

**SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA
INSTITUTIONS, GOVERNANCE AND POLICY
PROCESSES**



Mozambique Mapping Phase Report 2 of 2

**Mapping Policy, Institutions and Livelihoods in Zambézia Province,
Mozambique**

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1. Introduction

People derive their livelihoods from various sources. In rural areas, these include particularly the exploitation of natural resources and agricultural production. However, sustainable livelihoods in the rural areas are affected by several factors, amongst which are rights of access and ability (through use of appropriate technology) to harvest and transform the products.

Zambézia is one of the provinces in Mozambique where the biggest agricultural companies were established during the colonial period for production of export crops such as tea, coffee and coconut. Surrounding these large states were the local farmers. This arrangement was deliberate in order to ensure a cheap labour supply to these companies. Changes have occurred in the last twenty or so years due to the nationalisation policy and the long civil war. In addition, there has been a rapid change in macro-economic policies, from central planning in 1975 to an open market economy in 1987 and the consequent change in sectoral policies. The result of these factors is a new set of policies governing access to natural resources and a new pattern of settlement areas, which has created the potential for conflicts of interest between different stakeholders.

This research on livelihoods and natural resources is being undertaken in the three southern African countries of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The research is co-ordinated by IDS and aims to look at the development of policy options to support sustainable livelihoods in rural areas. The purpose is to seek suggestions for the improvement of access to resources (water, land and wild resources) for rural communities.

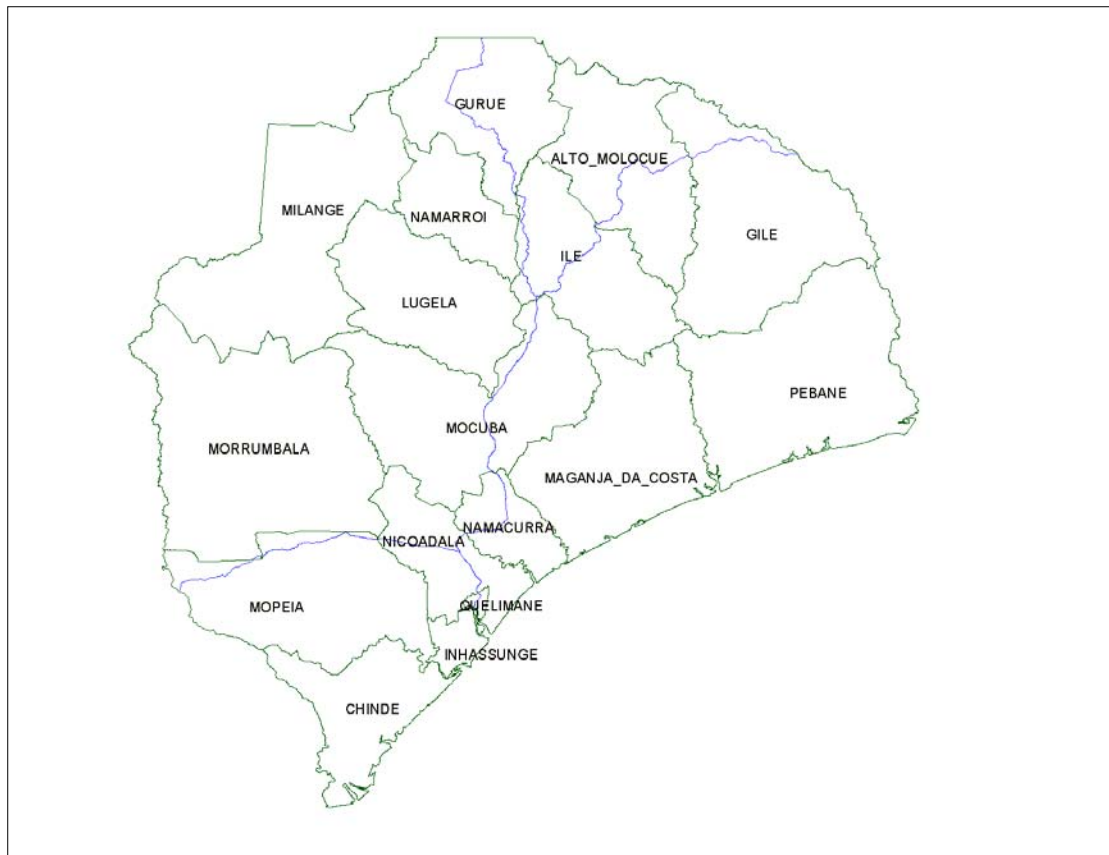
The expected results for the first phase of research comprise the analysis of livelihood strategies, the impact of institutions (formal and informal) as well as strategies adopted to access resources and to do an analysis of the policy content, formulation process and implementation. The key issue to be analysed is how the policies influence access. This report is the second report from this mapping phase. Where the first report examined the macro policy environment and the implementation context of natural resource use and management in Zambézia, this report contains information on the reality of the situation as experienced by the local communities and examines the extent to which natural resource use plays a part in their livelihood strategies.

2. Site identification and characterisation

A literature review on resources distribution and other relevant information about Zambézia province was done in the initial two months. An initial field visit took place in January 2001 and a longer visit was made to the province in July. The initial visit comprised of discussions with institutions at provincial level (Quelimane) in order to gather information, which would lead to a selection of the two districts for further data collection.

The authorities interviewed in the province included the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development (DPADR), the provincial Forestry and Wildlife Services (SPFFB), the Provincial Directorate of Public Works and Habitation, the Provincial Services of Geography and Cadastre (SPGC), the Provincial Governor and NGOs such as World Vision. Attempts to meet others were not successful.

After the individual interviews with these authorities a joint meeting was held to discuss the results of the interviews and reach a consensus regarding the selected districts. The second objective of this meeting was to initiate the creation of a forum at provincial level to discuss



Map 1: Zambezia Province, Mozambique [Source: SPGC, Zambezia]

the implementation of the project. The third objective was to discuss institutional co-ordination as regards decision-making on resource allocation to various stakeholders.

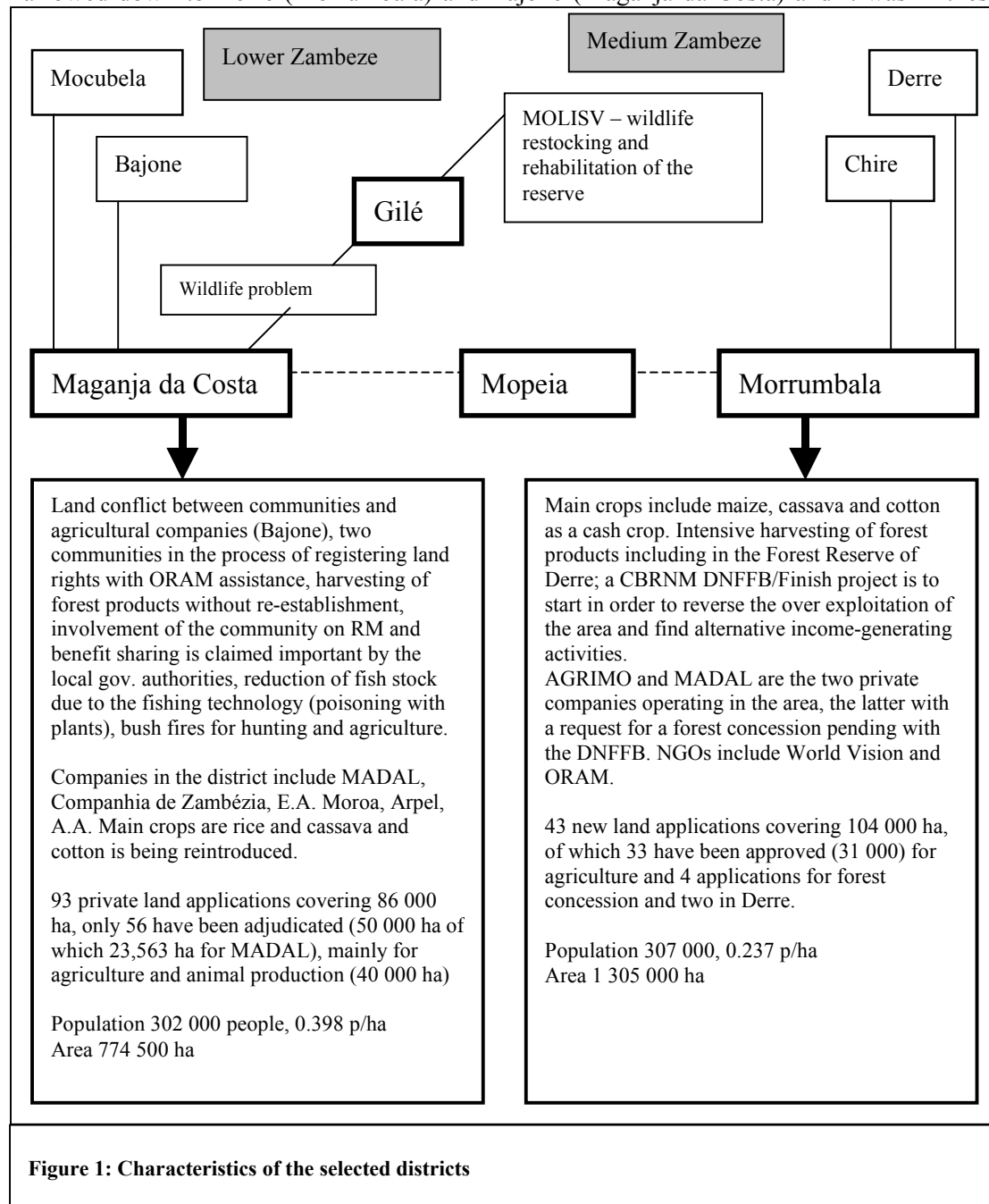
The result of the consultation in Quelimane with government departments and NGOs was the consensus that agriculture, livestock rearing, forest harvesting, hunting and fisheries were the main economic activities in the three areas of Zambezia classified as high, low and medium Zambeze. Districts of the last two categories are rich in resources, but also rich in conflicting interests of land use and users. This influenced the selection criteria, which was based in individual interviews that led to the same areas being indicated. Despite the existence of water for irrigation, only 12% of capacity is being used. Therefore, most of the population practices rain-fed agriculture. Figure 1 below shows the districts that were selected at this time and the reasons for this selection.

After reaching an initial conclusion on the districts in January (Morrumbala, Maganja da Costa and possibly Gilé and Mopeia for wildlife resources) meetings were conducted with the district authorities, including the Administrator of the District, and sectoral district offices, as well as NGOs in order to obtain details on the situation of the district in terms of resources available and access by different stakeholders. This led to the selection of a range of localities where the livelihood mapping and analysis of institutions, governance and policy processes could take place.

At district level information was gathered based on documentation provided by the district officers. Apart from the District Administrator, interviews were conducted with the representative of the sectoral ministries, such as Agriculture, Forestry and Water and Sanitation. Discussions were also held with NGOs operating in the area. This includes ORAM

in Maganja da Costa, and ACODEMAZA in Morrumbala, although it was not possible to meet World Vision.

The district visits made in January were key in the identification of the administrative posts and localities for further investigation. In the case of Maganja da Costa the selected sites were Bajone and Mocubela, while in Morrumbala the selected administrative posts were Derre and Chire. The two administrative posts selected in Maganja da Costa were not covered during the initial visit in January (no interviews were conducted in the communities) due to the intensive rains, which prevented access to Bajone, while Nante and Maganja Town substituted Mocubela. Subsequently, during the further visit in July, the selected study sites were narrowed down to Derre (Morrumbala) and Bajone (Maganja da Costa) and it was in these



More intensive small group work in the selected communities during July led to the production of community maps showing the distribution of resources important to them, of matrices that illustrated their annual activities and Venn diagrams mapping out the important institutional linkages that existed within and between communities and other local actors.

2.1. Derre Administrative Post (Morrumbala)

Morrumbala lies in the central forest belt that stretches across Zambézia in an east west direction. It shares an international border to the west with Malawi, a provincial border with Tete and borders the districts of Mopeia, Milange, Mocuba and Nicoadala within the province. The district occupies an area of 12,972 square kilometres and contains a population of 232,861 inhabitants. The percentage of the total population who are returnees after the end of the war varies according to the population figure used. The actual number of returnees stands at 138,665 all of whom came from or via Malawi. The percentage of returnees who are children under 18 years of age is 68.5%. In addition there was a considerable level of internal displacement in the district.

