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**Mozambique's Democratic Initiatives Project:
The Role of
Traditional Political Authorities**

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USAID/MOZAMBIQUE**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background and Work to Date

As the Government of Mozambique takes steps toward multiparty democracy, USAID and other donors are supporting various efforts intended to help establish a viable civil society in Mozambique. Among its efforts, USAID is looking at ways to help decentralize an over-centralized government, and to support the emergence and growth of nongovernmental organizations which will help strengthen the nongovernmental base of democracy. Regarding the latter, USAID recognizes that this base consists not only of NGOs of the sort found in industrialized countries or of the organized private sector (the emerging business sector). Of even more importance in the daily lives of a majority of Mozambicans are those who wield power and influence at the local level, namely those who have been in positions of leadership since pre-Independence and pre-colonial times: chiefs, clan and lineage heads, ritual specialists, and indigenous health practitioners. Such traditional authorities are more than nongovernmental in the current sense of that term; they have for the most part been marginalized or suppressed by Frelimo in its (pre-1989) ideologically-misguided attempt to rapidly create a modern, non-tribal, equitable nation.

Part of the Democratic Initiatives project assistance is earmarked to support "analysis of the patterns of traditional authority in Mozambique and the development of an action plan indicating how such traditional authorities might be effectively integrated into formal government structures." The focus of this consultancy is on traditional political authority. It may also be noted that USAID supported Mozambique's first post-Independence collaborative workshop between government health personnel and another marginalized group--traditional healers--in Manica in November 1991.

It has become evident to the Government of Mozambique (GRM) in recent years that Frelimo officials command little real authority at the local level. In fact, local-level officials came to realize much earlier than the central government the futility of the GRM's campaign against traditional political authorities (TPAs). Informal relationships between some provincial or district officials and TPAs have developed as an apparent adaptive strategy on the part of local officials who wish to carry out their duties. This has not gone unnoticed by local chiefs and other TPAs. Some are now asserting their power more openly; some may even be calling for official recognition by the GRM.

Officials in the Ministry of State Administration (MAE) have recently described a "power vacuum" and "confusion," existing at the local level, noting that it is unclear who is exercising what kind of power. There have been recent articles in Noticias commenting on these developments and reporting that local-level

officials are urging the GRM to clarify its position regarding traditional authorities.

There is a "Technical Team" organized under the MAE that has a mandate to develop an empirically-derived information base regarding TPAs, to disseminate such information, and to advise the GRM on policy related to TPAs. These activities come under the MAE's Traditional Authority/Power Project. In February 1992, this Technical Team submitted a proposal to USAID requesting support for activities related to TPAs, such as archival and other documentary research, a Pilot Study, analysis of research findings and the development of policy recommendations. While USAID has been considering the proposal, it provided a small amount of support for start-up activities on the part of one full-time, non-government employee. Meanwhile the Ford Foundation agreed to support the Pilot Study, analysis of its results and the convening of an International Seminar to discuss its implications.

Fieldwork for the Pilot Study began Sept. 10 on a staggered schedule in which eight people will spend three weeks each in the field in teams of two (a total of 24 person/weeks.) The study is divided into four ethnolinguistic regions: (a) the Zambezi complex; (b) the Amakhua Complex plus Makonde; c) the Central Region; and d) the South; 33 districts in all 11 provinces will be covered.

Following the Pilot Study, the MAE Technical Team will re-submit a more detailed proposal to USAID, probably in November, for support in the following activities: (1) a post-Pilot Study phase of research; (2) the development of an Action Plan based on the Pilot and post-Pilot study findings; and (3) the implementation of an Action Plan, probably in the form of pilot seminars for TPAs. An outline of the scope of the second study awaits analysis of the findings of the first. However the research is expected to give special emphasis to issues related to land tenure, including resettlement. This happens to coincide with the expressed interests of chiefs themselves as well as that of USAID, the Land Tenure Center, UNDP and other donors.

Recommendations

The activities planned by the MAE Technical Team, as well as those already initiated with Ford Foundation support, are fully compatible with the overall purpose and specific objectives of USAID's Democratic Initiatives Project. It is recommended that USAID provide support for future activities which will be elaborated in the formal proposal to be submitted to USAID.

The flexible, qualitative research methods planned for both the Pilot Study and a follow-on study are appropriate to the task at hand. This should not be forgotten in evaluating the methodology of a second study. By and large, and except for some very basic and

nor-sensitive data, quantitative methods are not appropriate for either study because: (1) we are in the earliest, exploratory phase of research; (2) we don't know enough about our subject to measure patterns that first must be discovered; (3) the subject matter is politically-sensitive and probably threatening to interviewees.

In addition to research, the MAE team is already considering the possibility of initiating some sort of awareness or development seminars for TPAs. Such seminars might not only help establish civil society in the longer term; they would also help clarify short-term roles for TPAs in the massive-scale rural reconstruction effort expected to follow signing of the Peace Accord in October. This effort will involve infrastructural rehabilitation; emergency food-aid distribution; resettlement of 5 million refugees, deslocados, and demobilized soldiers; reconciliation of opposing combatants at the local level; reunification of separated family members and villagers; and allocation of land and the peaceful resolution of land disputes. TPAs would seem to have the best chance of encouraging, organizing and directing such an effort at the local level.

It is recommended that USAID provide limited TA in finalizing the design of a TPA-related study in Mozambique, and in the design and implementation of any seminars for TPAs.

Whatever the findings regarding the role and role-variations of TPAs in Mozambique, the focus will be on discovering areas of common interest between TPAs and the government. A general yet high-priority task ahead is to demonstrate to the GRM that traditional, indigenous institutions are not necessarily at loggerheads with the type of government and society that the GRM wants, nor with economic development. Now that the GRM is moving toward decentralized administration, participatory development, and political pluralism, future USAID-funded research should look for existing elements of the indigenous sociopolitical system that seem compatible with this. Means could then be experimented with to build upon such proto-democratic institutions, rather than to impose more alien systems from the outside.

Institutions of traditional authority are dynamic and adaptive to the changing needs of rural Mozambicans. We can expect modifications of the role of TPAs in coming years, given conditions in Mozambique. With some deliberate effort to assist and guide this process, the results should be better than if it were left unassisted.

The MAE Technical Team has also identified a need for one or more donors to provide capacity-building at the local level (provincial, district) for the Ministry of State Administration. Capacity-building of this sort is justified if USAID or other donors would like to help the GRM develop cooperative relations with TPAs, and if it believes the MAE is the appropriate ministry to spearhead such cooperation--which the consultant believes.

SCOPE OF WORK:

In-Country Consultancy Period: Aug. 26-Sept 15

The consultant's scope of work consists of the following:

Initial meetings with USAID. Review of documents and meetings with the MAE technical committee on traditional authorities and with other donors, individuals and organizations in order to understand: (1) what activities related to the role of traditional authorities in Mozambique are planned or in progress; and (2) progress to date of primary and secondary research related to traditional authorities.

Review of MAE technical committee's Pilot Study research strategy (scope, methodology, field tactics, analysis plan, etc.), as explained verbally and in any documentation compiled or prepared by technical committee. Evaluation of research strategy to determine if it can be strengthened in view of the special methodological challenges and political sensitivities of research in this subject area in Mozambique. Discuss the need for a second, more in-depth study of traditional authority systems in Mozambique with a view toward study's usefulness to the GRM's overall decentralization strategy. If more research is indicated, what would be the objectives, scope, methods, and practical/policy uses of such a study. How might research findings be applied in an action plan?

Provide technical committee with technical assistance (hereafter TA) on research methodology, action plan(s), etc. as needed.

