CHAPTER 2

HISTORY, POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION AND DEMOGRAPHY OF THE MATUTUINE DISTRICT

2. 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the third aspect of this study, namely the cultural identity of the people who stay in the Matutuine District. The cultural system of these people is examined in a historical context. It is essential to understand the history of the Matutuine District and the people who stay in the area to comprehend the present situation fully. The political administration of the Matutuine District (both the traditional political system and the contemporary government-instituted administrative structures) is also described in this chapter. The political system is also discussed in historical context.

The third part of this chapter deals with the demographics of the Matutuine District. For the purposes of the planned Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area, it is vital to know exactly how many people live in the research area and where they are located. It is also necessary to predict growth in the local population so that planning for the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area is sound and adequate. The importance of the demography of Matutuine is stressed again in Chapters 3 and 4, when the natural resource utilisation pattern of the local people is examined. Once the extreme reliance of the people in Matutuine on the natural environment is realised, it becomes clear that the local population of the Matutuine District will play a large role in determining the successful implementation of the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area. The value of the demographic information presented in this chapter will then be evident.

2. 2. THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF MATUTUINE

2. 2. 1. Origin and early history of the Tembe

The Zulu started to refer to the indigenous people who occupy the area south of, and surrounding Maputo (previously Lourenço Marques), as Thonga after their first encounters with them. The Zulu used the word *Thonga* for all the people who lived on the east coast, south of the Zambezi River and who did not belong to the Sotho or Nguni-speaking peoples (Bryant 1965:287).

The Tsonga people consist of six related ethnic groups: the Ronga, the Djona, the Hlanganu, the Bila, the Nwalungu and the Hlengwe (see Map 3) (Thorpe 1992:37). The people who live in the study area are part of the southern Tonga or Ronga group. This group consists of the Konde, Maputa, Tembe-Thonga, Matolo, Mphumo, Mabota, Mazwya, Chiranda and Manyisa tribes (Junod 1962a:16-17).

Although Junod (1962a:15) indicates that the Zulu term Thonga (Tsonga) or Ronga originates from the Zulu word *buronga* (dawn), and was apparently used to denote all peoples living in the east, Bryant (1965:286-287) is very clear on the fact that the term *Thonga* was used by the Zulu to refer to slaves. This master/slave relationship is particularly evident with regard to the role of the Tembe in trade between the Zulu and Europeans at Delagoa Bay, discussed in more detail below.

Due to the negative connotations of the word, the Tembe do not want to be called *Thonga* (Bryant 1964:99). They prefer the term Ronga or Tembe (referring to Mtembu the founder of their kingdom). These people have historically inhabited the area to the south and east of the Tembe River in Southern Mozambique, as far south as Sodwana Bay in northern KwaZulu-Natal (Torres 1980:460).

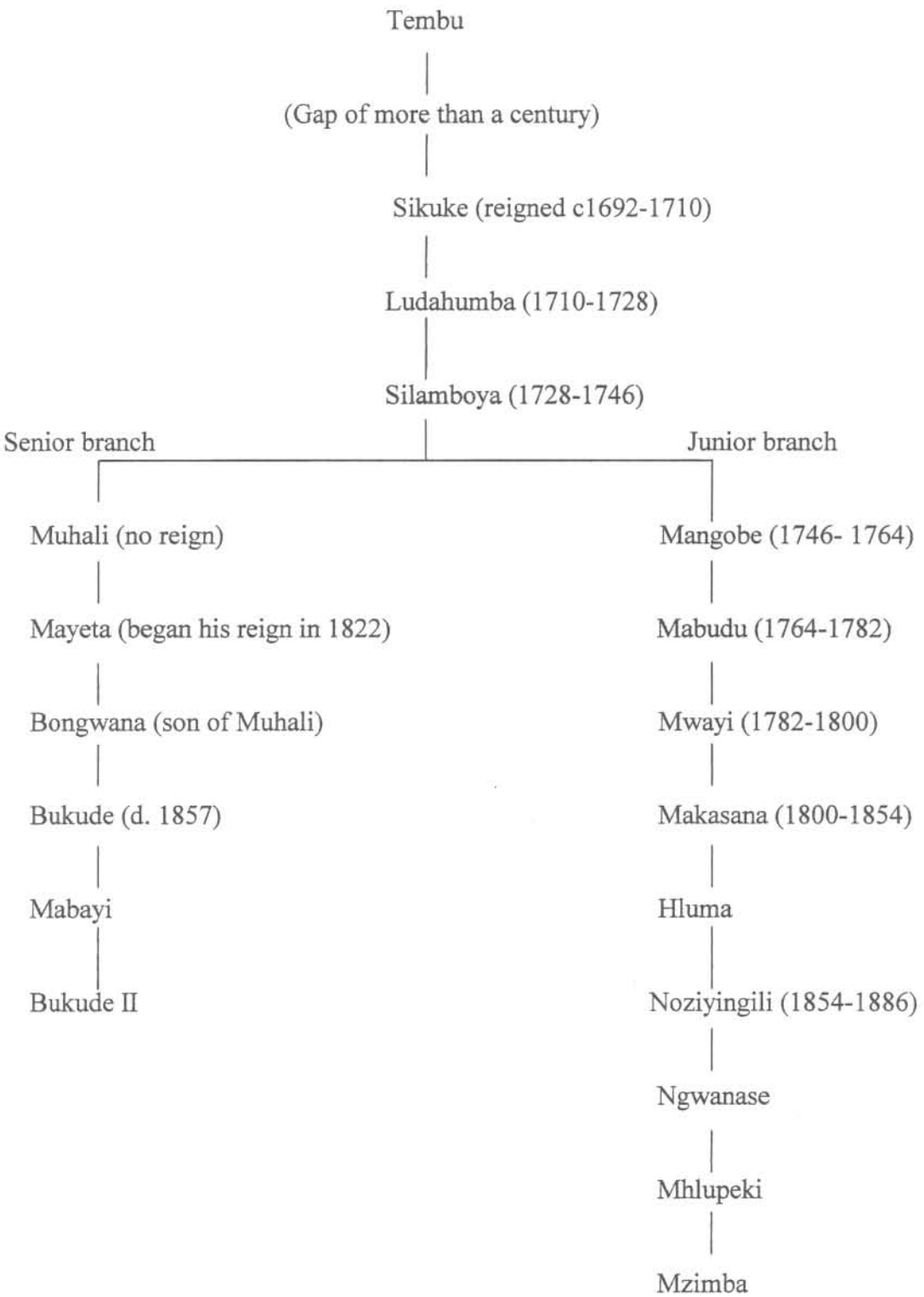
It is important that the Tembe should not be confused with the Thembu people, a Xhosa-speaking people who live in the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa (Bruwer 1963:18). In the current study, the term 'Tembe' is used to designate the people who traditionally lived in the area between Maputo Bay in the north and Lake Sibaya in the south, east of the Lubombo mountains to the Indian Ocean. Later on in

