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**Traditional Leadership, the State and Rural Economic
Development in Southern Mozambique: A Case Study
of Mandlakaze District in the Second Half of the
Twentieth Century.**

By

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfillment/ partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters, in the Graduate Programme in Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was not used. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters in Development Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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ABSTRACT

In Mozambique, rural poverty is visible in the statistics and in real life. According to UNDP (2005), the index of Mozambique's human development ranked 172 out of 177 countries and was far below the averages of the sub-Saharan Africa and Least Developed Countries, despite considerable improvement in the indicator over the previous five years. It had been determined that 54% of the population lived below the poverty level of \$1/day surviving on as little as US\$0.40 per day in 2003 (UNDP, 2005). The population distribution in Mozambique remained predominantly rural; with 64% of the 21.4 million people living in the countryside. The development prospects of rural areas remained a key concern (UNDP, 2005).

Development was also a key problem for me. For this study it was decided to select a specific problem, the role of the traditional leaders in development, and a special case, a traditional chief - João Mapanguelana Mondlane, nominated in 1949. Between 1960 and 1974 Mapanguelana inaugurated a settlement scheme and a cooperative in the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* north of Mandlakazi in Gaza province. I selected this case because several approaches assume that the nature of the relationship between key local development actors and communities has an impact on the development conditions observed at any point in time of the rural areas.

From this case study, I can conclude that the involvement of the local leaders with legitimacy and credibility in the community and modern social and administrative networks was the key point that made it possible for the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* to be different from her neighbouring villages.

During the colonial period the government in Mozambique recognized the significance of traditional leadership as a way to reach the people and make their rule effective and legitimate, specifically in the rural areas. After independence, the new Frelimo government banned traditional leadership and accused it of having collaborated with colonialists and of practicing exploitative actions. In 2000, the Mozambican government reversed the earlier approach,

particularly in line with policies that aim at carrying out developmental projects in the districts, and established legal procedures for the nomination of community representatives. The review of the literature and the findings suggest that Mozambique followed the new trends of incorporating the traditional leadership in the rural local governance as a way to reach rural economic development.

The aim of this study is to assist policy makers in developing countries especially in Africa, and more specifically in Mozambique, in focusing on the problem of involving the local leaders in the struggle to reduce poverty in the rural areas where most of the population is located.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AGP	General Peace Agreement (Acordo Geral de Paz)
AHM	Historical Archive of Mozambique (Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique)
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee,
CEA	Centre of African Studies (Centro de Estudos Africanos)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FRELIMO	Mozambique Liberation Front (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique)
GDs	Dynamizing Groups (Grupos Dinamizadores)
GNP	Gross National Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDC	Least Developed Countries
MAE	Ministry of State Administration (Ministerio de Administração Estatal)
NGO	Non Government Organization
OJM	Organization of Mozambican Youth (Organização da Juventude Moçambicana)
OMM	Organization of Mozambican Women (Organização da Mulher Moçambicana)
PARPA	Action Plan for Poverty Alleviation (Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza)
PES	Economic and Social Plan (Plano Económico e Social)
PROAGRI	National Agrarian Development Program (Programa Nacional de Desenvolvimento Agrário)
PRRM	Philippines Rural Reconstructions Movement
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana)
TL	Traditional leader (Autoridade Tradicional)
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
ZIP	Influential Pedagogic Zone (Zona de Influência Pedagógica)
WFN	Worldwide Fund for Nature
WB	World Bank

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The role of traditional leadership in development processes in Africa has been a matter of considerable inquiry. The processes of imperial conquest and colonization left very different patterns of relationships between colonial administrations and varied systems of traditional leadership – often with considerable differences within territories. Post-colonial states, in many cases, sought to break with these colonial relationships with some seeking to re-engineer elements of pre-colonial traditional leadership whilst others sought to crafting new forms of it or in some cases eliminate it. Despite these changes, or in some cases because of the changes, traditional leadership continues to exercise influence in political, social and economic spheres. This study seeks to explore dynamics of traditional leadership and development in a particular area of Mozambique.

1.1 Background of the Study

In 1992, after the civil war, Mozambique ranked as one of the world's poorest countries. In the following decade, however, the country experienced a notable economic turn-around. In the year 2000, the per capita GDP was estimated at \$222 while in the mid-1980s (during the civil war), it was \$120 (Country Profile, 2003).

The successful resettling of war refugees combined with successful economic reform resulted in a high growth rate: the average growth rate in the period of 1993 to 1999 was 6.7% while from 1997 to 1999 the average was more than 10% per year. However, the absolutely shocking floods of early 2000 reduced GDP growth to 2.1%, early estimates pointed to an improvement in 2001(cf. Table 2, Appendix 1). Since 2003, the government projected that the economy would continue to improve between 7%-10% a year for the following 5 years, while rapid expansion in the future depended completely on several major foreign investment projects, transportation, the revival of the agriculture, the economic reform, and the tourism sectors (Country Profile, 2003). More than 75% of the population engages in agriculture, accounting for 50% of GDP and has recovered considerably since the end of the civil war but remains close to subsistence levels

(Country Profile, 2003). This shows that Mozambique's economic growth and also the agriculture sector is a major challenge for the government.

In general, agriculture depends on manual labour, on small family farms practicing a regime of association of crops based on local varieties. The main food crops are Indian corn (maize), rice, ground nuts, cassava, local beans (*nyemba, tinyawa*), pumpkins, and subsantaneous *nkakana* as a bitter spinach, and in the drier north, *mexoeira* (pennisetum, bulrush millet) as main cereal. The principal commercial cultures are cashew nuts, *mafurra* (fruits of *trichilia emetica*), with little copra, cotton and sugarcane for domestic spirit production (*Perfil do Distrito de Mandlakazi, Provincia de Gaza, 2005:2*, field observations). Most households in Mandlakazi grow cashew trees. Until 2000 the whole province could produce approximately 68.000 tons of cashew nuts annually. However, in the last three years after 2003, the production of cashew was insignificant due to infestation of the buds by the fungus *oideo*. This led to the temporary closing down of the PROCAJU plant in Mandlakazi and the attempt to establish a smaller unit in Macuacua. The industrial sector of the District has been based on the processing of the cashew nut from the centre and South of the district and of timber from the north. Some of the firewood is also cut and exported (*Perfil do Distrito de Mandlakazi, Provincia de Gaza, 2005:14*, field observations).

On the other hand, until 1974/5, under the colonial government, educational opportunities for native Mozambicans had been limited, and 93% of the population was illiterate, with higher percentages in the north of the country. After independence, the new government gave high priority to expanding education, which reduced the illiteracy rate to about two-thirds as enrolment at primary school increased (Country Profile, 2003).

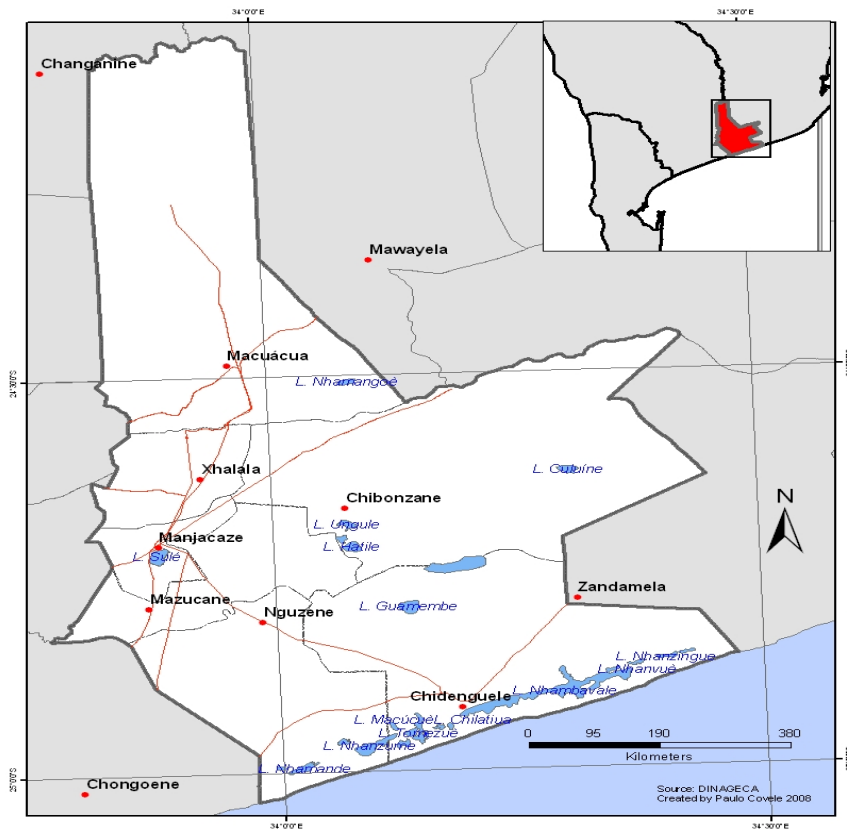
1.2. Geographic Localization

Mandlakazi¹ District is located in the Southern coast of Mozambique, in the Gaza Province between the latitudes 24° 04 ' and 25° 00 ' South, and the longitudes 33° 56 ' and 34° 28' East. In the North the District borders with the District of Panda (Inhambane Province), and in the South with Xai Xai District and the Indian Ocean, in the East with the Districts of Zavala and Inharrime (both of Inhambane Province), and in the West with the District of Chibuto. It has a surface of 3.797 km². In 1997 and 2005 the population was 161.147 and 200.042 inhabitants respectively. Most of the population is young (45% below the age of 15 years) and the majority are women. Mandlakazi District has rural characteristics (the rate of urbanization is 14%) (*Perfil Distrito de Mandlakazi, Província de Gaza, 2005:2*).

The climate of the district is tropical dry in the interior and almost humid closer to the coast with average monthly temperatures varying between 17 and 28 degrees centigrade and a precipitation distributed irregularly between the months of November to March with an annual total which varies between the 400 and 950 mm. The precipitation is irregular. It increases from the North to the South of the District, a fact that has direct effects in the annual growth of the plants that varies from the 150 days in the North of the district to 270 days in the South, being not always well distributed thus exposing non irrigated agriculture to great risks (*Perfil do Distrito de Mandlakazi, Província de Gaza, 2005:2*).

¹ The name of the district preserves the name of the itinerant capital and residence of the last King of Gaza, Ngungunyane, adopted possibly around 1880 or 1884 and copied from the name of Cetewayo's capital, Mandlhakazi in kwaZulu (pers. Comm. G. Liesegang, 2008). Since the 1990s both the spellings Mandlakaze and Mandlakazi were used in publications, substituting the colonial Manjacaze, but recently the more correct Mandlakazi, from the perspective of Tsonga orthography, seems to prevail. Therefore we adopted this spelling.

Map representing South of Mozambique and the Mandlakazi District



Source: Paulo Covele my colleague at Eduardo Mondlane University. (The map preserves some of the colonial spellings)

1.3. Problem Statement

“Traditional authorities” functioned in Gaza since the Portuguese took power in 1895/96 in the Southern interior of Mozambique. They named, as their middlemen, existing local chiefs who had exercised similar functions in the Gaza kingdom (ca. 1830-1895) and often belonged to older ruling lineages. Chiefs were seen as a way to reach the people and make colonial rule effective and legitimate. After 1930, the colonial government identified the theoretical importance of traditional leadership and most academic writing concentrates on minor changes introduced after

1930.² These initiatives were in the ‘Colonial Act’ and marked the beginning of a coherent political systematization of colonial policies and existing institutions.

In colonial Mozambique, peasant agriculture was partly marginalized and peasants were exploited through forced rice and cotton cultivation (Adam, 1996:40). As far as major investments were concerned, the state prioritized plantation and settler agriculture, although it also relied on rural traders buying African produce. A small railway from Xai-Xai to Mandlakazi was actually built around 1909-12 to help export groundnuts and to transport miners and other people. It is important to remark that Mandlakazi was not affected in the 1950s and 1960s by large-scale white settlement schemes that were created in the Limpopo valley and almost all areas of Mozambique.

Traditional leaders had sometimes protected the land resources of the communities and other rights from being alienated by the colonial system. According to Magode, (2004) the colonial powers used traditional leaders as a tool for governance, whilst centralizing in their own hands the power held by these leaders. Thus the colonial authorities made alliances with the local elites who enjoyed legitimacy from the indigenous communities. In this way they were able to pursue their specific political and administrative interests through the indigenous elites (Magode, 2004:12). Mamdani (1996) argues that traditional leaders became an important element for the survival of the colonial states because they were a focal point at the intersection of the market and the non-market economy (Mamdani, 1996:105).

After independence and the adoption of Marxism-Leninism in 1977 the newly formed Frelimo³ State disbanded traditional leaders and was replaced by party cadres (Mamdani, 1996:107). Furthermore, land was nationalized and rural development was socialized and became state and party-oriented. Large state farms (*machambas estatais*) and producer cooperatives were promoted

² By the concept of traditional leader we understand as someone that led his/her community according to ancestral (traditional) rules. These rules are unwritten but fixed in the oral tradition that characterizes many African communities, even after the European colonization. The terms used to express this concept vary: chieftaincy; traditional authority; customary authority; (...) in this study we will use Traditional Leadership (TL).

³ Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique). Between 1962 to 1977 it was officially a Movement, but after the third congress 1977 became a political Party.

but it failed in the 1980s (Roesch, 1986). As a result of these initiatives, poverty intensified in the rural areas.

On the other hand, the civil war which affected Mandlakazi between 1983 and 1992 disrupted social and political organization and subsistence farming in many rural areas and created hundreds of thousands of refugees. During the civil war, in the areas that Renamo⁴ controlled, it recreated the structures of traditional leadership existing in colonial times. Due to the pressures exerted by the opposition, mostly represented by Renamo, internal Frelimo critics, intellectuals and the civil society, in 2000 the new multiparty parliament re-established a modified role for traditional leaders in rural administrative structures.

The general debate on post Second World War rural development in Africa shows that after fifty years of theories and a practice claiming to bring about development, success has been elusive and poverty has, in most cases, intensified (Matthews, 2004:382). The majority of the rural development policies adopted by African governments struggled to deal with problems of markets, ecology, and often also, forms of traditional leadership as it had evolved throughout the pre-colonial and colonial eras. The nature of agrarian change and resulting development impacts were heavily influenced by these sociopolitical structures. These processes are exemplified in the development trajectories of countries such as Tanzania, Zambia and others (*ibid*). Mozambique has been no exception. The policy challenge is to look for new directions to minimize the failure of rural development. Conversely, aligned with this is the challenge to understand the role of traditional leaders in improving the economic prospects of rural areas.

Through my own work as research assistant of the Land Tenure Center of Eduardo Mondlane University, I had come into contact with leadership and people-oriented approaches. But in the area of agriculture and under colonial conditions in Mozambique there were few outstanding leaders known to local historians. I could find none in Inharrime, a District in Inhambane, where my father was born. In Southern Mozambique there were only about four better known examples,

⁴ Renamo (Resistência Nacional de Moçambique) during the civil war was the movement fighting against the government represented by Frelimo but by 1992, after the Rome Peace Agreement, became a political Party.

many innovators having either remained anonymous or worked under the guidance of settlers or missions, like the Methodists at Cambine. The example chosen from Mandlakazi District, which is unique in many aspects, was approached through a project which was the continuation of my B.A. honours project (*licenciatura*).

The objective of that study was to examine the relevance of the *Khokholos* (or stockaded villages) in the context of the resistance of the *Chopi* ethnic group against the *Nguni* invasion around the end of the nineteenth century. Research conducted in 2000 and 2002 in the Gaza Province was funded by the “open fund” of the Faculty of Arts, at Eduardo Mondlane University (a SIDA-SAREC supported project). The study showed that in one part of the District there was a unique kind of village, the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras*⁵ (‘Orange Tree Village’) whose establishment in 1960 owed very much to chief João Mapanguelana Mondlane. The research brought to light the history of its development. One conclusion drawn from the research was that more detailed investigation of the settlement should be carried out because of its uniqueness. In addition the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* presents models of land management which are of policy interest. (The actual field work was then done in three phases from 2006 to 2008, cf. Ch. 3). This study will thus utilize a case study, drawn from a rural community in the Mandlakazi District; Gaza Province in Southern Mozambique called ‘*Aldeia das Laranjeiras*’—to reflect the experiences within this specific locality and in turn to highlight more general questions related to developmental policy.

1.4. Study Objective

The study seeks to discuss the degree to which local processes of a political, social and economic nature might impact the macro development agendas and bring about meaningful change at local level. The aim of this study is to explore, in particular, the relationship between traditional leadership, the state and rural economic development in Southern Mozambique. In this context the role of traditional leadership in rural development is an important issue which is probably more relevant than is often recognized. This study can add to the debate on traditional leadership, particularly the relevance of tradition-based leadership in a society under stress.

⁵ Literally it means ‘village of the orange trees’. The name was adopted because of the planting of orange fruit trees on all plots in the village. Orange trees, which in Portugal often need watering to survive, were in the Portuguese value system almost a sign of improved careful cultivation methods.

The issues to be clarified are:

- What has been the policy of central government towards the peasant sector in agriculture in Mozambique between 1950 and 2005?
- How have peasants participated in the rural development process?
- What role should traditional leadership play in the rural development process?
- How do the state and traditional leadership interact in policy making for rural economic development?
- To what extent are contemporary rural development policies serving to minimize forms of exclusion and marginalization in the communities?
- Can the government have authority over the traditional leadership and the rural elite in order to ensure that economic gains are widespread and equally distributed? How can ownership of land be achieved?

Concerning the case study: *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* in Mandlakazi, an attempt will be made to answer the following questions:

- What differentiates the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* from her neighbours?
- What role did traditional leadership play?
- What kind of internal and external factors contributed in that process?

1.5. Organization of the Study

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one is introductory, comprising a statement of the problem, the objectives and organization of the study. Chapter two reviews the literature of traditional leadership and rural development. Chapter three explores the theoretical framework and methodology and data collection used in the study and indicates some limitations. Chapter four outlines the findings of the case study and the implications of the results, attempting to describe the changes between 1950 and 2007 as seen through the eyes of some of the participants. Chapter five presents a summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This section reviews the literature from studies conducted in developed and developing countries in relation to the relationship between the state and traditional leadership for rural development. The role of traditional leaders and the different stages are discussed in this chapter, from self-government (in hierarchies) before the Portuguese arrival, to integration in the colonial administration, to the incorporation in the national struggle and lastly to the banishment after independence and final recognition in 2000.