Prepare a preliminary written draft report for USAID and the MAE summarizing consultant's findings and recommendations. The report will include recommendations on: (1) how the MAE's strategy for research on traditional authorities should be modified (to the extent modifiable at the present stage); (2) how to use findings of primary and secondary research in the development of an implementation strategy for the MAE and the broader GRM; (3) what assistance USAID should provide under the Democratic Initiatives Project to assist with implementation of the strategy; and (4) future technical assistance needs of the technical team and the Ministry.

BACKGROUND ON MOZAMBIQUE, CIVIL SOCIETY AND TRADITIONAL POLITICAL AUTHORITY.

The physical and social infrastructure of Mozambique at the time of independence was as weak as any African nation that had gained independence in the 1960's or even 1950's. The new Frelimo government, in its attempt to create a modern, non-tribal, non-racial, equitable nation, embarked on a radical program to transform the country's economy and society as quickly as possible. The "traditionalism" of the various ethnolinguistic groups seemed

to stand in the way of "scientific socialism," and so there was an attempt to abolish traditional practices such as bride-price (lobola), polygamy, initiation rites, land tenure, and traditional healing practices. The rural masses were obliged to re-group into communal villages in order to engage in new forms of collective agriculture. Frelimo attempted to achieve full equality of women--in societies for the most part strongly patriarchal--through legislation. In 1978 "Peoples' Tribunals" were set up to be headed by judges chosen on the basis of having "good sense." This was an assault on traditional adjudicative systems including the traditional authorities who convened and presided over adjudicative councils.

Chiefs, formerly known as regulos or chefes de zonas, were recognized and often appointed by the Portuguese during the long colonial period, although their positions may have pre-dated that period. Soon after independence, Frelimo embarked on a program to break the power of traditional chiefs. Part of the rationale for this is that chiefs were often used as instruments of control of the masses by the Portuguese colonial administration. Another reason may be that chiefs appeared to Frelimo reformers as guardians and purveyors of the old, traditional order targeted for radical transformation. Still another is that Frelimo quickly established a highly-centralized government characterized by urban-based, top-down decision-making. Chiefs--particularly those who questioned the wisdom of government decisions--constituted a challenge to a government of this sort. And no doubt many chiefs questioned the wisdom of abolishing bride-price, polygamy, initiation rites, traditional land tenure, etc.

With Frelimo's "marginalization" or suppression of traditional political authorities, many went underground or simply continued to exercise power informally and behind the backs of Frelimo officials. Still, chiefs have not existed officially since the early post-Independence period. The abolition of chiefs meant that many of them did not oppose Renamo, which they might well have otherwise done if their authority had been left intact. In a parallel development, traditional healers, spirit mediums and cult figures were discouraged--sometimes oppressed--as purveyors of "obscurantism" and superstition. The alienation of traditional and ritual leaders and healers, as well as many among the rural masses, was a major factor in Frelimo's loss of political control of most of the geographic area of Mozambique.

There is evidence from ex-Renamo followers and escapees that many rural chiefs have more or less accommodated or cooperated with Renamo, not that they would have had much choice in the matter. It should also be remembered that Renamo has always recognized the authority of chiefs, unlike Frelimo. Exactly how this has occurred and what sort of accommodation was reached with chiefs is not well known.

A few chiefs, notably in the south, retained power by becoming local Frelimo officials (e.g., party secretaries, judges of Peoples' or Popular Tribunals). But most were formally dispossessed of their titles and power, at least in government-controlled areas, including those chiefs who had supported Frelimo during the armed struggle against the Portuguese. Nowadays many or most chiefs are bitter and disillusioned with the GRM. It has been observed that they expected the Portuguese to treat them badly, but they felt or feel betrayed that Frelimo has undercut their authority and dispossessed them.

The overthrow of chiefs and other traditional political and spiritual authorities was supported by monolithic historical notions of the existence of "theocracies" that enjoyed absolute power in Mozambique. Such anthropologically-uninformed thinking provided a rationale and justification for Frelimo's attempts to overthrow indigenous power structures in the name of scientific socialism or even democracy. It is an irony of Mozambique's history that the founding father of Frelimo, Eduardo Mondlane, was a U.S.-trained anthropologist. According to K.B. Wilson, citing Steven Thomas, the image of Eduardo Mondlane tends to be spared during occasions of Renamo's ritualized destruction of Frelimo symbols and icons.¹

It is noteworthy that the Ministry of State Administration (MAE) may be remembered by some as instrumental in the marginalization of chiefs. However the incumbent minister, who has been in office 1.5 years, has a much different attitude, shared by the largely self-selected members of that ministry's Technical Team. This is reflected in its use of "traditional political authority" (TPA in this report) for "chief" or its Portuguese equivalent. TPA may be a bit unwieldy but given the various "tribal" designations for such authorities, a generic term is needed, yet the Portuguese Regulo or Chefe ("chief") da zona have pejorative connotations in Mozambique, at least historically.

Government views are also changing regarding the value and function of traditional culture. Since the mid-1980's, there seems to have been growing awareness within the ranks of the GRM that traditional systems are suited and responsive to the social, psychological, and other needs of participants in these systems; that they provide security and continuity in an unpredictable, changing world; and that they may be a great source of comfort to Mozambicans suffering the stress of rapid culture change not to mention the prolonged trauma of a vicious "dirty war" that has directly affected the civilian population for well over a decade. Indeed it did not go unnoticed that much of Renamo's early success

¹ K.B. Wilson, "Cults of Violence and Counter-violence in Mozambique." Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Univ., June 1992, p. 11.

could be attributed to its success in manipulating traditional beliefs that it had the approval of ancestor spirits as well as magical protection from local spirit-mediums. By the mid- to late-1980s, Frelimo began to successfully manipulate the same cultural symbolism against Renamo. K.B. Wilson notes that in some areas such as Northern Tete, "...it appears that Frelimo worked quite closely with local chiefs who in such areas generally have some ritual authority and access to ancestral spirits."² During roughly the same time (1989-90), a third force arose in Northern Mozambique in the form of the Naprama "cult of counter-violence" (Wilson's term), which exhibits many of the cultural-retrenchment features of cults of despair such as the Ghost Dance religion of the U.S. Plains Indians in the 1890's.

By the 5th Frelimo Party Congress (1989), the government formally recognized the mistakes it made in its zeal to create a new, equitable, unified, national society. In a recent (April 1992) national workshop held in Mozambique, a presenter noted that Frelimo's attempt at radically transforming society:

...was extremely altruistic, but the way it was implemented entered into direct confrontation with the cultural system hitherto existing in the countryside, which was ignored or set aside to make way for the new, modern progressive and urban culture. A phenomenon which in Europe had taken centuries to evolve was attempted here from one day to the next, and in general the results were not good. There was resistance, difficulties, and failures which might not have occurred if there had been an attempt to conciliate the culture of the peasants and the new forms being proposed, in order to achieve a more gradual and less confrontational transition. A situation of contradictory norms emanating from the traditional authorities and the central government generated disrespect for norms of any kind."³

It has become evident to the GRM in the last couple of years that Frelimo officials command little actual authority at the local level. Indeed local-level officials came to realize much earlier than the central government the "futility" of the GRM's campaign against TPAs.⁴ Informal relationships between some provincial or

² K.B. Wilson, *ibid* pp. 17-23.

³ Strengthening Civil Society and Community Development in Southern Africa, Workshop, Maputo, April 1992. The Community Development Association, etc., p. 39.