The district is divided into 4 administrative posts (Morrumbala Sede, Derre, Chire and Mogaza). The administrative post of Derre is further sub divided into 8 localities: Machindo, Guerissa, Nhanzaza, Maticula, Majaua, Namaguadira, Gambula and Derre Sede.

Admin Post	Locality	Population 1997
CHIRE	CHIRE - SEDE	37,401
	CHILOMO	17,301
	GORRO	13,598
	Total	70,297
DERRE	DERRE - SEDE	42,249
	GUERESSA	9,435
	MACHINDO	5,207
	Total	56,891
MEGAZA	MEGAZA - SEDE	7,259
	PINDA	13,379
	Total	20,638
MORRUMBALA	MORRUMBALA - SEDE	32,709
	BOROMA	15,080
	MEPINHA	7,531
	MUANDIUA	20,629
	SABE	11,083
	Total	87,032
Total District Population		232,861

Table 1: Administrative structure & Population figures – Morrumbala [Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Mozambique]

The economy of Morrumbala is based on agriculture and products are mostly traded locally. There is some trade with merchants from outside the district who come from Quelimane, Beira and sometimes as far away as Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane to buy local products, but in terms of an alternative source for purchases a lot of the inhabitants of Morrumbala district prefer to trade across the border in Malawi.

For a sizeable portion of the district it is easier to gain access to Malawi than the district capital because of the condition of roads, although these have improved in recent times. Trade across the border is unrestricted for both household consumption and commercial purposes. The main market for the district is based in Morrumbala, the capital, with smaller markets at the locality and village level.

2.2. Bajone Administrative Post (Maganja da Costa)

Maganja da Costa, as its name implies, borders the Indian Ocean coast to the south of Pebane district but shares all its other borders with other districts in the province. Administratively, it is divided into 4 posts (Maganja Sede, Nante, Mocubela and Bajone) occupying a total area of 7,597 square kilometres.

It is the third most populated district in the province, with a population of 218,711 inhabitants. The war caused considerable disruption in this district. At the time of the peace accords in October 1992, there were approximately 40,000 displaced people (about 17% of the population), according to UNOHAC. This number had fallen by September 1992 to 2,500 people. The UNHCR registered no refugees returning to this district.

The administrative post of Bajone contains the localities of Missal, Nacuida and Naico Mussipa.

Admin Post	Locality	Population 1997
MAGANJA	CABUIR	22,205
	CARIUA	11,563
	MAGANJA SEDE	50,337
	Total	84,105
BAJONE	MISSAL	13,543
	NACUIDA	33,021
	NAICO MUSSIPPA	7,936
	Total	54,500
MOCUBELA	MOCUBELA SEDE	11,587
	MANEIA	8,125
	MUZO	6,689
	Total	26,401
NANTE	NANTE SEDE	9,967
	ALTO MUTOLA	11,525
	MONEIA MALUGUNE	1,382
	MUOLOA	15,577
	NOMIUA	15,254
	Total	53,705
Total District Population		218,711

Table 2: Administrative structure & Population figures – Maganja da Costa [Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Mozambique]

Maganja da Costa has its trade network focussed in the district capital, with links to Mocuba district and nearby towns. Most of the agricultural produce, livestock and consumer goods are traded in the district capital. Foodstuffs arrive on this market from other areas in the district and sometimes from neighbouring districts.

3. Natural resource use and livelihood strategies in the study areas

This section presents information collected from communities in the study areas regarding the livelihood strategies that they employ and, in particular, the role played by natural resource use in the adoption of these strategies. The information was collected in both areas by utilising community mapping processes with the community in general and then focusing on smaller groups to look at issues of productive activities, institutional linkages and dispute resolution mechanisms.

Zambézia, in general terms, is extremely rich in natural resources. Under previous state administration systems geographic areas were grouped into three categories, depending on the type of resources occurring: 'protected' areas, 'productive' areas (mostly adjudicated to

private companies) and ‘multiple use’ areas (where local communities and small scale private sector enterprises were involved). Both of the study areas contain, or have links to, all three of these categories.

3.1. Derre

3.1.1. Community mapping exercise

Two mapping exercises were undertaken with the local populations living in adjacent ‘*regulado*’ areas, Galave and Golombe¹. For the local communities, these ‘*regulado*’ areas are more recognisable and better known than the administrative boundaries of a locality. Further research needs to be done on these particular cases to check the extent to which the boundaries identified by the communities reflect the ‘*regedoria*’ boundaries that were mapped by the Portuguese during the colonial period of indirect rule. There may be some variations as a result of shifting power relations amongst traditional leaders since this period, but it is still significant that, in our experience to date, the communities always approached the mapping exercises exclusively from the perspective of zones of traditional influence.

On both maps, the communities identified the homesteads of the traditional leaders and the respective zones of influence. Notable was the fact that both of the areas have one paramount chief (*régulo*) and two subordinate chiefs (*sapanda*) but that there are three zones of influence, the paramount chief being accessible at first instance in his particular area.

In Galave, approximately one third of the area of the ‘*régulo*’ is officially within the Forest Reserve of Derre, a legally protected conservation area, and over half of the total population live within its boundaries. The general pattern of population distribution appeared to be along the road and grouped around the traditional leaders homesteads or the headquarters of the administrative post.

In the ‘*regulado*’ of Golombe, the entire area falls within the forest reserve and the population distribution is more even throughout the area, although remaining concentrated nearer to the roads and forest tracks. The area lies further from the administrative post headquarters than Galave.

Areas of agricultural production lie predominantly around the settlement areas in both zones. The area of good hunting potential is bigger in extent and is situated closer to the community in Golombe, although the population of Galave also listed hunting in the activities that they undertook. For both populations the resources of the forest were extremely valuable, providing mushrooms, honey, building materials, thatching grass, opportunities for hunting and fishing, firewood and bamboo for various uses.

Sacred forest areas were identified on both the maps; areas known as Namcoarcoar and Mirrule in Golombe and Gumakulo in Galave are recognised by the population as sacred areas where access is regulated by the traditional authorities. Those who have been part of traditional structures during their lifetime may be buried in special places within the forest, and this is considered to be one of the most sacred parts of the forest. In some cases traditional chiefs are buried in their own separate forest and only specific individuals are allowed to visit these sites to conduct religious ceremonies. The rest of the villagers have no

¹ Representations of the maps designed by the inhabitants of these areas are found in the annexure to this report.

access to these sites. This, for example, was the motivation given for the sacred status of the forest of Gumakulo.

In Mirrule and Namcoar, however, it is believed that unless traditional ceremonies are performed before a person enters the area then they will become lost forever. During our visit to the area in January 2001, the sites in of Iuli and Utuago were identified. In these zones it is forbidden for all the community (even traditional chiefs) to visit, collect firewood, wood, fruit, mushrooms or cultivate the land. People and chiefs do not enter into these areas for fear of death or bad spirits.

3.1.2. Activities

The principal economic activities in Derre are dominated by agricultural activities but include also fishing and hunting, the artesian production of baskets and pottery, carpentry and small-scale commerce. The major crops are maize, *mandioca*, beans, millet, *mexoeira*, rice and cotton². Of these crops, maize, *mandioca*, beans and cotton may be grown as cash crops for local sale. The produce is marketed in the district headquarters, at the market in the administrative post or along the principal access roads, where merchants from Quelimane, Mocuba and other districts occasionally arrive to make bulk purchases.

Only a few families produce cotton these days and production has declined considerably. Generally it was considered to be a crop that required much labour and produced little profit. Most of the cotton produced here is purchased by AGRIMO for processing at their new plant in Morrumbala. The company furnishes seed and pesticides to participating families as part of an out-grower scheme.

The whole family is involved in agriculture and children from the age of 12 will be predominantly occupied in the fields. Most families possess 2 or 3 separate *machambas*, usually located near to their homesteads. A few families have cultivated fields much further away in an attempt to find more fertile land.

Hunting was indicated as the second most important activity and is practised by all members of the family. Small animals (cane rats, shrews, etc.) are hunted and trapped by women and children while men usually organise the hunts after larger game. A range of methods is employed and included hunting with dogs and the setting of fires and nets in the forest. Meat obtained through hunting will be sold if captured in sufficient quantities.

Fishing appeared to be almost equal in importance to hunting activities and dried fish were an important part of the local produce sold in the markets. A large number of lakes and rivers were identified as being suitable for fishing. The methods used included hooks with bait, nets, woven fish traps and the use of poisons extracted from local plants (particularly used in the lakes and areas of slow-moving water).

Although not all families are involved in pottery, basket making, carpentry and blacksmithing, these were identified as being important activities. Women tend to practise pottery and weaving whilst men predominate in carpentry and blacksmithing.

² See the representation of the matrix of activities drawn by the population of Filinho (Derre) – annexe.

3.1.3. Vulnerabilities

According to the local population their major vulnerabilities are to flooding, the erosion of fields by heavy rains, stony soils, a lack of seeds and farming instruments, a lack of roads and market infrastructures, the low prices on the local market and the poisoning of the lakes and rivers in the area. Various strategies have been adopted to try and minimise the impact of these. In the dry season, for example, family and neighbourhood networks are used to source scarce supplies of seed and tools for use when the rains arrive. This type of assistance was characterised as 'free' but it would appear that those who loan seeds and tools can expect to be repaid in the form of labour or to have the items replaced at a later time.

The establishment of low prices and monopolistic practises by local merchants presents more of a challenge to the local population who complain bitterly of the fact that these merchants are unable or unwilling to supply seeds and tools as part of an arrangement.

3.1.4. Livelihood strategies

Two particular strategies for diversifying the survival base of families were identified by the groups in Derre. These were migration of (mostly) young men to the cities of Mocuba, Quelimane, Beira and Nampula and the operation of a system known as *ganho-ganho*.

In the area it appeared that *ganho-ganho*, a system of providing labour in the fields to other families in return for payment, functioned mostly as a form of barter trade where payment was made predominantly in manufactured items rather than cash or local produce. Men have more possibilities to move out to another area to earn *ganho-ganho* for their families than women, who stay at home to take care of the children and to farm do. However, there are women in *ganho-ganho*, mainly widows with family responsibilities, because families headed by women are the poorest and the most vulnerable.

There are different kinds of assistance from one area to another. In Derre, there is a form of assistance similar to one existing in southern Mozambique, consisting of farming assistance by friends, relatives and neighbours. If somebody needs help for cultivation he/she prepares food and drink and invites friends and relatives to go to the farm and after that they eat and drink. This kind of assistance is usually to help to extend a cultivated area.

Sometimes, people with something not produced locally, like cloth and other kinds of goods, can invite some of their friends or neighbours to help in cultivation, giving these as remuneration. Usually people with these kinds of goods have sons in the big towns like Quelimane. Certainly, youth emigration to the cities to get employment is an important strategy to help parents and relatives living in rural areas.

Families with members working in the cities were identified as having more financial resources than others, as were those who had established small scale trading activities on the informal market. These families were more often able to employ outside labour to assist in the development of their *machambas*.

The production of traditional alcoholic drinks and the sale of domestic animals and medicinal plants were also identified by the groups as important livelihood strategies and seemed to be widely practised.

Agriculturally, those families that have been able to clear sufficient land adopt a fallow system that leaves fields to rest for a period of two years.

3.1.5. Institutions

Institutions identified by the communities and groups interviewed in Derre included both formal and informal institutions. Figure 2 shows the diagram drawn by the community of Medumba illustrating the links that they had with various institutions. The community group included a *sapanda*, the President of the community court and the *Secretário* of the area.

The formal institutions comprised those of the administrative structure: the *Secretário do círculo* and various *secretários de célula* and *chefes da zona*, each responsible for administration in those particular areas. Informal institutions comprise the *régulo* (paramount leader), *sapandas* and *fumos*. Each *regulado* possesses two *sapandas*, each in turn with their respective advisers (known here as ‘*thubos*’) and *fumos*; the *fumos* also were indicated to take advice from a group of elders that would work with them in administering their respective zones.