2.2. History and Development of a System of Integration of the Traditional Leadership in Rural Development in Mozambique

The integration of traditional leadership in rural development in Mozambique began to be systematized in the 1930s. During this time the colonial Portuguese government saw the need to transform the initial approach established in the 1890s in Mozambican territories when plantation agriculture, peasant production and labour migration had been institutionalized in the modern colonial system. They used a model termed “colonial pact” where the world was divided into three areas, namely one for the production of raw materials under colonial conditions, a second area for transforming the raw material and a third for consumers. This was laid down in the Colonial Act⁶.

2.2.1 The Relationship between the State and Traditional Leadership

This section of the paper discusses the relationship between the state and traditional leadership. Marxists hold that the State has functions of a technical-administrative type and of political dominance. For Marx and other scholars the state is the product and the manifestation of the irreconcilable character of the class contradictions. The State appears where and when class

⁶ The Colonial Act, published in 1930 by the Decree no. 1857 of 18 July marked the beginning of the systematization of the policies of the various Portuguese colonies. In 1933 this decree was elevated to the status of law and it was the beginning of the new political administrative structures of the colonies. The colony of Mozambique was divided into provinces administered by a governor who was under the Governor General responsible to the Minister of Colonies. There were also provincial governors and district administrators (Magode, 2004:8).

contradictions cannot be reconciled. It can also be formulated vice-versa: the existence of the State demonstrates that class contradictions are irreconcilable⁷.

The concept of tradition will be discussed in this study to provide an insight into traditional leadership. Generally, the concept of tradition is the opposite of the concept of modern. Kyed, and Buur (2006) argue that tradition emerged as a multi-faceted dimension, as an interactive historical process, which constitutes the antithesis of the equally evolving colonial state, although this also had its own traditions. According to Menezes (2005) “far from conveying an unchanging past, tradition undergoes continual renewal as new concepts are brought in or old concepts readjusted according to changing realities. Tradition is then composed of fixed principles and fluid processes of adaptation that regulate societies” (Menezes, 2005:5). The governance that operates under this concept in the rural areas is the chieftaincy and other related institutions. These authorities were seen as an important factor of cultural identity and cohesion that legitimated authority and regulated relations among the local population by administering any local conflict situations that emerged.

In order to keep their position, the traditional chiefs (*régulos*, or “small kings”) in many instances became dependent on the support of a colonial power. The colonial authorities also needed to use traditional chiefs to make their rule legitimate and effective in areas with a limited colonial administrative presence. Both the Portuguese administrators and the *régulos* retained the ability to adjust traditions to answer different individual situations (Menezes, 2005:9). Thus since the 1940s there were campaigns to make chiefs part of the literate African elite. In the 1950s, the educated elite, who also included teachers and nurses, enjoyed massive and ‘legitimate’ support from the indigenous communities, and were also used to maintain the colonial power in rural communities (Magode, 2004:26).

Although almost all the local chiefs (*régulos*) were of aristocratic lineages, a minority (less than 5%) of former civil servants appointed by colonial authorities to chief positions lacked traditional

⁷ <http://www.ourcivilisation.com/cooray/btof/chap162.htm> accessed at 21/11/08

legitimacy. Thus the colonial authorities and their retainers used their influence to pursue their own political and economic interests. In a few cases also outsiders were integrated. For example, a leader who gained his leadership position after his support of the Portuguese ‘Pacification Campaign’ was Fajuca Matebui, who was appointed to be a *Régulo* of Fumane, in 1910⁸. The area which had been part of Makwakwa territory was transferred from Panda district of Inhambane and had no traditional organization (Magode, 2004:28). The activities of traditional leadership varied from collecting the hut tax, raising work force and regulating coercive production of agricultural goods (Menezes, 2005:8). They did not represent legitimate autochthonous patterns of authority any longer, but rather were the co-optation of ruling mechanisms that had been made complex (Menezes, 2005:8).

At the beginning of the post-independence period, in the seventies, traditional leadership was abolished and replaced by centrally-appointed party cadres (Mamdani, 1996:108), ironically they were often recruited from the same social stratum of the educated elite (teachers, sometimes also catequista) related to chiefs. At the same time the powers of traditional leaders were redefined and limited to a shadow existence in the socio-political structure. The aim was mostly to extend Frelimo’s ideological influence in the rural communities by excluding traditional authorities from power.

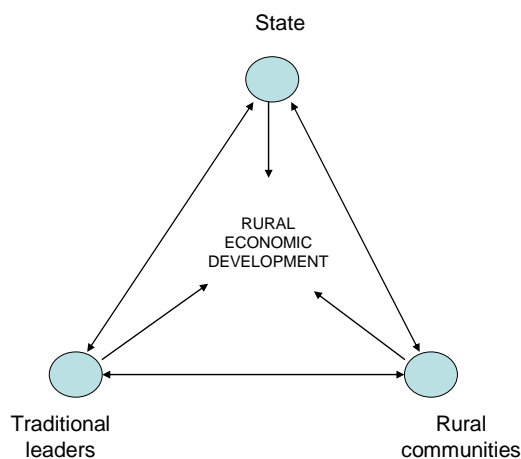
The civil war in the 1980s affected most people in the rural areas. As a consequence Renamo revived the traditional leadership in the areas under its control, while in Frelimo areas, the capacity of the state authority was weakened and in some areas traditional authorities began to re-emerge and were accepted by District Administrators. However, only a decade after the Peace Agreement in Rome ‘*Acordos Geral de Paz*’ (AGP) in 1992 the Mozambican Parliament approved new legislation that recognized traditional leadership (Menezes, 2005:10).

⁸ Fajuca Matebui did not have any kinship links with the Macuacua. However, his appointment to the chiefdom owes a lot to the good relationship that he had with the colonial authorities. He was part of the military force that fought against Ngungunyane, the last Emperor of Gaza (1894/95). Under the commandship of Sanches de Miranda he was part of the expedition to Languene on the Limpopo. After the defeat and subsequent deportation of Ngungunyane to Açores Archipelago (Portugal) F. Matebui continued to render good services by combating against all those who resisted colonial orders. It was in the light of this relation developed that earned Matebui trust and subsequent his nomination as chief in Fumane from 1910 to 1932 (Magode, 2004:28).

During the 1990s, there had been a debate among scholars concerning the role of the traditional leadership in the communities. For example, Iraê Lundin furnished arguments for the recognition of the traditional leaders by the state. They would establish a relationship that furthered social harmony and communitarian development. Lundin and Machava (1995) quoted in Cau (2004) argued that traditional leadership is an institution of the community that possesses socio-cultural virtues. On the other hand, the patriarchal or lineage model⁹ of power in Southern Mozambique might also present some challenges around issues of gender empowerment which will be discussed in this study (Lundin and Machava (1995) quoted in Cau, 2004).

The diagram below shows us the desired interaction between the state, traditional leadership and rural community in the process to achieve rural economic development.

Figure 1: Diagram demonstrating the approach of this study



Source: author's own drawing.

⁹ The patriarchal or lineage model of power assumes ascribed inequalities in the population. Only legitimate and able successors of chiefs are accepted as rulers.

2.2.2 State Intervention in Rural Development Process

This section of the chapter provides a comprehension of the general role of the state in rural development generally, and more particularly, its role in Africa, and specifically in Southern Mozambique. In order to do this, it is necessary to develop an understanding of the state and the various ways in which it has been characterised by different paradigms in the literature on rural development. The approach which draws inspiration from various strands of Marxism tends to stress the dominating and exploitative role of the state (for example Magode, 2004) whilst those more influenced by the liberal tradition tend to view the state as neutral and presiding over more or less technical processes which lead to 'development' (see for example Nelson-Richards, 1982). The challenge here will be to create a framework of analysis which draws on the strengths of both traditions. Rural development is about power, bureaucracy and domination, but it is also about the technical processes which create greater productivity and improve the lives of peasants.

The solutions attempted by African governments to the problem of rural development have not yet shown positive results. Poverty and inequality persist in the majority of rural areas and they are characterized by low standards of living. There is also a weak relationship between the central government and local traditional leaders. The majority of people live in the rural areas under traditional authorities and therefore, traditional leaders can have a significant role to play in rural economic development. On the other hand, traditional leaders can negatively influence rural development when they do not have the opportunity to discuss the real needs and priorities of their community with the authorities.

In Mozambique, state intervention in rural development processes took place in at least two different phases during the recent colonial period. In the 1950s, the state intervened in rural areas to promote the development of white settlements, mostly politically-motivated, while assistance to the native population was at first given only to those who were considered 'assimilated'

(*assimilados*¹⁰) (Covane, 2001). But it supported infrastructures for transport and also eliminated some forms of forced labour and forced cultivation with low economic returns (Hedges and Rocha 1993). In the 1960s and 1970s the approach changed and the colonial state attempted to transform African communities.

During the colonial period, traditional leadership was collaborative, either voluntary or forced by the circumstances, as we see in João Mapanguelana's leadership, which will be focused on in this study (Ch. 4). The participation in the process of construction of the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* was voluntary. In the past, other activities had been mandatory like recruitment to forced labor (*xibalo*) since the early 1900s, the production of some commercial cultures since the 1930s (e.g. cotton and rice)¹¹. The reciprocal nature of legitimacy played an important role of driving the leaders close to their communities.

During the independence process, in 1975, the state replaced the traditional leadership and created local political structures, the "dinamizing groups" (GD) - *Grupos Dinamizadores* as a type of *ad hoc* Party Committees to work with the communities.

These new structures were also involved in the organization of collective production on state farms (*machambas estatais*) and consumer and producer cooperatives (*cooperativas de produção*) as well as communal villages (*aldeias comunais*) organized around 1977 (Roesch 1986). As result of the conflict of leadership and economic interests, lack of administrative capacity and capital, many of these structures were to collapse due to the lack of support (mainly economic) and the disintegration of the markets. Poor peasants were to be wage workers on poorly run state farms or to join underfinanced cooperatives; middle peasants were to renounce

¹⁰ African people from the colonies, who followed the Portuguese cultural life style. Sumich and Honwana (2007) pointed out that *Assimilados* (assimilated) were an indigenous petty-bourgeoisie during the colonial period and they formed a tiny minority of the wider African population. One of the more common estimates puts the number of *Assimilados* at a mere 5,000, out of a population of around 8,200,000 before liberation (Mondlane 1969; Sheldon 2002 cited in Sumich and Honwana, 2007:7), compared with about 100.000 Whites, Indians and Mulattoes. The distinction between assimilated and natives was officially abolished in 1960, but continued to be applied until 1963, was reintroduced in other forms ("rural workers" for African workers) and continued to be socially relevant.

¹¹ Mostly in northern Mozambique (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983). But in the 1940s and 1950s compulsory rice and cotton cultivation was enforced in Mandlakazi and in one case even a sacred forest was cleared for **short-term** cotton cultivation (AHM, T.O. interview with José Bila and personal communication G. Liesegang, 2008).

their own status by handing over their cattle, plows, tractors, and other resources to cooperatives (Bowen, 2000: 2). In addition, the lack of a democratic community participation in decision making led to structural contradictions between the state and the peasants. Rural economic development policies were designed by the central government to be implemented by the GDs who lacked legitimacy and patrimonial power in the communities. As consequence community participation was weak. Generally the state pushed the traditional leadership to the periphery. However, Bowen (2000) noted that,

The state, consisting of many different forces and interests, did not always act as a coherent institution. State officials in rural areas often relied on diverse alliances and practices, which reflected the exigencies of survival and control, even when they contradicted official state policy. As result there were discrepancies between the central state's directives and policy implementation in rural communities. (Bowen, 2000:16)

The state prioritized big projects as a means to encourage economic development. In some cases it was thus similar to colonial policies since the population of rural areas was often not consulted and it received little attention. The agriculture sector was to be created and developed to give resources for industrialization, a common idea in socialist and non-socialist development strategies (Bowen, 2004:54). Roesch (1986) summarized:

Mozambique's communal village-based strategy of rural development has not been as successful as the government hoped. At the economic level specifically, the performance of the strategy was weak: state farms have performed poorly, the cooperative movement has remained weak, peasant agricultural production has declined, and national agricultural output as a whole has stagnated (Roesch, 1986:1).

The civil war (ca. 1982-1992 in Mandlakazi) disrupted the rural areas affecting social and economic stability. It also affected traditional leadership duties to practice regular traditional annual ceremonies. After the Rome Peace Agreements, of 1992, the state recognized the important role that could be played by rural communities in development. This is reflected in the

*Programa Nacional de Desenvolvimento Agrário*¹² (PROAGRI I) and PROAGRI II in the year 2000, which included extension activities but was also considered largely ineffective.

These initiatives were still characterized by limited local participation in the development processes. Despite the emerging perspectives at the time suggesting the benefits of forms of people-oriented development, assuring that people at the grassroots level manage their own developmental projects (Davids, 2005), thus increasing influence of citizens over their own livelihood conditions, these elements were not given significant priority. After the year 2000 the relationship between the state and traditional leadership was based on the formal re-establishment of the role of traditional leadership, but with new parameters. The difference between the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ traditional leadership is that the state during the colonial period despite controlling traditional leaders also supported their power and authority in the community. Now, according to the new rules applied to community authorities “He/she is not a representative of the state/government in the relation between the state and the community but a representative of the community in its relations with the state/government (Administrator of Mandlakazi district, Mandlakazi, interview, 02/08/06).

Currently, community participation in rural development is often weak and sometimes bypasses chiefs. Also in some areas the process of recognition and legitimization of the community leaders is mostly influenced by the two main political parties that participated in the civil war (Frelimo and Renamo). In Gaza there is almost no opposition but party membership is still important. Reviewing, we can conclude that government policies and the private sector have prioritized rural economic development as a goal for the alleviation of poverty. To reach this objective, there was a need for a ‘focal point’ in communities where people at the grassroots level can discuss and design methods to solve their developmental needs and prioritize these initiatives. Despite the different ways leaders are appointed to power, they generally constitute a ‘focal point’ in the communities. The focal point is made up by traditional leaders and their teams.

¹² National Program for Agrarian Development. Also during this period the government had another program called PARPA I and PARPA II (Plano de Accção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta) Action Plan for Alleviation of Absolute Poverty.

Rural economic development continued with weak systems of production due to the collapse of the support mechanism despite the noticeable economic growth. Traditional leaders do not have as much power as before according to the informants. But the state tried to support traditional leadership because it recognized that it has been left out in the evaluations of rural local government and governance in contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa (Ray and Reddy, 2003).

2.3 General context of the history of traditional leadership in rural areas in Mozambique

This section of the chapter analyzes the general trends of the history of traditional leadership in Africa, particularly in Mozambique. At the level of sweeping generalizations we can divide the history of leadership in rural areas of Mozambique in three phases, namely pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. For the second phase, we will consider the era from 1884/85 to 1975. This phase will further be divided into the period from the Berlin Conference (1884/1885) to the New State, *Estado Novo* (1930). During this first period (1883/1885-1930), Portuguese administration was initially limited to coastal ports and their hinterland and the Zambezi valley. Until the beginning of Portuguese colonization of the interior, towards the end of the 19th century, the people in Mozambique were not ruled by a single political authority. They lived under autonomous entities with a variety of forms of social and political organization from centralized kingdoms to dispersed smaller chieftainships and lineage and clan networks (Menezes, 2006). As a consequence of the policy of 'Effective Occupation' distilled out of the Berlin Conference between 1885 and 1890, Portugal started the politico/ military occupation or 'Pacification Campaign' that allowed her to extend its presence to all parts of the actual Mozambican territory between 1886 and 1912 and created new territorial identities.

The second period stretches from 1930 to 1964, when Frelimo started the liberation struggle. During this period, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar enforced a new form of relationship between Portugal and its colonies. The third and last period, started from 1962/4 (start of the independence struggle) to 1975 (year of the independence of Mozambique). This period is characterized by different forms of the relationships between the colonial authorities and traditional leadership and also between Frelimo and traditional leadership, which began in the liberated zones (*zonas*

libertadas). This generalization does not reflect all local particularities. Mandlakazi area was occupied in October 1895 and by the end of 1898 the borders of most of the 15 Mondlane chieftainships existing in 1974 and recreated in 2000 had been established. The liberation struggle was reflected only indirectly, but cannot be omitted, especially also because the first President of the Liberation Front, Eduardo Mondlane, elected in 1962, had been born in 1920 in Mandlakazi at Nwajahane as a son of a minor chief close to the area governed by João Mapanguelana.

2.3.1 First Phase: Colonial Period

This section shows how the Portuguese organized the administration of the Mozambican colony, specifically in the South. During the period there were traditional authorities with autonomy in the sphere of administration (politically, socially and economically) before incorporation into the colonial administration.

2.3.2 Pacification Campaign and Effective Occupation, 1884/1885-1930

Mozambique was considered a territory of Portugal from 1498 when Vasco da Gama arrived at Mozambique Island (*Ilha de Moçambique*) or from 1502 or 1505, when some forts and administrative posts were established (Mozambique Island and Sofala). For three and half centuries Portuguese administration was largely restricted to the coast, islands, the hinterland of ports like Inhambane and the Zambezi valley. When the Portuguese administration in Inhambane wanted to expand influence in 1885/6 it looked for allies and signed agreements with Binguane Mondlane and other chiefs. Ten years later Binguane's son Xipenenyane (Espadanyane), then a refugee, helped against Ngungunyane, the head of the Gaza state during the 1895 occupation campaign (Cumbe, 2000:47). One of the most significant objectives of the Portuguese colonialists in the South was the capture of Ngungunyane, which occurred in 1895 (Magode, 2004).

