Politicization of Ethnic Groups: An Anthropological Approach of Political Conflicts in Mozambique

In Mozambique there was an internal and horrible conflict from 1976 to 1992, ended with General Peace Agreement; the second political tension started in 2013 and ended in 2014 with the Accord of cessation of hostilities; the third one began in 2015 and ended in 2019. The fourth conflict started from the end of 2019 and is still ongoing between the Government and RENAMO. Among a number of factors, there is an apparent ethnic motivation in these conflicts. The study aims to analyse the influence of ethnicity in political conflicts. To what extent the ethnic elements influenciate the internal political conflicts in Mozambique, is the departure question. The main finding show a tendency to a politicization of the three main ethnic groups settled in the three main geographic regions of Mozambique, namely Changana-south, Macena - Center and Macua-north, by the political parties. The literature review and an empirical study based on questionnaires addressed to population from the three regions of the country and interview to politicians were used to produce the study. The study is important because it brings an approach of conflict beyond, neither armed, nor political ones.

Keywords: Ethnicities, Ethnic groups, Politicization, Political conflict, Mozambique

Introduction

Looking at the political situation in the world at the end of the twentieth century, the immediate impression is that most of the serious armed conflicts today have an important ethnic dimension (ERIKSEN, 2001:261).

The research entitled Politicization of ethnic groups: An anthropological approach of political conflicts in Mozambique, aims to analyse the politicization of ethnic groups in Mozambican political conflict. Most of researches in Mozambican conflict focus in political and economic issues as the immediate causes of internal tensions. Though it is true, we cannot disregard the ethnicities in general panoramic view of this political conflict. The anthropological approach of conflicts constitutes an important element to complete the study of peacekeeping in Mozambique and the main novelty found in this work.

The combination of bibliographic method and empirical one, sustained by questionnaire resulted in the compilation of the final work. The research is composed by five main parts. The first part constitutes an introduction with an overview of the entire work and technical elements such as objectives and research question and the meaning of the main concepts. The second part draws up an historical background of Mozambique from colonial period up to 2020 trough literature review. The third part describes the methodology used to produce the research. The fourth part discusses the obtained results through statistical instruments. The research ends with a conclusion emphasised by the opinion of the author.
**Objectives**

The research aims to analyse the politicization of ethnic groups in Mozambican political conflict.

To fulfil this objective, three other specific objectives need to be addressed:

- To identify the causes of political conflicts in Mozambique.
- To evaluate the weight of politicization in the political conflict in Mozambique.

**Problem**

Mozambique faced 16 years of civil war from 1976 to 1992, ended with General Peace Agreement of October 4, signed by the two belligerents parts, that is, RENAMO and the Government.

From 1992 up to 2013 the country held a peaceful term that served as an example in SADC (Southern Africa Development Community) region. However, from 2013 there are cyclic political conflicts ended with agreements later violated by the main actors.

The agreements address deeply the political and economic issues and nothing to ethnicities, thus, emerges the question: to what extent the politicization of ethnic groups in Mozambican contributes to political conflict.

In searching to the clear answer to the posted question, three other sub-questions need to be addressed:

- How do voters react in relation to ethnicities on their political decisions?
- What is the position of ethnicities with regard to inequalities regional development in Mozambique?
- What is the weight of ethnicities in the causes of political conflicts in Mozambique?

**Hypotheses**

- Probably the politicization of ethnic groups contributes in a large scale to increase political conflicts in Mozambique. The politicians dispute to conquer support based on their ethnic origin and it creates tensions between geographical regions.
- Maybe the politicization of ethnicities has nothing related to political conflicts in Mozambique. The economic and political issues solely cause political conflicts.
Conceptualization

Political Conflict

Deng in Alao (2007:19), defines conflict as “a situation of interaction involving two or more parties, in which actions in pursuit of incompatible objectives or interest result in varying degrees of discord. . . .

Nicholson, in Alao, for his part, argues that conflict occurs when there is interaction between at least two groups whose ultimate objectives differ.

In both cases, the groups become involved in mutually opposing and violent interactions aimed at destroying, injuring, or controlling their opponent.