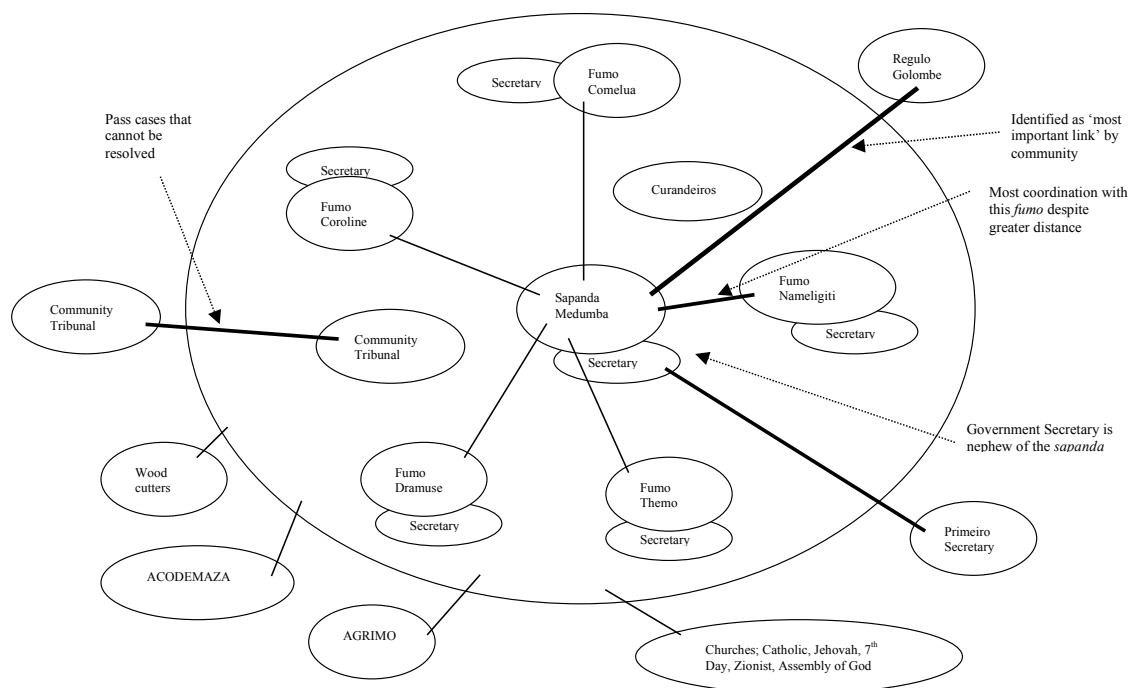


Figure 2: Matrix of institutions drawn by community at Medumba, 22/07/01

In addition to these institutions the communities also identified traditional healers, the association ACODEMAZA (see below), the *Organização da Mulher Moçambicana* (Organisation of Mozambican Women - OMM) and the community court (*tribunal comunitário*). Political parties, private sector entities such as AGRIMO, the churches of various denominations and the NGO World Vision were also mentioned³.

The structures linked to traditional authority as well as the *secretários* and *chefes* of the State administration have general ‘mobilizing’ responsibilities, designed to involve the local populations in the opening and maintenance of tertiary roads, the construction of schools and

³ Asked in the June 1996 MSF/DDM household survey, which associations or organisations were active in the area, the most common response was Renamo (63%), followed by foreign NGOs (54%), then Frelimo (41%) and religious organisations (29%). Other responses were: dynamising groups (14%), demobilised soldiers (10%), and national NGOs (7%). (UN District Development Profile, 1996)

health posts, civil and health education campaigns and are also responsible for the collection of local taxes. In addition, these institutions play a role in the resolution of conflicts, the management of natural resources, the guiding and orientation of official visitors to the area and the political mobilization of the population during election campaigns and meetings called by political delegates.

The traditional authorities appear to be much more closely identified with the role of natural resource management and control and are the only institution that has a role in traditional ceremonies linked to resource exploitation. Those who wish to hunt in particular areas, or who are strangers in the area who wish to open a machamba, will approach the traditional leaders of the area for permission.

ACODEMAZA is a recently established association that has been in existence since 2000. The organisational linkages are represented in Figure 3 below.

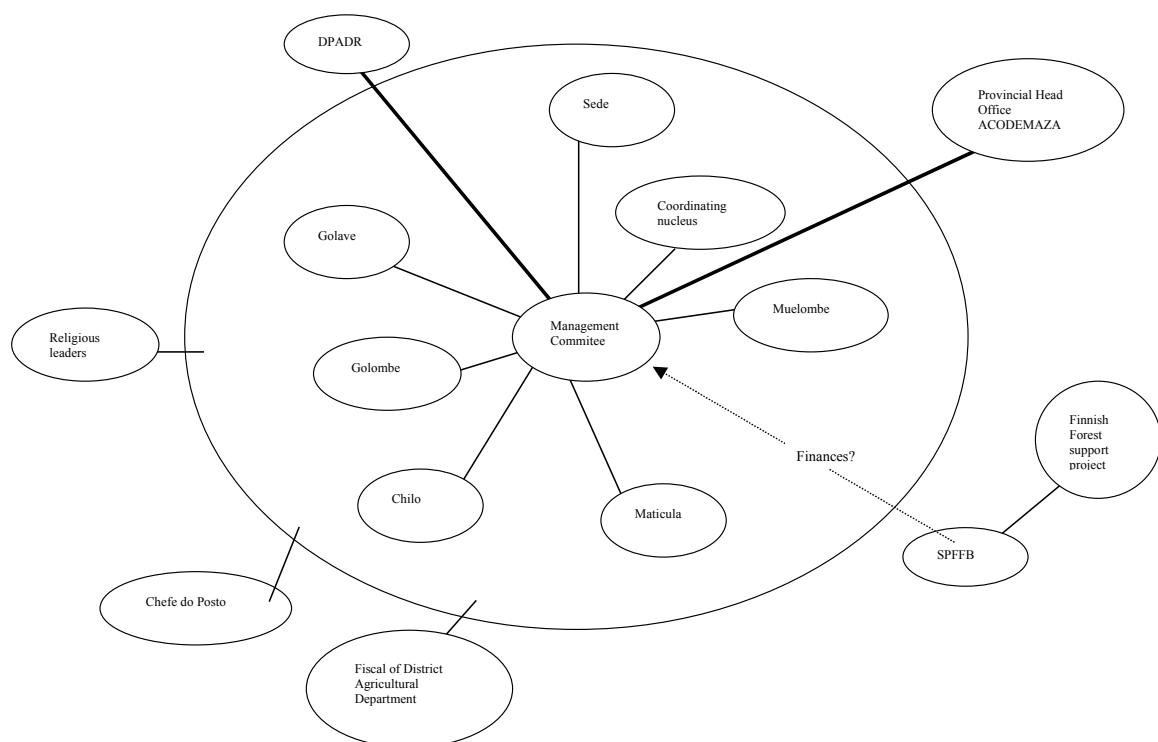


Figure 3: Institutional links between ACODEMAZA and others, Derre, 23/07/01

This organisation develops different activities with the people of the area. Some of them are geared to developing the sensibilities of the local community to recognise the importance of the resources surrounding the area, how to control access, how to get advantages from the local resources, how to deal and negotiate with woodcutters to share advantages from the local resources and how to influence the decision-making on allocation of the wood areas to the outsiders by the administrative authorities. This organisation plans to create small wood enterprises involving local communities, as a form of guaranteeing benefits from the richness of the area in terms of forest species. However, the financial implications of these initiatives have meant that the community and the organisation are dependent upon outside assistance. Members pay a subscription fee.

Period	Local structures
Colonial	Traditional authorities strong, part of colonial administration. Roles: labour recruitment, tax collection
1964-1975	Information providers on movement of FRELIMO fighters
1975-1980	Traditional authorities abolished (formally) New structures emerge – Grupos Dinamizadoras
1982-1992	War in Zambézia, Derre in particular Re-introduction of traditional authorities in RENAMO controlled areas
1994	Post-war Government rehabilitates traditional structures
	Decree 15/2000

Figure 4: Timeline of events affecting local institutions in Derre

Traditional healers are used for the treatment of disease and wounds to animals and humans and may also be called upon to offer protection from bad spirits, to increase fertility in the *machambas* and to prevent attacks by wild animals or snake and scorpion bites. However, the groups interviewed also mentioned the fact that traditional healers have been the source of conflicts in the area, using magic and curses to destroy family cohesion. These traditional healers also appear to have strong links with other healers in the district, province and at national level, a strategy maintained in order to source plants that do not grow in the area.

The community courts are an institution designed to resolve problems that arise in the community and function as a court of first instance in a local area. Cases that are impossible to

resolve at this level can be referred to similar courts at a higher level in, for example, the administrative post. The ‘judges’ are elected locally and in many cases comprise the local political/administrative functionaries and office bearers of organisations such as the OMM. Although the institution is largely respected and is recognised to play an important role, there are accusations of corruption in some areas. In Licoa, for example, we were told:

“When we go to the community court, in many cases it becomes complicated because some of us are poor and have nothing to pay the judges...when you are poor your problems are not resolved, you have to have a chicken or other animal in order to get any solution to your problem and if you do not have this you could wait your whole life...”

Amongst all the institutions identified by the community groups in Derre, the most important are the traditional structures, largely because these proved to be the only durable structures during the long periods of conflict and insecurity. The official administrative structures at locality level and below are only now being reinstalled in this area. The long period of occupation by RENAMO assisted in maintaining the profile of the traditional leaders in this area.

During discussions with the community groups it was possible to identify four distinct periods of institutional changes at community level. The first period is linked to the colonial experience, characterised by the strong presence of officially recognised traditional structures throughout the area. During this period the traditional authorities were part of the colonial administration; as such they were responsible for the mobilization of manpower for work on the plantations and for road construction and for the payment of taxes. At the start of the armed struggle these traditional authorities were expected to be the eyes and ears of the colonial administration and to report on the movement of FRELIMO fighters in the rural areas.

The second period, from 1975 to 1980, was characterised by large changes in community organisation. When FRELIMO took power in 1975 it attempted to introduce new organisational structures in the communities: secretaries of the party, *Grupos Dinamizadores* and *chefes* of areas (cells) and of groups of ten houses. During this period a large part of the existing traditional authorities were replaced by these new structures. Existing authorities were forbidden to be candidates for election to these new positions.

The third period, from approximately 1982 to 1992, was characterised by the general instability of the civil war and, in Derre, the re-introduction of traditional authorities in areas under the control of RENAMO. During this period some traditional leaders left Renamo areas and went to stay in the area under control of Frelimo or neighbouring countries such as Malawi and Zimbabwe. In this area Renamo soldiers introduced new leaders, some of this were chiefs family or someone who used to be part of traditional structures during colonial period.

The fourth period, from 1994 to the present, is characterised by the rehabilitation and recuperation of traditional structures by the State. Present activities of the government in this respect include the promulgation of decree 15/2000 which would allow the traditional leaders to occupy similar positions and possess a similar status to that they were accorded during colonial times – the right to a state subsidy, to wear uniforms and to fly flags at their homesteads. This decree created the opportunity to the traditional leaders to work close with others local actors such *Secretário do bairro*, *grupos Dinamizadores* that was established after independence.

In an interview with the Chefe do Posto of Derre we were informed that the implementation of this decree was having very positive results and had led to much better co-operation between the administrative structures and the local traditional leadership. No ‘elections’ of the traditional leaders had taken place – they were ‘identified by the community’, according to the Chefe do Posto. It appeared as if implementation of the decree had occurred to the extent that meetings had begun to take place; the payment of subsidies and the distribution of uniforms and flags had not yet started.

3.2. Bajone

3.2.1. Community mapping exercise & timeline of events

The map drawn by the community in the administrative post of Nacuda reveals the extent to which land in the area falls under the influence and control of the three major companies operating in Bajone – Madal, Zambézia and Murrôa. In contrast to the maps drawn in Derre, the community group in Nacuda did not identify the areas falling under the influence of various local traditional leaders⁴.

It is also obvious from the map that the population in Bajone have to travel much greater distances to cultivation areas, most of which lay in the area known as Namulavua where more fertile soils are found. In addition to the distance that people have to travel, this area has been recently affected by the invasion of wild animals, particularly elephants, which cause damage to crops and threaten human safety in the area.