The 'Pacification Campaign' ended around 1897 when the major focuses of resistance by African authorities had been dismantled in the South (Liesegang, 1996). The Portuguese obtained victory and were able to extend control over Southern Mozambique and introduced an administrative unit

called ‘military district’ (*Distrito Militar de Gaza*) that was controlled by Portuguese military officials. In the process, they discharged the most powerful traditional leaders and allies like Xipenyane Mondlane, who had collaborated in 1895-97, and subdivided his chiefdom amongst his relatives from the same clan who had been local village heads. In the case of Xipenyane this happened when a new governor came. It was probably to show that the allies of the Portuguese were no longer allies, but a distinct group of subjects. This marked the beginning of the incorporation of traditional leadership in the colonial administration. According to Saul, (1985) Portugal began to transform Mozambique’s territories and pre-capitalist societies in a much more fundamental way towards the end of the nineteenth century. For Mandlakazi this meant paying taxes in British Pounds (obtained through labor migration) to the state.

2.3.3 Salazar’s Estado Novo (New State), 1930-1962

The Colonial Act of 1933 marked the beginning of a new systematization of colonial policies (Magode, 2004:7). As a result, in the 1930’s a uniform pattern of administrative division was imposed on the colonies of Portugal. In 1934, the Province of Sul de Save (South of the river Save) was created which contained the Districts of Lourenço Marques (now parts of Maputo and the Gaza Provinces) and Inhambane. In 1954 Marcelo Caetano summarized the fundamental Portuguese premise when he said that, “the natives of Africa must be directed and organized by Europeans but are indispensable as auxiliaries. The blacks must be seen as productive elements organized or to be organized in an economy directed by whites” (quoted in Saul, 1985:41).

In the public administration, Portugal divided the colonies into two types of settlements: urban and peri-urban areas with Europeans and *assimilados*, mulattoes and often 80% or more African workers (often migrants) and rural areas mostly inhabited by Africans. In the African areas, hierarchies of African chiefs assisted these Portuguese bureaucrats and were divided into *régulos*, (senior African chiefs, who after 1962 were called *regedores*) and *cabos*, the junior chiefs (Bowen, 2000:69). Some of the administrative activities were commanded by the Europeans (administrator, *chefe de posto*) but were executed by the traditional leaders. The activities include taking annual population census, tax collection, implementation of the labor laws, supervision of peasant agriculture, and punishment of minor infractions of the law. These activities clearly

indicate the incorporation of traditional leadership in rural economic development. According to Bowen (2000), traditional leaders, holders of political office were incorporated into a structure of colonial administration, which made their customary position more dependent on the state rather than on their followers' support. As part of the colonial apparatus, they received a salary for the day-to-day management of the chieftainships and for assisting the sub-administrator with his specific duties (Bowen, 2000:69).

Bowen argues that the colonial economy was also integrated into the international division of labour as a producer of primary products, provider of services (i.e., transport and tourism) and a labour source for South Africa. In the South African mining industry from 1950 to 1975 approximately 100,000 men from Southern Mozambique per year were registered. The importance role of the emigrant labour force was two-fold, labour utilization and foreign exchange earnings¹³.

Despite Mozambique remaining rural, in 1970, agriculture represented over 40% of the gross national product (GNP) and employed 70% of the active labour force. This active labour force was divided in two sectors – traditional subsistence agriculture and commercial enterprise agriculture¹⁴. The two sectors were working in an area of about 5 million hectares or 6.23 % of the calculated 80 million hectares of agricultural land. To run the system there was a need for leaders to organize the population in the countryside. Furthermore, there had also appeared the need to incorporate traditional leadership into the colonial administration's rural economic development plans (Bowen, 2004:4).

During the period 1962-1975 when Frelimo organized the liberation struggle against colonial Portuguese authorities, two forms of integration of traditional leadership were supported. The colonial authorities continued to incorporate traditional leadership based on customary rights or having a convenient relationship with the said leaders. During the 1960's they abolished the

¹³ By 1970 obligatory deferred payments of miners' wages amounted to about 4 % of foreign exchange earnings of Mozambique, Bowen, 2000:28.

¹⁴ Family agriculture consisting of peasant landholdings and commercial enterprise agriculture included plantations, large estates, and settler farms.

indigenato and gave Africans access to universal electoral processes controlled by the colonial administration (Magode, 2004: 22-23). The colonial authorities believed that, by providing increased assistance¹⁵ and reducing discrimination to the upper stratum of traditional leadership and some privileged peasants, they could contain some popular movement for independence led by Frelimo, among the rural population. According to Menezes (2004:4) the responses of the traditional authorities to the national liberation struggle was that there were those who supported the guerillas of Frelimo (with food, logistical support, etc) and those who collaborated with the colonial authorities.

On the other hand, Frelimo, with the appearance of the liberated zones, gave some traditional authorities and other civilian leaders the role of organizing the civil population in the transportation of food contributions from the peasants to the guerrillas and of war material for the guerillas, and to solve any social problems and disputes. As result of the war, there was a need for the traditional authorities to be controlled by (the often young) guerrillas, who had to be able to protect the population.

After about four years the relationship between Frelimo and the traditional leaders in the north began to demonstrate ideological and social tensions. The traditional leaders began to refuse to give up their privileges gained over time and refused any equality between men and women. This seems to have been a general tendency in the country. Bowen (2000) observes that also elsewhere men had attempted to prevent women from holding positions of traditional administrative power¹⁶. In reaction to this, Frelimo leadership decided that all traditional leaders must renounce

¹⁵ According to Cau, 2004, the colonial authorities gave subsidies (money) and uniforms. Some chiefs also received better housing conditions in recognition of their services and as a way of increasing their prestige. Despite privileges, the traditional authorities also continued to require payments in goods, coin or labour services from the peasants to themselves (Covane, 2001, cited in Cau, 2004:22). Traditional authorities forced their subjects to work for them, including beating them (Hedges and Rocha, 1993 and Manghezi, 2003a cited in Cau, 2004: 24).

¹⁶ In that case, Bowen gives us an example described in the memo dated February 23, 1961 sent from the district secretary of civil administration of the Lourenco Marques District to all administrative divisions, a succession process was described whereby the population of an unnamed locality in the district chose a women over two male candidates to succeed the deceased *regulo* who had left no legitimate heirs: *It is determined by order of his Excellency the Governor of the District as given in the despatch of 3rd day of the current month (March) that whatever the circumstances in the future, be it verified that the preparatory acts of succession and investiture of the native authorities will be carried out in a manner that women will never be able to come to be designated to the position of regulo*" (Bowen, 2000:70). (But this was not the end of the story. After dissent in the administration, a

their privileges and be accepted into the movement (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983 cited in Cau, 2004). This situation marked the beginning of the conflict between traditional leadership and Frelimo that would only end after independence.

2.4 Post-colonial policies for rural economic development

This section discusses the issues regarding the developmental policies adopted by the Mozambican government in the post-independence period. In addition, an analysis of the main economic decisions that affected the agriculture and the main activity in rural areas amongst others are considered.

2.4.1 Second Phase: Post-Colonial

The following two sub-sections (2.5.2-2.5.3) on the second phase look at the relationship between Frelimo and traditional leadership that varied from abolition to recognition. An attempt is also made to investigate the main economic policies implemented in Mozambique by the government during this period.

2.4.2 Centralized Economy and the Abolition of the Traditional Leadership, 1975-1983

The post-colonial period is marked from 1975 after independence when the Frelimo Party came to power (after a transition process which started in September 1974) until 2000, when by Decree 15/2000 traditional authorities were recognized. From 1975, the main decisions concerning political and economic issues were made by the Frelimo Party. In 1977, Frelimo held the Third Congress and self-proclaimed itself to be a Marxist-Leninist Party and advanced a socialist program for development in Mozambique (Adam, 1996: 89). Some of the main economic and social decisions adopted in that congress were to transform agriculture, to provide resources for industrialization, the organization of the peasant's farmers in cooperatives and state farms, and the eventual collectivization of family and smallholder agriculture and peasant farmers, to be

female chief in Javanhane (Chibuto) succeeded and thus by 1969 Gaza had at least two female chiefs among over 200 male ones, the second being Queen Facazisse near Magude, who was to pass to Lourenço Marques the following year. (Note G.Liesegang 2008)

employed on mechanized state farms or on semi-mechanized producer cooperatives. The labor force for the state farms and cooperatives was to come from communal villages, where the rural population would be concentrated (Bowen, 2000: 54).

Saul (1985) derives this policy from decisions taken during the armed struggle, when "...Frelimo.... came to commit themselves to people-relevant programs in all the spheres where development in the liberated areas touched peoples lives (education, health, and the like); they came to grasp the merits of collective solutions to economic problems, specifically in the agricultural and distributions spheres" Saul (1985:10).

Bowen (2000) also makes the point that this strategy of agricultural development dependent on Modernization through mechanization was not different from other third-world countries. In attempts to promote economic development it identified agricultural development with mechanization, almost importing a strand of non-Marxist agricultural Modernization theory. Frelimo's decision to pursue this strategy rested on a particular notion of socialist development that prioritized state farms and depreciated peasant farms (Bowen, 2000:48). It adopted a centralized and a socialist perspective. This socialist perspective informed its future policy, including policies on traditional authorities (Bowen, 2000:48).

According to Roesch (1992) and Cau (2004), traditional authorities were accused of having collaborated with colonialists and of practicing exploitative actions (such as payments of tributes and monetary contributions to them) and feudal practices (such as forcing their subjects to cultivate the traditional leader's land). The "tribal" institutions that supported traditional authorities were seen as embodying divisions which mobilized against the project of building national unity (Cau, 2004). Therefore, it was argued that it had to be suppressed in order to build the Mozambican nation: "[w]e killed the tribe to give birth to the nation. This is not a nation of tribes; it is not a nation of races" (Machel, 1985:77 cited in Cau, 2004). This quotation of the first president of independent Mozambique, Samora Machel, illustrates the understanding that tribalism is connected to traditional authorities and associated with "divisionism"; as a result traditional authorities were abolished. In addition traditional leaders were seen as a vestige of feudal classes and exploitation of man by man. Moreover such practices were held to be negative in the new

society that the government was intending to build - a society free of exploitation, feudalism and free of undemocratic hereditary institutions of traditional authority.

By traditional authorities, the government was particularly referring to the heads of chieftaincies (*régulos*). But it could be argued that it also referred to heads of villages and heads of lineages since they were part of the traditional authority institution and part of the chieftaincy (*regulado*) body. The economic crisis during 1974/75 characterized by the departure of white settlers, including owners of rural shops, factories and workshops and an illegal export of capital of \$360 millions may have reinforced (but also have been caused by) Frelimo leadership's decision to implement a socialist strategy of development in both industry and agriculture (Bowen, 2000).

By 1983 Frelimo's Fourth Congress made some shifts in the political and economic directions of the country. During this time it became evident that hyper-centralization and excessive bureaucratization were dangers attendant upon this kind of planning and that a measure of devolution and a further democratization of economic decision-making, and even an extended utilization of the market mechanism, were in order (Saul, 1985). In support of this position Bowen (2000) states that there is a consensus among scholars that Frelimo's agrarian policy during this period was a dismal failure, both economically and politically. However, it is necessary to note that the strategy adopted by Frelimo was that foreign donors until the 1980s - both socialist and capitalist¹⁷ - supported the strategy course chosen by Mozambican leaders, as they preferred to finance large scale, capital intensive agriculture for ideological and economic reasons (Bowen, 2000:48).

At that Fourth Congress in 1983 Frelimo officially recognized the high political and economic costs of concentrating investments in the state sector¹⁸ while ignoring the cooperative and family sector, and decided to reallocate some resources from the state sector to the private sector

¹⁷ Frelimo held foreign 'donors' at bay until the emergency in the 1980s. The first phase was much more influenced ideologically by 'Eastern bloc' models. The model of state farm was the Soviet one.

¹⁸ According to Bowen, despite the financial investment and human resources that went into the State agricultural sector, the huge farms failed to meet the very pressing economic needs of the country. In 1981 the Ministry of Agriculture admitted that not one state farm was profitable (Bowen, 2000:58).

including subsistence farming and cooperatives. The government began to dismantle state farms and redistribute some land to the peasants and the private sector, shift in emphasis away from large-scale, capital intensive projects, toward small-scale local projects based on appropriate technologies, both in agriculture and manufacturing. State institutions were aimed at providing much greater support to the cooperative, subsistence farming and the private sector; improvement of the rural marketing system and the supply of consumer and producer goods for local consumption (Bowen, 2000:59). This decision was made, as a result of the war spreading in the South, Zambézia and Nampula, disruption of the rural production, displacement of population and widespread food shortages and mass starvation in some areas.

2.4.3 From Free Market to Official Recognition of the Traditional Leadership, 1983-2000

According to Adam (1996) the development strategies applied between 1975 and 1990 presented contradictory features. The policies applied after 1979 altered the basic assumptions of the previous strategy of full socialism, adopted after the Third Frelimo Congress in 1977, which nevertheless continued to be presented as an obligatory reference to justify the system and identity the party. However, three years after the changes were adopted in the Fourth Congress in 1983, Mozambique started to apply an economic strategy based on the free market, which was seen as the regulator of the economy (Adam, 1996: 89-90). Prices were set by supply and demand (Idem). The government also began to dismantle even the small reorganized state farms in Gaza and in some areas to redistribute their land to peasants and private farmers, not without resistance from some government members who felt that they ought to gain some advantages from the situation (which they did in some areas). The context of these changes is attributed to state bankruptcy caused by the civil war and the attacks from the Apartheid regime in South Africa. In that context, in 1984 the Frelimo government was forced to sign the Incomati Agreement¹⁹ before going to the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) for assistance (Kyed and Buur 2006).

¹⁹ In 1984, Mozambique signed a nonaggression pact (the Incomati accord) with South Africa; the terms of the pact prohibited South African support of Renamo and Mozambican support of the African National Congress.

The economic situation in the country then deteriorated even more until 1992, mainly because of the civil war waged by Renamo forces, especially in the countryside. The government had declared '1980-1990' a 'decade of development' aimed at ensuring that Mozambique would be transformed into a developed industrial country by 1990. However, those aims were not reached because of the collapse of the national market between the cities and rural areas and growing economic destruction by the civil war. Exports became less and less able to contribute to financing the import needs (Bowen, 2000: 57-58; Adam, 1996: 93).

There was a consensus of Mozambican intellectuals that development strategies were not sustainable socially and politically because they did not consider the heterogeneous social, economic and political reality of Mozambique and went against the interests of those very peasants and workers whom Frelimo regarded as the social basis of the Revolution. The post-colonial development strategies were generally formulated from an ideological or political standpoint, which were of the Frelimo party, considering that it was the only one party officially recognized by the first Constitution. Also Frelimo's support for the Zimbabwe national liberation struggle until 1980 followed by the anti-Apartheid engagement thereafter carried costs that were neither totally foreseen nor balanced by foreign aid. Options for development were chosen after political decisions were taken. Development decisions were taken at the political level and by political leaders (Adam, 1996: 90, 91).

The general context that led to a shift concerning traditional leaders that was ended by the Decree 15/2000 can be described in four points. Geffray (1991) in Menezes (2000) note that the banning of traditional leaders by Frelimo had caused the state to lose its legitimacy and Renamo, in turn, gained support in rural areas. Secondly, after the death of Samora Machel in 1986, we witnessed debates around the country in the initiative of the new president Joaquim Chissano and some of his cabinet ministers. Those debates were on the importance of traditional leadership in state administration. In 1991, the Ministry of State Administration (MAE) launched a comprehensive

donor-founded study²⁰ of traditional authorities. Thirdly, Frelimo continued to be influenced by internal divisions concerning the role of traditional leaders in governance. In fact, this led to a temporary impasse in the negotiations of the General Peace Agreement (AGP) of 1992. Fourthly and lastly, there was donor pressure for decentralization. Renamo advocated the return to traditional leadership as part of its political program, which contributed a lot to its 1994 electoral victory in many rural zones. All of this favoured change among the Frelimo leadership regarding this issue (Menezes, 2006:570).

Kyed and Buur (2006) argue that,

The Decree 15/2000 dramatically revoked more than 20 years of the official exclusion of 'traditional authorities' from public life. For the first time since the independence of 1975, the Mozambican state officially recognized these authorities²¹ under the catch-all term 'community authorities'. But this term also includes the *secretários de bairro*- leaders Frelimo used to replace traditional authorities at independence- and 'other leaders' that a given community authorities might find legitimate (Kyed and Buur 2006:564).

The Decree²² aimed at reclaiming the legitimacy of the state and expanding administrative control over the rural zones of the nation and also to establish communication between the state and the traditional authorities, promising to boost the participation of the rural population in administration and rural development (Kyed and Bur, 2006).

The implementation of the Decree 15/2000 took two steps namely the process of recognition of the local leader by the community and the formal official legitimization by the state. As

²⁰ The study and the workshop resulted in five brochures for the education of state functionaries on the 'role of traditional authorities', as well as a two-volume MAE publication on *Traditional Power and Authority*, (Kyed and Bur, 2006:571).

²¹ Despite that fact, the state and officials have used the recognition process of community authorities both to threaten and to discursively include or exclude sections of the population based on allegiance to either of the former enemies, Renamo and Frelimo, (Kyed and Buur, 2006:565).

²² For many reasons the Decree was seen as part of Frelimo's political strategy to mobilize its constituency before the elections of December 2004.

consequence, there were “by mid- 2003, more than 13.500²³ legitimately²⁴ indicated leaders from rural and urban communities. Of these, about a thousand and an half (10.7% to be exact) had been, by then, begotten by the state as the official leaders” (Menezes, 2006:21). Nevertheless, these authorities are not recognized by the government as part of the state apparatus. They are not entitled to salaries paid by the state. Instead, the state allows them to retain up to 5% of the percentage of the taxes collected by them from the community members, as a form of supporting their activities (Menezes, 2006:21, 22).

A weakness of the Decree 15/2000, as pointed out by Kyed and Buur (2006), is its conception of traditional leadership – “those persons who exert leadership in accordance with the traditional rules of the respective community”. This definition left open questions concerning which traditional rules could be applied in which community. Other issues regarding spiritual knowledge, the succession line, historical claims to territory and age emerged as people argued about the leadership criteria. These conflicts of leadership shared two main characteristics: firstly, different criteria for leadership were hardly ever mutually exclusive, and, secondly, a small group of people habitually determined ‘tradition’ for the entire group (Kyed and Buur, 2006:575).