this chapter it is shown that from the 1940s, the Tembe king lost his authority in the part of the area described above that falls inside Mozambique. This and other factors, like the war of independence in Mozambique and the Mozambican Civil War, disrupted the social structure of the people who currently stay in Matutuine to such an extent that they can no longer be classified as being only Tembe. Amongst the inhabitants themselves, there is great confusion regarding their cultural identity. Therefore, in this study, when the Tembe are mentioned after the 1940s, the term refers to the Tembe who stay in northern KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. The local inhabitants of the Matutuine District are thus included under the term Tembe for the period up to the 1940s, thereafter the local inhabitants of Matutuine are referred to simply as the 'local inhabitants of Matutuine'.

It is said that the Tembe people emigrated from the Kalanga country in what is today Zimbabwe to Maputo Bay via the Nkomati River, which they crossed on a 'floating island of papyrus'. From there they crossed the Tembe River and settled south of the present day Maputo Bay (Junod 1962a:23). This probably meant that they used rafts made from papyrus to cross the rivers. The story can be interpreted to mean either that the Tembe came to the area as a clan, or that Mtembu himself came from Kalanga and established his authority over the people in the area. It is known from historical accounts that Mtembu lived and ruled in the area surrounding the present day Maputo Bay in 1554. Thus the middle of the sixteenth century can be accepted as the time at which the Tembe clan came into being (Bryant 1965:293).

In 1757 the Tembe clan was split into two when their king, Silamboya died (see Figure 1, overleaf). His senior son, Muhali, and his junior son, Mangobe, divided the clan when they parted company, each taking half of the clan under his leadership (Bryant 1965:300). The senior branch or Matutwen branch occupied the area between the Maputo and the Umbeluzi rivers in Mozambique. The junior branch or Maputo branch occupied the area between the Maputo River and the Indian Ocean. Maputo Bay formed the northern boundary of the area of the Maputo-branch and the Ubombo district in Natal, the southern boundary of their area (Felgate 1982:1-2). The area where the research for this project was conducted thus falls within the area of the