1900	<p>ARRIVAL OF THE COMPANIES People lived in another place – were moved slightly. “Relationship was good”. No compensation for loss of land – companies allowed small machambas within the plantation areas</p> <p>Moved again by the companies. People planted trees in an attempt to prevent further movement.</p>
1934	<p>Ovens for smoking copra constructed Recruitment took place through government and traditional authorities – 3 month initial contracts, later changed to 6 months on/6 months off with an obligatory 7 days free work on the roads. Population liked this arrangement. In addition workers received rations of produce purchased from the local population A “capataz” organised the work teams (chosen without consultation of local people)</p>
1975	<p>Independence Permanent workers recruited. Change not appreciated because most people now left out of employment. Tractors introduced but conditions for workers deteriorated</p>
1983	<p>Machinery and tractors evacuated to Quelimane</p>
1984	<p>Production brought to a halt</p>
1994	<p>Madal attempts to rehabilitate plantation and destroys rice fields of local population. Resistance starts. Contacts occur between local agricultural authorities and Madal, ostensibly to solve conflict, escalating to Ministerial visit. Local population not involved in discussions. “Madal is like the voice of the President of the country” Mambo Raimundo allegedly dies in police detention after leading delegation of disgruntled people to complain to the company.</p>
Present	<p>Boat from Quelimane no longer arrives, as it did a few years ago. No opportunities for employment unless bribes are paid. Workers now doing “work of three people” No cleaning of the plantations going on now – very overgrown, full of snakes & dangerous to walk in.</p>

Figure 5: Timeline of events in plantation establishment - Bajone

Previously, the areas of Dudi, Namadiva, Namarode, Namutebe, Murigi, Nginhi and Mundoao were used for the cultivation of tomatoes, onions and garlic but these areas have

⁴ Representations of the map designed by the inhabitants of these areas are found in the annexure to this report.

now been 'reoccupied' by Madal, which has introduced water buffalo. During the mapping exercise the community expressed considerable bitterness regarding the lack of administrative/political structures in the area and the fact that very little attention seemed to be given to their problems by the government. More than once the question was asked: "*Are we here in Bajone still on the map of Mozambique?*"

Hunting activities are concentrated in the area to the south east of the administrative post. All of the rivers indicated on the map offer good fishing grounds, as does the ocean.

3.2.2. Activities

As with Derre, subsistence agriculture is the principal activity of the population in Bajone and involves all members of the family in the clearing of land and the planting and harvesting of crops. Principal subsistence crops include '*mandioca*' (maize is hardly grown in this area), rice, peanuts and beans.

Coconuts and cashew nuts are the major cash crops of the area and historically served as the main source of cash income for local families. Most families in the area possess a small oven for the processing of the coconuts into copra and fresh coconuts and cashew nuts were also sold.

Fishing was identified as the second most important activity. Men fish the sea while women and children fish in the fresh water lagoons and rivers of the area. Fishing methods are similar to those used in Derre except that the use of poison was less common in Bajone and the style of the nets differed. Depending on the size of the catch a part may be sold locally for cash or in exchange for other produce.

The third important activity was identified as hunting, either for meat for home consumption or for sale locally. The main species hunted included forest pig, monkeys, gazelle and similar small game and cane rats.

The construction of houses with locally made sand/mud blocks was also mentioned, although this appeared to be practised by only a few families and exclusively by men. Many women, on the other hand, appeared to be involved in the production of pots and clay artefacts, including roofing tiles. Weaving, done by men, produced baskets, mats and brushes for local sale.

Carpentry was also identified as an important activity, although good quality wood had to be sourced from a distance (Mocubela). Chairs, doors and beds are commonly produced but the building of boats and canoes was a major focus of the carpenters. Those living near to the mangrove areas are involved in salt extraction, and in these areas this may be a principal activity of the family. Other families living in the interior of the district also travel to these areas to extract salt and then return to their homes to sell their surplus production.

Copra, fresh coconut and cashew are all sold to merchants coming from Mocuba, Nampula and Quelimane.

3.2.3. Vulnerabilities

In addition to the same vulnerabilities identified in Derre (to flooding, erosion, lack of seeds and tools, lack of roads and market infrastructures and low prices in the markets) the administrative post of Bajone presents two particular additional problems: the destruction of fields by wild animals (monkeys and elephants) and the lack of arable land due to the

presence and extensive land holdings of the plantation companies. The animals are said to have arrived in the area (where people have been forced to cultivate over the last few years) from the Gilé Nature Reserve, where the widespread poaching and burning is said to have driven them from the forests. The land problem stems from the occupation of vast areas in the administrative post by three major companies involved in the plantation production of coconuts.

3.2.4. Livelihood strategies

The sales of copra and fresh coconuts constitute, for the majority of the population, the main source of income. The manufacture of traditional drinks is also important but in Bajone these are produced from coconuts instead of sugar cane and maize, as is the case in Derre.

A particular strategy adopted by local people is the selling of local crops in the *feiras*, organised around the localities of Bajone on most days of the week. The *feiras* represent one of the most important markets at local level. In the *feira* people exchange the industrial product (soup, matches, sugar, etc.) for local products such as fish, salt, coconut, rice, etc. As a result of this, the poorest people, without money, can get access to the market to improve their livelihoods.

In Bajone, the communities have developed local strategies for mutual assistance for cultivation, plantation and harvesting. There exist two ways of assistance; one of them consists of inviting friends and relatives to help clear land, assistance which is paid for with beer and a party and the second consisting of the formation of a small group of people for mutual assistance on cultivation over a period of time.

Local livestock is also given, lent or rented out by some families in return for offspring from the animals at a later date. Migration was also mentioned and in Bajone people spoke more of Beira, Maputo and South Africa than in Derre, where migration appeared to be to more local areas.

3.2.5. Institutions

The community groups in Bajone identified a series of institutions that play a part in their day-to-day lives. These are the administrative structures of the state (*secretários, chefes*, etc.) and the traditional authorities. As in Derre, the '*régulo*' is the most powerful member of the traditional authority structures and has subordinate chiefs (known here as *inhacuaua* and *samassoa*) and advisers.

Also mentioned here were traditional healers, the OMM and religious leaders (predominantly Moslem), the police, the plantation companies and the community courts.

There are various NGOs (principally ORAM and ADRA) operating in the area with which some members of the community have links. ORAM have mainly been involved in disseminating the land law whilst ADRA have been introducing new varieties of cashew tree to the area. Both organisations have been involved in creating peasant associations to defend their interests in natural resources.

The functions of the institutions identified do not differ much from those in Derre. Both traditional and formal state structures have a mobilizing role and may both be involved in dispute resolution. Traditional leaders perform ceremonies exclusively and are used to gain access to land, although less so than in Derre.

Religious institutions were identified as having a role in the resolution of social conflicts and problems and are also involved in mobilizing the population to open and maintain the road system. Here it appeared that there were tensions between the different religious groupings, particularly the Catholic Church and the local Moslem population. They were also identified as being of assistance when a family member died, furnishing food, money and moral support to the family.

In addition to the importance of the traditional authorities in Bajone, it was notable that the Moslem religious leaders also wielded considerable influence. In many cases, such as in the *regulado* of Capitão, the local *régulo* is also the Imam of the mosque.

The members of the focus groups in Bajone identified three periods of change. The first two periods follow the same pattern as those identified in Derre: a period when traditional authorities were in the ascendancy (the colonial period), followed by their marginalisation after independence. However, in Bajone, with the intensification of the war in the area, there was a large movement of people from the mainland to the island of Idugo. Here, it appears as if the two *regulos* of the area were appointed by FRELIMO to serve as *secretários* in a conscious attempt to break the collaboration that had existed between them and the occupying RENAMO forces. This third period predated the more recent attempts to reintegrate traditional authority structures into the State machinery.

4. The importance of natural resources

4.1. Land

The aim of this section is to examine the role which land as a resource plays in the livelihood strategies of the people in Derre and Bajone, to look at the way in which land administration and allocation systems function within the communities and to look at how these interface and relate to the formal policies, legislation and procedures.

Land in Bajone and Derre is, as with all of the province, an extremely important resource to the local people. They use the land for agriculture as their primary means of subsistence. This region has good agricultural potential due to the high fertility of soils. According to Chilundo and Cau (2000), the central and northern areas of Mozambique are characterised by highlands of soils with high potential for agriculture, favourable climate and high rainfall. The last aspect explains why the local people use rain-fed agriculture, despite having rivers in both districts. It is important to remember that most of the Mozambican people are essentially peasants and that agriculture is the main activity, employing nearly 80 percent of the population and is the largest contributor to Gross National Product (Chilundo and Cau 2000).

In both districts agricultural development is seen as the main factor to maintain the sustainability of the people through crop production. It is important to remember that according to the PROAGRI (Investment Program for the Agrarian Sector) a program established by the Mozambican Government, agricultural development is seen as the main means to reduce the poverty all over the country. This program has as its main objective the reduction of ultra poverty through the establishment of food security and reintroduction of production geared towards the market. PROAGRI is a program that envisages sustainable use of natural resources and it comprises the components of institutional development, extension, research, assistance to agricultural production, forests and wildlife, land and irrigation (Chilundo and Cau 2000:2)

In both districts, as ascertained, the level of awareness of the policies regulating access and utilisation of land is low. However, according to local knowledge, land is never to be sold or alienated to locals or outsiders. This aspect represents a similarity existing between informal and formal institutions, in this between local rules and the “mother law” (Constitution).

According to previous studies, local communities have their customary norms, rules and habits from past generations regulating access to the land; they have mechanisms of land redistribution and transmission from generation to generation within the household and community members and outsiders; in many cases only oral testimonial is used to recognise the right through occupation by rural families. Family sector regulate land accessing by relationship obeying the hierarchical structure and gender in the household; so, women get access to land through masculine member (through husband, in case of married woman).

The use of friendship and neighbourhood networks in order to access land constituted a much more common strategy in Bajone than in Derre, where it was more common for people to use strictly family networks of land allocation or to approach the traditional leaders.

Local traditional leaders have an important role in land allocation to the community and to outsiders. All community members interested in expansion of their cultivation area, or to settle a new household for a married man, must communicate to the local leadership to get a new plot or area. None of the communities visited in Derre and Bajone have yet developed

initiatives of community land delimitation to assure the rights that are recognised as theirs by law.

In Derre, it appears that land per se is not yet a problem; no relevant conflicts based on land occur in the area. Apparently land is enough for all local people. However, there is invasion of the reserve forest for agriculture expansion, exploitation of forest products and poaching by the local people living in the reserve. This may occur either as a result of people wishing to make a 'claim' on land (by clearing it) or through natural population growth.

In Maganja da Costa the situation is different; there are visible conflicts related to the land that involve local peasants, some local cash crop companies like Murrôa, Madal, ARPEL and the Zambézia Company, and the government.

4.1.1. Private sector pressure on land

The following statistics are from the register held by the Provincial Geography and Cadastral Services as at end of April 2001, showing private applications for land use rights in Morrumbala.

Administrative Post		Approved	Pending	Total
Chire	Number applications	14		14
	Area	19,950		19,950
Derre	Number applications	1	2	3
	Area	100	52,000	52,100
Megaza	Number applications	1		1
	Area	6,000		6,000
Morrumbala	Number applications	17	6	23
	Area	5,176	20,215	25,391
Total Number applications		33	7	40
Total Area		31,227	52,215	83,442

Table 3: Land Applications per Administrative Post – Morrumbala [Source: Serviços Provinciais de Geografia e Cadastro]

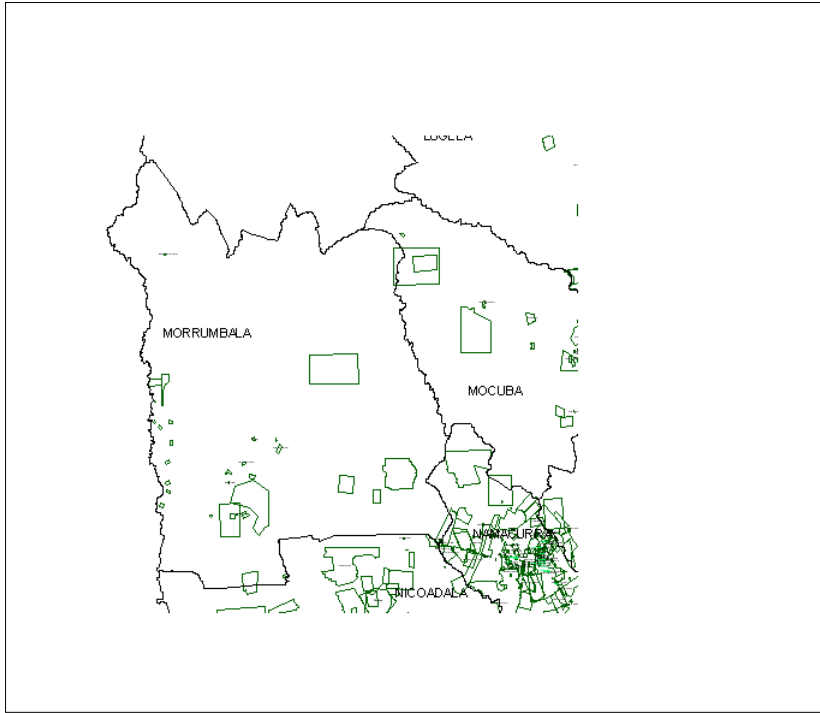
Morrumbala district has a total land surface area of 1,305,900 hectares. The applications for private use rights to land represent 6.4% of this area. More than half of this requested area is found in the Administrative Post of Derre, largely as a result of two large forestry applications (see below - Table 5).