From the above definitions we find two central factors agreed among scholars:

- The presupposition of the existence of at least two different units, with agreement that something differentiates them. These units may be individuals, communities, or countries, and the demarcating factor may be personality, ethnicity, geography, nationality, race, religion, ideology, or a combination of some of these.

- The existence, or perceived existence, of incompatible interest.

Hugh Miall quoted by Alao, lists four criteria that distinguish conflict from other situations. For the interest of this thesis is worth to highlight only two: the clear difference of opinion regarding values, interests, aims, or relations; the parties may be either states or “significant elements of the population” within the state.

Apart from the existence of group of population and the difference of values between them, it is also important to look into the outcome of this conflict. Miall contends that the outcome must be of great importance to the whole society and political or legal solution must be impossible, so that violence becomes the last resort.

Ethnic Group

According to Bissessar (2017), the actual usage of the term "ethnicity" dates back to 480BC, to describe the Hellenic community in Greece. She defines ethnic group as a community with the following characteristics:

- shared descent of the same blood;
- shared language - speaking the same language;
- shared sanctuaries and sacrifices;
- shared customs like fashion.

About 1500 years later, Narroll (1944:283), in defining an ethnic group in the anthropological literature designated a population which:

- were largely biological and self-perpetuating;
shared fundamental cultural values realized in over unity in cultural forms;
- were made up a field of communication and interaction;
- had a membership which identified itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

In his part, Schermerhorn quoted by Bissessar, defines an ethnic group as a collectivity within a larger society having real or positive common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood.

Currently, there is a vast specialized literature on the topic of ethnicity however, it is obvious that these concepts have not changed a lot.

Some other scholars such as Guibernau and Rex (1999:34), based on their focus, put much emphasis on sharing nationalism, multiculturalism and migration. In the view of these scholars ethnic groups must go beyond sharing the biological ties, to those of nationalism and migration along history.

In practice this definition does not bring anything new because all of these elements were included in fundamental values, such as national history.

For political anthropology, the real issue with ethnicity is its relation to politics and power. Using this line of thoughts, Edwin quoted by Lewellen (2003:168) defines “the essence of ethnic existence” as “the differential access to means of production and rights to shares in production returns.”

This definition of ethnicity would not be in line with the numerous viewpoints that find the essence of ethnicity in symbolic meanings, such as religious, cultures, history, language and in the extreme cases, the race.

Nevertheless, such a perspective is valuable in focusing on the very real power differentials among ethnic groups and the importance of ethnicity in making claims to power.

Due to the focus on finding a relationship between ethnicity and political conflicts, Lewellen’s definition best fits in this research. Thus, for the purpose of this thesis, ethnic group should be understood as the one subordinate to a dominant group, then within the state, ethnicity is marginal by definition. There are always ethnic groups when people claim a bulk of returns or rights.

However, it is obvious that ethnicity can become an important form of cultural capital. That is, belonging to a certain group can be utilized in political struggle. In certain regions of Mozambique, for example, being Macua, Machangana or Macena can be an important, perhaps even essential, asset to influenciate local elections.

Cohesion of Ethnic Groups

Currently the cohesion of ethnic groups is in question of the boundaries of each group. The same is in the question of identity because, due to the globalization, it becomes hard to identify a clear separation from one group to another.
It is, as Hall & Gay (1996:60) labelled as "the fear", which is in fact quite justified, that everything, even meaning, will dissolve in globalization.

The globalization places ethnic groups in threat of disappearance or in lack of cohesion due to the flow of everything, such as people (migration), market, and above all, the flow of information through social networks. This vision is strongly defended by the structural-functionalists, such as Seymour Lipset, Karl Marx, and William Beer, to quote some.

In contrary, Bissessar (2017:7), based on Max Webber, finds a way in which the ethnic groups survive in a globalized and politicized world. She noted, and quite rightly, that it was the way the political community was organized which appeals to shared identity and ethnicity and brings it into action. Along history the groups had all persisted in maintaining the consciousness of an ethnic group. Thus, ethnic resurgences were occurring all over the world.

In this maintenance it is important to pick up some points that have created a common consciousness in a framework that Weber (1968) called reactive-ethnicity model.