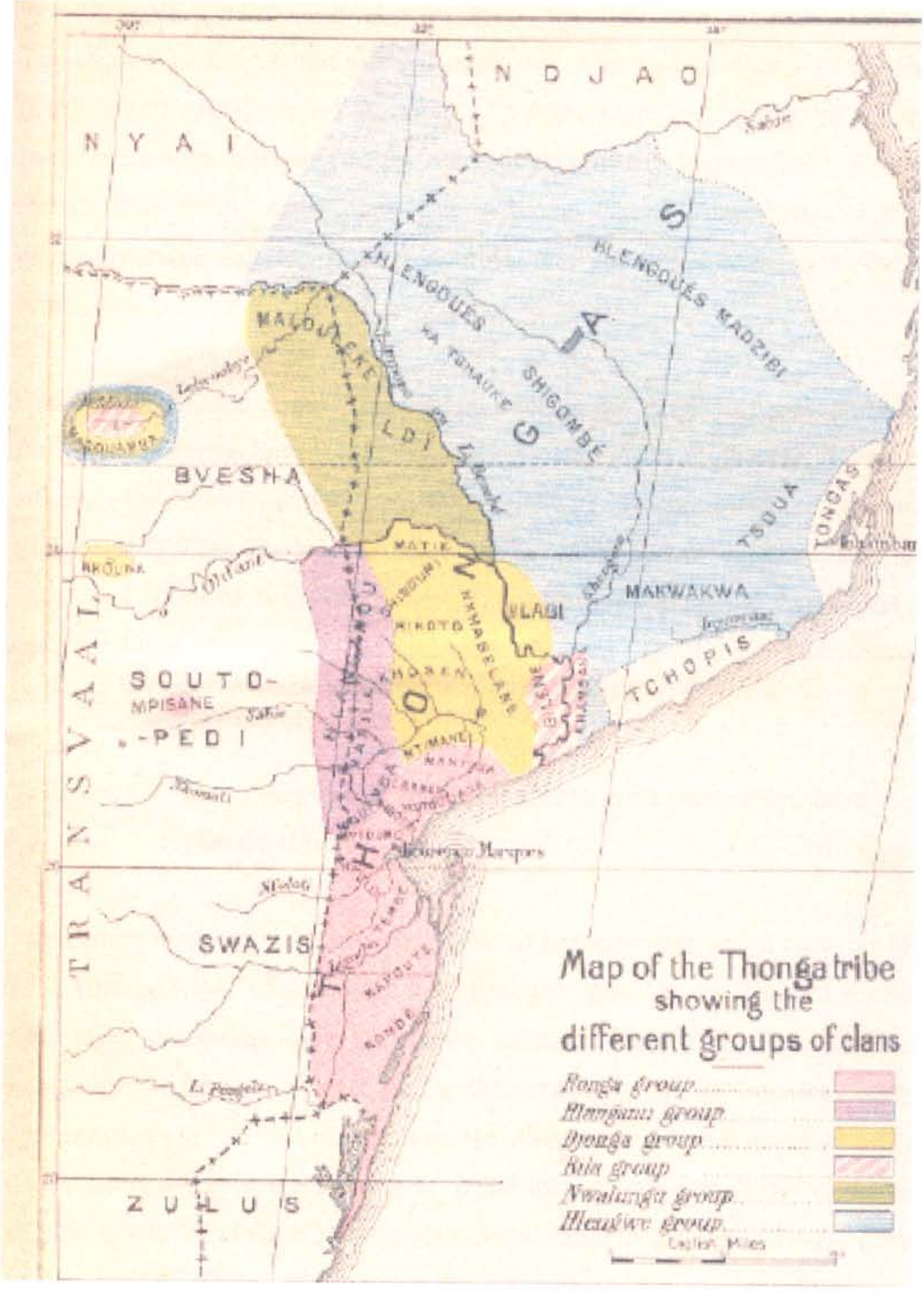
Figure 1: Genealogy of Tembe *amaKhosi*



Source: Felgate (1982:154).

Maputo-Tembe and their descendents. This junior branch or the Maputo-Tembe is referred to as 'Tembe' in the rest of this study.

Map 3: Distribution of the various Tsonga clans through South-eastern Africa



Source: Junod (1962a:16a).

According to Bryant (1965:291), the junior branch was culturally superior, although by birth inferior, to the senior branch. The junior branch is judged as culturally superior because they owned more cattle and were better agriculturists than the senior branch. They were also extensively involved in trade, while the senior branch was dependent on the junior branch for many of their supplies.

The culture of the Tembe differed markedly from that of their Nguni neighbours (Zulu, Swazi and Xhosa) to the south. They had more in common with people who lived in the area extending to the north of present-day Maputo Bay. According to Bryant (1965:290), when compared with the Nguni tribes, they were 'a race physically much inferior, timid and unwarlike, yet withal much more industrious, artistic and keen on commerce'.

Until the nineteenth century, the Tembe lived in the vicinity of present-day Maputo Bay. They claim to have ruled over the entire area as far south as the Mkhuze River, although they do not appear ever to have effectively controlled the southern areas (Felgate 1982:12). The relative peacefulness of Tembe life was disrupted during the 1800s and 1900s by European powers, tribes from the south and then by the conflict that escalated throughout Mozambique after the country's independence from Portugal in 1974.

2. 2. 2. European rivalry for the southern most part of Southern Mozambique

The Tembe came into contact with people of European extraction between 1502 and 1552 (Bryant 1964:105). Traders from Portugal landed at the Island of Mozambique and, when conditions were favourable, sailed to the mainland to trade with the indigenous population. It was during the expedition of one Lourenço Marques in approximately 1544 that the Portuguese discovered what was described as vast quantities of ivory in the possession of the local inhabitants (Torres 1980:461). A ship from either Sofala or Mozambique Island came to trade with Tembe clans on an annual basis. This fuelled growth in the ivory trade in the area between the people of Natal and the Ronga-speaking clans of Southern Mozambique (Parsons 1993:33). The discovery of these valuable trade goods (as well as a strong hint that there was

gold in the interior) led the Portuguese to safeguard very carefully their knowledge on these vast trade possibilities as well as their knowledge of the indigenous people from competing Dutch and British traders (Torres 1980:461).

The efforts of Portugal to keep the trade with Mozambique to herself was, however, in vain. In 1688 Portugal, Britain and the Dutch all established trading stations at what was then called Delagoa Bay (Bryant 1965:178). The most important item traded was ivory, and everyone wanted a part of the gold trade in the hinterland of south-eastern Africa. In 1721 the Dutch East India Company established a fort at Delagoa Bay from whence they hoped to control the gold trade in this particular geographical area (Smith 1972:173). However, before they could even begin to set up trade, the Dutch were struck down with malaria and were forced to retreat to Europe (Bryant 1965:289).