Land Use (Derre)		Approved	Pending	Total
Agriculture	Number applications	1		1
	Area	100		100
Forestry	Number applications		2	2
	Area		52,000	52,000
Total Number applications		1	2	3
Total Area		100	52,000	52,100

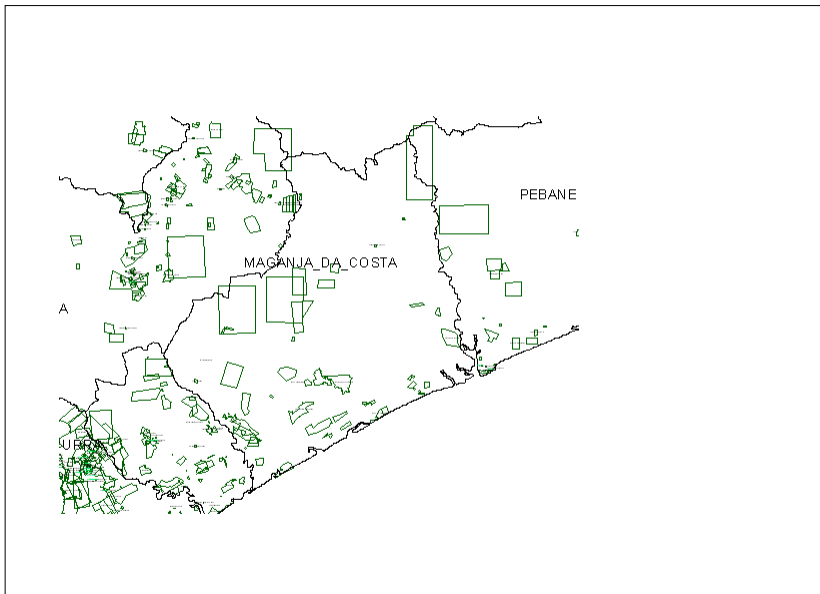
Table 4: Land Applications per land use type – Derre (Morrumbala)

Both of the applications pending for land use rights in the Derre Administrative Post are for forestry purposes. One of these applications has been outstanding since 1998, the other was lodged at the end of January, 2001.

Maganja da Costa has a total land surface area of 774,500 hectares. The applications for private use rights to land represent over 11% of this area, the vast majority of this concentrated in the Administrative Post of Maganja Sede.



Map 2: Land applications in Morrumbala [Source: Serviços Provinciais de Geografia e Cadastro]



Map 3: Land applications in Maganja da Costa [Source: Serviços Provinciais de Geografia e Cadastro]

Administrative Post		Approved	Pending	Total
B. Licungo	Number applications	10	6	16
	Area	1,026	12	1,038
Bajone	Number applications	9	3	12
	Area	19,141	4	19,145
Maganja	Number applications	32	20	52
	Area	22,237	31,129	53,366
Mocubela	Number applications		4	4
	Area		5,032	5,032
(Not recorded)	Number applications	5		5
	Area	7,954		7,954
Total Number applications		56	33	89
Total Area		50,360	36,178	86,538

Table 5: Land Applications per Administrative Post - Maganja da Costa [Source: Serviços Provinciais de Geografia e Cadastro]

According to Félix Cossa, Delegate of ORAM in Maganja da Costa district, one area (a former concession of António Marques) is being claimed by a local community near the district headquarters. The area includes Limuila, Monona, Muasse, and Matipita localities in the Administrative Post of Maganja da Costa. These communities claim the good soil wetlands in the Raraga River Valley to produce rice. Their claim to the land is based on the legal recognition of their rights in customary law; however, the ARPEL Company has at the same time been awarded a license to explore that area as grazing land and has planted coconut trees.

This is one of the historical conflicts in Zambézia from colonial times when the best land was allocated to the Portuguese citizens and some of the Mozambican people (so-called *assimilados*). This situation prevailed until the date of independence in June 1975 (Chilundo and Cau 2000). After this period the land became state land but there was no redistribution to the rural families. The local government, some people representing the local peasants and traditional leaders were involved (and with some NGOs like ORAM participating as observers) in attempts to solve this conflict but until now it persists. The conflict was reported to the Judicial and Social Affairs Commission of the National Assembly through some deputies from Zambézia province.

Land Use		Approved	Pending	Total
Agriculture	Number applications	4		4
	Area	6,061		6,061
Livestock	Number applications	5		5
	Area	13,079		13,079
Other	Number applications		4	4
	Area		5	5
Total Number applications		9		13
Total Area		19,141		19,146

Table 6: Land Applications per land use type – Bajone (Maganja da Costa)

The *Companhia de Zambézia* also have significant land holdings in Bajone, accounting for 4 of the 5 livestock concessions. Madal, who also hold all 4 agriculture concessions in the Administrative area, holds the other livestock concession also.

4.2. Forests

In this section we want to know: what are the main forest resources and products in the area, how is the state of forests in comparison with the last time and how the community perceive the situation; what are the main threats to forest resources; how the policy affects communities access to forest resources (views of the community); is there appropriate local level institutions for the management of forest resources; how is done the control of fires and what is the role of communities; is there conflicts based on forest resources, how is the local people involved in the conflict resolution and whom participate in the conflict resolution.

Zambézia is the province with the second highest potential of forest resources in Mozambique, after Nampula. Maganja da Costa and Morrumbala districts are rich in forest resources, with large land areas covered by forests. *Umbila, Jambire, Chanfuta* and *Pau-preto* (black wood) are the main forest species.

There is labour division in the harvesting of forest products, taking into account gender. For example, while men collect construction materials (poles, ropes, etc.) harvest trees for sculpture (mainly black wood), honey and hunting. Women collect firewood, mushrooms, roots and medicinal plants. This division represents the social division of work and is important in terms of livelihood strategy.

In Morrumbala district, there is one of the most important forest reserves of the country, in Derre Administrative Post, called Derre Reserve, with different species of trees and good quality of wood. The local community living in the reserve is involved in protecting the forest against illegal cutters, but the increase of these communities, in terms of population growth, is itself a problem.

Deforestation is the main problem in Derre, caused by expansion of cultivation areas due to increasing population density after the last war, with the return of the displaced and refugees to their homes, indiscriminate cutting, and some times forest fires set to facilitate the hunting of wild animals.

The illegal exploitation of forest resources by outsiders was also a big problem to the local communities because they cut even small trees and they didn't replace these with new plants to save the forest and to maintain the sustainability of the forest. In some areas of Derre, increasing illegal activities of woodcutting by nationals and people from Malawi and some Asian countries; means there is still illegal forest harvesting.

Now, with the environment of stability and return of the refugees there is involvement of the community in control of forests, woodcutters and fires; local initiatives are developed to maintain sustainability of the forest; for example a new local organisation, ACODEMAZA , was created with the main objective to mobilise human resources to protect the local natural resources.

In Derre there is only one way to get access to wood resources - through a simple license that, according to the Law 10/99, allows the woodcutter to explore wood of a given species in a given geographic location for a relatively short period of time. The operator can explore 500m³/year (Chilundo and Cau 2000:11) but in practice it is different because there are woodcutters exploring much higher quantities than those allowed by license and they explore areas that are outside of those where it is permitted to cut trees or they fell trees that are not developed yet.

This problem will persist for a long time because the Provincial Services of Forests and Wildlife (SPFFB, the entity responsible for supervision of wood cutting and prevention of damage to the forest) is incapable of supervising the cutting due to insufficient human, financial and material resources. In Zambézia there is only one Control Post (in Nicoadala district) that functions with staff who are insufficiently trained to maintain checking of the kind and quantity of wood passing in transit to the port of Quelimane.

The high potential of forests in Zambézia don't produce benefits for the local communities, in contrast with the Forests and Wildlife Law. In Morrumbala, specifically, the district we had more information about woodcutting, the local communities are not formally consulted as parties involved in the process of license allocation because the licensed people get their licenses in Quelimane. They arrive in the communities (sometimes contacting the traditional leaders to inform them about the area allocated) to explore the forest species. However, this practice depends on the operator. In this context, it is difficult for the community to negotiate with the woodcutters in order to obtain benefits from the felling activities. Maybe this threat of the people in terms of accessing modalities will be reduced with the ACODEMAZA activities in the future.

Some of informants in Derre declared that there is a new tendency to increase the involvement of the communities through consultations before license attribution - to get their perception, to know if they agree with the plan of exploring the local resources. This would act as an important instrument to avoid conflicts between operators and the local communities, although we can't confirm it now.

The local community (men) have only one benefit from the short-term in harvesting activities and earn an insignificant part of the money that the woodcutters will earn selling the wood in Mozambique or exporting to other countries.. As shown above, men and women have different opportunities in terms of directly or indirectly accessing natural resources; however, the money the men receive is not enough in comparison with the money the woodcutters earn and in the community men have more economic power than women and control the livelihoods of the household because they can get access to the local markets to buy goods not available in the community. Sometimes these goods (radio, bicycle, etc.) are associated with or symbolise the power within the household or community.

4.3. Wildlife

According to Chilundo and Cau 2000, Zambézia is one of the provinces with high levels of illegal poaching; although in the district where we worked there is no information concerning this, as wildlife is poor already. This reduction of animal species is explained by several factors including political institutions ones and the war, which affected the country for a long time.

Our interviewers in Derre, Morrumbala district, declared that during the last war both sides (Renamo and Frelimo arms) hunted extensively for consumption. In addition, forest fires in other places displaced several numbers of animals from one place to another. As explained above, the forest is burnt to mainly expand the cultivation area and to facilitate hunting.

Normally, the wildlife grows up in forest areas where the woodcutters develop their activities, so after the war end the woodcutting was spread away. This activity is accompanied by use of the technological instruments like chain saws and oil products, which perturb the natural wildlife by their smell and noise, contributing to reduce the wildlife species.

In Maganja da Costa we found a different situation. Animals of big species displaced from areas with poaching (like Gilé Game Reserve) invade this district and provoke the conflict people/animal because they destroy the farms of the local population. In Naíco locality in Bajone Administrative Post, the same conflict exists, involving hippopotamus and crocodiles and the local people.

In general, in both districts there are no reports of developed hunting activities. In some areas there were traditional ceremonies preceding the hunting, ceremonies leaded by traditional leaders in each community; but now the local people claim that there is a degradation of traditional customs that regulated all activities to maintain sustainability in natural resources use.

The formal law is not divulged in both districts; so, the communities use the local institutions not very important to protect the wildlife resources. However the problems mentioned above in districts we worked at, wildlife is not very important to the local communities because there are no important species to explore, only small species like impala, gazelle, wild cat, monkey, wild hog and different species of cane rats.

4.4. Water and fisheries

Questions to be addressed in this section will be to collect information about what are the main water resources in the area the study take place, community rights to water resources, community perceptions on the water legislation, local level institutions for water and fisheries management, fishing practices for household and communities (fishing time, methods of fishing,), conflicts related to water and fisheries resources and how are they addressed and by whom.

The northern and central Mozambique has a greater potential in water in terms of rivers and streams. Obviously, Zambézia is one of the rich provinces in terms of surface and subterranean water coming from rainfall, due of regular distribution of rain in both seasons; this province presents the highest annual rainfall average of the country, over 2000 millimetres.

Rivers and small lakes and flooding plains are the main sources of water in Maganja da Costa and Morrumbala. Morrumbala is crossed by one of the nine important Mozambican rivers, the Zambeze River.

In general terms we can affirm that water is not problem in the places the study take place, because small currents of waters cross both districts for long time a year. However, each present differences in terms of availability or abundance. In Derre, according to our interviewers, in the drought season there is no water in the small rivers and people walk long distances to have potable water for their domestic and hygienic needs. But in Maganja da Costa, water is not a problem, even in drought season, because of the privileged geographical location of this district on the coastline. So, all the hinterland currents of water and important rivers fall in this region.

However the good conditions of water, the local people in both districts don't developed irrigation technical to their agriculture activities, maybe because of abundance of rainfall.

Most of the rivers flow from West to East and their sources are located in Zambézia province. However, a few of them arise in neighbouring countries like Malawi and in Zambia and Angola.