⁴ H. West and G. Myers, "A Think Piece: Local-Level Political Legitimacy and Security of Land Tenure in Mozambique." USAID/Mozambique: Land Tenure Center, U. of Wisconsin. (ND)

district officials and TPAs have developed as an apparent adaptive strategy on the part of local GRM officials who wish to carry out their duties. This has not gone unnoticed by local chiefs and other TPAs. Some are now asserting their power more openly; some may even be calling for official recognition by the GRM.

MAE officials have recently described existing at the local level a "power vacuum" and "confusion," noting that it is unclear who is exercising what kind of power. There were newspaper articles in Noticias during the present consultancy commenting on these developments and reporting that local-level officials are urging the GRM to clarify its positions regarding traditional authorities.

BACKGROUND: THE DEMOCRATIC INITIATIVES PROJECT

Scope, Purpose and Objectives

The Democratic Initiatives project is a 2-year, \$4 million USAID Africa Bureau project that runs until the end of 1994 (it began in 1991 and was extended for one year by amendment.) The Project Paper (PP) describes the project purpose as follows:

The Mozambique Democratic Initiatives Project is intended to facilitate increased Mozambican understanding of strategic options and related implementation requirements for democratic initiatives in the three core areas of multiparty elections, the institutionalization of an independent judiciary and the decentralization of government. As such, it will contribute to the long-term goal of promoting viable democratic institutions and fostering democratic values in Mozambique.

The issue of traditional political authority (TPA) is presented in the PP as a sub-component of the decentralized government component. USAID appears to be the only donor involved in this exotic-seeming area, although the GRM and donor officials consulted all agreed that TPAs are essential to the decentralization process. One high-ranking ministry official commented to the consultant that Marxism/Leninism failed in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea Bissau not because of any international forces, but because it had "no roots in African soil." He went on to predict that any Mozambican government in the future will have to be rooted in Mozambican culture, which includes the traditional political authority structure. It must be emphasized that not all GRM officials share this view at this time.

The project's focus is on the analysis of problems related to the project purpose. Assistance is available to both GRM and to "non-governmental entities." The Project Paper notes that project-supported analyses will be needed by whoever wins the forthcoming elections.

The PP observes that there has been over-centralization of government in Mozambique since independence, with economically deleterious results. It is interesting to note that some of the same problems that Frelimo sought to remedy by state intervention and highly-centralized government (e.g. Mozambique's weak sense of national identity), are now being approached in an opposite way: through the promotion of local autonomy and pluralism. However, as the PP notes, "Many in authority while seeing the need for loosening control of the economy, still maintain a centralized and hierarchical view of politics and development." Because of the legacy of Frelimo and centuries of colonialism, it is difficult for GRM officials at any level to think of government in a very different way, i.e., "...as a force to create an enabling environment to facilitate individual and community self-reliance." (p.17)

With the Fifth Party Congress and its re-examination of socialist ideology, the GRM embarked on a path of "creating a more open and participatory society." This led to more than a year of debate over the specifics of a new constitution, which was finally enacted in November 1990. The "process of democratic reform has now taken on a life of its own in Mozambican society and would be difficult to reverse." (p.7)

Project Outputs.

Outputs relating to each of the 3 components are called for. Under Decentralization, these take the form of analyses of government at various levels (central, provincial, district), along with action plans detailing what training, financial, and material resources are needed. Under the sub-component of TPA, the Project Paper calls for:

Analysis of the patterns of traditional authority in Mozambique and the development of an action plan indicating how such traditional authorities might be effectively integrated into formal government structures. (p.25)

Under Sector Survey, there is a description of TA by a team which includes one or more anthropologists that will, among other things: "review patterns of traditional authority and assess the roles and relationships between government organizations and NGOs and traditional authorities, and define key issues and constraints to addressing them." (p.30) There are also project funds set aside, yet not specifically earmarked, for Non-Governmental entities" that will help establish civil society.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings

A. The MAE Technical Team

There is a "Technical Team" organized some two years ago under the leadership of the Ministry of State Administration (MAE) that has a mandate to develop an empirically-derived information base regarding TPAs, to disseminate such information, and to advise the GRM on policy related to TPAs. These activities come under the MAE's Traditional Authority/Power Project. The Team's Director is the National Director for the Organization of the State, within the MAE. The Technical Director of the team is a Brazilian-born anthropologist with considerable research experience in Mozambique. There is another non-Mozambican, a lawyer and anthropologist from Cameroon with research experience in traditional jural systems in Mozambique. The six national members of the team represent several disciplinary backgrounds (law, history, economics, philosophy) and they currently occupy key positions in the MAE (in addition to Director for the Organization of the State, Director for Local Administration), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Institute for International Relations (see Annex A).

The Team Director told the consultant this team was put together not so much because of special research skills as to "balance the academic/theoretical with practical needs." He noted that the team consists entirely of people self-selected because of their interest in TPAs, and that all Mozambican members are Africans ethnically. This is because "We are delving into African culture; we now have to reflect about ourselves, our own experience."

It should be recognized that the six Mozambicans on the Team are GRM officials whose understanding of TPA issues will be important in both articulating and implementing any policy suggested by research.

B. The Pilot Study

In February 1992, the MAE Technical Team submitted a proposal to USAID/Mozambique (designated by MAE as "Document 6") requesting support for activities related to TPAs, such as archival and other documentary research, a Pilot Study, analysis of research findings and the development of policy recommendations. This followed the Team's submission of a more general, analytic summary of the situation of TPAs in Mozambique before and after Independence ("Document 5"). While USAID was considering the proposal, it provided a small amount of support for start-up activities on the part of one full-time, non-government employee. Meanwhile the Ford Foundation agreed to support the Pilot Study, analysis of its results and the convening of an International Seminar. The seminar

is scheduled for January 1992 (originally for November 1992) and it will be not only to present findings from the Pilot Study, but to do a comparative analysis of the issues and exchange ideas with researchers and policy-makers from six countries elsewhere in Africa that are "facing similar challenges" with TPAs. The proposal to Ford ("Document 7") also requested support for trips by Mozambican delegates to other African countries in order to see how accommodation/integration with TPAs has proceeded there.

Regarding the Pilot Study, it is planned that three types of informants will be interviewed: traditional political authorities, subjects of TPAs, and knowledgeable local informants such as teachers, church members, health workers, and others who do not come directly or formally under the authority of local TPAs. The team began fieldwork Sept. 10 on a staggered schedule in which eight people will spend three weeks each in the field in teams of two (a total of 24 person/weeks.) The study is divided in a culturally-meaningful way into four ethnolinguistic regions: (a) the Zambezi complex; (b) the Amakhua Complex plus Makonde; c) the Central Region; and d) the South. No fewer than 33 districts in all 11 provinces will be covered.

The Technical Director has provided an essentially anthropological framework of analysis for the study based on the use of flexible, open-ended interview schedules to be adapted to local, regional requirements. The framework is very broad and includes the following:

- use and distribution of land, land rights and lack of rights
- natural resources of the area and local subsistence practices
- legal/jural or juridical practices
- patterns and mechanisms of social control
- conflict and conflict resolution
- the basis for legitimacy of authority; ceremonial/symbolic expressions of legitimacy. (Useful procedures are suggested viz. recording power/authority-related terms from local languages, then explaining them in Portuguese)
- local trade and commerce
- relationship to external administration
- "assimilation," voluntary or compulsory
- dynamics of cultural transmission (myths, proverbs, rites and rituals, [including field observation of same])
- external agents of change: government administration, schools, health care, cooperative farming, etc.
- basic descriptive data on kinship systems (marriage, clan and lineage system, post-marital residence rules and practices; kin group alliances)
- modes of community participation
- impact of war, displacement of population, etc.