After the Dutch had left, a party of Portuguese traders from Mozambique tried to set up a fort at Delagoa Bay, but also did not succeed (Bryant 1965:298). In 1777 the Austrians were lured by the promise of gold. In that same year the Austrian Asiatic Company of Trieste, under the management of William Bolts, managed to gain control of trade in Delagoa Bay. The Austrians were very successful in their dealings with the local population. The price of ivory traded at Delagoa Bay was double to that of the price of ivory traded from Mozambique Island. However, fever and Portuguese efforts to oust the Austrians from Delagoa Bay to monopolize the trade for themselves eventually led to the departure of the Austrians from Delagoa Bay (Smith 1972:174).

The Portuguese realised that they did not possess the strength to protect their trading interests in Southern Mozambique with the use of force alone. The answer, they thought, was diplomacy. In 1794 as conflict broke out among the Tembe people, the Portuguese promised an alliance to the strongest *induna* in exchange for the deed to his land. After the Portuguese had obtained the deed from the strongest *induna*, they started to construct a fort on the land allocated to them in accordance with the deed. However, they had barely finished building the fort when the French came, in 1796, and forced them to retreat. Despite this setback, the Portuguese returned in 1799 and

tried to obtain further land concessions from the indigenous people (Bryant 1965:299).

Although the Portuguese made early contact with the Tembe, they give very little detail on the Tembe in the records they left. Captain W. Owen, who served in the British navy, documented the first useful account of the people. In 1822 he paid a visit to the area over which the Tembe had authority and produced two volumes, entitled *Narrative of voyages to Africa* (Bryant 1965:290). During this visit, Owen named the area south of what was then Delagoa Bay, bounded in the west by the Maputo River, 'Mapoota' Land (Bruton, Smith & Taylor 1980:438)

The main purpose of Owen's visit to Maputaland was to negotiate land rights in the area for Britain. His first step was to consult the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay and request their protection against the indigenous people while the British expedition visited the area. The Portuguese responded that the indigenous people were not Portuguese subjects, and that Portugal could therefore not promise the British expedition any protection. Upon this Owen paid visits to the two strongest Tembe *izinduna* of the area, Mayeta and Makasana, to tempt them to put their respective lands under British protection. The two *izinduna* obliged, but soon after Owen had left, the Portuguese command obtained written declarations from the same two Tembe *izinduna* that their people had always been subjects of the king of Portugal (Bryant 1965:299).

In reality, these declarations of allegiance of the Tembe to the Portuguese crown did not carry much weight. Conflict between the Portuguese and the Tembe continued for many years. The conflict regarding European ownership of Delagoa Bay was not settled until 1897, when other European countries finally recognised Portugal's territorial rights to this area (Bryant 1965:300).

Before 1875, both Britain (from the Natal side) and Portugal (from the Mozambican side) laid claim to what is today the southern part of Mozambique. These claims were further complicated by a claim by the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek* that the land belonged to them, as it afforded the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek* a passage to the sea. Portugal and Britain put the land claim matter up for international arbitration. French

Premier MacMahon arbitrated the matter in favour of Portugal in 1875, when he established the current boundary between South Africa and Mozambique. This meant that the region under the authority of the Tembe Royal family was divided into two sections, with the larger number of their subjects living in Mozambique (Felgate 1982:9). The Tembe were not consulted or informed about the fact that the largest part of their country had been awarded to Portugal until 1887, when the then Queen Regent Zambili sent a deputation to the Governor of Natal, Sir A. E. Havelock, to complain about Portuguese encroachments. As a result of this visit, Zambili and the British Government agreed upon a treaty in 1895 whereby the portion of land under Tembe control that fell outside the Portuguese sphere under the MacMahon Award was proclaimed to be under British protection (Van Wyk 1983:60-61). From that moment on the section of the Tembe tribal area under British protection was called Thongaland (Makanjee 1989:70).

This meant that the Tembe now found themselves under the authority of two different colonial masters. At first, the Royal Family were able to control their people on both sides of the border. When king Ngwanase, came into conflict with the Portuguese in Mozambique in 1895, he was forced to seek asylum in so-called British Tongaland. The British welcomed him and allowed him to settle near Pelandaba. From there, Ngwanase and his son Mhlupheki after him ruled over the entire Tembe kingdom. During the first few years of the Twentieth century, the Portuguese influence in Southern Mozambique was not very forceful. The Tembe king still appointed *izinduna* in Southern Mozambique, collected taxes from his subjects living there, and also heard court cases from his subjects living in Southern Mozambique. It was only from the 1940s onwards that the king's influence over his subjects in Mozambique dwindled, because the Portuguese colonial administration strengthened their hold in the area and enforced a colonial administration system of direct rule which aimed to destroy the power of indigenous leaders (see 2.3.2) (Felgate 1982:21).

2. 2. 3. Relations between the tribes of Southern Mozambique and Natal.