Conversely, despite all the weaknesses of the Decree 15/2000, experienced since its implementation, the state, donor organizations, and the private sector began to operate through community authorities in rural and urban areas, to provide training and all other activities for rural economic development. However, some traditional authorities took advantage of the lack of ‘checks and balances’ to avoid being held accountable²⁵ to the community. It is important to observe that Mozambique does not stand alone here. Ntsebeza (2004) gives a South African

²³ Kyed and Buur (2006) refer recognitions of a little over 4,000 communities authorities more or less equally distributed between the categories of traditional leaders and *secretarios de bairro*.

²⁴ Legitimacy is ‘the condition of being in accordance with law or principle...conformity to sound reasoning...authenticity and genuineness’ (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary 2000:734-35).

²⁵ The concept of accountability means a mechanism by which individual and organizations report to a recognized authority and are held responsible for their actions’ (Edwards and Hulme, 1996:967). Both leaders and subordinates in public and private organizations seek to avoid accountability. Effective accountability requires a statement of goals, transparency of decision making and relationships, honest reporting of what resources have been used and what has been achieved, an appraisal process for the supervising authorities to evaluate whether results are satisfactory and concrete mechanisms for holding to account those responsible for performance (Edwards and Hulme, 1996:967).

example of the lack of accountability in traditional leadership, for land distribution, concessions and illegal taxation, etc²⁶. Situations like this, and including the embezzling of funds, were also experienced in Mozambique before and after independence.

2.5 Summary

This section of the study is based on a review of the literature. It also includes a comprehensive discussion on the relationship between the state and traditional leadership in rural development from the colonial period to after 2000. In this regard, the main economic policies used in Mozambique were centered initially on socialization and mechanization in rural areas. In Mandlakazi this meant communal villages and cooperatives. It also meant the end of a special role for traditional chiefs and the introduction of party structures.

²⁶ Ntsebeza says that “there are basically two forms of violations: allocating land without going through the procedure, and illegal taxation. Traditional authorities abused their power by charging unauthorized fees to applicants in the ‘rights of the great palace’ (*iimfanelo zakomkhulu*). These included alcohol, poultry, sheep, and even an ox. This practice reached its zenith in the early 1990s when, for instance, some cottage sites were illegally allocated to some ‘whites’ along the Wild Coast in the Transkei” (Ntsebeza, 2004:78).

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents general theories and debates of traditional leadership and rural development in Third World countries, more specifically in Africa. The chapter then proceeds to look at the specific literature on traditional leadership, its legitimization and rural development. In addition issues regarding method and data collection for this study are also discussed in these final sections of the chapter.

3.2 General Theories and Debates on Rural Development

This section of the paper discusses some development²⁷ theories related specifically to developing countries during the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st Century. The purpose of discussing these theories is to come up with ways to achieve development in the country.

According to Davids (2005), “Modernization Theory is a description and explanation of the processes of transformation from traditional or underdeveloped societies to modern societies”. The Modernization Theory in particular was criticized because of the use of terms “traditional” and “modern” which were considered to be rather too vague as classifications of distinct societies. In addition other criticisms stated that the theory emanated from neo-colonialism. Davids (2005) cited Nkrumah in

²⁷ Sen (1988) characterized the difficulties with the concept of development. One of the difficulties in adequately characterizing the concept of development arises from the essential role of evaluation in that concept. “What is or is not regarded as a case of “development” depends inescapably on the notion of what things are valuable to promote. The dependence of the concept of development on evaluations becomes a problem to the extent that 1) the valuation functions accepted by different people differ from each other, and 2) the process of change involved in development alters the valuations of the people involved. These two problems may be called respectively “value-heterogeneity” and “value-endogeneity”” (Sen: 1988:20, quoted by Adam, 1996:70). Galson and Baehler, 1996, consider development a normative concept- a set of goals and processes that are (or are thought to be) positively related to individual and social well-being. However, a significant point is that to advocate development is to favour change. Development alters the status quo; it will therefore be opposed by those who are satisfied with, or benefit directly from, the current state of affairs, or who believe that any alteration is likely to be a detriment (Galson and Baehler, 1996:23).

the early 1960s, who argued that “the essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is in theory, independent and has all the trappings of international sovereignty”.

The Dependency theory also has widespread defenders and critics. The neo-Marxists defended the theory by asserting that development implies the gaining of real national independence and self-centered economic progress. Furthermore, they considered that the colonial powers and imperialism had actively underdeveloped the Third World and impeded independent development. The political decolonization did not change this in any essential respect (Martinussen, 1997:39). Neo-Marxist theorists, however, argue that “the underdevelopment of LDC’s is caused primarily by the actions of capitalists from developed countries that deliberately control and manipulate world markets to their benefit and to the detriment of the LDC’s” (Davids, 2005:15; Mamdani, 1996:9).

According to the World Bank (1997), most developing countries in the Middle East, Asia and Africa came out of colonialism with a strong belief in state-dominated economic recovery strategy. The State mobilizes people and resources, and directs them towards fast growth and eradication of social unfairness. Mozambique, likewise, advocated this postwar model of state-dominated, import-substituting industrialization (World Bank, 1997:23). As Bowen (2000), noted after the Third Party Congress in 1977, the Frelimo government, in line with Mozambique’s socialist program for development, came to a decision that: agriculture should be developed to provide resources for industrialization, and peasant farmers had to be organized in cooperatives. In addition family or small-holder’s agriculture were to be collectivized, peasant farmers were to be employed on mechanized state farms and cooperatives and the labour force was to come from communal villages, where the rural population would be concentrated.

According to Davids (2005) criticisms of the Dependency theory fall into three main categories: First, the Dependency theory focuses more on external factors that explain the underdevelopment of LDCs. Second, the “de-linking strategy” proposed by the Dependency theory in order to overcome the underdevelopment could, if implemented by LDCs, leads to self-destruction rather than self-reliance, given the size of the markets necessary for modern economies. The proposal that LDCs can promote some form of collective self-reliance through the formation of free trade

associations among themselves does not always guarantee the technology and capital input necessary. Third, the Dependency theory's advocating of socialism in less-developed capitalist countries has been criticized by those who believe that the transition from a capitalist system to a socialist system would create more social problems rather than solve them (Davids, 2005:16).

Development theories encountered problems of application from the 1950s to 1980s. Both capitalist and socialist countries were confronted with persistent and recurrent combinations of high inflation, fall of agricultural prices, severe unemployment and slow economic growth. The real world that supposedly formed the basis of this development discourse had changed, and both paradigms became irrelevant (Davids, 2005:17). According to Jeppe (1990) cited in Davids (2005:17) "the new human orientation of development, in the late 1980s, saw a shift from the macro-theorists of Modernization and Dependency to a micro-approach focused on people and community". In support of this position Davids (2005) noted that in the 1990's, the focus of development was based on a "people-centered development" approach where people were given power to decide for themselves what a "better life" represents. Furthermore, "development about people implies that people are the most important role players in their own development" (Davids, 2005:31). In addition it was argued that the state lacked transparency and accountability to the communities. If we were to use Davids' (2005) "people-centered development" approach in our case study, traditional leaders would play an important role as a focal point for the community by receiving and giving guidance on better ways to reach development, according to the priorities of the local population.

3.3 Traditional Leadership and Rural²⁸ Development

In this subchapter we discuss the legitimization of traditional leadership and attempt to link rural leaders to development theories. Legitimization was discussed by the sociologist Max Weber. He argued that the rule of leaders is maintained either by force or ideological legitimization or a combination thereof. The strongest leaders rely on legitimacy while force or the threat of force is used only when legitimacy fails. Underwood and Jabre (2005) summarize Weber's position:

There are three types of legitimacy or authority. Traditional authority is justified by the society's belief in the sanctity of age-old tradition and is exemplified by the patriarch. Rational-legal authority is established on instrumentally rational grounds, where rules have been contractually established and merit and abstract equality are emphasized. This type of authority resides in bureaucratically dominated societies. Bureaucratic and patriarchal structures, which are characterized by permanence, are set apart from charismatic authority, which is transitory since it rests on the unique attributes of the charismatic leader (Underwood and Jabre, 2005).

The type of patriarchal or lineage structure which we found in pre-colonial Mozambique fall in the category described by Weber as Patrimonialism. Patrimonialism is a system which comprises aristocratic lineage and feudal structures in different parts of the world (Pers. Communication and comment by G. Liesegang, 2008). It is generally accompanied by the conviction that only certain aristocratic lineages are fit to rule. In analyzing the process of traditional leadership in Mozambique, we assume that it functioned on the basis of the Patrimonialism paradigm. "The social prestige that the chiefs and their relatives have is typical attributes of patrimonial inheritance. However, its preservation requires the adaptation to a different contextual system of changes and the renewal of networks in both the internal and external relationships of clientilism" (Magode, 2004:18).

²⁸ Rural place is ideally defined by its three fundamental characteristics: first, is a *relation to nature*, in which the human use of natural objects and processes is guided by notions of balance, affection, and care. Earth, water, and other resources are all reshaped by human contrivance, but with a steady awareness of their limits and of the need to ensure their continued existence over time; second, a *relation to other human beings*, in which individuals as families come to know one another intimately, assist one another in time of need, and trust one another enough to cooperate in pursuit of goals that cannot be attained through solitary endeavor; third, a *relation to history*. Rural places enjoy a special stability over time. Not only do neighbors come to know one another well, but children can expect to take their parents' place in the community and to live and die where they were born. Individuals are linked to their place, and to each other, by narratives of family and community (Galson and Baehler, 1996:3).

The legitimacy approach contends that the power of the chiefs and their subordinates is based on a very controversial pre-supposition: their ascendance to power is validated by patrimonial succession rights, generally combined with good relations with the colonial or other modern state authorities (Magode, 2004:18).

Between the 1940s and the 1960s, there were signs of incomplete change, but succession to chieftainship continued to be governed by the unwritten rules of customary law as regulated by the colonial authorities. In the cases where these rules could not be applied due to lack of an eligible successor, the principle of elections was introduced. Adult males from the chiefdom were the electors (Magode, 2001:23). João Mapanguelana Mondlane, the subject of this case study, being part of the aristocratic social stratum, came to occupy the position of chief through such an election process. Selection processes for traditional authorities since 2001 were often similar. The weakness of insisting on patrimonial legitimacy as the only means of furthering development is that we ignore the potential role of young people and women in the leadership sphere. Another problem is that it gives prominence only to the kinship links and to wealth.

These class structures and concepts of legitimacy have to be considered when we discuss people centered development approaches. People-centered development theory claims that people do effectively manage their own development at the micro and macro-level since this is the only way genuine progress and improvements can be attained. In the state sphere, development workers should try to learn directly from the rural people, try to understand their knowledge systems, and elicit their technical knowledge. Therefore the system of governance should be reversed. Authoritarian and hierarchical structures and procedures should be replaced by arrangements which shift power and initiatives downwards and outwards (Martinussen, 2004:333).

Some development strategies linked to people-centered development theory contend that development managed by people themselves in the Third World would imply a more reduced

role for international organizations and governments of the rich countries²⁹. By increasing influence for citizens over their own livelihood conditions would also stimulate, more than anything else, their willingness to take greater responsibility and make self-sacrifices to the benefit of socially-based development (Martinussen, 2004:337). Traditional leaders could stimulate and organize the participation of the people. The long-term goal of these development strategies is to initiate and sustain a process through which basic human needs are satisfied at increasing levels. These needs are not just material, but also social, political and cultural (Martinussen, 1997:340).

In order to provide some insights into the nature of relationships between different actors in the Mozambican countryside it will be important to examine them through frameworks such as those used in political economy. Political economy places considerable emphasis on the exercise of power and on the resulting conflicts that characterize communities and their environments.

3.4 Methods and data collection

This study utilizes the Problem Oriented Research technique. Problem Oriented Research is a technique which recognizes and defends the need for a dynamic relationship between the choice of the research theme, data collection and analysis, and the writing up process. The inter-relationship contributes towards a systematic use of existing data and the redefinition of the theme during the course of the research work (Adam, 1996:16).

The data for this study were collected through interviews which were held by the author of this dissertation during three visits spending 7 - 9 days in the field between 2006 and 2008 on each occasion.

²⁹ When the approach was first introduced in the 1980s, NGOs tried to point out that the unproductive gatekeeper role of the state authorities would be reduced, but it is now recognized that a functioning state with qualified agents is a necessity.

3.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

The study used qualitative methods, with semi-structured interviews for key informants, in the village cluster who participated in the '*Aldeia das Laranjeira* project and for other key informants who did not participate in the project. In order to study the leadership skills, 10 semi-structured interviews and 2 collective interviews were conducted with key informants, traditional leaders and officials of the administration. The interviews were conducted in three phases. The first and second phases of interviews were held between July 2006 and August 2007 respectively. However, during the process of writing up noted some gaps in the data collected and a third phase of interviews was held between July and August in 2008. On each visit I stayed 7 - 9 days in the field. A guide containing the main topics and questions was used. The guide was fundamental in orienting the dialogue with interviewees and in helping to organize and analyze the collected information.

The interview method was also used in the village cluster, to gather information from the population in the villages. The data collected related to the economic and social benefits for the populations joined in the '*Aldeia das Laranjeiras*' project, and a comparison with one neighboring community which was not part of the project.

3.4.2 Observation

The study also used observations to collect data, by taking into account the social and economic activities in the households at different periods of time. Archives and other written documentation were also used to collect data useful for analysis.

3.4.3 Primary sources

For the historical part in particular, archival colonial documents were used. Unfortunately I did not have time to screen all the documentation in the Gaza and Central Government archives in the Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (Historical Archives of Mozambique) for more data. Some primary sources of information from the colonial period such as correspondences of the

traditional authorities with colonial officials and letters of colonial administrators were found there. None of these refers specifically to the settlement and cooperative.

3.4.4 Secondary sources

Secondary sources used include books, journal articles, reports, newspapers, a thesis and the recollections of an earlier researcher, G. Liesegang, now a colleague at Eduardo Mondlane University. These sources were found in different places in Mozambique and South Africa. In Mozambique, a special mention is made to the Library of the Centre of African Studies (Centro de Estudos Africanos – CEA) of the Eduardo Mondlane University and again, to the Historical Archives of Mozambique (which provides colonial studies related to the traditional authorities).

3.4.5 The choice of case study

Case studies allow for in-depth study from a variety of perspectives, of a community- or other unit of study- embedded in its unique context, at a specific point of time. They can yield rich findings which reveal new insights about the phenomenon under investigation (Tellis, 1997). The aim of the case study is to focus on relationships and processes, and the interconnections that occur, within one finite case example. This particular study aims to use the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* as an example of the action of a patrimonial structure in the implementation of rural economic development. A potential weakness is that a case may be too particular and the findings of limited relevance to other situations. This can be countered by not focusing too narrowly on the individual-ness of the case, and remaining aware of the wider context within which it nestles (Tellis, 1997).

3.4.6 Qualitative focus

In the case study I will be employ a qualitative and structural research approach research which will be primarily based on a background literature search for information and recent debates on the relationship between traditional leadership, the state and rural economic development. Qualitative research aims to focus on providing understanding for trends rather than predicting or

controlling phenomena, exploring issues and findings which lead to a sociological or historical understanding for current phenomena.

3.4.7 Limitations of Data and Research Strategy

The study is restricted in its scope since it is a Master's dissertation, and therefore could only cover certain aspects of a much broader issue. Secondly, access to secondary information was limited, specifically documents or books related to Mozambique during the post-independence period as a result of the civil war, particularly economic statistical data.

Considering the fact that Mozambique is a poorly resourced country, this situation limited my access to up-to-date secondary literature, as well as more historical documents. Despite these difficulties, substantial literature in South Africa and Mozambican libraries was accessed and utilized in this study. Supervisors and colleagues at Eduardo Mondlane University also provided material that helped to overcome this gap. Thirdly, a key limitation had to do with language both in doing research and writing. Portuguese is Mozambique's official language, but the dissertation is written in English. Additionally, during fieldwork people were interviewed in *Changana* and *Chopi* (indigenous) languages and these had to be translated to Portuguese and then to English. In this process, it is possible that some useful information might have been lost. My supervisors also helped to overcome several other language-related limitations.

3.5 Summary

In conclusion this chapter of the study presents a comprehensive discussion of the development and traditional leadership theories. In addition the different methods used and the limitation are also presented.

CHAPTER FOUR: FIELD RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSES

CASE STUDY: *ALDEIA DAS LARANJEIRAS* IN MANDLAKAZI

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings obtained from the analysis of field results based on interview data, personal perceptions of the author and the readings. Although the main goal of the study is to analyze the relationship between traditional leadership and the state for rural economic development, other aspects apart from the mere social and economic impacts in rural areas are also analyzed in this section. The questions were organized in chronological order, according to the different themes (from general questionnaire, questionnaire to traditional leadership and key informants in selected households) to present a clearer view of the local processes.

Apart from other issues this chapter will describe three main chronological periods (1950s-1975; 1975-2000 and 2000 onwards). In the first period the issues presented are the internal and external factors (and institutions) which are part of the creation of the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras*. The description of the second period intends to give the readers the institutional structural situation in local administration after the abolition of traditional leadership. The third period presents the current institutional and economic issues. These are seen against the background of changes from the colonial to the post colonial period. The analysis of the role of Traditional Leadership in development will be subdivided according to themes.

4.2 The creation of *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* and Systems of Traditional Leadership in the late colonial period, 1950s to 1975

Especially, from the 1940s onwards, Portugal provided incentives for middle and wealthier peasants to grow maize, rice and wheat for the market in a further effort to reduce the colony's dependency on imported staple food. Also they tried to introduce new forms of property for selected strata of the peasantry, thus attempting to stabilize social changes which were already observed in the 1910s and 20s (Bowen, 2000:29). Cooperatives were stimulated for specialized peasant producers in cotton-growing areas in Cabo Delgado and in areas of the South, like in Zandamela (Bowen, 2000:29). The colonial government was involved in an effort to finance and give technical assistance to the project "orange tree settlement". In this case the peasants selected were to stay in the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* and not to migrate elsewhere to increase their income.

The *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* was built in 1960 as a combined effort of traditional leaders and the state which was represented by the *Brigada de Fomento Agrário*. According to the respondents, the agreement between the two parts was that the state financed the project using a form of loans and the traditional leaders would locate the peasants who would accept to live in the settlement and dedicate their time to agriculture. There was control over the effectiveness of the cooperation. Each peasant signed a contract with the *Brigada de Fixação de Populações Rurais* to receive a house valued at 2,000\$00 (two thousand escudos) to be paid off in seven yearly installments of 300\$00 (three hundred Escudos).