- positive and negative aspects of relations between TPAs and local government; areas of conflict
- how above system accommodated, or integrated with, colonial authority structures (or did not)⁵

All of the above will be considered in the context of history and change (impact of the Portuguese, impact of Frelimo, the insurgency, displacement, etc.), which framework also greatly expands the scope of empirical research. The aim is to develop a knowledge base and "a program of action that permits the definition of criteria and the forms of integration and legitimitization of traditional power in a political and institutional model of the country," according to Document 6. There will also be hypothesis formulation and testing in relation to both cultural patterns and possible mechanisms of accommodation/integration regarding TPAs.

Clearly this is an ambitious first effort, virtually ethnographic in scope. The Pilot Study will only be able to gain preliminary and somewhat superficial information on most of these topics. On the other hand, it is probably not necessary according to the purposes of this research to explore many of these areas in any depth. The focus must remain on TPAs, only learning enough about their roles and function to work effectively with a minimum of social or cultural disruption. It is also true that a broad and general approach with wide geographic coverage is called for in a pilot study of this sort, especially since so little is known prior to going into the field.

There was a meeting in August in which methodological and field logistics issues were discussed by Team members. Part of the discussion involved reconciling two very different types of interview instruments, since one team member proposed his own, structured, pre-coded interview schedule. The Technical Director, on the other hand, emphasized flexibility and need to adapt methods as well as instruments to the exigencies of the field situation. It was agreed that one researcher would use his own questionnaire in addition to the open-ended instrument developed largely by the Technical Director.

Team members were asked to send any further comments or suggestions regarding field methods of instruments to the Technical Director after the meeting. None did.

The problems or constraints apparent in the Pilot Study may be summarized:

⁵ This is abstracted from MSA Technical Team "Document 7," which is the Team's proposal to Ford Foundation for funding of the Pilot Study.

- brevity of field period (24 person/weeks)
- interview guide not fully standardized
- literature search needed more analysis and discussion, with identification of tentative patterns emerging therefrom
- inexperience of some of the researchers in the essentially anthropological methods required for this study
- special political sensitivity of the subject matter
- lack of apparent coordination (some sort of feedback mechanism to the Technical Director) during fieldwork

The consultant was not really in a position to express much critical opinion about the Pilot Study, since the Technical Team had secured its own funding for the study from the Ford Foundation. However he was able to suggest advice during discussions with the Technical Director and the team's full-time (non-government) researcher, and they in turn strongly influence the methodological approach of others on the Team. The Technical Director will also take the lead in writing the proposal to USAID for a second study.

The consultant tried to reinforce the approach represented by the meeting of MAE Provincial Directors (see next section.) He reminded his counterparts that when in the earliest stages of a study of this sort, researchers should spend some time obtaining the views of local provincial and district officials as well as other knowledgeable sources (church leaders, teachers, health extension workers, farmers, etc.) in order to expand knowledge base and refine field methods prior to directly interviewing TPAs. The closer such secondary informants are to the "grassroots," the better. Of course interviewers must keep foremost in mind the perspective of informants, including any systematic biases. In any case, interviews with such secondary informants should be relatively easy to conduct and they can help refine strategies and questions intended for TPAs. They can also provide different perspectives on an issue as well as a validity check to information provided by TPAs.

Note that the Team has at least two field workers experienced in research with TPAs in Mozambique; they will surely come up with some valuable findings and insights. The lawyer/anthropologist has provided her colleagues with an analytic framework for studying jural-political systems in a dual (traditional/modern) system context.⁶ The Technical Director has written what might be considered a model research report on TPA and its socio-cultural

⁶ Tsemo, Sihaka, "Reflexoes sobre Aspectos Juridicos da Pesquisa sobre o Poder/Autoridade Tradicional," Ministerio Da Administracao Estatal, Projecto De Investigacao Sobre Poder/Autoridade Tradicional, 15 Maio, 1992.

context among the Amakhuwa of southern Cabo Delgado Province.⁷ In fact, the report is far more focused on precisely what is needed in the Pilot Study than her analytic framework for that study would suggest (see above).

The Amakhuwa field study was financed by a Swedish organization, but the findings are relevant to what the MAE calls the Traditional Authority/Power Project. In her methodological section, the author recommends useful field procedures such as: (1) gaining a theoretical framework, prior to fieldwork and from existing literature, regarding the basic social organization and ethnolinguistic profile of the area to be studied; (2) obtaining the field assistance of students or other local residents who are well-familiar with local language, customs, manners, etc. who can assist in arranging and conducting interviews, and in the cultural interpretation of findings; and (3) informally interviewing a cross-section of local informants (male/female and young/old) who represent various perspectives and areas of knowledge).

Also valuable is the author's description of tactics used by the Amakhuwa to deceive deliberately the former Portuguese administration about which TPAs exercise what kind of power.⁸ There would have been at least as much reason for Amakhuwa to develop such survival tactics of deceit under Frelimo. This lends further argument for the need to use flexible interview methods in which information can be cross-checked with a variety of informants.

It must also be recognized that, whatever the weaknesses of the Pilot Study, its field phase in particular will serve to directly sensitize six key government officials who will be important in both developing and implementing any policy suggested by the research--or any other stimulus. In addition, all fieldworkers seem motivated by a sense of purpose and a sense that they are at the vanguard of positive social change in their country.

C. Results of Meeting with MAE Provincial Directors

The Technical Director convened a meeting of MAE provincial directors March 16, 1992, and asked them to give their general views about TPAs based on what they had learned in their respective areas. A summary of representative direct or paraphrased comments follows:

⁷ Baptista Lundin, Irae, "Algumas Consideracoes Sobre A Sociedade Amakhuwa." Ministerio da Administracao Estatal, Maputo, 9 de agosto de 1992.

⁸ Ibid, p. 5.

- "Whether we like it or not, traditional power exists. It is accepted by nearly the whole rural population. Reasons? It's a way of life that won't change in a short time."
- TPAs seem to operate as before in Renamo areas
- TPAs are still influential in Government-controlled areas; they still exercise power
- TPAs are known by, and familiar to, the masses. They can carry out rituals and ceremonies (much needed in times of drought and hunger), unlike government functionaries. (several directors mentioned this)
- TPAs have contacts that bridge the gulf between Renamo and Frelimo areas; "they organize both populations."
- TPAs can mobilize labor and support for infrastructure like roads and schools
- "TPAs never ceased to exist." Frelimo seldom reached the rural grassroots; in some areas it never "touched" TPAs; "ficou intacto." We have pretended TPAs no longer exist "for convenience."
- "Frelimo used chiefs during the armed struggle...but later ignored them."
- TPAs are asserting themselves over Presidentes da aldeia. "TPAs resolve local problems village Presidents don't even understand."
- In local party elections, sons of regulos are being elected over Frelimo members.

In sum, there was notable agreement among these local-level officials that TPAs never really lost their power and that they are now moving more to the forefront. It is significant that every one of these MAE officials expressed such candor about a topic about which there has been so much official self-delusion for so many years. Some officials asked how we can "reconcile democracy with traditional power." That is indeed an important question (see next section).

In the section on civil society and TPA, we referred to a cultural retrenchment common among "tribal" people in times of turmoil, such as war and civil strife. It is also common among tradition-bound rural Africans to turn to rituals and therefore to ritual leaders in times of drought and hunger. Mozambique is currently suffering its worst drought in generations. As several Provincial Directors mentioned, traditional political as well as spiritual or health leaders are known to carry out ritual functions in parts of

Mozambique. Traditional chiefs are known as rainmakers and "healers of the land" in neighboring Tanzania, whose a post-Independence Socialist government also marginalized its TPAs.' Further information should be supplied by the Pilot Study on the ritual functions of TPAs as well as the function of ritual in these times of strife, uncertainty, social and population upheaval. In the meantime, the consultant agrees with the guess of some in the MAE that traditional authorities are probably more sought out nowadays than in the recent past by at least the majority rural population.