The relationship between the Tembe and the indigenous African peoples living to their south was dominated by two factors: trade with European countries at Delagoa Bay and the consequences of the *difaqane*. These two factors are not totally independent of each other. It has even been suggested that one of the main reasons for the *difaqane* was the effort of the Zulu to control trade with Delagoa Bay (Ballard 1981:100). This is, however, a revisionist interpretation of the causes of the *difaqane* and is not a view supported by leading historians on the subject (Bryant 1964:48-98, Krige 1988:1-22 and Omer-Cooper 1975:1-8)

The *difaqane* cannot be fully explained as merely the result of Zulu efforts to control trade with Delagoa Bay, since that would be too simplistic. *Difaqane* is a Sotho word (*mfecane* in Zulu) that means 'forced migration' and indicates a period of 30 years in the history of South Africa starting in 1815 in present-day KwaZulu-Natal. Various clans of what was then called Zululand came into conflict with one another. These conflicts caused large-scale political, social and economic destruction and eventually a total restructuring of indigenous socio-economic and political systems. The *difaqane* was, more specifically the result of conflicts between Northern Nguni groups (see below) and it was specifically the conquests of Shaka, king of the Zulu, that provided the momentum for the phenomenon (Van Aswegen 1991:248).

The Tembe were particularly affected by wars of conquest in the northern part of Zululand. Since they were not a warlike people, they would easily have been destroyed had the might of Shaka's army been unleashed upon them. Fortunately for the Tembe, Shaka was assassinated before this could happen. However, the Tembe were hard-hit by the ravages caused by fugitives who fled northwards from KwaZulu-Natal because of the conflicts that originated there (Bryant 1965:292).

The first major conflict that started in the early 1800s in what was then Zululand was that between the Ngwane and the Ndwandwe. The Ngwane clan lived on the northern banks of the Pongola River, under the leadership of Sobhuza. Initially, there was peace between Sobhuza and his neighbours, the Ndwandwe under the leadership of Zwide. When conflicts over land had escalated into a full-scale war, the Ngwane

were forced to flee the area. The Ngwane eventually settled in what is today Swaziland, where they established a strong kingdom (Van Aswegen 1991:248).

Conflict between Shaka and Zwide came to an end in 1818 or 1819, when Shaka defeated the Ndwandwe. Several Ndwandwe leaders fled northwards with their followers and left a path of destruction and misery in their wake (Van Aswegen 1991:248). Two of them, Soshangane and Zwangendaba, went along different routes to Southern Mozambique. Two other clans, the Msene and the Maseko, combined under the leadership of the Maseko *inkosi*, Nxaba, also fled to Southern Mozambique (Omer-Cooper 1975:57).

Soshangane and his followers settled near the present-day Maputo Bay, just north of the Tembe area. The Tembe escaped the worst part of Soshangane's tyranny by moving southwards along the coast (Felgate 1982:10). After being nearly defeated by Shaka's army, Soshangane fled northwards and settled in the vicinity of the Save River, the same area were Zwangendaba and Nxaba had settled. The three groups were loosely associated for a short period, but conflict soon flared up between the leaders. Soshangane defeated Zwangendaba in 1831. Thereafter, Zwangendaba and his followers fled westward through present-day Zimbabwe. A war between Soshangane and Nxaba broke out soon afterwards. After Nxaba had been defeated, the Maseko-Msene army broke up. The Msene followed Nxaba westward on the same path that Zwangendaba had taken, while the Maseko fled northwards and finally settled in present-day Tanzania. With the opposition out of the way, Soshangane established the mighty Gaza Empire in the area surrounding the central Sabi River. From here, he sent plundering expeditions in all directions (Omer-Cooper 1975:58).

Although the Tembe suffered at the hands of Soshangane, his actions did not result in the destruction of the Tembe either as a political or as a social unit. They did, however, result in various migrations to the south. Makhasana, then the king or *inkosi* of the Tembe, and his son sent armies to the south of present-day Tongaland and to the western areas of Southern Mozambique to conquer independent clans living there (Felgate 1982:11).

Various other people passed through Tembe country during the reigns of Shaka and Zwide, either individually or in groups. Many of them settled among the Tembe. Over time, this caused the Tembe to lose their distinctive culture to a certain degree and to incorporate many aspects of Nguni (especially Zulu) culture (Bryant 1965:292).

As this process continued more and more prestige was attached to being Zulu and to the Zulu language. Tembe men had learned to speak Zulu even before the reign of Shaka from people with whom they traded. This trend increased now that there were Zulu people in their midst. The women, however, especially in the southern regions of the Tembe kingdom, did not feel the need to learn to speak Zulu (Felgate 1982:11).

The people who fled the onslaught of Shaka only stayed in Tembe country for a short period before they moved on. The most predominant reason for this was the ecology of the region in which the Tembe lived (Felgate 1982:11). Due to prevailing ecological conditions in the region, people who decide to settle there are compelled to follow a certain economic pattern with respect to hunting, fishing and practising horticulture in the nutrient-poor sandy soils. This pattern is still used nowadays in everyday life in Matutuine and northern KwaZulu Natal. The high incidence of malaria and tsetse fly in the low-lying parts of the region also made the area unfavourable to Zulu and Swazi invaders who relied heavily on cattle. The result was that the Tembe were left in relative peace to pursue their own way of life, even if they were never absolutely secluded from happenings in Zululand and Natal (Torres 1980:460-461).