To explain this framework, Weber argues:

- **Discrimination**: Ethnic solidarity was reinforced when there was discrimination such that individuals were assigned to specific types of occupation and other social roles on the basis of observable cultural traits. It was more intense if at the end, members of one group were restricted to subordinate and unrewarding social positions, creating levels of inequality between the groups. In practice it created unfair competition where each group felt in the same condition to occupy privileged position and to earn better rewards. The unfavourable groups involved in these competitive tensions heightened their cohesion within the groups.

- **Social boundaries**: If a group maintained its identity when their members interacted with others this was in fact a criterion for determining membership and ways of signalling membership and exclusion. In this case, ethnic groups were not based only on occupation of exclusive territories but rather they were validated by their social life to tight the cohesion within the groups. Although Weber put too much emphasis on the social boundaries, in the field of ethnicity we cannot relegate the importance of territory.

Thus, Barth, cited by Bissessar, when discussing why ethnic communities are preserved, he highlights the criterion of cultural ecology, with a clear indication of territory. Barth proposed that group adaptation must take the following forms: Groups may occupy clearly distinct territories in the natural environment and may be in minimal competition for resources; groups may monopolize separate territories in which case they would compete for resources including political power; while groups occupy different territories they would still be in close interdependence in supporting matters.
In current ethnic groups such as machangana, macena and macua, in Mozambique, the cohesion attempts to monopolize separate territories to compete for natural resources and political power is dominant in such competition.

In globalization’s world becomes difficult to separate ethnic groups by territories due to the flow of people from different points to other. They carry out their own ethnic identity but are forced to be shaped by the same political power.

According to Smith (1960:767), the various ethnic groups have their own family systems, their own productive economies, their own languages and religion but not their own political system. In the political sphere they are all controlled by one dominant segment.

In these societies, therefore, all the communities or segments must participate in, or be subject to, common political institutions, otherwise the political unit would fragment into its component cultural sections.

Furnivall (1945), also analyses ethnic groups as having its own religion, its own culture, and its own ideas and ways of life. This author finds that the members of each group mix with those of other groups only in the market place, in buying and selling. They meet each other by the economic motive, with a desire for individual material advantage.

Based on Furnivall and Smith we can some up that ethnic groups tend to maintain their lifestyles (religion, culture, ideas) but they fill forced to be bound by the common political power and market place.

**Politicization**

According to Gebrewold in Francis (2008:158), "there is a common argument that bad governance in Africa is at least partially caused by ethnicized political culture".

This type of political culture based on ethnic alliances is known as politicization.

The politicization consists on manipulation of public opinion within the ethnic group in such a way that everything turn in favour to the ethnic leader.

Politicization of ethnic identity implies mutual expectations and affective trust politically, economically and morally between the leader and population.

**Mozambican Political Context from Independence (1975-2020)**

The construction of Mozambican State was not in one time. It passed through phases since pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. However, the Mozambican state in modern sense starts from independence in 1975.

**Pre-colonial**

According to Newitt11, the origin of the inhabitants of Mozambique is as a result of immigration of Bantus from a region known as Great Lakes in the
fifth century, to Southern Africa. The Bantus expelled the first inhabitants
known as Hotentotes and Khoisan to southwest Africa.

Those people who settled in various countries of southern Africa, in
Mozambique they were divided into three large groups:

1. The first group of Bantu was consisted of the Macua and Ajaua tribes
and settled from Rovuma to Zambeze Rivers (North). These groups
also settled in Tanzania.

2. The second group of Bantu consisted of Ndua and Chona tribes that
settled in territory between the Zambeze and Save rivers (Centre). The
Chona tribe extended out to Zimbabwe.

3. The third group which was located in the region of the Save river and
Maputo (in the south) consisted of the Zulu and Tsonga (changana)
tribes and they extended out to South Africa.

According to their roots and the environment encountered in each region,
they formed three main dominants ethnic groups namely, Macua, Macena and
Machangana, respectively in north, centre and south of Mozambique.

These ethnic groups set themselves up in small chiefdoms which gradually
coalesced into larger kingdoms. These were Marave empire in North,
Monomotapa empire in center and Gaza empire in south.