D. Establishment of a Research Cabinet.

Several Technical Team members identified the need for some sort of permanent "cabinet" of research that would develop an empirically-derived information base to guide the government's decentralization program with information and advice regarding traditional authority. Such a cabinet would need guidelines, terms of reference and donor assistance to maintain a research staff. It would also need TA provided by expatriates. It would be staffed with "scientists" rather than "bureaucrats" and it would need to be as free as possible from government influence. It might be formed within the MAE but it should be financially independent (see Annex B for the context in which this issue arose).

E. Meetings with Interested Donors.

Other donors such as SIDA and UNDP seem highly interested in the Democratic Initiatives Project, and specifically in the decentralization process and role TPAs will play in this. The consultant found, however, that no other group was currently involved in activities involving TPAs, nor were any planned.

SIDA supports democratic initiatives in the Ministry of State Administration, but not at the local level. There had been a plan to do so, but budgetary cut-backs has prevented this. SIDA might support TPA efforts indirectly by supporting relevant anthropological-type research.

UNDP will support a decentralization project in Nampula intended to build capacity in several areas (institutional, legal, financial/fiscal, development, planning) and which will help re-define the role of the central government as well as the private

¹ Feierman, S., Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania. Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1990: 263.

sector, with greater autonomy going to "local structures."¹⁰

The UN will be involved in the peace process, the supervision of national elections, and a program of rapid rehabilitation (rebuilding physical infrastructure at the grassroots level.) TPAs are expected to be especially important in the latter. Even now, based on information gleaned in Renamo-held areas from the ICRC, it seems clear that TPAs could play a major role in allowing safe passage and assisting distribution of food and medicines. (UNDP agents are now travelling along with the ICRC to learn how best to distribute food and medical aid in such areas.)

UNDP and UNSCERO recognize that with the return to home areas of some 5 million displaced people including refugees, deslocados, and demobilized soldiers--a third of Mozambique's total population--there will be a major problem concerning land rights. What will these people return to? Will land have already been allocated (by TPAs or by Renamo) to other people during their absence? Whatever happens, TPAs are probably already better-positioned than local GRM officials to sort out land problems in rural areas.

Other USAID-supported projects are also interested in traditional authority. For example, the University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center's investigations and policy discussions repeatedly come up against the question of TPAs. The LTC would benefit greatly from the development of a reliable, empirical information base regarding the structure of TPA. Indeed it plans to continue research of its own, some of it probably focused on aspects of TPA. In the meantime, the MAE Technical Team seems to offer the best prospect of providing a national overview of the situation, a typology of TPAs and a description of general patterns, along with variations by region and ethno-linguistic group.

F. TPA Activities in Future and Land-Related Issues

The MAE Technical Team will re-submit a proposal to USAID, probably in November (see Time Schedule, below) for support in the following activities: (1) a post-Pilot Study phase of research; (2) the development of an Action Plan based on the Pilot and post-Pilot study findings; and (3) the implementation of an Action Plan, probably in the form of pilot seminars for TPAs.

The research is expected to give special emphasis to issues related to land tenure, including resettlement. This happens to coincide

¹⁰ see "PNUD apoia esforcos de descentralizacao," Noticias, 9/9/92, p.3.

with the expressed interests of TPAs themselves¹¹ as well as that of USAID, the Land Tenure Center, UNDP and other donors. For its part, the MAE Technical Team observed that existing law does not recognize traditional land tenure even though such is the practice determining land use in most rural areas. The Team believes that the government will have to take existing institutions into account in any realistic planning, including for post-Accord rural reconstruction. Mr. F. Macamo of MAE/Local Administration commented, "You can't study traditional political authority without getting into land issues. Land is power and power is land."

The MAE has already initiated local level seminars, in three provinces so far, where land issues are being discussed. Various elders are speaking out candidly at these meetings, although they are not identifying themselves as TPAs, nor for that matter as traditional healers, although both are known to attend.

The LTC has gathered evidence from Chokwe that divestiture of state-owned land (more of which is expected nationally) does not necessarily revert to smallholders or others with the "capacity to farm," whatever official policy states. Land has gone either to the "private sector" (i.e., companies, usually foreign) or to "family sector farmers" where allocation is related to "wealth, status, and/or political or family connections."¹² This can be taken as further evidence of the need to bring TPAs into the equation--since this is already the reality at the local level--as well as traditional land tenure systems.

Indeed, local LTC consultant Greg Myers has recommended that the GRM establish a structure that can set and implement land policies. At the local level, there must be a locally-elected board of representatives who can help carry out land distribution and who can arbitrate disputes. TPAs should be "permitted" to participate in Locality-level meetings of land boards, and they should serve as representatives of those to whom they are accountable.¹³ In Cabo Delgado at least, TPAs known as mamwene (sing. mwene) traditionally exercise(d) "territorial control" over whole Localities (GRM-recognized administrative units that come under Districts),¹⁴

¹¹ Comment from Team Technical Director and based on preliminary research in Cabo Delgado.

¹² G. Myers, "Property Rights and Ecological Conservation: The Case of State Farm Divestiture in the Shokwe Irrigation Scheme" U of Wisc., Land Tenure Center, 1992, p. 3.

¹³ Ibid, p. 8.

¹⁴ Baptista Lundin, Irae, "Algumas Consideracoes Sobre A Sociedade Amakhuwa." Ministerio da Administracao Estatal, Maputo, 9 de agosto de 1992, p. 10.

therefore it seems hard to imagine how land disputes could be settled without such a TPA's participation.

It may be noted that thinking among development planners may be shifting away from the prevailing belief that Africa's inability to feed itself stems from traditional land tenure systems and lack of Western-style land titling:

Whenever indigenous institutional arrangements seem inadequate to enforce the rules, it is generally because their legitimacy has been eroded by the intervention of the "alien legality" of the autocratic state. Rather than accept the demise of indigenous institutions as a fait accompli and increase the powers of the state, perhaps what is needed is a democratization of the state so that local communities will be able to choose their own institutional arrangements.¹⁵

Fortunately, this is precisely what the TPA component of the Democratic Initiatives project is in a position to help accomplish through supporting efforts such as those planned by the Ministry of State Administration. There could be lessons learned here of great importance to the rest of Africa.

Recommendations

A. General Recommendation.

The activities planned by the MAE Technical Team, as well as those already initiated with Ford Foundation support, are fully compatible with the overall purpose and specific objectives of USAID's Democratic Initiatives Project. It is recommended that USAID provide support for future activities which will be elaborated in a formal proposal to be submitted to USAID (see Time Schedule, below.) More detailed recommendations are found in the sub-sections to follow (B-E).

B. Research.

The flexible, qualitative research methods planned for both the Pilot Study and a follow-on study are appropriate to the task at hand. This should not be forgotten in evaluating the methodology of a second study. By and large, and except for some very basic, non-sensitive data, quantitative methods are not appropriate for either study because: (1) we are in the earliest, exploratory phase of

¹⁵ van den Brink, R. and D. Bromley, The Enclosures Revisited: Privatization, Titling, and the Quest for Advantage in Africa. Cornell Food and Nutrition Policy Program, Working Paper 19, Jan. 1992, p.23.

research; (2) we don't know enough about our subject to measure patterns that first must be discovered; (3) the subject matter is politically-sensitive and probably threatening to interviewees; this could certainly lead to "institutionalized prevarication" and other types of distorted, misleading responses.