Fishing is one of the activities of the local communities that provides animal protein and sometimes for sale or exchange for cloth and other kinds of goods or food not available in the region. The main local species of fisheries are black fish, *khanigo*, *pende*, *marrogue*. Fishing is not very developed in both districts due different reasons; in Morrumbala district it is due the difficulty of access to the rivers because of the existence of dangerous reptiles to man, like crocodiles. In Maganja district, the reasons are related to the reduction of species and quantity of fish. Local communities understand this threat which is why they organise themselves and establish fishing times and fishing techniques or methods. The perception of the local people in terms of fish scarcity is that the methods consisting of poisonous roots is causing damage to the species diversity because it kills big and small fishes, reducing the reproduction of species. Another reason, according to the local understanding, is the lack of local ceremonies to spirits.

According to our interviewers, there is no involvement of the local communities in the management of water; but it is important to observe that the local communities, for example in Derre Administrative Post, have rules from their ancestors that regulate access to water

resources and in some lakes (Siatepa and Matendeleza) people establish rules to regulate fishing access. Only traditional leaders can lead traditional ceremonies to precede fishing.

In the communities new opportunities are emerging from new organisations like ACODEMAZA, to preserve natural resources. For example, in Derre, local peasants fixed the fishing and resting periods through a process organised by ACODEMAZA. This organisation, composed by local people, is a very important experience of sustainable use of local natural resources, because using local people increases the level of accountability and it is easier to influence local communities to participate in conservation of natural resources, using local influential people, administrative and traditional authorities (secretaries and régulos).

5. Institutions and livelihoods in the study areas

In both districts we worked in, marriage is a mechanism of exchange of advantages between two families. They assist each other in terms of livelihood; they exchange crops and if one of them has a problem like disease or lack of food, they can get help or assistance from the other. Normally marriage takes place between families located far from each other, where in certain cases climatic conditions are quite different, to get more advantage in drought times.

As we know, societies are dynamic. Climatic, environmental, social, economic and political changes are some of the dynamic elements. According to our interviewers, time is changing and the fertility of soils is reducing, crop production is reducing. This is why there is presently a tendency to extend cultivated areas but to have the same quantity as when the areas were small. People now must work hard to survive, must enlarge their social relationships and networks.

There are different explanations of these changes. One of them is related to the cultural changes, because people don't respect any longer the traditional customs (see Mutemar Franque declaration) and another one is related to the war, because dislocated and displaced people came home with aspects not adapted to the local culture in terms of natural resources use. However despite these changes, crop production takes place throughout the year because of the abundance of rainfall. They use traditional methods of preservation, using granaries, normally built in the winter season.

In Mozambique central and northern provinces, there has been a situation of lack of markets in which to sell agricultural surpluses, which could bring about advantageous profits for the peasants (Chilundo and Cau 2000:3); this situation is verifiable in Morrumbala and Maganja da Costa, because of the absence of roads in good condition to travel. Internally it is difficult to sell food because local people are not employed. So, how to have money is a big issue. That is why people from Morrumbala prefer to cross the border to sell or to change their crops with Malawi's people.

It is very important to know how important is Malawi to the people living in frontier districts of Zambézia. The Malawi commerce provides products of first need to the local people because in these districts there is a lack of commercial infrastructure. In this commerce, people provide the main mean of transport all over the province, the bicycle. They exchange this means for crops like maize and beans. Once again is important to see how people manage their relationship to acquire the bicycle, because it is not easy: it is necessary to have more than twenty sacks (fifty kilograms each one) to obtain only one bicycle. So, the person interested in a bicycle must ask help from friends and relatives to have the fixed quantity of crops. This person who has acquired the bicycle could replace the quantity lent or help someone to buy his or her bicycle in return.

5.1.1. 'Formal' institutions

Even though there are State administrative structures at a district level there are also so-called informal structures, the most important of which is the traditional leadership of the area, but also includes witchdoctors and religious leaders. These two kinds of structures co-exist in Maganja da Costa and Morrumbala districts similarly to other parts of the country. Both formal and informal structures have their respective formal and informal institutions.

Figure 2 illustrates the different elements of government infrastructure at the district level.

The district council is led by the district administrator (DA) who is nominated by the governor and is a political appointee. The administrative posts and localities, which are part of district administrative divisions at lower levels, are headed by ‘heads’ of posts (Chefes dos Postos) and presidents of localities (Presidentes das Localidades) that are either appointed by the district administrator or elected by the community.

Apart from the DA, directors of various sectoral ministries compose the district council. This includes district directors of Education, Health, Agriculture & Rural Development, Social Affairs, State Security and the police. However, these are linked to respective ministries and not necessarily to the DA. Generally, a team of six or seven employees supports the DA and takes care of day-to-day State administrative functions. As regards communication, co-ordination, and interaction both inter and intra department, there is a strong relationship between different ministerial departments represented at district level in Maganja da Costa, but not in Morrumbala district headquarters.

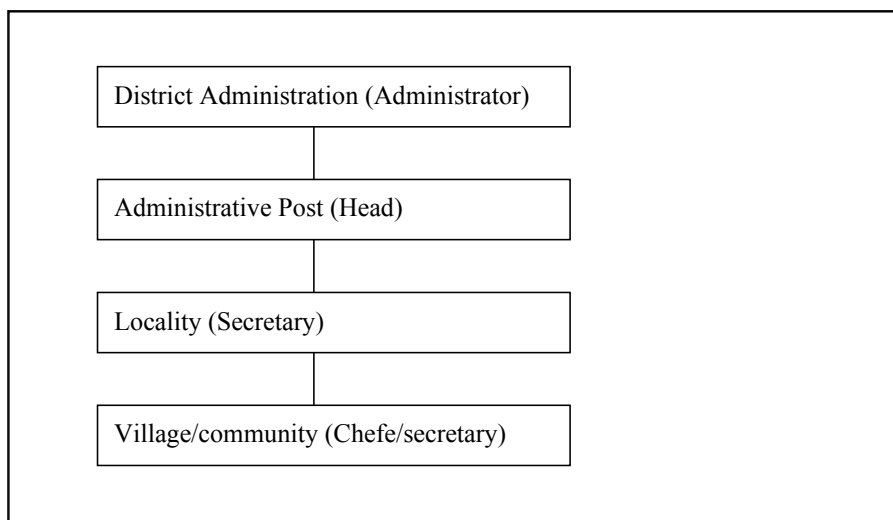


Figure 6: Administrative structure at district level

Village presidents were established through open meetings, where candidates stood at the front of the meeting and people voted by a show of hands. Village committees are still accompanied by a series of (usually smaller) organisations such as the local branch of the Mozambican Women’s Organisation (OMM), neighbourhood chiefs, production chiefs and co-operatives all tied into smaller groups of people around the village president.

There are also secretaries of mass organisations such as the OMM and the Mozambican Youth Organisation (OJM). The village has a president and a small number of chiefs who constitute the village council (sometimes called dynamising groups or village committees.) A number of these structures have co-ordinating roles. There is, however, poor communication, co-ordination and co-operation within the locality structures and district headquarter levels. The essence of the situation is that the nearer the leaders are to the administration structures, the better the communication is.

The problem of co-ordination is compounded by the existence of poor channels of communication within the district headquarters and locality structures. The channels of communication are not structured in a manner that ensures quick, precise and extensive delivery of decisions, inputs and outputs.

Associated with the issue of poor communication is the problem of inadequate capacity for exercising authority, the system lacks the organisational mechanisms for exercising the designated authority at its various levels. This while the central government or co-ordinating ministries have the authority over planning, budgeting, human resources issues their directive, supervisory and co-ordinating capacity is circumscribed by a lack of leverage over the sectoral ministries. On the other hand, central government also controls the administrative resources, particularly finance and human resources. Invariably central government in Mozambique has monopolised the most productive revenue sources and has left the local authorities with relatively inflexible and unproductive sources of revenue. These revenues have not only been difficult to mobilise, but also insufficient for the local management needs. This also happens at the district levels in relation to administrative posts at community level.

As we go down, the administrative units become rather diffuse after the locality level. Central state institutions are totally absent. In these areas we find communities or *povoações*, which are organised according to lineage or family ties and other community bonds.

5.1.2. The role played by traditional authorities and community structures

In both of the study areas the most visible structures are the traditional authorities. Traditional leaders have royal lineage and hold tribal authority. They are accepted in many places, although their legitimacy in some areas is questioned. This situation arises from the existence of a significant number of so-called traditional leaders who were elevated by the colonial government or RENAMO to this status, but who do not actually have royal lineage. In addition, there are a number of headmen and sub-headmen, who were imposed by the government or RENAMO, instead of being chosen by the clan, as it was customary to do in the times before colonialism.

Traditional leaders also have varying levels of popularity, depending on local history and the area. In some places, traditional chiefs are accepted as a legitimate source of authority, while in others they are rejected. Most of these structures at community level do not have control over district government activities; the influence of the district headquarters upon local bodies is an extremely strong one.

The traditional leaders in Derre, as previously observed by Magode (1995) and Ludin (1996), are surrounded by a number of headmen and a council, which represent the people to the leader, serve as councillors and are messengers between the clan and the chief. The council consists of village elders, who are recognised by the population as being entitled to represent them to the chief. The chief makes decisions together with the council.

The headman is like a co-ordinator of the sub-headman in a particular geographic area. Disputes where no consensus can be reached at local level are taken to a meeting of the headman, sub-headman in his area and the parties to the dispute. Most development planning takes place at the headman (second tier) level. This includes the co-ordination of grazing because it happens across village (first tier) boundaries (although this function is not an important one these days given the very low livestock population). At third tier is the chief, who, amongst other things, calls all the headman in the broader geographical area together to resolve disputes that cannot be resolved at headman level. The chiefs are responsible for defining the precise roles of the headman.

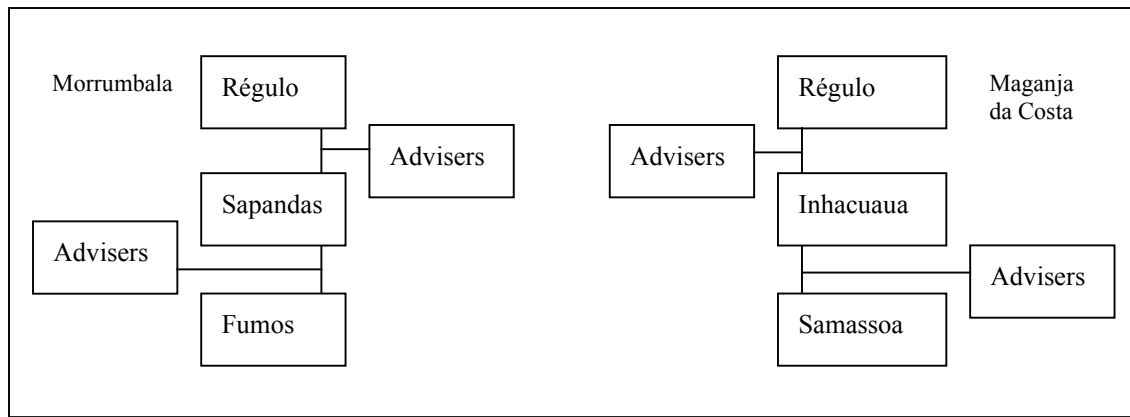


Figure 7: Traditional structure nomenclatures in the study areas

In Mozambique one solution proposed by the government has been to allocate a more prominent role to endogenous local institutions based on customary law and other kinds of local institutions. The Land Law states that communities should identify their representatives to administer the allocated land.

Mozambican Government has not taken a clear position on the precise role of traditional leaders, president of locality, '*grupos dinamizadores*' and so on. In some areas, confusion on the role of traditional leaders and other government local structures is causing limitations for development, especially with respect to land-related matters. Community members often do not know who to approach with regard land-related matters (allocation and administration), or do not know who has the legal authority to perform land-related functions.

In order to clarify mechanism for resource control villagers were asked to identify the various institutions, which have a responsibility for resource control within the village. The villagers identified several hierarchies, which they mapped out on a large sheet of paper, according to the level of authority. The traditional leaders appear to have greater authority over resource use and control than local government structures. The local government structures have no power over management of indigenous resources. Very few people said that they approach the '*grupos dinamizadores*', secretaries and president of locality looking for land. Only few secretaries or '*grupos dinamizadores*' who have close relationships with traditional leaders or are part of his family appear to have some authority over resource use and control. But before they allocate land to the community they must speak to his chiefs. One crucial aspect of local government structures is their diversity and, on the other hand, such institutions do not guarantee their legitimacy and efficiency.