The ecological conditions in Southern Mozambique were not the only reason why the Zulu never openly waged war against the Tembe. The principal reason for this was, quite simply, that it was never necessary for the Zulu to wage war against the Tembe, because the Zulu had an overlord-vassal relationship with the Tembe (Ballard 1981:102).

During his campaigns, Shaka had established his authority over the Tembe. The Zulu king forced the Tembe leaders to pay tribute to him. This was a well-organised annual political and economic activity, with special collectors appointed by Shaka and

the Zulu kings who followed him (Ballard 1981:102). Mpande even intervened in the politics of the Tembe to help settle a dispute in his own favour. The dispute came about as follows: when the paramount *inkosi* of the Tembe, Makhasana, died in 1854, he left his throne to his second eldest son Noziyingili, after his eldest son Hluma had died. However, Makhasana's brother, Nonkatsha, had as regent acquired a considerable amount of autonomy and a huge following, and had usurped the throne. Noziyingili fled to Zululand to ask Mpande to intervene. Mpande sent seven regiments to reclaim the Tembe throne for Noziyingili, and after a long campaign, succeeded in doing so. Noziyingili returned to Tongaland where he reigned as king from 1854 to 1886. This incident increased the Zulu hold on the Tembe, but also secured Noziyingili's position as Tembe king. As long as Noziyingili paid his dues to the Zulu king, he was assured of his position. In this way, his ties to the Zulu royal family strengthened his power against would-be opponents (Ballard 1981:105).

It was the responsibility of the Tembe *inkosi* to organise hunting parties to obtain ivory, hides and feathers or to organise groups of people to harvest their crops as tribute for the Zulu king. This tributary system started in 1820 and continued up to 1860. The Tembe *inkosi,* at that time Makhasana, and later his son Noziyingili, had no choice but to pay the tribute. In exchange, the Zulu recognised them as leaders of a vast territory, and this, to an extent, secured their positions (Ballard 1981:103).

This relationship with the Tembe was instituted because Shaka wanted to control trade with Delagoa Bay. Due to their usefulness as traders, Shaka only demanded tribute from the Tembe and never waged a full-scale war on them. Tembe porters went to the kraals of the Zulu king where they collected large amounts of ivory to be carried to Delagoa Bay for trade with the Portuguese. Shaka also chose not to interfere with the political organisation of the Tembe, and allowed traditional Tembe leaders to retain their authority as long as they paid tribute to the Zulu king. In this manner, Shaka laid the foundations of a foreign policy that was continued by Dingane, Mpande and Cetswayo (Ballard 1981:104).

Cetswayo, who succeeded Mpande as king of the Zulu, was even more successful in managing his hold over the Tembe and thereby his control of the trade with Delagoa Bay. Like his predecessors, he collected ivory, vervet monkey tails, skins and

calabashes from the Tembe. It was in his time that trade with Delagoa Bay took on a renewed importance. In the 1860s and 1870s, coastal trade was dominated by the sale of firearms. Control of the trade route from Zululand to Delagoa Bay took on a new importance, since it was the only way in which the Zulu could obtain firearms. Various plans by the British and the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek* made it nearly impossible for the Zulu to obtain firearms through any other channel (Ballard 1981:106).

Zulu control of the coastal trade route waned by the end of the 1860s. The reason for this was twofold: a succession dispute between the two sons of Soshangane, Mzila and Mawewe, in the Gaza Empire from 1858 to 1862, and an ecological disaster. When the succession dispute over leadership of the Gaza Empire broke out, Mzila turned to the Portuguese for military assistance and Mawewe turned to the Swazi kingdom. After Mzila had defeated Mawewe, Mawewe fled to Swaziland. Noziyingili, the then king of the Tembe, aligned his forces with Mawewe and succeeded in defeating Mzila in the early 1870s (Ballard 1981:108). These political upheavals coincided with an ecological disaster. The *Mbethe* or *Ngongoni* famine struck much of south-eastern Africa and it was especially the area around Delagoa Bay that was hit extremely hard. A lack of ground water, combined with lung disease, destroyed nearly all the cattle, while the human population was struck down by a smallpox epidemic (Ballard 1981:108).

These factors made it difficult for the Tembe to provide the necessary tribute to the Zulu king. The years of tribute paid to the Zulu king had depleted most of the fauna in the area and the draught further disabled the Tembe, making it hard for them to pay their dues. The tribute relationship was totally transformed in the last few years of the nineteenth century as the demand for labour in Natal opened up a new way for tribute to be paid to the Zulu king. Cetswayo assisted the government of Natal in recruiting Tembe and other Ronga-speaking people as labourers in exchange for a share in their wages, which he perceived as commission for their recruitment (Ballard 1981:108).