At least as much art as science is called for in preliminary, exploratory research of this sort. Gaining trust and establishing rapport are of major importance. If this takes time and skill, then the needed time should be taken, and researchers might enlist the aid of local people who are trusted (as recommended by the Technical Director). It is preferable to obtain valid information from fewer informants and geographic areas than to get misleading information from more areas. This should be kept in mind when evaluating MAE's expected proposal to USAID for support of a more detailed study of TPA.

One research question of special interest at this time is the extent to which patterns and structures of traditional authority are maintained or disrupted among refugees and deslocados. Since perhaps a third of Mozambique's population falls into this category, the question is especially timely--particularly if the MAE is contemplating programs involving TPAs (see below). It seems possible that not all dislocated groups will return to their areas of origin after the Peace Accord. Will these groups have TPAs, and if so, of what sort? There is evidence from the staff of the Children and War program (Save The Children/USA), which works closely with traditional authorities of all kinds among deslocados in Mozambique and among refugees in Malawi and Zimbabwe, that displaced Mozambicans can always identify traditional political, ritual and health leaders among them. In fact, these traditional leaders are relied on to help locate and reunite family members separated from one another by the war. The spiritual/health leaders among them seem to play a key role in individual, family and "community therapy" related to the trauma of war.¹⁶

However information of this sort is anecdotal and spotty. Future TPA research should clarify questions related to TPAs among dislocated Mozambicans.

It is recommended that USAID provide limited TA in finalizing the design of any TPA-related study in Mozambique. This is not because there are not local anthropologists with the requisite design skill but because local expertise may need to be reinforced by an outside expert. It should be noted that there is no elaboration of Pilot Study field methods in either the proposal initially submitted to

¹⁶ Green, EC, Jan Williamson, Paula Nimpuno-Parente, Evaluation of Children and War Program, (PRITECH evaluation) Maputo: Save The Children/USA and USAID. Mozambique, July 1992; Nordstrom, Carolyn, USAID Monthly Progress Reports, Maputo, 1991.

USAID (Document 6) or in that (successfully) submitted to the Ford Foundation (Document 7)--even though the latter proposal elaborates the agenda of the International Seminar. In discussions with the Technical Director, the consultant emphasized the importance of developing a sound, detailed research methodology in MAE's new proposal to USAID/Mozambique. The proposal would benefit from short-term TA and/or guidance from the Democratic Initiatives Manager in this endeavor.

C. Participation in the Forthcoming International Seminar.

The consultant recommends that the International Seminar would benefit from the participation of a representative from Swaziland who could talk about recent, positive Swazi experience with its own TPAs. This might help the seminar discussion expand beyond the realm of theory and speculation, and help focus realistically on policies and programs needed in an implementation phase in Mozambique. Swaziland is a neighboring country (culturally similar to southern Mozambique) where the government, through its "Tinkhundla" (local, traditional affairs) Ministry, has intervened successfully with TPAs, and where impact data is available to demonstrate positive results in terms of local level development (see Annex C for summary of Swaziland experience).

Appropriate invitees would be the Director of Community Development, who continues to oversee (USAID-sponsored) government workshops for traditional chiefs; and/or Joseph P.M. Gama of Swaziland Broadcasting and Information Systems who helped evaluate the impact of TPA workshops.

D. A TPA Action Plan.

The MAE is under mounting political pressure from the highest levels of government to take some sort of concrete action regarding TPAs. In fact, the Technical Team anticipates developing some sort of orientation or "awareness" seminars or workshops for TPAs in its Action Plan. The consultant strongly agrees that formal, regular meetings such as seminars at the local level between TPAs and the GRM should be central to an Action Plan. A mere policy pronouncement from the MAE or other GRM agency would probably do little to overcome years of mistrust and suspicion from both sides. Perhaps the seminars could be funded initially by Democratic Initiatives project funds set aside for "non-governmental entities that will help establish civil society," to quote the Project Paper. If they are found to be useful, their (comparatively modest) costs in the future could be shared by various GRM ministries concerned with rural development.

Recommendations Regarding TPA Seminars.

Such seminars might not only help establish civil society in the longer term; they would also help clarify short-term roles for TPAs in the massive-scale rural reconstruction effort expected to follow the expected signing of the Peace Accord next month. This effort will involve infrastructural rehabilitation; emergency food-aid distribution; resettlement of 5 million refugees, deslocados, and demobilized soldiers; reconciliation of opposing combatants at the local level; reunification of separated family members and villagers; and allocation of land and the peaceful resolution of land disputes--all within the immediate post-Accord future. It seems highly unlikely that local GRM officials could carry out this monumental task. Only the TPAs have a chance of encouraging, organizing and directing such an effort at the local level.

The main objectives of (pilot) TPA seminars might be described as the enlistment of TPAs' cooperation with government and PVOs/NGOs in the post-Accord rehabilitation and development efforts (i.e. during emergency conditions); and clarification of TPAs' role in both economic development and rural administration in the longer term. This will require:

- finding the best ways to overcome TPAs suspicion and to gain trust;

- presenting and explaining the goals of various development and rehabilitation efforts in ways that are meaningful to TPAs themselves and that seem to be in their own best interest. (It can be expected that some rehabilitation goals, such as building health posts or bridges, will not require much explanation. Others, such as the need for pit latrines and immunization, will.)

- providing some orientation and training in how to do various things, such as how to form development-related committees (which means choosing, preferably electing, competent and trustworthy committee members), how to coordinate such committees and activities, how to delegate responsibility in development efforts, etc.

The broader goal of such seminars would be to promote self-reliant rural development as well as democratic values and structures at the grassroots level in Mozambique.

It is important to note that such an intervention is not intended to interfere with the role of the TPA in any way; it is merely to add new functions to existing roles and to aid in the emergency rehabilitation of Mozambique. If recent experience in Swaziland can be a guide, such "adding to" the role of TPAs in the area of economic development should only enhance the prestige of the TPA.

In other words, if presented properly and accurately, seminars of this sort can be shown to be in the interest of the TPAs themselves. And if experience elsewhere in Africa is generalizable, any efforts of this sort will have a beneficial effect on government-TPA relations because they will be seen as a gesture of courtesy and respect to the much-abused TPAs of Mozambique.

Do we know enough to move forward at this time? Research is needed, to be sure. But the Technical Team agrees that an action plan cannot wait very long. A quick, superficial survey will probably tell us the most essential information needed. If TPAs in Mozambique are similar to those elsewhere in the region, it will probably be found that:

the role of TPA is inherited, although there is room for selection among a small group of eligibles;

senior-ranking TPAs such as chiefs lack "absolute" authority (contrary to Frelimo's earlier characterization). There are some checks and balances to the TPAs authority, usually in the form of at least a council of elders (who are lesser-ranking TPAs themselves). Together with elders, the chief usually presides over making decisions that effect the entire group (village, group of villages, clan, lineage. lineage segment). Decision-making is often a group process and it may be normatively by consensus, meaning that discussion and debate continue until consensus is achieved.

TPAs preserve law and order, settle disputes, allocate land for cultivation and residence, perhaps receive tribute, and may play a role in spiritual or other ritual events. While there may be some overlap in the area of ritual, the TPA role is usually distinct from that of the spirit-medium and healer.¹⁷

Research might show that TPAs do not ordinarily concern themselves with participating in "development" activities--indeed the GRM has gone to great lengths to discourage such participation. Yet with the breakdown of GRM "services" at the local level, TPAs, spirit mediums and other local-level leaders are already assuming new responsibilities. The USAID/Mozambique-supported Children and War program found that traditional political (and spiritual) leaders were already involved as leaders of local-level networks that share information about children and other kinsmen displaced by the

¹⁷ This characterization is compatible with the consultant's findings in Swaziland and with the Technical Director's research in Cabo Delgado. For a general discussion of the role of TPAs in sub-Saharan Africa, see Schapera, I., Government and Politics in Tribal Societies. New York: Schocken, 1967.