Colonial

The European countries economically robust imposed, during the
European expansion, that to be considered the colony, each metropolis must
occupy the entire African country. Portugal was a small country in terms of
size, and economically weak. The official abolishment of slavery in 1842
became the Portugal's economic condition worse, so that he was unable to
explore the vast territory of Mozambique.

According to Alden (2001:3) Portugal granted the concessionary
companies a multi-year charter, exemption from taxation by the colonial
authorities,

- The Niassa Company, which had leased the northern third of the colony
  in 1891, engaged in a number of stillborn agricultural schemes.
- The Mozambique Company in central region, its major accomplishment
  was the building of a railway linking Southern Rhodesia with the
  Mozambican port of Beira.

From Maputo to Save river remained a territory with direct Portuguese
administration.

An anthropological approach is worth to make this relationship between
the former empires and colonial administration, that is, the concession of these
territories coincidently combines with the former distribution of chiefdoms and
with ethnic groups according to regions.
Independence - endogenous and exogenous environment for the conflict

Mozambique was a Portuguese colony throughout almost five hundred years (1498-1975) to the independence on 25 June 1975.

Apart from the 10 years of liberation war, according to Newitt in Bertelsen (2016:27) the independence was, arguably, to a large extent a result of a coup d’état on 25 April 1974 that toppled Salazar’s authoritarian government in Portugal, as well as the recognition by the new regime of the vast financial resources being squandered in the country’s colonial wars.

Upon independence, Mozambique once again moved to a 16 years civil war between RENAMO\(^1\) and the Government. The reasons of RENAMO creation range from endogenous to exogenous explanation.

From exogenous explanation, Bertelsen (2016), points out that Southern Rhodesia and South Africa were directly involved in battles on Mozambican soil, ran army bases, provided logistics, and also killed Frelimo activists abroad. Mozambique settled Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) guerrillas, hence was opposed to Rhodesian government. Similarly, because Mozambique helped ANC\(^2\) to fight against apartheid in Republic of South Africa, the south African government supported RENAMO as a way of retaliation.

From endogenous explanation, RENAMO gained popularity in Mozambique from population that was not sympathizing with government politics, mainly the villagization for increasing agricultural production in the early 1980s the attacks on traditional authority, especially the régulo\(^3\) (local chief), and prohibition of traditional practices, arguing that were “obscurantist” and therefore counterproductive.

Regarding the geographic region, the civil war was strongly supported in the centre and then expanded to almost over the country such as in the north as in the south Mozambique, lasting until the General Peace Agreement (GPA) in 1992.

Peace and a success example 1992-2013

From the 1992 GPA up until 2013, it appeared that the democratic framework then established had been a rare case of post-civil war success.

The political scene was dominated by the two former enemies (Frelimo and Renamo), political violence ceased and regular general elections were held every 5 years from the first general elections in 1994.

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\(^1\)RENAMO - stands Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance), currently the main opposition political party.

\(^2\)African Nation Congress, the main political party from South Africa.

\(^3\)Régulo was the local chief with legitimacy authority created by the colonial government to implement its regulation and for tax collection.
According to Regalia (2017), Mozambique was then seen as a successful case of liberal peacebuilding, where electoral politics took precedence in the negotiation of political agreements.

2014 New Political Conflicts, Old Operational Theatre

Tension between Frelimo and Renamo has always existed, even in times of peace. However, smaller scale conflict re-emerged in 2013 between Renamo and the Government.

The purpose of Renamo’s insurrection should not be underestimated. Regalia (2017:11) refers that:

by targeting specific areas and industries strategic to the country’s economy, Renamo has been resorting to its old guerrilla and destabilisation strategy, whereby it seeks to weaken the government to then force concessions, which it hasn’t otherwise been able to obtain through the ballot. Central to this strategy has been the disruption of transport routes, which damages commercial operations, and, indirectly, Frelimo’s source of income as ruling party.

Disruption of key transport axes, and resources was something which Renamo was already renowned for during the civil war era, and is something it has successfully re-implemented in recent years.

