n.d). *Current Situation*. Retrieved 2018-12-21 from <http://www.unicef.org/mz/en/our-work/what-we-do/water-sanitation-hygiene/>.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2018b). *About Mozambique*.

Retrieved 2018-12-21 from

<http://www.mz.undp.org/content/mozambique/en/home/countryinfo/>

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2018c). *Human development report*.

Education Index 2018. Retrieved 2018-12-21 from

<http://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/103706>.

United Nations Economic Analysis & Policy Division. (2018). *Least developed country*

category: Mozambique profile. Retrieved 2019-01-05 from

<https://www.un.org/development/desa/dpad/least-developed-country-category-mozambique.html>.

Veras, O. (2018, May 24). Could liquefied natural gas be Mozambique's golden goose?

How we made it in Africa. Retrieved 2018-12-27 from

<https://www.howwemadeitinafrica.com/could-liquefied-natural-gas-be-mozambiques-golden-goose/>.

Watts, M. (2004). Resource curse? governmentality, oil and power in the Niger Delta, Nigeria. *Geopolitics*. 9:1, 50-80.

World Health Organization (WHO). (n.d). *Mozambique's health system*. Retrieved 2018-

12-21 from https://www.who.int/countries/moz/areas/health_system/en/index1.html