Renamo insurgency, and then help locate and reunite them with living family members. Instead of attempting to impose alien, "hi-tech" tracing systems from the outside, the Children and War program instead has worked collaboratively with traditional leaders and the informal networks that already exist, helping them do what they were already doing--but doing it better aided by modern technology such as Polaroid cameras, posters, and computers.¹⁸ This approach has been very successful and it shows, incidently, that TPAs can work effectively with outside agents such as private organizations and government agencies.¹⁹

Tracing missing kinsmen may not be a great departure from the more usual role of TPAs, but still it represents a departure. Rather than being "static, backward, inefficient and antiprogressive," as Frelimo characterized TPAs for many years,²⁰ institutions of traditional authority are in fact dynamic and adaptive to the changing needs of at least rural Mozambicans. We can expect even more modifications of the role of TPAs in coming years, given conditions in Mozambique. With some deliberate effort to assist and guide this process, the results should be better than if it were left unassisted.

In Swaziland, where "training" interventions of the sort contemplated have been carried out from 1986 onwards, a week or two of seminars have had the result of measurably modifying the role of chiefs--both in his own perception, his followers' expectations, and in development-related actions and outcomes. Examples of the latter include raising local funds and/or mobilizing labor for the building of a primary school or a potable water system; and developing local organizations with responsibility for development activities (see Annex C).²¹ Direct costs of training were about \$8-10/day where government training centers were used and overnight accommodations were unnecessary. Costs were kept to a minimum in part because "trainers" or facilitators were supplied by various government ministries (health, agriculture, education) and PVOs

¹⁸ Green, Edward, Jan Williamson, Paula Nimpuno-Parente, Evaluation of Children and War Program, (PRITECH evaluation) Maputo: Save The Children/USA and USAID. Mozambique, July 1992.

¹⁹ No doubt there is evidence from other projects as well, for example World Vision's primary health care project in Zambesia Province.

²⁰ H. West and G. Myers, "A Think Piece: Local-Level Political Legitimacy and Security of Land Tenure in Mozambique." USID/Mozambique: Land Tenure Center, U. of Wisconsin. (ND)

²¹ Green, EC, "Evaluating the Response of Swazi Traditional leaders to Development Workshops." Human Organization Vol 53 No 4, 1992.

(e.g. the family planning association) that wished to improve the rural outreach of their respective programs by communicating their message directly to local chiefs.

Of course Mozambique is vast and the number as well as the role and nature of TPAs can only be roughly approximated at this stage. USAID financial and technical assistance could be used to demonstrate through the recommended action plan that some sort of seminars for TPAs can be very useful in carrying out both the emergency-conditions rehabilitation and reconstruction, as well as the longer-term development, agenda of the GRM and the donors. Following such demonstration, other GRM agencies, PVOs and donors could continue to finance and implement such efforts (hopefully in a coordinated way).

Note that seminars themselves can assist research as they provide an opportunity to quickly get a better idea about the role of various categories of TPAs. Seminar facilitators can simply set aside some time early in the seminar to ask TPAs about their role, and to give them a chance to discuss this among themselves. The consultant and his colleagues in the Mozambique Ministry of Health were able to do this recently in both focus groups discussions and actual collaborative seminars with Mozambican traditional healers in Manica province.²² It should also be noted that the one-time, USAID-sponsored workshop for healers in November 1991 has spawned others not funded by USAID. For example there was a workshop in August 1992 focused on the role of traditional healers and AIDS prevention. Healers in Manica are now distributing condoms, among other areas of cooperation with the Provincial Health department.

The consultant and the Technical Team agree that TPAs should be involved in the design of their own seminars. They can help answer questions such as exactly which TPAs should attend, what might be the best venues, what topics should be discussed, how long should seminars last, etc.

If the GRM or USAID would prefer to proceed with caution until a better knowledge base has been established, TPA seminars could be initiated on a pilot basis and their results evaluated before proceeding further. Limitation of funds also might argue for proceeding on a pilot program basis. If this option is adopted, it is recommended that it be done in a way that tests the approach in the three major cultural areas of Mozambique: the north (where MaKuwa-Chuwabo languages are spoken), in the central region (where Shona languages and ciSena are spoken), and the south (where Tsonga

²² Green, E.C., A. Jurg, T. Tomas, and A. Dgedge, Traditional Health Beliefs and Practices Related to Child Diarrheal and Sexually-Transmitted Diseases. USAID and the Academy for Educational Development, Washington, D.C., Dec 1991.

languages are spoken). (The north can be sub-divided into two ethno-linguistic areas, as the Technical has done for purposes of the Pilot Study.)

Preliminary fieldwork by a Team member suggests that while there are always factionalism and disputes over chieftaincies in Mozambique, this has been compounded by colonial authorities officially appointing only those regulos etc. who would cooperate with the Portuguese. It is expected that there are many disputed chieftaincies nowadays, making it difficult to know whom to deal with or recognize. It can also be anticipated that many TPAs will react with suspicion to GRM overtures of the sort being discussed.

Indeed it should be acknowledged at the outset that there will be problems calling for creative solutions in any effort to develop accommodation and cooperation between the GRM and the leaders they have marginalized over the years. But the payoffs are potentially great.

E. Policy: Building on Proto-democratic Institutions.

A general yet high-priority task ahead is to inform the GRM about the structure and function of traditional authority systems and the changing role of indigenous, traditional leaders. After years of rhetoric, officials and other Mozambicans now must be guided by empirically-derived knowledge. A general aim of research must be to demonstrate to the GRM that traditional or African-indigenous institutions are not necessarily at loggerheads with the type of government and society that the GRM wants, nor with economic or other forms of development. Now that the GRM is moving toward government and society characterized by decentralized administration, participatory development, and political pluralism, future USAID-funded research should look for existing elements of the indigenous sociopolitical system that seem compatible with this. Examples might include: the check-and-balance function of the chief's council, a degree of accountability of TPAs to their followers, procedures for selecting chiefs among a group of finalist eligible kinsmen, decision-making by consensus, and institutions or mechanisms for censuring TPAs.²³

Means could then be experimented with to build upon such proto-democratic institutions, rather than to impose more alien systems from the outside. The Team Technical Director agrees fully with this approach, and the consultant saw no evidence of contrary opinion among other team members.

²³ The Team's Technical Advisor has found evidence of such patterns in Northern Mozambique, as has the present consultant in Swaziland, where patterns of TPA may be expected to be similar to those of southern Mozambique.

From the consultant's experience in Swaziland, it appears possible to sew seeds of democratic structures and values at the grassroots through seminars of the sort contemplated. In order to carry out urgent rural reconstruction activities after the Peace Accord, rural Mozambicans including TPAs will have to involve themselves in various unfamiliar activities and concepts related to public health, infrastructural development, sanitation, emergency food distribution, reforestation, and the like. Some of these measures will correspond to locally-identified needs. Others, such as environmental sanitation and immunization, will be unfamiliar. Trained Mozambicans from appropriate branches of government as well as PVOs/NGOs will have to explain supporting concepts in culturally-meaningful terms in order to engender support from local people. This is particularly true for people and leaders in Renamo-held areas, where there have been virtually no "development" activities or formal education of any sort since Independence.