In both study areas, transmission of land rights is carried out through the institutions of family, marriage, with oversight by the chief that owned the land. It is commonly accepted that all the land belongs to the chief, who may make the rules regarding allocation and pass them down to the villagers. The issue of ownership of land seems to be complex. The chief can take binding decisions on any matters related to natural resources, which exist in the area of his control without the need to consult the wider community. However, in principle, the chief is not the owner of the land in the sense of individual and exclusive rights to it, and can not alienate it without consulting his council or community. It would appear that once land was allocated to members, neither the chief nor council could claim it.

In Maganja da Costa and Morrumbala the land is divided between areas reserved for crops and residential areas and those for grazing. The community know the rules and, as long as they follow these, specific permission from the village head is not needed. All the members who belong to that chieftaincy are entitled to the use of plots, but outsiders or people who come from other chieftaincies must always ask permission to occupy and use local resources or settle in the area. When we asked the Chief, Mutemar Franque in the chieftaincy Majaua, why outsiders has to ask for permission for land, he said:

“...Outsiders are not our sons and when you go to someone house you have to knock the door ...you can not come in without permission of the owner ... outsiders have to learn our customs and the ways that this land has been ruled...”

Traditional authorities such as headman and some chiefs are thus accessible to their people. The fact that local government structures are often not available in most areas of our study means that people continue to utilise traditional chiefs in management of their livelihoods. Some NGOs operating in Maganja da Costa and Morrumbala find it easier and more fruitful to work through traditional chiefs in calling meetings and doing development work than to work through Dinamysing groups or secretaries.

It should be noted that some changes affecting traditional institutions have had dramatic impacts on woodland and natural resource management over the years. One of the first things pointed out during interviews was a general decline of traditional values and customs. Both Christian religion and a strong inclination towards modernity have affected traditional rules. For example, Christians do not want to participate in traditional rainmaking ceremonies. With regard to this, chief Sairosse Golombe, declared:

“I know that during my grandfather’s time and my parents time they used to have different kinds of traditional ceremonies but now our children do not want us to do this kind of ceremonies because most of them are studying in the city...our children all want to be like white people without praying for their ancestral...on the other hand, most of us are Christian and our priest do not allow it...when you are in the church you are not allowed to make traditional ceremonies...I do some kind of traditional ceremonies for my grandfather at home but not in public because I am a Christian...”

The tendency is for people to revert back to the traditional ceremonies when they get old. There are strong indications that people still do not feel confident with the Christian version of passage rituals conducted during and after burials. Many people still believe that spirits of the dead should be brought back home to look after their descendants whereas Christian values maintain that the body should go back to the soil while the spirit goes to heaven. This can explain why sacred forests continue to be respected in Maganja da Costa and Morrumbala.

Many of the species-related controls are based on traditional religion, and they include both totem-related taboos and species that are connected to ancestral worship or witchcraft. Other controls are more pragmatic; for example, the widely-mentioned norm that trees producing edible fruits should not be cut.

The space-related controls in the study areas are traditionally protected forest and woodlands, mostly prominent type areas, including graveyards, propitiation sites, and places of historical importance. All these are somehow linked to beliefs in ancestral spirits. These are held to be alive, and no resource extraction is allowed from places to which they are closely linked.

Apart from burial sites, protected forest and woodlands, in Morrumbala-Derre, trees such as *nhatsegua* and *nhamiguadicua* are still not used for building houses as they are believed to cause family disputes, divorce or illness. In other parts of Mozambique, the cutting of live trees or branches thereof, the setting of fires and clearing of fields are forbidden. Other rules prohibit the use of indecent language, the wearing of the colour red, and some other behaviour-related items. On the other hand, collecting dead wood fruits and mushrooms, grazing cattle and even extracting clay are permitted outside most sacred areas (a similar process was found by Nhamuco and Mussanhane, 2000: 357).

In Maganja da Costa, the interviewers pointed out two places which are within the localities of Mudzo and Missale where people are not allowed to use natural resources, settle, build houses or visit the place without the permission of traditional chiefs or their relatives.

Other rules prohibit the use of some lakes for fishing without traditional ceremonies. For example, in Maganja da Costa we found lakes called Morla, Nadjji and Dadamela where it is forbidden to fish without traditional ceremonies. If someone wants to fish in these lakes it is necessary to speak with traditional leaders or their relatives because only specific individuals are allowed to make fishing ceremonies. In contrast, in Morrumbala-Derre, in the lakes called Mantendela and Seatepa, villagers do traditional ceremonies when they want fishing.

6. Conclusions from the research - mapping phase

The use and benefit from natural resources is an extremely important facet of the livelihoods of local people in the study areas. Both communities sustain themselves almost exclusively on the basis of agricultural activities, hunting and fishing. Other natural resources provided by the forests and the sea play important secondary roles in subsistence and provide opportunities for small-scale commercial activities. The use of traditional plants in healing is widespread. Almost all of the house construction in the areas is practised using traditional techniques and local resources of sand, clay, reeds, timber and stones.

The role played by traditional leadership figures in the allocation of use rights for natural resources is very apparent and certainly greater than that played by State administrative structures or government departments. Local people, in order to gain access to land in particular, use only the traditional authorities and only in some cases. Kinship and friendship networks are also widely used to obtain access. Traditional taboos and the role of traditional healers and leaders in the control of natural resource use are also strongly apparent. The authority of these institutions has diminished over time, however, partly as a result of growing confusion over the multiplicity of authorities involved and partly due to the erosion of traditional beliefs.

Accountability of the local State structures to the populations of the study areas is non-existent and in Bajone particularly there is a deeply held scepticism regarding the government's capacity and will to undertake reforms to natural resource management practises. However, traditional leaders in both areas express their willingness to cooperate with government and the private sector and local populations refer to the need for jobs, incomes and the related benefits of a rejuvenated rural economy.

The policy objectives of the government's programme regarding the exploitation of land and forest resources are not being realised as yet. There is little evidence of community involvement in decisions regarding the award of concession rights to the private sector as envisaged by the relevant legislation. In some cases this has led to conflict and in others it has meant lost opportunities for the establishment of more sustainable relations and partnerships.

The creation of local level consultative bodies involving traditional leaders is being implemented in the study areas as a result of the promulgation of Decree 15/2000 and is directed towards the mobilization of local people in support of local government programmes. However, sector specific approaches for the establishment of consultative and management bodies, such as that envisaged in the Forest and Wildlife Law, are not in evidence as yet. There are no activities being undertaken in either of the areas that are leading to the registration of community land rights except for low-level information dissemination programmes carried out by NGOs and even these activities have led to conflict with the local and provincial government authorities.

In fact, in Bajone, the evidence suggests that the guarantees and protections offered to private sector landholders have served to exacerbate a situation in which the local communities have been historically deprived of access to land. In Derre, where until last year a large amount of uncontrolled logging occurred in the forest reserve, there are indications that local organisations will have a greater role in the future. These fledgling organisations will need considerable support to ensure that their participation in resource management brings benefits as well as additional responsibilities.

The private sector in both the study areas is dominated by entities that control large land holdings but have no capital with which to develop their activities (Bajone) or (semi) illegal operations that are interested in utilising the present licensing systems for short term extractive activities (Derre).

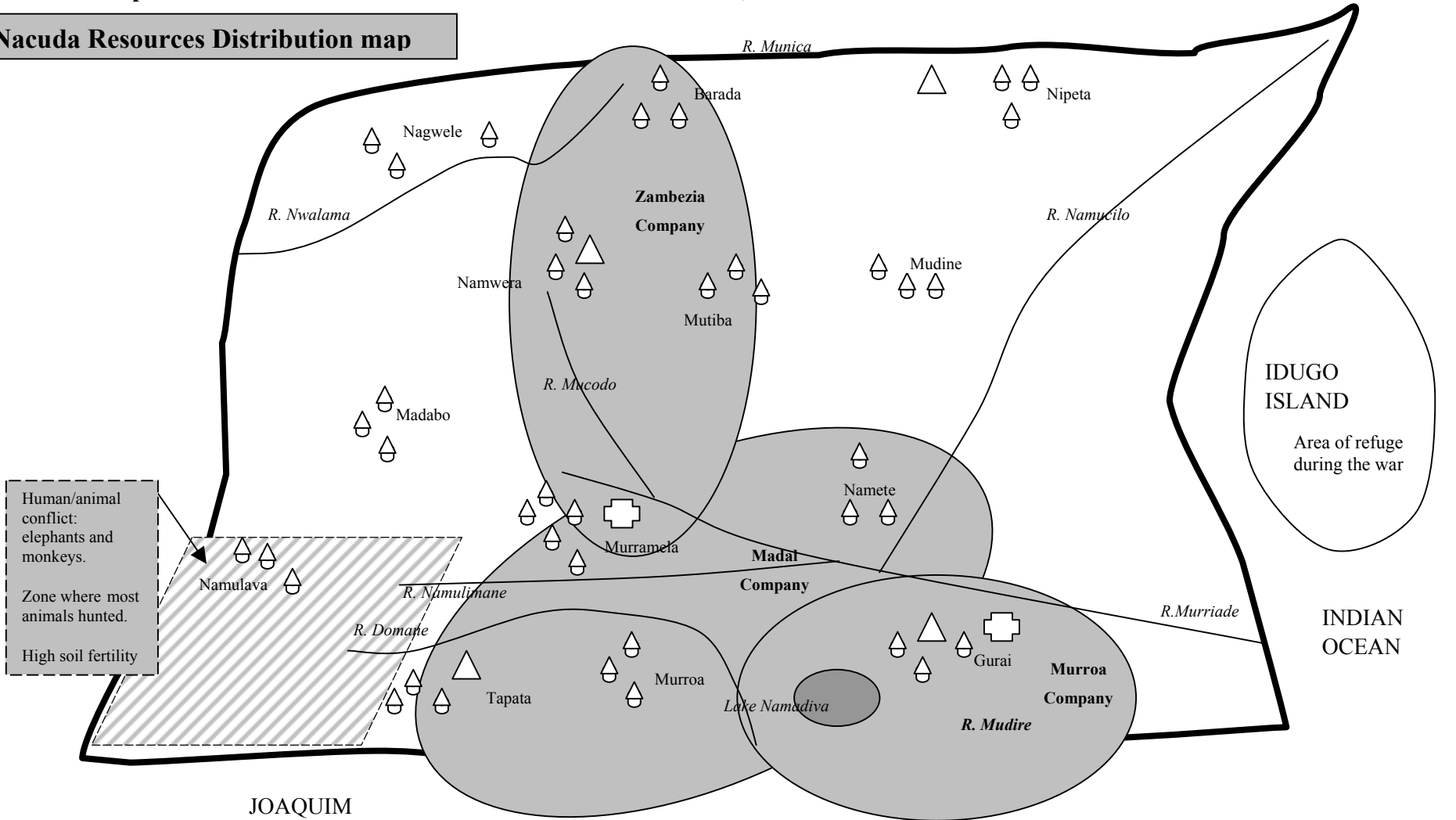
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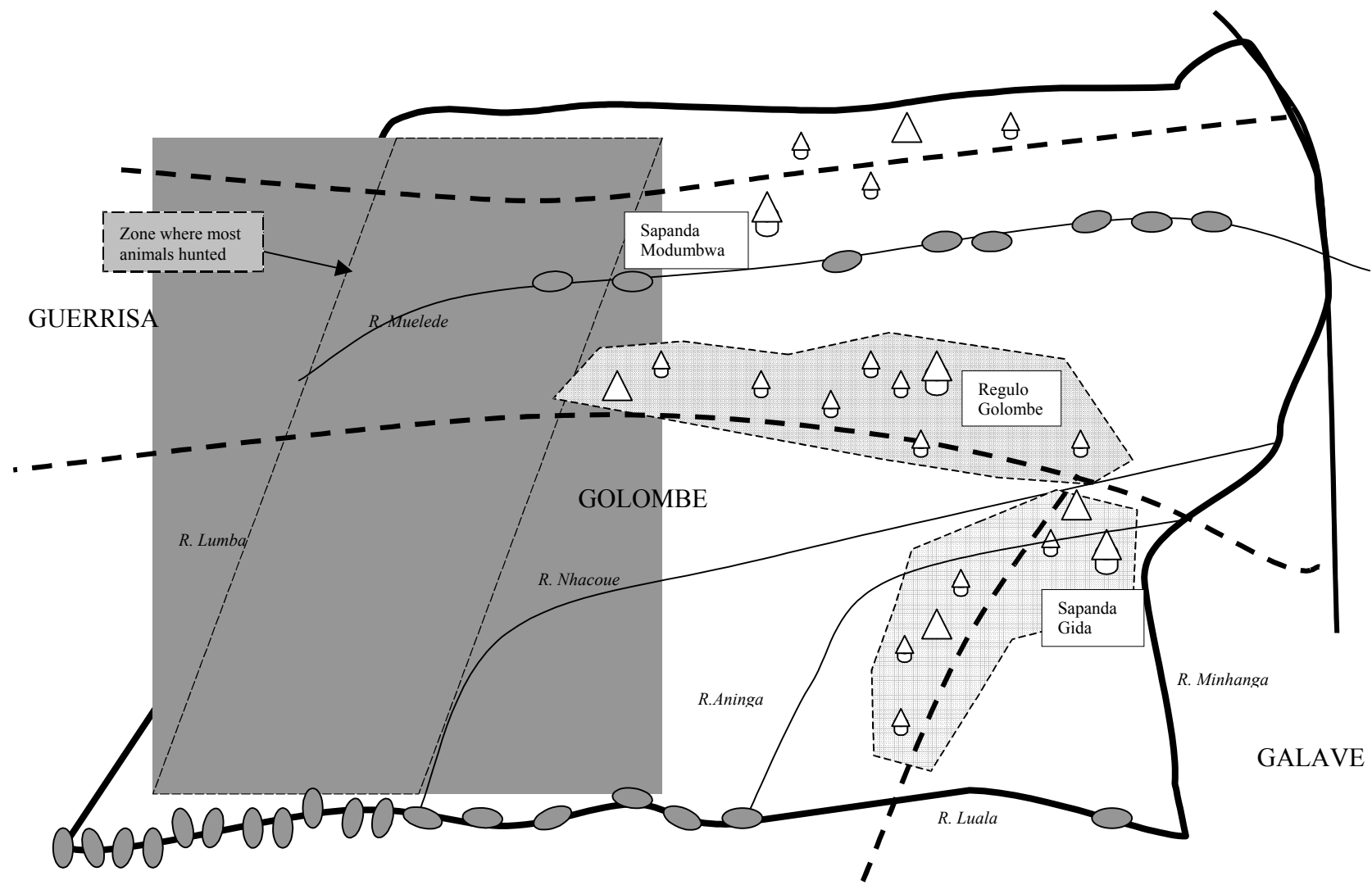
Annex 1