2. 2. 4. Colonialism and the struggle for the independence of Mozambique

The colonial rule of Portugal over Mozambique had a profound influence on the history of the Tembe who came under Portuguese influence. This is largely due to the Portuguese system of colonial administration, which is discussed below (2.3.2). The Portuguese followed a system of administration that can best be described as centralisation and assimilation. The Portuguese looked down on the cultures of the indigenous people in their colonies and wanted to replace the indigenous culture with Portuguese culture. In order to accomplish this goal, the Portuguese aimed to eradicate indigenous cultures. This also meant the eradication of traditional authority structures. This caused resentment in a large portion of the indigenous population and, in the case of Mozambique, led to a brutal war of independence. In the process, thousands of people were displaced, while the infrastructure of large parts of the country was destroyed. This implies that the colonial era and the effects of the war of independence contributed to the underdevelopment of large areas of Mozambique, including the Matutuine District. Furthermore, the traditional cultural system was disrupted to such an extent that, as will be discussed in the following sections, there is no longer any cultural homogeneity in the Matutuine District, and in large areas of the Matutuine District people have lost their cultural identity.

The struggle for the independence of Mozambique from Portuguese colonial rule took a long time to become overt. This was largely due to the way in which Portugal administered her colonies and the way in which Portugal refused to accept that the colonial era was ending. Pressure came to bear on Portugal to grant Mozambique her independence from two sides, internal and external. From the end of the Second World War (1939-1945), there was a marked change in world opinion with regard to imperialism. In the United Nations newly independent countries like India and Ghana voiced their opinion against colonies and the repression of so-called third world peoples. Throughout the years during which many African states gained their independence, Portugal was seen as the most stubborn imperialist state, and voices were raised from various quarters for the independence of Portugal's colonial holdings (Bennet 1995:379-380).

To divert the pressure put on him and to win the favour of Western states, the leader of Portugal at the time, António de Oliveira Salazar, redesigned the colonial system. In 1951 the Portuguese constitution was changed so that colonies were no longer called colonies, but Overseas Provinces of Portugal. This was followed in 1953 by the Organic Law of Overseas Portugal, the Statute for the Province of Mozambique in 1955 and an updated Native Statute in 1954. Growing international opposition against Portuguese colonial rule also resulted in the granting of full citizenship to all inhabitants of the colonies (Newitt 1995:473).

Internal pressure for the independence of Mozambique built up relatively slowly. Mozambique was isolated from revolutionary happenings elsewhere in Africa. It was left to Mozambicans living abroad to initiate resistance from inside the colony. A forum for Mozambican nationalism was created abroad when three nationalist movements, UDENAMO (the *União Nacional Democrática de Moçambique*), Unami (the *União Africana de Moçambique Independente*) and MANU (the Mozambique African National Union) merged to form FRELIMO (the *Frente de Libertaçãao de Moçambique* or National Front for Mozambique Liberation) in June 1962. FRELIMO was headed by Eduardo Mondlane. He had been educated in Lisbon and by 1962 had lived abroad for nearly ten years (Van Aswegen & Verhoef 1982:50).

From its inception, there was internal conflict as to what actions FRELIMO should take to achieve its goal of independence. The FRELIMO campaign was finally launched on 25 September 1964 with an attack on a Portuguese base at Chai in Northern Mozambique, and the issuing of a proclamation of independence and a call to arms of all indigenous people in Mozambique (Newitt 1995:523).

The bulk of FRELIMO's activities were concentrated in the northern part of Mozambique because guerrillas could find safety in Zambia and Tanzania. FRELIMO gradually increased its power and forced the Portuguese to take notice of the plea for independence. When the Portuguese government under Marcello Caetano collapsed after a military coup in 1974 and Antonio de Spinola came to power, negotiations with FRELIMO began (Newitt 1995:538-539).

Portugal wanted a complete ceasefire, which FRELIMO refused. Chaos broke out throughout Mozambique. In August 1974 FRELIMO finally ended its military campaign. This led to the signing of the Lusaka Accord in September 1974, whereby control of the government of Mozambique was transferred to a transitional government under Joaquim Chissano. On 25 July 1975 Samora Machel officially became president of an independent Mozambique (Newitt 1995:539).

2. 2. 5. The Civil War in Mozambique

After coming to power, FRELIMO had two goals: establishing a rigid socialist economy and supporting the struggle for independence in the former Southern Rhodesia by allowing Rhodesian rebels to operate from Mozambique (Newitt:1995:542).

Many people who were opposed to FRELIMO fled abroad. Much of the opposition to the FRELIMO government came from the Mozambican rural population. This resistance was directly related to FRELIMO's socialist policies. One of the socialist policies that were implemented was the establishment of communal villages. Families living in rural areas were moved into large communal villages under the control of party officials or newly appointed traditional leaders on whose land the communal villages were built. This meant that some traditional leaders lost all their authority while others grew stronger. The authority of traditional leaders was broken down even further by the institution of party officials and People's Tribunals (Newitt 1995:571).