Clearly, participatory rural reconstruction and development will be necessary, and this will only succeed if a critical number of people actually participate at the local level. Given the characteristics of many rural Mozambicans at present (suspicious of government, hungry and in poor health, dislocated from their home areas, and generally traumatized by 15 years of brutal war), it is difficult to imagine who other than traditional authorities could mobilize popular support for, and participation in, the activities required. This is particularly true since, as noted above, Mozambicans seem to be turning increasingly to familiar, traditional authorities--"political" as well as spiritual--because of the war, drought, famine, and general civil disruption.

Assuming that the support of at least some traditional authorities can be gained through the proposed seminars, TPAs will probably need to mobilize and organize their followers in new ways. There may have to be new committees, councils or other local organizations with somewhat specialized functions that relate to the tasks at hand. TPAs may not always be in the best position to select members of such organizations with the requisite technical and social skills, or motivation, to carry out the tasks. TPAs may therefore be persuaded to allow some sort of popular election of competent, motivated and trustworthy leaders of not members of local organizations. In Swaziland, a highly conservative monarchy, local chiefs had no objection to their followers electing members of women's self-help committees. Election of men to other development-related organizations seems to have followed in some areas. To quote from an evaluation of development seminars for leaders of women's self-help committees:

Women also gave evidence that leadership training has helped them select positive leadership qualities in their candidates for Zenzele leadership positions ("We don't want giraffes!"--women's vernacular for supercilious or condescending people

who look down on others). It has also helped institute democratic elections for Zenzele office.

We may observe at this juncture that social egalitarianism, democratic elections, and the greater empowerment of women are all somewhat contrary to fundamental patterns of Swazi traditionalism such as subordination of women, passive acceptance of authority from above (especially on the part of women) and social stratification based on birthright. In other words, the training of Zenzele women, like that provided for traditional leaders under Community Development, seems to have the potential for fundamental and far-reaching changes in Swazi society.²⁴

This training for rural women's groups was a component of the same project that provided development awareness seminars for Swazi traditional political authorities.

Efforts to engender popular elections within structures of traditional political authority in Mozambique would likewise seem to have the potential for fundamental and far-reaching changes in Mozambican society. And of course popular elections cannot emerge without some associated ideas and values, such as authority-by-merit and future accountability to one's constituency. The emergence and development of such structures, ideas and values of course will take time, but the proposed seminars for TPAs have the potential to at least initiate and guide the process.

F. Capacity-building

The MAE Technical Team has identified a need for one or more donors to provide "capacity-building at the local level" (provincial, district) for the Ministry of State Administration (see ANNEX B). Capacity-building of this sort is justified if USAID or other donors would like to help the GRM develop cooperative relations with TPAs, and if it believes the MAE is the appropriate ministry to spearhead such cooperation. It is also justified if the MAE is to play its anticipated role as coordinator of GRM and donor assistance in the massive rural reconstruction that should follow the anticipated signing of a Peace Accord.

²⁴ Green, EC, Assessing the Impact of Development Education for Rural Women's Organizations. Washington, D.C.: Management Systems International. Dec. 1990, pp. 24-5. For a published summary, see Green, EC, "Women's Groups and Income Generation in Swaziland." Practicing Anthropology Vol 14 No 4, 1992.

or one of the existing NGOs to carry out seminars for TPAs on a national scale. Change without such seminars to explain such get TPA input in the design of a new would almost certainly be insufficient.

appears to be the appropriate branch of since it has responsibility for the stration at various levels: national, Locality. It is at the lowest level that tion between the GRM and local TPAs must

ACTIVITIES

between the consultant, the Technical Team natives Project Officer, the following ned within the following timeframe:

es Related to TPAs

--- 1993----->
ec. Jan. Feb. Mar. Apr.

X

X

XXXXXXXXX

XXX

XX

2

ANNEX A: PERSONS AND AGENCIES CONTACTED

AGENCY

PERSONS

USAID

John M. Miller, Deputy Director
J. Michael Turner, Manager,
Democratic Initiatives Project
Charles North, Depy. Prog. Officer
Sidney Bliss, Proj. Dev. Officer
Julie Born, Food Security Officer
Greg Myers, Land Tenure Center,
Univ. of Wisconsin

Ministry of State
Administration

Dra. Irae Baptista Lundin,
Technical Coordinator
Dr. Carlos Manuel, National
Director for the Organization
of the State
Dra. Sihaka Tsembo, Eduardo
Mondlane Univ.
Dr. Jose Guambe, National Director
for Local Administration
Dr. Alvaro O da Silva, Ministry of
Foreign Affairs
Dr. Januario Mutaquiha, UNESCO
Dr. Raul Honwana, Institute for
International Relations
Dr. Fernando Macamo, MAE/Local
Administration
Dr. Helder Mutea, MAE

SIDA

Bosse Hammarstrom, Coordinator of
Program of Education and Public
Administration

UNDP

Wolfgang Scholtes, Dpty. Res. Rep.

Eduardo Mondlane Univ.

Dr. Jeanne Penvenne, Fulbright
Historian

Population Services International Duncan Earle, RSA Country Dir.

ANNEX B:
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF THE LOCAL LEADER TRAINING COMPONENT OF
THE SWAZILAND MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (1985-95)
(Evaluation conducted Oct.-Nov. 1990)*

1. Magnitude of training. 2,980 participants, or at least 1,000 individual traditional and local leaders were exposed to development education under the SWAMPD project between 1986-90. This far exceeds the original training targets.

2. Institutional developemnt. Most of staff of Community Development (CD), or at least 25 junior officers and 19 senior officers, were trained in community development, leadership, applied behavioral science, and appropriate methods for training rural adults in developing countries. The junior staff completed a "certificate course" in community developemnt held at the Dept. of Extramural Services at the University of Swaziland. Two senior staff, the Principal CD Officer and the Women in Developemnt Coordinator, participated in short-term project-supported training in the USA.

3. A brief but carefully-sampled follow-up survey of 50 local leaders who had been exposed to project-sponsored training showed that the positive trends found some 18 months earlier in an impact evaluation of such training** are still continuing. For example, it was agreed during the design of SWAMPD (1984) that the (mean) average number of development-related organizations per randomly-selected community would be used as a general, objective, quantifiable measure of development activity on Swazi Nation Land (rural areas under traditional land tenure systems). This would also serve as a general impact indicator for the project. The average number of such organizations rose from 5.5 in 1983 to 11.5 in April 1989, to--as we found in the evaluation survey--17 in Oct. 1990. The apparent significant growth during the last 18 months of project support may be partly a statistical irregularity due to our relatively small sample, but the growth trend can said with confidence to be continuing.

4. There are convincing empirical findings that show ccntinuation of positive trends resulting from, SWAMPD-supported training, even since the evaluation survey 18 months prior to the present evaluation. In addition to an increase in the number of development-related local organizations, we found the chief's council playing a more prominent development role, and an increased sense of local--as distinct from government--responsibility for rural development.

5. Since 1989 There has been a measurable rise in income-generating and in committee-formation activity, findings corroborated by this evaluation's parallel survey which showed significant growth in economic activity on the part of zenzele (women's self-help) groups.

* Green, EC, Assessing the Impact of Development Education for Chiefs and Rural Women's Organizations. Washington, D.C.: Management Systems International. Dec. 1990.

**For the earlier, more detailed evaluation, see Green, EC, Local Leaders and Development Education in Swaziland. Washington, D.C.: TransCentury Corporation, 1989.

We also referred in the same section to a "power vacuum"--GRM officials in several ministries appear to use this characterization--existing at the local level, where it is unclear who is exercising what kind of power.