Subsequent to the building of this settlement, five more villages were set up in the area. The *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* settlement occupation of the space followed a circular pattern while other settlements followed a rectangular pattern. The design of the project was made by the engineers from the *Junta Provincial de Povoamento, Brigada de Fixação de Populações Rurais* who had studied communal villages (*kibbutzim*) in Israel. The houses were built with durable materials by government engineers. Furthermore, infrastructure (dams, schools, stores and sheds, etc) were also built by the government. Xalala and Goigoi were built in 1962, Guachechene and Rigvani in 1963, and in 1964 the settlement of Chibulho. These settlements were built by the community

under João Mapanguelana's leadership. For the houses and other infrastructure like roads and shops they used the experience of the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras*.

According to the respondents the formation of the idea to create the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* can be divided into three moments: external influence, leadership commitment and rural economic development of the community. On external influence and leadership commitment, Jaime Matusse, presently traditional leader of Machecahomo chiefdom says that,

This settlement was not created by Frelimo³⁰. We had seen a similar settlement in Zandamela³¹. We liked the model and we adopted it for our area. What happened is that the government wanted to build a school for Zandamela but the project was not seen to be feasible because the people were dispersed and the school would only benefit a handful of children. This fact forced the creation of the Zandamela settlement. The government then built them an official school. As the advantages of living in settlements became evident, we decided to follow the example of Zandamela and went to speak with the Portuguese Administrator, Júlio Campos, about the Zandamela experience. At first, he was not receptive to the idea of settlements but encouraged us to carry on with the idea. He told us to go back home and explain to the population the importance of settlements. If the population agreed to create settlements, this decision would be communicated to the Provincial Settlement Unit in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) and this unit would be responsible for the creation of settlements (Jaime Matusse, interview, Machecahomo, 30/07/06).

A combination of external influence and leadership commitment was noted by Vicente Siteo, a key informant from settlement of Riguani who says that,

This settlement resulted from the visit that the local ruler, João Mapanguelana Mondlane, together with native rulers from other regions of Mozambique, made to Lisbon (Portugal) in January and February 1961. In Lisbon, among many other things that they saw, they particularly liked the organization of Settlements.

³⁰ The respondent tried to clarify the difference between this settlement and the communal villages (*aldeias comunais*) organized by Frelimos' government after the independence in 1975, especially in 1977. According to the respondent Jaime Matusse, one of the leaders who did not agree with our settlements was the local leader of the chiefdom of Mussengue-Xitlalo. In this region, they only accepted, about 15 years later, the Frelimo settlements, and they had smaller plots of land, 30m/40m for the houses. They were compulsory settlements connected with the victory of Frelimo. "Our settlement was built on our own initiative" (Jaime Matusse, Machecahomo, 30/07/06).

³¹ Zandamela it is a neighbouring administrative post of Zavala district in Southernmost part of Inhambane Province, ca 60 km east of Mandlakazi. In this District the colonial government has encouraged the setting up of the agrarian cooperatives.

Back in Mandlakazi, the local ruler, João, had the wish to implement this way of organizing the population. This idea was reinforced by Eduardo Mondlane³², part of his family, when he visited the area in June 1961, accompanied by his wife. After the visit of Eduardo Mondlane, the local ruler promoted the idea among his assistants. Later, the idea was spread to the local population (Vicente Siteo, Rigvani, interview 06/08/06).

Similar information was given by Eugénio Mondlane, one of the mentors of the village idea with João, who says that, “João [proposed this type of settlement], because he was a friend of Eduardo Mondlane³³ who used to tell him how Frelimo wanted to organize the rural population after defeating colonialism” (Eugénio Mondlane, interview in Machecahomo, 03/08/06).

The question is, how much are these statements influenced by hindsight? In 1961 Eduardo Mondlane dedicated part of his time to celebrate a traditional “mass” for his ancestors at his family compound at Nwadjahane, Mandlakazi, and indicated where he wanted to have his (round traditional) house built. He stayed in the house of J. Mapanguelana who was a distant cousin and had the only modern house in the neighborhood. Frelimo was not yet founded, nor Mondlane elected. Would he have talked about future settlement patterns? Since the idea was in the air and E. Mondlane certainly had an interest in cooperatives and progress in rural areas it is not impossible³⁴.

This external influence came from the international framework of decolonization started after the Second World War, by British and French colonial powers. In this context, towards the end of the 1950s, Portugal was confronted with an increasing international pressure and anti-colonial movements (Bowen, 2000:29). The colonial regime under Antonio Salazar saw the incorporation of its colonies as integral parts of Portugal as its overseas provinces, as an increase of resources and a process which would eliminate the hiatus between the dominator and the dominated populations (Magode, 2004:3). The visit of João and other *régulos* to Portugal was a form of strengthening relationship with African leaders in the light of the idea that ‘all are Portuguese

³² Eduardo Mondlane, in mid 1962, would become Frelimo’s first president, starting the armed struggle in 1964.

³³ Information provided by Nyeleti Mondlane, Eduardo Mondlane’s daughter interviewed by G. Liesegang (09/01/09).

³⁴ Pers. Communication and comment by G. Liesegang, 2008.

citizens', used to stall the pro-independence movements that were encouraged in Southern Rhodesia and Tanganyika at the time of Eduardo Mondlane's visit to Mozambique as an official of the United Nations (Pers. Communication and comment by G. Liesegang, 2008).

In relation to the leaders' commitment we need to consider two aspects: the way leaders were appointed to power to be legitimized in the community tradition and the colonial perspective. The first aspect is the legitimacy by the customary right. In principle, succession had to obey kinship links and the office transmitted from the father to the first born son. In cases where the chief died with more than one wife, the right of inheritance would be given to the first born son of the first wife (for whom bride-wealth or *lobolo* had been paid). In cases where the chief died without children, his brother or nephew would succeed him. The election of a new chief did not require any electoral registration process. Being a member of the community of adult age with time and willingness to be present was the only necessary requirement for one to take part in the election process. This was direct democracy (Vicente Siteo, interview in Rigvani, 06/08/; Magode, 2004:306).

After those considerations, we can see that João had two pillars to underpin his power, the community and the colonial authority. This allowed him to implement and develop ideas and perspectives and set them out to his community. As noted by Vicente Siteo quoted above, in "Lisbon (1961), among many other things observed, they particularly liked the organization of settlements". In Mandlakazi, João had the wish to implement this way of organizing the population. In the process, we consider personal commitment to develop the community using his position strengthened by the patrimonial inheritance and legitimacy.

The third aspect supporting the idea of the creation of the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* is related to rural economic development. Eugénio Mondlane, traditional leader from Machecahomo says that,

Concerning the organization of the population, I can say that the people used to live in dispersed houses with small agricultural fields. Everything used to be disorganized. We saw that this kind of organization would not help in anything, even though we had large portions of land, the people were too dispersed. He also saw that the people practiced agriculture in an inappropriate way. People worked very hard but there were no visible profits.

People were ready to work hard but they did not get good results because they did not have larger lands to grow bigger quantities of crops and also the crops germinated in a disorganized way. It was in this context that João started talking to people about building settlements, so that we would not live dispersed. We would all live in an area and the rest would be reserved for agricultural fields. (Eugenio Mondlane, interview in Machecahomo, 03/08/06)

According to *Relatório do Inspector Administrativo*, Leovigildo Santos, in the Muchopes (Mandlakazi) region, the income of the peasants in the years 1960-1962 was relatively low. This might have been an inducement for change. The agricultural production was reduced due to the scarcity of regular rains. As a result government had to help the population by distributing maize to those mostly affected in Mandlakazi, Fumane and Chindenguele. Table 4.1 represent the statistical data extracted from the report.

Table 1-Statistical data for marketed agricultural production, 1959-1962

Year	Market Days	Number of Market Place	Price in Kg	Quantity in Kg	Money Paid
1959	14	12	1\$50	880.232 Kg	1.232.324\$00 ³⁵
1960	13	12	1\$50	460.640 Kg	630.896\$00
1961	13	13	1\$50	427.430 Kg	641.145\$00
1962	3	0	1\$75	31.845 Kg	55.728\$00

According to the author of these statistical data, the decrease in sold quantities is justified by the fact that after the reduction of the harvests of maize, beans and peanuts, the population decided to keep reserves. As we see, the production sold in 1962 was less than 10% of that sold in 1959. As a consequence there was no surplus to sell. In addition another aspect to take into consideration in rural economic development was the stimulus given by the traditional leader João for his community to plant cashew trees which produced even under partial drought conditions. One of João's associates said that João advised, "That we should plant cashew trees (but not on all of the 7 hectares)... Each of us could choose to plant cashew trees in 1, 2 or 3 hectares. His wish was that everybody should plant at least 1 ha of cashew trees

³⁵ In this time the currency used in Portugal and in its colonies was Escudos.

and in the other hectares we could plant other fruit trees. So when our cashew trees started giving fruit, we decided to sell the cashew nuts” (Eugénio Mondlane, interview, Machecahomo, 03/08/06).

This plantation was a way of increasing the security of family income. As noted above Mandlakazi has about half of the cashew trees of the whole province of Gaza. Moreover in the 1960s the area had approximately 68.000 annual tons of cashew nut. The orange tree settlement also functioned as a cooperative. As the president of the cooperative, João negotiated preferential prices for the cashew nuts sold to the factory in Mandlakazi, bypassing the local traders and their trade margins. He bought wood for house building from the local saw-mills also at preferential prices or obtained other material for free. There was a tractor with a trailer to transport consumer goods and local produce; it was also used to plough the dry valley bottoms for rice cultivation. This limited pasture but increased production of the fields. The fact that he was able to keep accounts and was good at arithmetic helped him to control costs and expenses³⁶.

The general contribution of the government involvement in the construction of the orange tree settlement includes the building of dams and dykes in Manguenhane valley and Marrangua and Inhaluvume depressions for the purposes of promoting the production of rice and cotton (as primary product for the international textile industry). This objective can be viewed in the perspective of a variant of the Modernisation Theory that advocates the subordination of the colonies within the international division of labor as a producer of primary products. The dam built on Manguenhane River, for much of the year a dry valley bottom, served as the base for irrigation of the land around the orange tree settlement and this village served the base for the peasant working force to produce rice.

³⁶ João Mapanguelane already had a small Bedford truck in 1961 visible on photographs taken in 1961. Later he seems to have bought the tractor and also seems to have owned a small Landrover. Personal information G. Liesegang 2008, based on interview data in 1971. John Torres, Durban-based lecturer in government, is said to have written an article around 1969-1970 on the *Aldeia de Laranjeiras* and João Mapanguelane. I have not yet located this source or other contemporary data (Personal information G. Liesegang, 2008).

4.3 What differentiated the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* from its neighbours?

The main differences between *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* and its neighbours consisted on the following: firstly individual tenure of parts of former “communal” or lineage lands, which resulted in the formation of villages with separate landholdings after an exchange of rights over fruit trees. On these plots, the front part had the places where houses were built³⁷; the land behind was space for cultivation³⁸ of crops and fruit trees such as cashew and citrus³⁹, and the third part was for pasturage. These plots were entered in the local land register; a title⁴⁰ was given to the owner and deposited with the *Brigada de Fixação de Populações Rurais* after the end of the payment. The significance of the individual title was that the infrastructure would belong to the family for generations.

Secondly, social infrastructures were also instituted; a crèche was started so as to facilitate the problems of female cultivators; a cooperative purchased surplus land for production, plough machinery were made available to members on affordable terms, and a social fund for emergencies in the community was formed. The government built 31 houses. One of these houses was used as a nursery school where the children studied. There was also a sewing and clothing centre for the aged and physically handicapped. All these achievements differed significantly from the traditional/customary land tenure model in the neighboring communities. The traditional model was not systematic in the way in which they allowed land to be occupied and demarcated and retained for usage. Secondly, there was no formal pattern of land usage. Thirdly, land was demarcated using features such as trees which could easily be removed. Lastly, it was difficult to build infrastructure such as roads and motor paths because of the scattered settlement patterns.

³⁷ The dimensions of the stands for building houses would be of 50m/100m and for the agricultural fields varied between 3.5 ha and 5 ha depending on the production capacity of each family. Some people, for example, the local traditional leader had 10 ha because he had a lot of people working in his agricultural fields, (Jaime Matusse, Machecahomo, 30/07/06).

³⁸ “After dividing and distributing the agricultural fields, we told the people that if they wanted to increase their cultivated area, they would have to make a formal request and we still had reserved areas of land for that purpose.” (Jaime Matusse, Machecahomo, 30/07/06).

³⁹ “The orange trees were given by the government to the people to plant in their own yards. This is because the government was determined to give to the people what they asked for, but they had to be living in Settlements” (Jaime Matusse, Machecahomo, 30/07/06).

⁴⁰ “At the time, people were not worried about getting land titles (as around 2000). The process of getting land titles was automatic in the Settlement of *Laranjeiras* because there was a need to pay for the infrastructures and investments, such as a house “(Jaime Matusse, Machecahomo, 30/07/06).

In addition, another difference came through government policy in investing in this project. Government hoped to reduce the dependence on imported food by providing conditions to produce at local level, by the local populations. The compromise with the local leadership was in the manner to guarantee that peasants stayed in the settlement and dedicated time to fields and trees⁴¹. The house and other benefits had to be paid gradually. To reach these objectives, the colonial government needed to have a 'strong' traditional leader because this area also registered high male emigration, around 21.779 emigrants during the period 1959-1962 (which may, as elsewhere, have amounted to more than 40% of the able bodied male population) (*Relatório da Inspeção Ordinária à Administração do Concelho dos Muchopes [Mandakaze] e seus Postos de Fumane e de Chidenguele, 1962*).

The dam also marked a difference between *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* and her neighbors. The dam helped to irrigate about 7km of the agricultural fields that belonged to the farmers who lived in the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras*. They installed a water pump to provide water for irrigation and for drinking purposes. The obligation of the population was to be residing in the Settlement and to practice agriculture⁴². Every resident woke up and went to work in the agricultural fields located in the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras*. In this region no European agriculture existed. (Jaime Matusse, Machecahomo, 30/07/06)

4.4. How did Traditional Leader João Mapanguelana Mondlane come to power?

As discussed in section 3.3, according to the Patrimonialism concept, traditional leadership is linked with the social prestige that the chiefs and their relatives have, that are typical indications of patrimonial inheritance, and the presumption that only they can rule. However, its preservation requires the adaptation to a different contextual system of changes and the renewal of networks in

⁴¹ Eugénio Mondlane, one of the team leaders with João, says that the settlement was to bring the communities together and live only on agriculture and avoid people going away from the community looking for work in the mines in South Africa or even avoid people being recruited to work as cheap contract labor, *chibalo* (Eugénio Mandlate, Xalala, 31/07/06).

⁴² There was a rule made by the traditional leader João. If there were many young people in zone, these were sent to do jobs like opening and repairing roads if the area. At the time, no one was allowed to get up and just stay at home. If people were found at home after 9 o'clock in the morning, they were severely punished. The punishment was to take them to work on agricultural fields that belonged to traditional leadership João, until 17.00 Hours (Eugénio Mondlane, traditional leader, Machecahomo, 03/08/06).

both the internal and external relationships of clientilism. In that context, João Mapanguelana Mondlane, acting probably until 1949 as a “secretary” to a chief, was part of a leadership team headed by chief Chipene, Gomucomo Mondlane. During this period he had the chance to earn social prestige, which was reinforced by his descent⁴³. In addition, because he was relatively educated (he had concluded the primary degree or fourth class) he was able to have both internal and external relations of clientilism to expand his social network.

Teacher and evangelist José Bila, born before 1900, who had known Eduardo Mondlane and was a key informant of Machecahomo settlement, in 1980 gave the following description of João’s succession:

In 1949 the chief of Chipene, Gomucomo Mondlane (Monjane) died. At the time of his death his first born Eugénio Gomucomo Mondlane was only 10 years old [he was ineligible to succeed as chief due to his young age]. João Mapanguelana Mondlane and Guipanhane Mondlane were competing in the succession race. It is important to note that João Mapanguelana had worked with the former Chief up until his death as his subordinate.

Two assemblies took place to attempt to solve succession problem of Gomucomo Mondlane⁴⁴. The first one took place on the 20th /10/1949. In this assembly it was established that the first born son of Gomucomo was not eligible because he was only 10 years old. The second Assembly took place on the 20th /05/1950 which was to reveal two eligible personalities namely João Mapanguelana Mondlane and Eugénio Gomucomo Mondlane. Unanimously João Mapanguelana Mondlane was taken as new chief by the elders and the community.

After the electoral act the administrator of the district, [Júlio] Megre Pires made the following comment: ‘after the meeting of the Assembly the majority of the indigenous present there expressed their desire for João Mapanguelana Mondlane to become their chief. About 200 people participate in the electoral process

⁴³ This is set out in a letter to *Famba ia Pambeni*, jornal dos regedores de Gaza.

⁴⁴ The people in the succession race commanded social values and it was a race that took family members into two opposing camps. The kinship links are the ones which legitimize the relations and solidarity among them. Therefore in Chopiland the family is considered as an institution on the basis of trust to elevate an individual to the position of a chief. The family links give legitimacy to the solidarity amongst the people. The family is considered as one of the institutions to which its members owe loyalty to the head of the clan. It can be said therefore that the family is a social, religious and economic unit from which kinship relations are derived. These affinities may include at the large context the ancestors and other descendents. The cohesion of the group in kinship perspective strengthens the family links and is used as a form of exerting control (Magode, 2004:25).

only 20 were in favour of Eugénio Gomucomo Mondlane. I then noticed that Chief João M. Mondlane had the prestige of his people which is the only condition for the post'. (AHM, T.O, José Bila, Machecahomo, interviewed by G. Liesegang, 18/06/80)

However, despite all those legitimating circumstances that allowed João to take the power, part of the community still claimed lack of legitimacy of João's power. This fact led to part of the community abandoning the area, as shown in the next section of the chapter. As we see above, the legitimacy approach contends that the power of chiefs and their subordinates is based on sometimes contradictory presuppositions: their ascendance to power is validated by succession rights or through good relations with the colonial authority. In this case, it seems that we have a controversial presupposition for João's ascendance to power.