This conflict ended with the Accord of cessation of hostilities signed by government and Renamo before October 2014 general elections. The ceasefire was signed on 5 September 2014 by Afonso Dlhakama (late president of Renamo) and Armando Guebuza (Ex President of Mozambique).

2015-2019 Renamo with his 6 provinces

Soon after the results of General Elections, Renamo started claiming that the elections were not fair, although the international observers concluded that they were.

Renamo was pushing for greater decentralization of power, asking that provincial governors be elected directly by local population, rather than appointed by the ruling party in Maputo.

Regalia (2017:13), points out that Dhlakama claims that the current nomination system leads to provinces, which had voted in majority for Renamo in the presidential election, being exclusively governed by Frelimo representatives, appointed by the President.

Beyond political issues such as power, the Renamo’s idea is that the profit of recent discovery of natural resources does not benefit to general population.

Hence, by decentralisation through election of Governor, Renamo can lead the 6 (out of 11) provinces where he won majority of votes.

Since the debate was taken seriously by Assembly of Republic, the Constitution was amended to accommodate it, which was previously unconstitutional. Thus, from the 5th general elections in 2019, the governor is elected through the party's list, being the first one from the list.
This constitutional change paved to an end of the violence lived from 2015 through, the Accord of definitive cessation of hostilities, signed on 01 August 2019, by the government represented by President of Republic (Filipe Nyusi), and RENAMO by his new president Ossufo Momade.

The Cultural Elements in the Emergency of Political Violence in Mozambique

According to the report nº1/2020 of the Institute of Peace and Security Studies, the causes of conflicts in Mozambique range from political, economic and ethnic.

Political Causes

The weight of this cause is the centralisation of power and the weak governance.

From independence in 1975, FRELIMO is the ruling party. As the power is a means to play in advantage it has permitted to FRELIMO to gain significant control over state institutions.

The above mentioned report (2020:4), states that the result of the centralised power is demonstrated through a winner-takes-all system that allowed FRELIMO to have a significant advantage politically and financially over the opposition. In this system the winner points provincial Governors, relatively a high number of deputies to the Assembly of Republic, as well as the Provincial Assembly members.

Fortunately this system was changed through Law 03/2019 of 31 May which states in its article 6, nº3 "Governor of Province is elected the head of list of political party, colligation of political parties or group of electors who have a majority of votes to the Provincial Assembly". From the 5th general elections of 2019 the winner does not take all and the State moves to decentralised system.

The previous system was obviously weakening the central government in the sense that all the politics were designed and decided by the central government and the periphery (Province and District) had no chance to contribute to the development.

The combination of centralisation and weak central governance led to instability of the country and to an untrust relationship between FRELIMO and RENAMO.

Disparities of Ethnic Regions

As it has been referred throughout the paper, there is a clear regional ethnic division in Mozambique, namely: machangana in south, macena in

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4FRELIMO is the party that led the National liberation war against Portuguese colony.
5From Portuguese (É eleito Governador de Província o cabeça-de-lista do partido político, da coligação de partidos políticos ou de grupos de cidadãos eleitores que obtiver a maioria de votos nas eleições para a Assembleia Provincial), (Nº3, article 6). All passages quoted from Portuguese or French-language sources have been translated by the author, unless it is previously stated.
The macua and macena ethnic groups from north and center respectively, they claim that political power is concentrated in machanga from south. According to Cabrita (2000:19), in the Macua’s view, “Southerners benefited more in terms of education and training due to the colonial administration being more strongly felt in the south of Mozambique”. This faction is noticed since early the foundation of FRELIMO, concerning its leadership among northerners and southerners members. The founder and first president of FRELIMO, Eduardo Mondlhane was a machangana from south- Manjacaze - Gaza province. The second president of FRELIMO, was also the president of the first Popular Republic of Mozambique, Samora Machel, was from south, Chokwe- Gaza. The second president of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, was a machangana from south, Chibuto-Gaza. The third president of Mozambique, Armando Guebuza, was a macua from north, Murrupula- Nampula, but he grew up in south - Mafalala, Maputo. The current president, Filipe Nyusi is a maconde from north, Mueda, Cabo-Delgado and he also grew up in south - Maputo.