Map of resources distribution of three communities in Derre, Morrumbala

Nacuda Resources Distribution map

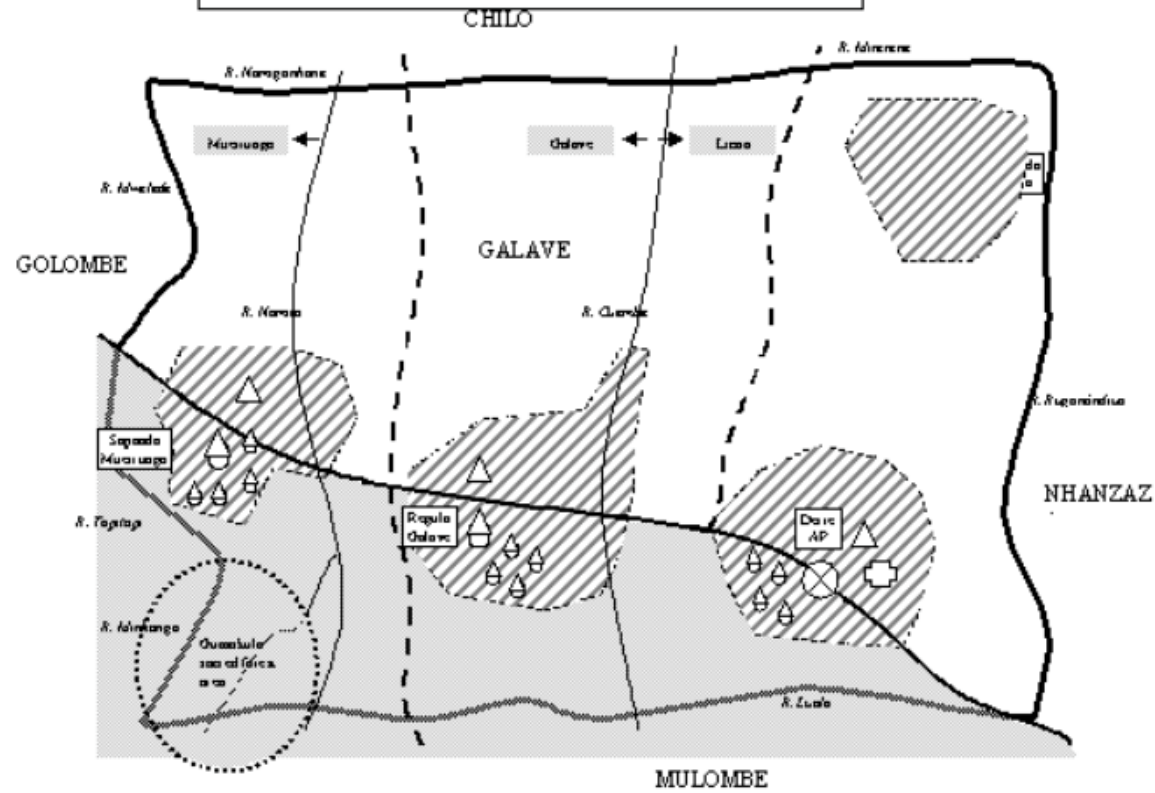


Golombe Resources Distribution map



- | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|--|-------------|--|--------------------------|--|----------------|--|---------------------|
| | Road | | Health post | | Population groups | | Forest Reserve | | Administrative Post |
| | Track | | School | | Traditional leader house | | Cropping areas | | Lakes |

Galave Resources Distribution map Map



- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|---|-------------|---|------------------------|---|----------------|---|---------------------|
| — | Road | + | Health post | ⊙ | Population centre | ⊙ | Forest Reserve | ⊗ | Administrative Post |
| - - - | Track | △ | School | ⊙ | Traditional lands base | ⊙ | Cropping area | ⊙ | Lake |

Annex 2

Activity matrices for Morrumbala and Maganja da Costa

Capitao Community (Maganja da Costa) 26/07/01

ACTIVITY	WHO	RANK	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	COMMENTS
Principal crops produced by all															
Mandioca	Mostly W	Highly important for consumption							Planting commences July for 2-3 months. Harvest from August through to end November.					Macambas are far away so women stay for long periods and men visit.	
Rice	Mostly W	Moderately important for sale	Planting period ◀					Harvest period				Land preparation			Produced in separate machamba in Joaquim – problems with mosquitoes
Peanuts	Mostly W		Planting period ◀			Harvest period ▶								Planting period	2 types planted
Coconuts	Mostly M	Highly important for sale	Planting period ◀												Continue to be planted – around house of new wife or new machamba. Harvest takes place throughout year
Other crops produced by some															
Boer Beans	M & W		Planting period ◀		Harvest period ▶										
Jogo Beans	M & W		Planting period ◀		Harvest period ▶										Planted in the coconut plantations between the trees, a practise tolerated by the companies because of short period
Cashew	M & W												Harvest period ▶		Very low production levels these days. Original trees predate colonial times (brought fro India).
Nhemba Beans	M & W		Planting period ◀			Harvest period ▶								Planting period ▶	Planted around houses

ACTIVITY	WHO	RANK	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	COMMENTS
Sweet Potato	M & W							Planting period ◀					Harvest period ▶		Planted around houses
Other activities															
Fishing	M														
Salt extraction	Only some	Moderately important for sale						Mainly an activity during the dry period. Salt can be exchanged for other products.						Only practised by some people living in the mangrove areas but for these people it can be a principal activity.	
Pottery	W only	Highly important for sale			Dry period for clay collection. Only practised by some women, producing range of household items and utensils. Fired with dry leaves of coconut tree.										
Carpentry	M only		Wood comes from Mocubela, items produced mostly for sale; chairs, tables, doors, beds, chests of drawers, window frames.												
Boat building	M only		Launches are made only by carpenters, although some other people know how to make dugout canoes												Canoe costs between 300,000 and 2,000,000 MTS.
Stone work	M only (some)							During dry times							
Migration	Mostly youth														Far afield – Beira, Maputo or SA
Traditional medicine	M & W (many)														Practised widely

Notes: Coconuts provide multiple products: fresh nuts and copra produce, tsoura (traditional drink), capin (thatching) used for house roves and the cocnut wood used for structure. People received very little compensation for the personal trees that they had which fell within the plantation areas. Production sold only to outside merchants, the companies did not buy from local people.

Cabo do Mar based in Pebane: requires all fishing boats to be licensed (150,000.00MTS/year). Owner will pay and then gives contribution of the catch value to the workers on the boat (roughly 4 in a boat). Workers tend to be family members or neighbours.

Filinho Community (Morrumbala) 20/07/01

ACTIVITY	WHO?	RANK	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	COMMENTS
Principal crops produced by all															
Maize	M & W	Highly important for consumption and sale	Harvest period				Sale period							Planting period	Lack of seeds Price @ Mt 25,000/20 kgs
Mandioca	M & W	Highly important for consumption	Sale period						Planting commences July for 2-3 months					Price @ Mt 30,000/50 kgs	
Mechuera	M & W	Mainly consumption	Harvest period							Planting period				Produced in separate machamba	
Sorghum	M & W	Mainly consumption	Harvest period												
Other crops produced by some															
Boer Beans	M & W	Highly important for sale					Harvest period								Price @ Mt 25,000/20 kgs
Rice	M & W	Moderately important for sale	Harvest period ►											Planting period	Produced in separate machamba in wetter areas Lack of seeds
Cotton	M & W	Highly important for sale	Harvest period					Sale period						Planting period	Not many people produce – lots of work and low prices Produced in separate machamba
Pipino Beans	M & W		Harvest period										Planting period		
Quiabo	M & W		Harvest period										Planting period		
Pumpkin	M & W		Harvest period ►										Planting period		
Nhemba Beans	M & W		Harvest period										Planting period		Lack of seeds

ACTIVITY	WHO?	RANK	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	COMMENTS	
Melasia	M & W		Harvest period ▶										Planting period			
Peanuts	M & W		Harvest period ▶									Planting period			Lack of seeds	
Sweet Potato	M & W		Harvest period											Planting period	May be planted with mandioca or in separate machamba	
Sugar cane	M & W			Planting					Harvest period ▶							
Other activities																
Fishing	M, W & C	Practised by all				Depending on force of water in rivers, fishing may be difficult in November/December									Practised in rivers and lakes. Women use hooks, men use nets (specialist activity).	
Hunting	M & W	Practised by all													Hunting practised with Bow & Arrow, nets, axes, enxadas & dogs. Particularly during queimadas.	
Land clearing	M															
Carpentry	M few														Lack of tools	
Pottery	W few		Bowls, pots, fermentation vats													
Blacksmith	M few		Products made and sold sold through year: hoes, axes, snares, machetes and other implements													
Drink-making	M		Sold through year. Problems only if fighting breaks out – solved through traditional structures													
<i>Ganho-ganho</i>	M & W		Consists of: land clearance, transport of goods to market, planting & harvesting, house-building.													

Annex 3

Maganja da Costa District

	Administrator of District
Virgílio Mário Pinto Novo	
Manuel Uacomala	Administrator Assistant
Félix Khosa	ORAM District Delegate
Manuel Pareira	Businessman and Part-owner of ARPEL company
Joaquim João Naquimala	District Services of Agriculture and Rural development - Officer
Amade Aburasse	Locality President of Naico

Morrumbala District

District Delegate of Public Works	
António Joaquim	Delegate of District Services of Agriculture and Rural development
Representative of Mozambican Police in Derre Administrative Post	
João	Member of ACODEMAZA in Derre Administrative Post
Uasso	Member of ACODEMAZA in Derre Administrative Post
Armando Oliveira	Member of ACODEMAZA in Derre Administrative Post
Lino Marciano	ACODEMAZA president in Derre Administrative Post
Alexandro Fernando	One of the two Régulos of Golombe
Armando Cadeado	Member of ACODEMAZA in Derre Administrative Post, Golombe

Moisés Inquimane	Member of ACODEMAZA in Derre Administrative Post, Golombe
Esperante Sembuele Rondão	Member of ACODEMAZA in Derre Administrative Post, Golombe
Mutemar Franque	Majaua Régulo
Maquecha Galemoto	Frelimo's Political Party Secretary
António Ginga	Majaua Regedoria
Mualiu Marrua	Dinamysing Group Secretary
Sairosse Golombe	One of the two Régulos of Golombe
Adelaide Pedro and Célia Romão	Majaua Régulo Workers