4.5 The Role of Legitimacy

4.5.1 Legitimacy in Traditional Leadership

The concept of leadership in the community was confronted by the question of legitimacy. This is reflected in the fact that some factions of people did not recognize nor did they adhere to the proposals given by certain leaders, in this case, João Mapanguelana.

In this context after taking power, João M. Mondlane applied the policy of depriving his opponents of political influence. With the help from the administrator he was able to invalidate the autonomy of "Chipene" and change the administrative division and be nominated chief of Coolela. This led Eugénio G. Mondlane and his supporters to protest this form of "absolute" governance, allegedly because it negated their history and ancestors. The people of "Chipene" had always enjoyed representation even during the restructuring undertaken by the colonial power. Finally, the delegate of the administration and the administrator of the "Machope" district (Mandlakazi), by invoking law and the tradition, gave the people of "Chipene" the right to choose their chief. Thus in 1965 Eugénio Gomucomo Mondlane was appointed and reclaimed the power of his father by becoming a chief of Chipene (Magode, 2004:27). João remained the chief of a

new chiefdom, Coolela, named after a battle field in 1895 which was in his area, with his office close to the orange tree settlement.

One of the respondents, Eugénio Mundau Xithlalo a community leader from Xitlalo, one of the communities that rejected the legitimacy of the Joãos' power says that,

Mapanguelana was a care-taker following the death of our leader Gomucomo. He earned this place because he has been working with our leader and the son of our late leader was still young to rule. However Mapanguelana continued to rule and claimed leadership even when the real leader was a grown up man and ready to lead us. This brought a lot of power dispute, to an extent that the case was taken to colonial authority for adjudication. Mapanguelana [first] emerged victorious because he was able to influence the colonial authority to rule on his favor.

In ruling the case in Mapanguelana's favor, the colonial authority argued that he had guaranteed the loans from the Portuguese colonial administration to establish the *aldeias*. Transferring the leadership from him to another person would have meant that the loan guarantee would have been transferred to them. No one would be prepared to inherit the debt.

This ruling brought a split of the communities formed by those who protested against Mapanguelana's leadership and those who supported him. As a result two traditional leaders imposed themselves for each segregated group. However, both leaders had to report constantly to the colonial administration as presupposed by the colonial rule. That is the reason why when he came up with the ideas of *aldeia* we did not accept because he was not a leader but an assistant. It is important to note that Eugénio's people never accepted any demarcation process until after the independence when they were compelled to enter the *aldeias* on Frelimo's order. The new demarcation that came with Frelimo offered smaller plots of land compared to those made during the colonial rule (Eugénio Xithlalo, Xitlalo, interview, 14/06/08).

This shows clearly that in the community there was a power struggle which to some extent forced the role players to be involved in the lobbying processes. When the community that rejected the authority of Mapanguelana seemed to unite against him he sought his legitimacy from the colonial authority that had the political and legal power to rule in his favor.

Another argument against building the settlements, by the community under Eugénio Mondlane was” that the settlements would promote prostitution and houses for prostitution, *tikoplaze*⁴⁵. This account can lead to the conclusion that traditional leadership is challenged by different factors, ranging from political rivals to local conservative groups that resent change to others who think that change is not rapid enough.

4.5.2. Lineage Legitimacy and modern elites

João Mapanguelana, like a number of other chiefs, lived as a farmer after independence. He died around 1979 when the tractor he was driving turned over and fell on him. João’s links with the Presbyterian Church (Swiss Mission) and nationalists had exempted him from persecution after independence. His also educated younger brother suffered since he was with the colonial police and much closer to the colonial state. Casimiro, one of Mapanguelana’s sons became the first elected mayor (president of the town council) of the town of Mandlakazi on the Frelimo ticket, when municipal institutions were reintroduced in the 1990s. (Pers. Communication and comment by G. Liesegang, 2008).

In the year 2008 Mapanguelana’s son was replaced by Helena Correia Langa, a female descendant of the chiefly line of the Macupulane chiefdom some 8 km from Mandlakazi. Helena’s lineage was also prominent in the 1950s and 1960s. She was the local party secretary and her brother was a former government minister and is a member of the Central Committee (Pers. Communication and comment by G. Liesegang, 2008). It can be concluded that descent from a moderately progressive chief of high prestige is still an asset but the elites should have links with the modern party elites (where people of chiefly descent may represent some ten to twenty percent)⁴⁶ if they want to be successful.

On the other hand, there are also commoners who have gained prestige. A secondary school in Mandlakazi District was built at the expenses of a local entrepreneur Timóteo Valente Fuel. Fuel

⁴⁵ *Tikoplaze*, means the house where prostitutes live, kind of compounds in South Africa (Eugénio Mondlane, team leader with João, Machechahomo, 03/08/06).

⁴⁶ References in the Press (Notícias) and unrecorded information in the field.

is the grandson of Tomazi Donga Fuel (Fuvele), born around 1877 as son of a genet skin and ostrich feather trader who peddled his product to Swaziland. Tomazi grew up as an orphan among his mother's people at Javanhane west of Chaimite and Chibuto until 1897. There he fought in the ranks of Magigwane's insurgents in 1897 and then went to South Africa, where he worked in the mines and South African Railways and learned English.

After about ten years of work in South Africa he returned and settled near Xalala, where he had relatives who had selected a wife for him, which he rejected, choosing a different one. He also bought cattle, some of which were lost by East Coast fever. This was possibly around 1909. He continued to buy cattle and later a plough and started farming. In 1969, then an old man over 90, he was not on speaking terms with Mapanguelana, and was still farming and working in the fields, although then almost blind.⁴⁷ Tomazi Fuel's son Valente does not seem to have been quite as successful before and after independence but his grandson Timóteo eventually made it. With his own means he built a secondary school in the area of his economic influence in Macuacua (rather than at Mandlakazi). This is an indication that there may be long lasting divisions in society. Leadership seems to be more diversified now, with the elected councils, but there still seems to have a preference in some areas for descendants of former legitimate and charismatic rulers. Aldeia das Laranjeiras is still represented by a descendant of João. (Own fieldwork results and Pers. communication and comment by G. Liesegang, 2008).

4.5.3. The Leader and the community

The aristocrats ruling before 1895 were not necessarily leaders and members of communities. They were often rulers or overlords. The colonization processes by a foreign population and the destruction of the larger chiefdoms brought them closer to the population. During the colonial period in most cases the social distance between the colonizers and the colonized became greater than that between the common population and the chiefs. The working experience of chiefs before coming to office between the 1950s and the 1970s was very similar to that of migrant workers in the rest of the population. Many in Southern Mozambique had been miners in South

⁴⁷ Personal communication, Gerhard Liesegang 2008.

Africa, but there were also cooks in hotels, typesetters in printer's shops, firemen, soldiers in the army. An apprenticeship as "secretary to the chief" as in the case of João was almost an exception, experienced by not more than 20% of the chiefs. Thus, to some extent, chiefs were not a specially born-to-rule class. Only after assuming office they assumed the role the patrimonial system had for them. Some chief's sons considered themselves special but the fathers and their advisers saw that they went to school like the other elite and commoner children. For example João built houses in town to be able to send his sons to school (Personal communication, Gerhard Liesegang 2008).

The modern *secretários* of smaller sections of the population often have a similar experience in the modern sector and often enjoy some kind of family link with chiefly families, which give them some social prestige. Some of them had to learn part of the local traditions, history and rules of the communities from their advisors while in office. The involvement in development depended on grasping the situation, but also on their relations with the communities and institutions willing to provide investment in new infrastructure⁴⁸.

4.6 Running the State Administration at District and Locality level 1975-2005

4.6.1 District level

One of the objectives of the study was to document the interactions between the state and communities at the locality and district level after the abolition of the traditional leaders and before chiefs were appointed. This section of the paper looks at the structure of organization of the state in district and at local levels. As pointed out in section 2.5.1 some of the main economic and social decisions adopted after the independence in 1975 for rural economic development were to transform the agriculture to provide resources for industrialization. In institutional/administrative terms, the new Frelimo government banned the traditional leadership formally⁴⁹ and replaced it with a collective structure - the dynamizing groups- *Grupos Dinamizadores* (GDs). Headed by a secretary, they came to take on a wide range of functions, which partially overtook those which had been

⁴⁸ Based on different sources including information provided by G. Liesegang, 2008.

⁴⁹ Article 4 of the first Mozambican Constitution.

carried out by the traditional leaders: addressing social issues, legal questions, policing, security, administration and regulation (Menezes, 2005:6).

According to the administrator of the district of Mandlakazi, one of the respondents of the interviews, “After independence, the country adopted a one-party system based on socialist political system. In this system, the power of the state was centralized in the hands of Frelimo Party. Consequently, the policies for the process of development were defined by the party and implemented through programmes approved by the people’s assembly (parliament). There were people’s assemblies at the district and locality levels” (Administrator of Mandlakazi district, Mandlakazi interview, 02/08/06).

In addition, the new post independence government lacked knowledge and experience to implement their policies after the departure of the majority of the Portuguese involved in the administration sphere.

In support of this position Sumich and Honwana (2007:8) in Finnegan (1992) says that “Frelimo was left to run an effectively bankrupt country with virtually no trained people. The illiteracy rate was over 90%. There were six economists, two agronomists, not a single geologist, and fewer than a thousand black high school graduates in all of Mozambique. Of 350 railroad engineers working in 1975, just one was black and he was an agent of the Portuguese secret police”.

As can be seen from the administrator’s comments about institutional organization of the state at local and district level since independence, the state struggled to find ways to reach the rural community, after the banishment of the traditional leadership. This situation led to three main problems: firstly, lack of legitimacy of the newly elected GDs. These structures created to replace the traditional leadership were more politically motivated, to extend the new policies of the construction of the new unitary nation, without feudal and colonial influence and not to serve the welfare of the population. Secondly, the Frelimo policy proposed for the country faced opposition characterized by the civil war, started in 1977, two years after the independence. In these circumstances, the government’s main effort was to organize the rural communities in the military perspective (security)

to prevent them from joining Renamo's military force. In that case they did not have, finance⁵⁰ and even opportunity to implement the desired policies of *'aldeias comunais'* copied from the Tanzanian experience of Ujamaa.

After the approval of the law 8/2003, in terms of governance, the district governments became institutions with relative autonomy and the districts became budgeted units. In this regard, the Administrator of Mandlakazi says:

We must not forget the fact that, before the approval of law 8/2003, the districts already approved their plans of activities but they did not have a budget to cover the implementation of their plans. Consequently, they had difficulties in carrying out the activities programmed. With this law, the districts started having their own budget to cover their approved economic and social plans (PES). Another change brought about by this law was the fact that the members of the district government stopped being subordinated to the provincial directorates. This is because the district government suffered double subordination. On the one hand, they reported to the provincial directorates. On the other hand, they reported to the district administrator. However, with the introduction of Law 8/2003, the district directors started reporting directly to the district administrator. (Administrator of Mandlakazi district, Mandlakazi, interview, 02/08/06)

4.6.2. Administration at locality level 1975-2005

In the following sub section, we have the administrator's comments about the institutional organization of the state at the local level (formerly chieftaincy). The participation of the officials was voluntary because they were not paid salary.

The administrator of Mandlakazi, concerned to this issue says that,

There were no paid officials. There were state organs at the level of the locality and the locality executive councils which were composed by five members elected among community members. It was the job of the executive councils to guarantee observance/fulfillment of the decisions taken by the assembly of the locality and organize and lead the whole process of economic and social development at the level of the locality. They were

⁵⁰ Most of the capital of this initiative was to be provided by foreign donors mostly from socialist countries (during the cold war), to the government to implement that initiative. Mozambique is quite dependent on foreign investment and aid: internal taxes only accounted for 12% of the GDP in 2001 and are projected to grow to 19% of the GDP by 2020 (Mozambique Country Profiles, www.worldbank.org, accessed 27/11/08).

also responsible for the running of the agricultural farms, cooperative shops and the common agricultural fields. They also issued travel permits (Administrator of Mandlakazi district, Mandlakazi, interview, 02/08/06).

The executive councils of the localities were composed of five members: for organizational issues, issues related to economic activities, social matters, defense, security and order. Those five members did not report to the district directorates. They reported to the assembly of the locality and the assembly of the locality took decisions concerning the development of the locality. The assembly of the locality was composed by 25/30 members and they did not automatically get seats in the district assembly. However, many of these members got elected to the district assembly. There was no Law that determined, for example, that x number of the locality assembly members should have seats in the district assembly but there were representatives of the locality assembly in the district assembly because the members of the district assembly were from the different localities (Administrator of Mandlakazi district, Mandlakazi, interview 02/08/06).

4.6.3. The new leaders: Community Authorities and elected councils and forums

As mentioned in section 4.2 the Decree 15/2000 radically revoked over two decades of the official exclusion of 'traditional authorities' from community administration. For the first time in the history of independent Mozambique, the Mozambican state recognized traditional authorities under the catch-all term "community authorities". In the community authority, we find: community leaders, traditional leaders/ traditional chiefs, religious leaders (Zionist prophets, heads of Islamic communities in the North, etc), secretaries of suburban areas, chiefs of the settlements and presidents of the locality. They are all considered leaders, depending on the affinities that the community may have with a certain type of leadership. There are communities with a high sense of religious identity so communities may have preference for one of the different types of community leadership.

According to the Administrator of Mandlakazi, the relations between the state, the government and the communities are conducted through these types of leaders. The Decree 15/2000 institutionalizes the community authorities that have gone through the procedures for their legitimization. In this case, it is up to the communities to appoint the people who will represent them in the relation with the state/government. In some settlements, the population prefers to be represented by the traditional

chief who is normally the descendant of a former native ruler or the son of a former colonial chief. The communities legitimize their representative in his relationship with the state and the state acknowledges the community representative through the government.

The acknowledged representatives are registered in a book and are given uniforms. As the secretary of the quarter or the chief of the settlement is legitimized as the representative of the community, he knows that religious or traditional ceremonies are not performed, (party and state are considered neutral with regard to religious communities). This means that each of the leaders knows his role and responsibilities in the area. He/she, who gets legitimized, is the representative of the community in the relation between that community and the state. After being legitimized by the community, the representative is acknowledged by the state. He is not the representative of the state/government in the relation between the state and the community but a representative of the community in its relation with the state/government (Administrator of Mandlakazi district, Mandlakazi, interview, 02/08/06).

In addition, the Administrator of Mandlakazi district argues:

From a practical point of view, we are now going to have locality chiefs supported by a secretary and an own office staff. The locality chief is the representative of the state. Community authority represents the community, not the state. Community authority brings the problems of the community to the state and takes back the decisions and orientations given by the state to the communities. The state has the role of promoter of development and the community authorities have the role of representatives of the community in its relation with the state. Their role is not limited to bringing the problems of the community to the state. They also have the role of assuming and making the communities assume their role in the process of development. This is more evident with the creation of consulting councils, which are institutions for community participation and consultation. The consulting councils are the result of the process of evolution of the relations between the state and the communities, bearing in mind the fact that, in the past, there were people's assemblies, where we could get to know about the problems of the communities (Administrator of Mandlakazi district, interviewed on 02/08/06).

The state's intention in the creation of the consulting councils was to overcome difficulties in getting community participation in the management of their interests. To fill this gap, the Law 11/95 created institutions that allowed community participation and consultation. Consulting councils have been created at the local level and local forums are also held (in all the localities of the Mandlakazi

district). These forums are composed of people elected at the local level. These people are responsible for surveying the main problems of the population, defining priorities, solving the problems that can be solved at the local level and channeling the other problems to higher ranks which they cannot solve.

There are also consulting councils of the administrative post. These consulting councils are composed of representatives from all the localities at district level. However, each locality chooses a representative to the consulting council. The consulting councils have some elected members and there is a system of representativeness established by Law. At the district level, there is the district consulting council composed of representatives from all the administrative position in principle every locality is represented. There are percentages of gender representation established and the administrator is allowed to choose some representatives (at a percentage established by Law).

This is where the hearing of the problems of the district is done. For example, our investment fund, the district government, does not decide before consulting the communities through consulting councils. This consultation is a process that starts from the locality and goes to the administrative post and later, to the district. Councils are not institutions for decision making. They are institutions for community participation and community consulting. After accommodating the sensibilities, the district government designs a plan/programme, taking into account the orientation derived from the consultations with the communities (Administrator of Mandlakazi district, interviewed at 02/08/06).

4.7 The period after 2000 in the view of “traditional leaders”

After the approval of the Decree 15/2000 the role some chiefs were playing was officially recognized by the state. One respondent during the field work was Eugénio Mondlane, traditional leader of Machecahomo, describes his duties:

As traditional leaders, we act as a government. We work as a team with the head of the block, the heads of blocks of houses, the head of the residential area, the president of the settlement and the president of the district/locality. Whereas, from the side of the Party, we work with secretariats such as *Organização da Mulher Moçambicana* (O.M.M)- Mozambican Women’s Organization and *Organização da Juventude Moçambicana* (O.J.M)- Mozambican Youth Organization. If you manage to work with both sides: the government and the

Party, things will work out well. If not there will be a lot of confusion. Good work requires planning work. For example, the traditional leader should have meetings and should go to any settlement and call a meeting. However, if he does not coordinate with other chiefs, his meetings may overlap with the meetings planned by the president of the settlement. To avoid such overlaps, there has to be coordination among the actors. The same happens with the party members (Eugénio Mondlane, Machecahomo, interview, 03/08/06).

These duties link chiefs to the president of the locality, social organization and the party. The linkages with the Frelimo Party exist, according to Sumich and Honwana (2007) since independence power has been primarily located in the Frelimo party, not in supposedly neutral state structures (that could be inherited in a reasonably intact manner by another political force). In the Southern region Frelimo is the most influential Party with almost 90% votes in her favour in the elections which have taken place in the country until now⁵¹ (Sumich and Honwana, 2007:22).