The location of machanga, in south cannot be underestimated in this analysis. Its proximity to South Africa, a powerful economic country, and the centralisation of power, has contributed to the concentration of economic resources in this region, specifically in the capital city - Maputo. In searching of economic and political equities, the ethnic groups macua from north and macena from centre claim for the equalities of rights between these regions. Although there are mineral resources in north and centre, the asymmetries in comparison with south are so visible, according to Jahan (2018), with exception of Gaza, the provinces of Maputo, Inhambane are under the average of Human Development Index (HDI), which is 0.446. The center and north Provinces are above the average of HDI of the country. The highest is Maputo city with 0.611 and the lowest one is Cabo Delgado with 0.383.

Indeed, the poverty reduction has not been equal in the country, with continued high poverty rates in the provinces of the northern. These inequalities fostering the ethnic dimension endurance the political conflicts in Mozambique.

Methodology

With regard to general methods, the work follows the Inductive method. The results from the anthropological approach of political conflict in

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6Eduardo Mondlhane was the founder and first president of FRELIMO. He was killed by a letter bomb in 03.03. 1969.
7Samora Machel succeeded Mondlhane in the leadership of FRELIMO and when Mozambique became independent in 1975, that is the emergence of the new State of Mozambique, he was pointed as the first President of the Republic. He died in 1987 in a flight clash.
Mozambique should be used to other African states, taking into consideration that that majority of them were later organized by empires and kingdom before the modern state created through colonisation.

In order to achieve the proposed goals there was a need to a combination of methods, according the circumstances, starting with bibliographic method. In this stage were explored the main and recent books dealing with political conflict in Mozambique.

The next step was an empirical method. According to Sayer (2010:119), the empirical method is a bridge to jump from theory to practice. Through the empirical method was taken a research field based on questionnaire and interviews as the key instruments.

**Techniques of Data Processing**

The data were gathered through questionnaires and interviews and processed by means of statistical method. This method consisted on tabulation of data, converting qualitative information into numbers to be analysed through averages and percentages and illustrated by means of charts.

**Sample**

The study cover all the adult population from Mozambique, counted as about 28 million people according to INE (2017).

The sample targeted 100 adult people identified as voters during the work, from three different regions of Mozambique, that is, south, centre and north. This sample is labelled as random by availability because there was no predefined method to select them.

Due to political context in centre and north, was an unbalanced number from the regions being 40 voters in south, 40 in centre and 20 in north of Mozambique. This sample is considered as representative, not in number but regarding to the location of each group.

Apart from the 100 voters, 6 public managers were interviewed to better understand their opinion about politicization of ethnic groups.

**Discussion of Finding**

**Politicization of Ethnic Groups**

According to the *Foreign Policy* Failed States Index of 2007, twelve of the twenty critical states in the world, are in Africa.

As a result of this status, Gebrewold (2008), mentions a combination of various factors, such as corruption, concentration of power in presidency, authoritarianism, monopolisation of power, to quote some. Apart from the above reasons, he points out ethnic or religious divisions.
Gebrewold argues that bad governance in Africa is at least partially caused by ethnicized political culture, that is, political culture based on ethnic alliances.

According to the data collected within 100 voters, from three different regions of Mozambique, 63% of people vote the candidate by ethnic alliances, such as the chart illustrates.

The chart shows the responses of the question: "Why did you vote in that candidate?" addressed to 100 voters. Unfortunately, only 26 people vote based on political governance agenda. High percentage of 63% decides on whom to vote in, based on ethnic alliances (regionalism, kinship, localism).

Indeed, in addition to the 63 people we have plus 10 who addressed their vote expecting to see local community development. That is, 73% of people are wondering on where the candidate comes from and what will be the local return from their vote.

In practice the political leaders pay special attention to his origin ethnic group during the exercise of power.

Apart from the kinship relation, people have belied that each candidate has the obligation to closely benefit the region of his strong support. This mentality supports the theory of Patron-clientelism, according to which, people vote in a certain candidate with the expectance to be compensate with goods and quality services, that is, it is a win-win game.