Concerning social duties, Eugénio Mondlane noted:

When family problems are presented, the first thing I do is to ask if they tried to solve the problem at the family level and then I ask the heads at the bottom of the hierarchy if they know about the problem. If everyone knew about it, I then would try and find a solution. There are problems that I can solve and there are others that I send to court or to O.M.M/OJM or even to the Party or to the president of the district/locality. This is how the traditional leader works and it is different from the way the native rulers worked. The big difference is that at the time of native rulers, there were no heads of blocks of houses, heads of the residential areas, etc. The native ruler took all the decisions by himself. The decisions of the native ruler were not open to discussion (Eugénio Mondlane, Machecahomo, interview, 03/08/06).

In fact many colonial chiefs heard their *madoda* or councilors, who were lineage elders who might also serve at the local tribunals, and there were sub-chiefs (*cabos, nganakana, etc*). Eugénio consider that the power of the leaders nowadays is less than in the past.

In the past, things were easy because there were the native policemen, *tinduna*, who helped supervising the activities and the native ruler could decide without wasting time on consultations. The native ruler could send his police to a certain region to arrest someone and bring him to the native ruler and if necessary take the person

⁵¹ Despite the multiparty system started in 1990.

to penal servitude, *chibalo*. In the past, even if you had paid the tax, if you caused problems you would be taken to penal servitude. Today, if you act like the native ruler, you will have problems. You have to work with all the other levels of the hierarchy in the community (Eugénio Mondlane, Machecahomo, interview, 03/08/06).

However, concerning native policemen, *tinduna*, now the leaders can also be aided by communitarian policeman as pointed out by another traditional leader, Eugénio Xitlalo Mundau who says:

I have a group of 10 community policemen in each settlement. I can call 10 from one settlement and another 10 from a different settlement until I get the number I need for a specific job. When someone creates disorder, I call the community police and we go to the area where the disorder was created. If the suspect is a man, we ask the person to take off his shoes and we talk to him. If the person is found guilty, for punishment, we order the person to cut down a tree that can take him two to three days. This is how we work and it serves to discourage other people from committing the same offense in the future (Eugenio Mundau, Xitlalo, interview, 14/06/08).

In relation to the power of the leaders, another informant, Eugénio Mondlane from Xalala, protested about his lack of power in the system established according to the Decree 15/2000. In this way, he stated:

Nowadays, people cannot see what the leaders are driving at. They no longer respect the leaders. The voice of the leader has no power among the population. People no longer care for local leaders. They do not respect them. The respect that was owed to the local rulers was taken away by the government. The government process of giving back the power to the local rulers; it is just a talk shop. They just talk but they don't really give back the power. The government people even threaten to beat up a local ruler. At the time when a local leader was wrong, the chiefs could talk to him or even reprimand him. The council of the elderly could reprimand the local ruler when there was something wrong in the region. Even the advisers have no power because the power belongs to the people (Eugénio Mandlate, Xalala, interview, 04/06/07).

As shown in the above citation, there may be a general understanding⁵² that the power of traditional leaders now is less than in the colonial time despite the fact that also they are many traditional leaders that can cope with the situation.

4.8 Challenges for local development: The issue of food security, investment and income situation

Other issues observed in the interviews were main changes in the economic sphere. Considering the issue, the main informants agreed that before independence the economic stability of families⁵³ was better than nowadays. To a large extent, this is related to agricultural production, as this is the main economic activity in the study area. These changes are attributed to changes in seasonal rains and the damage to the Manguenhane dam. Nevertheless, it is not only the agriculture that sustains the population. The closeness to South Africa allows families to be more dependent on remittances, off-farm labour, livestock and common property resources, such as the sale of firewood and wild fruits (Forum for Food Security d. (2004) 'Food security options in Mozambique: one country, two worlds?' Country Food Security Options Paper No. 3 Forum for Food Security in Southern Africa, www.odi.org.uk/food-security-forum, accessed 28/11/08).

The Manguenhane dam faced a lack of maintenance since independence in 1975 and as a result of the civil war the situation worsened. On this issue, Eugenio Mondlane, Xalala says:

The flood-gate got locked. The valley that used to provide us with water got spoiled and the dam itself got damaged. That is why we have periods when there is a lot of water and periods when there is no water at all. It got damaged during the 16-year civil war. It was because of lack of maintenance. The strength of water destroyed it and it needs to be repaired. There is no one to help us. Also, we can't just dig and open a canal using local means because the canal was opened using an excavator. What we have managed to do is to use the banks of the dam to carry on with our agricultural activities but the main part of the dam requires engineering intervention (Eugénio Mandlate, Xalala, interview, 04/06/07).

⁵² My colleagues who supervised recent honours theses on chiefs in Matola and elsewhere confirm that chiefs generally complain about lack of power and influence.

⁵³ Family economic stability we define as the capacity to auto sustains herself in food and other basic needs.

The importance of the Manguenhane dam comes from the fact that the irrigation system was able to cover over 7 km of area of production and as a result it controlled the floods. The irrigation system was not only for the peasants resident in the *Laranjeiras* settlement but also for the five settlements mentioned above. Currently, only about 30% of the peasants practice agriculture on the valley bottom (river bed) since they are afraid of losing their production when the rains come. The recovery of the dam became the main issue for the population during the study. A recovery would give them more economic stability. The problem now is to find an institution that is able to invest in rebuilding the dam. It seems that despite the official discourse claiming to care for rural development, government action is still far from turning these claims into practical reality⁵⁴. The private sector and NGOs did not take any relevant actions in Mandlakazi despite the fact that it produced one of Frelimo's founders. A memorial site was inaugurated in 2007 at Nwadjahane, the birth place of Eduardo Mondlane, where the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation has since established a Museum and a headquarters.

The main agricultural policies to solve the community problems in the country are integrated in two government programs: PROAGRI I and II (ongoing) and in PARPA I and II mentioned in section 2.4.2 above. The general goal of PROAGRI was to help secure an adequate enabling edifice for equitable and sustainable growth in the agriculture sector in order to reduce poverty and improve household food security, and at the same time protecting the social and physical environment (Marsh, 2003). One of the goals for the ongoing PARPA II is to increase growth through promotion of agriculture and of the private sector. According to World Bank, (2008:1) in order to promote the agriculture sector and the private one, the government should make improvements in research and extension for large and small scale commercial farmers, and for subsistence farmers, especially women. The government should build infrastructures (here we can include the Manguenhane dam) to increase farmers' access to markets for their products and their ability to use new technology. Sustained growth lowered monetary poverty from 69% of the population in 1997 to 54% in 2003 (World Bank, 2007 cited in Sumich and Honwana, 2008:2-3).

⁵⁴ In the beginning of 2009 some informants stated that they believed the flood gate had been repaired, but it was not possible to check the information.

Mozambique's economic growth and poverty reduction experience is one of the longest in countries of low income.

However, according to World Bank, 2007 cited in Sumich and Honwana (2008), it is not clear if Mozambique continues to beat the chances on shared growth. The most recent comprehensive data on standards of living are from 2003, where 50% of the population was rated as poor and the results since then have been vague. Government data reveal continuing increases in access to services, and rural data on income study show that average incomes for the household have gone up. But other indicators point to a decrease. Inequality in rural income seems to be growing, and already high inequality persists in urban areas, so rapid growth could now have less of a poverty-reducing result (World Bank, 2007 cited in Sumich and Honwana, 2008:2-3).

Another question asked was to compare the family economic situation in the late colonial period with the present one. The majority of the respondents agree that, "Life was better at that time because we could get money to meet our basic needs. We harvested enough. Now we can not get good harvests because of calamities⁵⁵. Now we work very hard, harder than before but we get no profit out of such hard work" (group interview, Xitlalo, interview, 12/06/07). In defense of this idea Eugénio Mondlane argues:

This region used to be developed, in terms of agriculture, and there was food for everybody because everybody worked hard. This is the reason why you do not find abandoned fields here. Even in terms of tax, this region was always the best tax payer. In colonial times people had better production because there were regular rains. In the last years, rain has been irregular and with the war, agricultural production decreased considerably. However, the government has been helping a lot to reduce the suffering of the population (Eugénio Mandlate, Xalala, interview, 04/06/07).

Related to the government intervention in assisting the community the group interview respondents said that similarly to the colonial time.

At the moment, the government sends agricultural technicians and seeds. But the problem has to do with the rains. It does not rain regularly enough for the needs of our crops. We plant but we do not harvest anything.

⁵⁵ The meaning of calamity is considered the lack or excess of rains.

This is as if the government was not helping at all. The same thing happens with cattle. From the colonial period till today, the government has always helped providing cattle to help work on the farms but still the harvest is poor. This is as if the government was doing nothing. It looks as if the peasants were just waiting for the government to give them food for free. We end up being dependent on food aid given by the government (Group interview Xitlalo, interview, 12/06/07).

Another question answered by the informants was the general tendency of non- participation of the youths in the agricultural sector, specifically in family sphere. This phenomenon also contributes to weakening the production in the sector. The majority of the youth prefer to migrate to the bigger cities (Maputo and Xai Xai) or go abroad. Those who stay in the region prefer to work in informal commercial sector. Concerning this issue, Eugenio Mondlane, Xalala, says that, “During the colonial time our children after coming home from school joined us in the agricultural field. Nowadays, it is no longer possible to make our children work in the agriculture field. They are more interested in the informal trade sector” (Eugénio Mandlate, Xalala, interview, 04/06/07).

4.9. Challengers for leadership participation in development process

The discussion above has provided insights on the issue of the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* and this section will explore the broader questions around traditional leadership, interaction with the state, participation and economic development. Most leaders were able to cope with their duties in the colonial system or they would be removed. They were generally not innovators. The *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* was built under the initiative of the traditional leader João Mapanguelana Mondlane as a way to enhance rural economic development for his community. He was in an ambiguous position in that he was originally more a caretaker than a direct heir and owed his permanence partly to the government. João saw that in order to keep more land for agricultural practice and to rotate fields it was better to keep the community organized in a permanent settlement.

João as a team leader explained that idea to the community in a democratic way and allowed some who rejected the idea to leave. The team used their skills and influence to obtain support from the colonial government in the form of loans and technical assistance. Subsequent to the

time *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* was built we noted changes: land was demarcated in Mozambique without government pressure; intensification of plantation of fruit trees especially cashew trees and some orange trees increased fruit and nut production. The Manguehane dam with its irrigation system also made a difference for cereal production, social infrastructure like roads, schools, crèches and a functioning cooperative also set the village apart from others.

The cause of those changes was the leadership commitment to look for developmental process that could help the community as a whole and not only the individual. The team was able to share and organize the community and convince the people to accept changes in cultural ancestral forms of land organization. Another important factor was that he had credibility and influence with the colonial government that allowed him to obtain support and the necessary capital for the initiative. The economic development effect was the increase in agriculture production and the capacity to have alternatives in the famine times in selling cashew nuts as cash crop to increase the economic stability for families.

In the post-colonial period the main change was that the government banned all traditional leaders, also the innovators, and their replacement by local collectives, partly confirmed from above. They were the dynamizing groups - *Grupos Dinamizadores* (GDs) often formed by the same stratum of local literate elite, teachers in mission and state schools, educated parents of chiefly families, former labour migrants, etc. Other changes happened more recently in the administrative sphere where laws and regulations introduced reforms at locality and district levels. One of the laws allowed the district to control its budget which has considerable impact in the development process because it allowed the implementation of the bottom up approach (without much reference to chiefs) (Administrator of Mandlakazi district, Mandlakazi, interview, 02/08/06).

The Decree 15/2000 had introduced changes at community level, with the introduction of a new social institution called 'community authority'. This was generally understood as the recognition of traditional chiefs. However, after six years of practical work of this institution it is clear that it was not a return to the late colonial *régulos* or *regedores*. In most cases the chiefs neither have the power nor the income the late colonial chiefs enjoyed. Their socio-cultural role which was

exercised between 1975 and 1992 “in the shadow” as some researchers found in the 1990’s was now not only informally recognized by the district administrations, as between 1992 and 2000. It was the law and the chiefs had official uniforms distributed to them by the central state. In addition their nominations were confirmed in Maputo (Pers. Communication and comment by G. Liesegang, 2008).

Since 2000 there were also other changes in the administrative structure of the rural areas. The council systems which had existed around 1979-1986 was reactivated and even given power to discuss the distribution of funds. Most chiefs are represented at this level but do not have a prominent role. This puts a question mark on their ability to influence local development initiatives where the government is usually involved. On the other hand, some have close relatives in ministries or in the parliament and this gives them some leverage.

The analysis showed that looking at patrimonial structures and legitimacy is useful to analyze the role of traditional leadership. However, the institutional space taken from the traditional leaders in 1975 has not been restored. Instead it was occupied by the elected and nominated councils with a wider representation of the local elites and a more diversified district administration not fully accountable to the local population (Pers. Communication and comment by G. Liesegang, 2008).

As far as development is concerned, a crucial factor was the existence of institutions that provide capital and knowledge for investing in infrastructure. The leaders had to be able to recognize the community to receive the support. The area of the orange tree settlement lost part of its infrastructure after independence as a result of the war from 1982-1992, due to incapacity to maintain them. The actual system of trying to improve production capacities by the government through extension only was inefficient. In addition many fruit trees were unproductive due to pests and plant diseases. The areas studied are relatively distant from potential markets. Thus the development policies since 1992 produced few tangible results.

4.10 Summary

The challenge for local development is related with the government capacity in financing the basic infrastructures like the Manguenhane dam and also the market networks to encourage the youths to give privilege in the production sector, in that case agriculture, to improve food security, investment and income situation for his families. Also we conclude that the changes reflected in the case study were because of the leadership commitment to look for developmental processes that could help the community as a whole and not only some individuals.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses of the role of traditional leadership in development and also the nature of participation or marginalization of peasants in rural development and the role for traditional leadership in future rural development. Recommendations and the concluding remarks are also part of this chapter. The weakness of the post-independence activity in this respect had been covered by the fieldwork of Alpheus Manghezi in 1980 and was published in 2003 (Manghezi 2003b). The discussion in this study is centered in the relationship between traditional leadership, the state in rural economic development based in the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* case study.

5.2. The role of Traditional Leadership in Development

In this study we referred to traditional leadership in general, one particular case of leadership in a process to achieve development assisted by the then existing state structures. Traditional leadership is a factor that has been significantly ignored in evaluations of rural local government in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa (Ray, and Reddy, 2003). João M. Mondlane, the leader studied here, was able to use his skills and influence to interact and lobby the colonial state to authorize and finance the proposed project and to mobilize their community to be involved. Moreover on the side of the state we had technicians who guaranteed continuity and experiments. These conditions do not exist as yet in Mozambique. The concrete situation of traditional leaders in Mozambique (cf. 4.6.3, 4.7.3) and the opportunities in the present situation depend on factors partly out of their control. It is quite clear that the decree 2000 was not a return to the pre-independence situation and that the formal powers of traditional leaders are now more reduced, especially their power to organize communities.

The question “*What role should traditional leadership play in the rural development process*” can be answered at two levels. A small minority (maybe one in two or three hundred) could have a model role like João Mapanguelana Mondlane had. Others would have a more modest role in routine liaison and control activity, leaving more responsibility to state technicians. The chiefs

would depend on legitimacy within the community, where they were obeyed and had a good relationship with the state officials. They would focus their commitment and action in favor of their community. The legitimacy approach contends that the power of chiefs and their subordinates is based on a very controversial presupposition: their ascendance to power is validated by succession rights or through good relations with the state authority (Magode, 2004:23). The particular actions, by traditional leaders, in relation to improving the lives of those in a local community are only relevant in this framework in as much as they succeed or fail to secure forms of legitimacy. Analysis of the research conducted for this dissertation suggests that leadership choices and character influenced development prospects beyond the narrow legitimacy spectrum and as such traditional leaders acted under a variety of influences.

During the period 1975-2000 the main question was “*How do the state and traditional leadership interact in policy making for rural economic development?*” Before 1986 the state had used its powers to weaken as much as possible the power and influence of the traditional leaders as a way to influence and control the communities in the project of ‘building the new man’ in a socialist perspective. According to Jeppe, (1990) cited in Davids, (2005:17) “the new human orientation of development in the late 1980s saw a shift from the macro-theorists of Modernization and Dependency to a micro-approach focused on people and community”. In that context the results of the analysis of the main political structural shifts made by the state resulted in the introduction of new laws to regulate the interaction between the state and traditional leadership. The Law 7/78 and the Law 8/2003 associated with the 1986 new administrative division shows the government effort to reach the communities through GDs and other institutions that came after the abolishment of traditional leadership. As a result, in 2000 we have the Law 15/2000 that establishes Community Authority.

This new concept of community authority seems to be a government effort to combine different political aspirations in light of the multiparty political system without putting at risk Frelimo’s control of the system and avoiding running counter social trends towards more democracy. However, despite some weaknesses pointed out in section 4.2 in this paper the Law 15/2000 it had a positive impact within the communities. It allowed some accountability in the government on the use of public funds. That process is done through consulting councils that is from the local

people to the administrative post and later, to the district. Although it is a fact that the consulting councils are not institutions for decision making they are the place where the community at a micro level can explain her needs.

People-managed development theory claims that people have effectively managed their own development at the micro and macro-level because that is the only way genuine progress and improvements can be attained (Martinussen, 2004:333). In the state's sphere, development workers should try to learn directly from the rural people, try to understand their knowledge systems, and elicit their technical knowledge. Politically, the whole system of governance should be reversed. Authoritarian and hierarchical structures and procedures should be replaced by arrangements which shift power and initiatives downwards and outwards (Martinussen, 2004).

5.3 The Nature of Participation or Marginalization of peasants in rural development

The focus on development has to be based on a "people-centered development" approach (David, 2005) where people are given power to decide for themselves what a "better life" represents for them. Peasants need to be involved in the Developmental process by participating in decision making concerning the priorities in their community.

The question "*How have peasants participated in the rural development process?*" The peasants have participated in the development process, this is seen in the process of building the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* where the colonial government only invested in this one but the other five settlements were build with community involvement. The community participated because they had seen the advantages of been in a settlement for rural development. In addition, the involvement of the traditional leadership in the mobilizing process was crucial after the fulfillment of legitimacy within his/her community. However, in the other five settlements the government was not involved in giving loans and technical assistance. The changes came from community participation.

Concerning the question “*What has being the policy of central government towards the peasant sector in agriculture in Mozambique between 1950 and 2005?*” the respondents stated, almost unanimously, that they considered positive the policy of the central government. From the colonial to the post colonial they have had assistance from government officials (*extensionistas agrários e pecuários*) agrarian and cattle assistants⁵⁶ and in the famine times they also have government assistance. However, recent years have seen a lack of financial resources to help the different community needs.

The participation of the peasants in rural development also resulted in some economic structural and natural changes that affected the level of family economic stability due to changes from the colonial period to now. Concerning structural changes, the Manguenhane dam which was damaged affected the irrigation system and also the roads and shops which were destroyed during the civil war, influenced negatively the level of economic stability. We consider natural changes and the global environmental climate change that caused drying and floods over the world and Mozambique was not an exception.

The natural and economic structural changes led the community to have a general feeling that, “Life was better at the colonial time because we could get money to meet our basic needs. We harvested enough. Now, we can not get good harvests because of calamities” (Group interview, Xitlalo, interview, 12/06/07).

The main economic activity of the peasants was agriculture with irrigation system derived from the Manguenhane dam to produce rice. There were also other plots for maize, cassava, peanuts and other native crops. They also sold cashew nuts and oranges to increase their income. All the respondents were unanimous that in colonial times they enjoyed a better income because they harvested enough and they could sell the products from their fruit trees (cashew and orange). This was because of the wisdom of the traditional leaders who encouraged their community to plant fruit trees to increase and diversify the agricultural production.

⁵⁶ This may be a political consent (see also the critique in a group interview at Xitlalo in 4.9) which omits the fact that in the first two or three years after independence and during the war there was no dipping of cattle for lack of tick killers, and consequently higher mortalities of cattle, etc.

One of the core questions proposed to guide this study was *“To what extent are contemporary rural development policies serving to minimize forms of exclusion and marginalization in the communities?”* this question is answered by the consideration that after the proclamation of the Decree 15/2000 the community gained the possibility choosing their own community authorities in a wider range of options than before. They also benefited from the consulting councils, which give opinions “from the bottom”. These gains can be viewed in the context of the “people-centered development” approach advocated by Davids (2005). This approach defends that the focus on development in the 1990s was based on a “people-centered development” approach where people were given power to decide for themselves what a “better life” represents for them. “Development about people implies that people are the most important role players in their own development” (Davids, 2005:31). One positive impact is the wider spread of community organization and consulting councils that can improve the participation of civil society in the government policies for their specific area and also assures better accountability.

The negative result is that community authorities nowadays depend upon the two major parties in the country (Frelimo and Renamo). This is one of the weaknesses of the system because in some ways the community authorities aim to make politically correct choices rather than looking at community priorities⁵⁷. The dual political disputes do not allow any space for other political parties in the country. Another problem contributing to weaken the community authority is the relationship between those authorities and the government officials on the ground that they affect negatively the power and respect of the government in the community.

Another negative result is that the rural communities noted a lack of involvement of youth in the agricultural sector. One reason for that fact is because the profit in this sector no longer exists. They prefer to be integrated in the informal commercial sector. The wage income that was coming from the mineral industry in South Africa is no longer flowing at the same scale. All these facts associated give the general result that ‘life was better’ during the colonial period than now.

⁵⁷ Such as the cases of public punishment referred by Eugénio Mandlate, from Xalala.

5.4. Drawing from the case study how can one conceive of a role for traditional leaders in future rural development

The role for traditional leadership in future rural development needs to be linked with some experiences from the implantation and development of the settlement of the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras*. That settlement was established due to a joint interest of the colonial state, the leadership and the community. As a result the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* obtained investments in the perspective of rural economic development.

The colonial Portuguese government provided incentives for middle and wealthier peasants to grow maize, rice, and wheat in an effort to reduce the colony's dependency on imported food staples. To reach those objectives there was need to incorporate selected strata of African peasants to give them some infrastructures (Bowen, 2000). Martinussen (2004) stated that some development strategies linked to people-managed development theory contend that development managed by people themselves in the Third World would imply a reduced role for international organizations and governments of the rich countries. The increasing influence for citizens over their own livelihood conditions will stimulate, more than anything else, their willingness to take greater responsibility and make self-sacrifices to the benefit of socially-based development. Therefore community participation gives an opportunity to establish better infrastructures than those of the neighbors and improve the standard of life. In this case the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* has gained rural economic development.

The case study provides an understanding that, despite the official ban on the role of the traditional leadership, their influence remained during the time. They were still consulted by the community for diverse matters from social, economic and even political issues. They provided an accessible system of governance without a bureaucratized official system that characterizes the state and government institutions. In addition, in terms of the way the traditional leaders used to solve the problems was, and still is, seen to be accessible to the community because they do not ask for skilled people to write down the plaintiffs and defendants claims. All the matters are generally solved by oral discourse. This becomes an important advantage when we consider that only 50% of the Mozambican population has a formal education.

5.5. General Remarks

People-managed development theory claims that people have effectively managed their own development at the micro and macro-level because that is the only way genuine progress and improvements can be attained (Martinussen, 2004:333). In the state sphere, development workers should try to learn directly from the rural people, try to understand their knowledge systems, and elicit their technical knowledge. Politically, the whole system of governance should be reversed. Authoritarian and hierarchical structures and procedures should be replaced by arrangements which shift power and initiatives downwards and outwards (Martinussen, 2004). The theory should be applied effectively with accountability and include women and the youth as the ones who ought to be mobilized to contribute more to rural development. However, according to Galson and Baehler, (1996) development is a normative concept a set of goals and processes that are (or are thought to be) positively related to individual and social well-being. Who should get involved is a normative question. It is assumed that advocating development means favoring change. Development alters the status quo; it will therefore be opposed by those who are satisfied with, or benefit directly from, the current state of affairs, or who believe that any alteration is likely to be to their detriment.

From the case study, we can conclude that the involvement of the local leaders with legitimacy and credibility in the community and other social networks was the key point that made possible that the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras* was different from her neighboring villages.

5.6. Conclusion

This study attempts to understand the social and economic impact of the relationship between the state and traditional leadership in rural development through the theories and the analysis of the *Aldeia das Laranjeiras*. It can be concluded that the characteristics of state's traditional leadership relations in the colonial period was collaborative, either voluntary or forced as seen in the case of João's leadership. The participation of the communities in the rural development process was made through traditional leadership structures with or without democratic actions on the ground. The rural economic development strategies were founded on the same structures. The

fulfillment in the realization of all those goals and activities was guaranteed by the patrimonial inheritance which was a resource for the indigenous elites. Legitimacy also played an important role to push the leader close to his community. For the reasons mentioned throughout this dissertation, we can conclude that during this period the relationship between the State and traditional leaders was central for success.

Before 1986 the state had used its powers to weaken as much as possible the power and influence of the traditional leaders as a way to influence and control the communities in the project of 'building the new man' in a socialist perspective. In the post 2000 period the characteristics of state and traditional leadership relations are based on formally re-establishment of the role of traditional leadership but with a new set of activities. The participation of the community in the rural development process was still weak because the process recognition and legitimization of the community leaders was mostly influenced by two main political parties that participated in the civil war (Frelimo and Renamo). In addition each one of these parties needed to gain advantages of the process of re-establishment of the community leaders to secure influence and vote and some of the candidates had no patrimonial legitimacy in the community.

The rural economic development continued with weak system of production due the collapse of the support mechanisms despite the noticeable economic growth. The re-introduction of the role of traditional authorities may be a first step necessary for economic development. But so far few results can be seen. The state tried to "push" again traditional leadership in the recognition that is a factor that has been significantly overlooked. But they still lacked a strategy for specific improvements.

5.7. Recommendations

The result of this study shows that in the process of establishing linkages between traditional or community leaders and the state little or no direct active participation of woman and youth was envisaged. Considering that these segments of the population constitute the majority it is

necessary that the decision makers find ways to include them in the rural development process as part of the decision makers.

The state needs to clarify within the communities, the process of recognition and legitimization of community leaders to make them more useful for the communities. Party issues should be avoided.

The community leaders that have been legitimized and are still in the process of legitimization by the state need to follow the example of João Mapanguelana Mondlane in selecting projects and obtaining resources from the state, non-governmental organisations and the private sector to stimulate rural development in their communities. In order to do this, they have to explore the priorities of these institutions and create an image for themselves, avoiding confrontation with state and political parties.

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Interviews

Group Interview

Group Interview: João Jocite Manhane Cossa, Gabriel Fabião, Fabião Sebastião Maxlhui, Manuel Ndava, Zulmira Tamele, peasants, Aldeia das Laranjeiras, 30/07/06

Group interview, Eugenio Mundau Xitlalo, Community Leader, with Carlos Mubethene, Inacio Chualuco, Marta Mondlane, peasants, Xitlalo, 12/06/08

Individual interviews

Jaime Matusse, key informant, Machecahomo, 30/07/06

Eugénio Mandlate, key informant, was part of the team leader in the creation of the aldeia das laranjeiras, Xalala, 31/07/2006

Manuel Machungo, key informant, Rigvani, 01/08/06

Vicente Siteo, key informant, Rigvani, 06/08/06

Eugénio Mondlane, traditional leader, Machecahomo, 03/08/06

Administrator of Mandlakazi district, Mandlakazi Administration office, 02/08/2006

Eugénio Mondlane, key informant, was part of the leader team in the creation of the Aldeia das Laranjeiras, Xalala, 04/06/07, second interview

Francisco Cossa, key informant, Xalala, 05/06/07

Zacarias Tamele Mondlane, key informant, Xitlalo 06/06/07

Eugenio Mundau Xitlalo, community leader, Xitlalo, 14/06/08

José Bila, Machecahomu, interview by Gerhard Liesegang, Machecahomo, 18 July 1980

Appendix 1. Growth and Distribution of Mozambique's domestic product

Table 2 below demonstrates that economic growth of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has been considerable from 1990 to 2005 with high percentages in 1997 and 1998.

Table 2: Evolution of Mozambique's Gross Domestic Product

Table 2: Evolution of Mozambique's Gross Domestic Product

Year	GDP Growth	Year	GDP Growth
1990	1%	1998	12%
1991	4.90%	1999	7.30%
1992	8.10%	2000	2.10%
1993	8.70%	2001	9.60%
1994	7.50%	2002	9.80%
1995	4.30%	2003	7.80%
1996	7.10%	2004	7.50%
1997	11%	2005	7.70%

Source: Morrier-Genoud 2007:7, quoted in Sumich and Honwana, 2007:20

The Frelimo government kept a tight hold on inflation, reducing it from 70% in 1994 to 5% in 1999 and increased to 6.3 in 2005. This has made Mozambique relatively attractive for foreign investment, at least by African standards, and has spurred growth. Yet growth rates can hide as much as they reveal. About 80% of foreign investment has been concentrated around the two major cities, Maputo and Beira and big projects like Mozal. Furthermore, Mozambique is quite dependent on foreign investment and aid: internal taxes only accounted for 12% of the GDP in 2001 and are projected to grow to 19% of the GDP by 2020 (World Bank, 2007 cited in Sumich and Honwana, 2008). Although by 2008 there were attempts to increase them quicker.

Table 3 below highlights some of the regional inequalities that have persisted in Mozambique.

Table 3: Evolution of the GDP by provinces, regions and the country

Table 3: Evolution of GDP by provinces, regions and the country

Regions/provinces	2001	2002	2003	2004	Average
Year					
NORTH	7.3	8.3	11.5	3.4	7.6
Niassa	10.7	11.1	9.9	7.2	9.7
Cabo Delgado	9.4	8.2	12	3.9	8.4
Nampula	5.9	7.8	11.6	2.4	6.9
CENTER	10.1	6.5	9.1	5.3	7.8
Zambezia	10.8	7.3	8.8	4.7	7.9
Tete	10.3	8.6	5.3	8.6	8.2
Manica	6.6	4.4	10.8	24	6
Sofala	11	5.8	10.4	5.8	8.2
SOUTH	18	9.2	5.6	10.9	10.9
Inhambane	4.4	11.6	8.1	22	11.5
Gaza	5	4.9	8.2	3.4	5.4
Maputo Province	43	14.4	1.2	16.8	18.9
Maputo City	8.6	5.1	8.5	4.2	6.6
MOZAMBIQUE	13.1	8.2	7.9	7.5	9.2

Source: UNDP, 2006:17, quoted in Sumich and Honwana, 2007:21

Table 3 shows that the Gaza Province where the District of Mandlakazi is located had the lowest average GDP in the Southern region and in the country as a whole. This shows that the governments to concentrate on investing in that province.

Appendix 2, Questionnaire

1-Biographical information

Name	
Sex	
Age	
Occupation	
Date	
Village	

2-General questions

Set questions	Govt. staff	Traditional leaders	Village1	Village2
2.1 What was the state of peasant agriculture in colonial times (technical, social)?				
2.2 What are the present economic conditions in the rural areas of Southern Mozambique with respect to agricultural output and household circumstances?				
2.3 What are the present economic conditions in the rural areas of Southern Mozambique with respect to household circumstances?				
2.4 What has been the policy of central Government towards the peasant sector in agriculture in Mozambique between 1950 and 2005?				
2.5 How have peasants' participated in the rural development process?				
2.6 To what extent are contemporary rural development policies serving to minimize forms of exclusion and marginality in the communities?				
2.7 What changes in the state of peasant agriculture took place after independence and why?				

2.8 What changes have occurred in the state of peasant agriculture in the last 10 years?												
2.8.1 What changes were there in terms of:	0	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+
		-	+		-	+		-	+		-	+
a) Organization of Land (for agricultural activities)												
b) Technological development for agricultural production												
c) Agricultural productivity												
d) Government support in agricultural development												
e) Market conditions for agricultural produced goods												
f) Types of crops												
g) Household poverty												
h) Household incomes												
i) Household assets												
2.9 What are the 3 main challenges facing peasant producers today:												
a) Access to land												
b) Access to market												
c) Technology of production												
d) Definition of prices												
e) Government policies												
f) The role of traditional leaders												
2.10 Which of these is the most important												
2.11 Comments												

No change (0); Small change (+ -); Significant change (+ +)

3- Government staff

	Government staff	Traditional leaders	Village1	Village2
3.1 What were the main features of the local rural government systems in colonial period?				
3.2 What were the main features of the local rural government system in the post independence period?				
3.3 What were the main features of the local rural government system in the last 10 years?				
3.4 How did the changes take place?				
3.5 What have been the main features of changes in the role of the:				
a) State				
b) Traditional leaders				
c) Civil society				
3.6. Comments				

4-Traditional leadership

	Government staff	Traditional leaders	Village1	Village2
4.1 has there been any change in the role of traditional leadership in agricultural production since the 1950s?				
4.1.1 If so, how did they occur and why?				
4.2 What are the main areas of impact traditional leaders have had on peasant agriculture in:				
a) Colonial period				
b) Post independence				
c) Past 10 years				
4.3 What were the 3 main activities of the traditional leaders, from the 1950s?				
a) Allocation of land				
b) Administration of justice				
c) Fiscal control				
d) Forced labour				
e) Defend interests of the community				
4.4. Comments				

5-key informants in selected households

	Village 1	Village2
5.1 Do you have access to land for agriculture?		
5.2 What kind of economic activities do you do? Why?		
5.3 are the crops produced in your parcel enough to sustain your family? Why?		
5.4 Do you have access to other assets (cattle, tractor or other machine)?		
5.5 How was the economic stability in the following periods:		
a) Colonial		
b) Post independence		
c) Past 10 years		
5.6 What are the 3 most important things the government must do to improve your household economy?		
5.7 What are the 3 most important things the traditional leadership must do to improve your household economy?		
5.8 Who decides about the crops that you produce?		
5.9 Comments		

6- Aldeia das laranjeiras (orange tree village)

6.1 explain how you have your land demarcated?	
6.2 Who made the decision for land demarcation?	
6.3 Who had that first idea for land demarcation?	
6.4 Is there any advantage in land demarcation?	
6.5 Was the community involved in the process of land demarcation?	
6.6 Was the government part of the process of land demarcation?	
6.6.1 If yes, what was the nature of the government participation?	
6.7 What are the main 3 challenges that were encountered in the process of land demarcation?	
6.8 What were the 3 main changes which occurred after independence (1970s, 1980s)?	
6.9 What were the 3 main changes in the last 10 years?	
6.10 Comments	

7-Neighbouring villages

7.1 Do you know about the parceling of plots in Aldeia das Laranjeiras?	
7.2 Why is your land not demarcated?	
7.3 What was the role of the traditional leaders in the period running from the 1950s on wards?	
7.4 Which advantages does a demarcated land/undemarcated have in:	
a) Economic activities	
b) Social organization	
c) Political activities	
d) Cultural activities	
7.5. Comments	

8-Main topics for open questions for key informants

History of the village

- 8.1.1 What have been the main characteristics of the economic activities of the village in the last 50 years?
- 8.1.2 Are there some differences between community participation in rural development in the colonial and post colonial periods? If so, specify.
- 8.1.3 What was the government policy of participation at the community level during both the colonial and post colonial periods?

8.2 Personal history linked to the village

- 8.2.1 For how long have you been living in this village
- 8.2.2 Do you belong to the chieftainship family in the village?
- 8.2.3 Did you participate in the land parceling process in the village? If yes:
 - a) What were the main important aspects in that parceling process?
 - b) How long did the process take?
 - c) Were there some problems within the community? If yes what were the most important problems?
 - d) What was the process of resolving those problems?

8.3 Leadership history in the village

- 8.3.1 What role should traditional leadership play in rural development?
- 8.3.2 How do the state and traditional leadership interact in policy making for rural economic development?
- 8.3.3 Does the government have oversight over the traditional leadership and other rural elites to ensure that gains are widespread and equally distributed?
- 8.3.4 How can traditional leaders be impartial in their functions?

8.4 Main economic activities in the village

- 8.4.1 What are the main economic activities in the village
- 8.4.2 How do you get access to land (agriculture, settlement, pasture)
- 8.4.3 Did the community have access to other assets (cattle, tractor or other machines and does it still have access today?
- 8.4.4 Which of the 3 periods was the most (economically, politically, socially) stable: colonial; post colonial; last 10 years
- 8.4.5 Who decides the main agricultural crops in the community?

8.5. Comments