To evaluate this thought, the sample of 100 voters were asked "What do you think that should be the causes of these regional development inequalities?". The flowing chart presents the obtained results.
Chart 2. Causes of Regional Inequality Development

From the chart, higher percentage of 51% of voters think that inequality development in Mozambique rises and maintains from long time because, "Politicians put too much emphasis on their origin zone where they have a strong support".

This position is in line with Berman, quoted by Francis (2008:158), in his analysis of the theory of patron-client. He says that the theory of patron-client involves the ethnic relations and politics, but it is not quite the same thing as corruption.

For instance, Nelson Mandela (South Africa) was from Xhosa Ethnic group from a small village of Mvezo and he transformed it into a town of Eastern Cape. Samora Machel (Mozambique) transformed the country-side into a Village of Chilembene, where he was born and the basis of ethnic group Changana.

According to the data, in contrary to what should be, people do not think the location of mineral resources causes regional inequality development. As Macuti (2021CP), explains:

The location of mineral resources does not contribute to regional inequality development at all. The incomes from mineral resources feed in large scale to the GDP and later on converted into General State Budget to be allocated between the Provinces. The amount varies according the specificity of each province. Regarding the mineral resources, what cause inequalities are its bad management, and not necessarily its location.

Macuti (2020PC) is a fictitious name to protect the name of a Public manager working in the Govern of Province of Manica, interviewed on November 17, 2020, at his Office. 2020PC-stands for Personal Communication in 2020.
Indeed, the disparities in regional development cannot be justified solely based on mineral resources. It, for sure, plays an important role but the attention devoted by the politicians based on ethnicity in each region has been seen as a direct retribution of their popular support.

From one side, people look at the ethnic group as a tool to boost popularity and political support. From the other side, the politicization of ethnic groups causes political conflicts.

It is well known that the political conflict in Mozambique is a result of various causes intertwined each other. The same sample of 100 voters was asked the question: What do you think that have a heavy weight in the causes of conflict?

The answers tend to point ethnicities, according to the following chart.

![Chart-3: Weight of the causes of political conflict in Mozambique](chart)

Source: Elaborated by the author based on questionnaire data, 2021.

Within the causes of political conflicts in Mozambique, in an anthropological approach, the question of ethnicity plays an important role. From the chart, the ethnic cause weighs 62%. That is, people are involved in the political conflicts because they want to see their ethnicity in power, they claim ethnic sympathy to the politicians in power.

Based on these data we can call this as an ethnic conflict, however, it is not enough to declare this conflict as ethnic because apart from the ethnicities there are another reasons such as inequality distribution of wealth and bad governance which jointly sum 38%.

This is another way of politicization of ethnicities.

Summing up, the politicization of ethnic groups in this case study was consisted in alliance of a certain political candidate based on his ethnic origin.

As a way to compensate, the politicians fill themselves owing to pay special attention to the ethnic origin group who strongly supported to win and exercise the power.
This relation of politicians and ethnic group frequently is not regarding the political agenda but ethnic alliances.

The claiming about the concentration of power in a certain ethnic group, namely machanga from south, is another way of politicization which desires a special attention when dealing with Mozambican conflict.

Conclusion and Remarks

The ethnicities seem to be with no importance in politics in a general view. This anthropological analysis proved its weight in political issues. Indeed, there is a strong tend to a politicization of ethnicities in Mozambique.

Through this approach became clear that within various causes of political conflict the ethnic orientation weighs strongly with 62%. Unfortunately, the ethnicities have been neglected during peace negotiation.

The politicization of ethnicities has a reciprocity argument. The members of ethnic groups lean on a certain candidate based on his ethnic origin. During the exercise of his power, this candidate must pay a special attention to the group that supported his turnout, through goods and services, as a way to compensate them. This relation, known as client-patron, perpetrates politicization of ethnicities in a vicious cycle.

The research proved the initial hypothesis that - the politicization of ethnic groups contributes in a large scale to increase political conflicts in Mozambique.

The study is important to integrate cultural elements in a search of peacekeeping.

The lack of financial support and political situation were under the limitations to target a large number of sample as well as to move to countryside of all the eleven provinces. Hence in the coming opportunities a deep study about politicization of ethnicities is necessary.

Bibliography