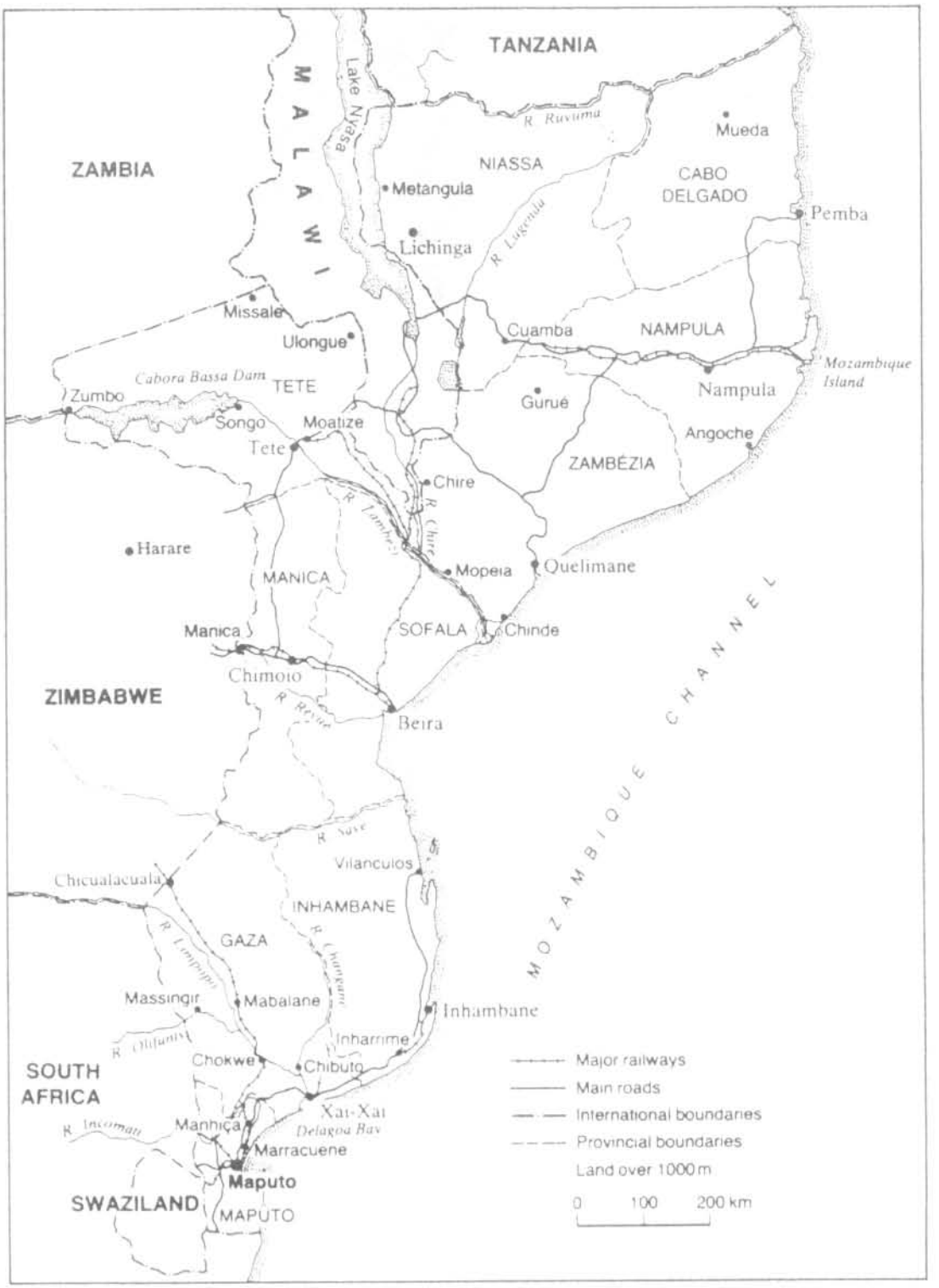
Many people who fled from Mozambique found refuge in the former Rhodesia. There they were helped by the Rhodesians to establish RENAMO, the *Resistência Nacional de Moçambique*. The Rhodesian security organisation trained and funded RENAMO soldiers to run insurgency operations throughout Mozambique and to oppose the FRELIMO government. The main targets were the country's economy and infrastructure. In 1980, however, the then white president of Rhodesia, Ian Smith, fell from power, and Rhodesia became the state of Zimbabwe. At that stage, the South African Defence Force stepped in and took over the role of supporting RENAMO. Training facilities were set up in the former Northern Transvaal and

equipment was supplied by the South African government. RENAMO, now under the leadership of Alfonso Dhlakama, targeted any person or building associated with the FRELIMO government in Mozambique. The rural economy and communal farms also became targets. The purpose was to strike fear into the hearts of the population and to instil the belief that the FRELIMO government was incapable of ensuring the safety of its subjects. Commanding widespread support from the disaffected, RENAMO was especially active in the central provinces of Mozambique, such as Sofala, Manica and Zambezia, and later on in the south (south of Maputo up to the South African border) (see Map 4). Through sabotage, RENAMO managed to destroy much of the country's economic and social infrastructure: roads and railways, schools and health centres, houses, shops and factories (McGregor 1998: 38; Newitt 1995:570).

In 1984 South Africa and Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord, whereby the two countries pledged not to support insurrection in each other's territories and to lend mutual co-operation in development (Liebenberg 1993:447). This effectively meant that RENAMO could no longer operate from inside South Africa. This led to the darkest hours of the Civil War. By 1990, as many as 100 000 people had been killed and 4 million (a third of the population) had been displaced due to the fighting. Tens of thousands of refugees fled to neighbouring countries and the FRELIMO-led government lost effective control over large parts of the country (Newitt 1995:571).

By 1989, however, FRELIMO had become disenchanted with its Marxist ideology and started to build a Western-style democracy. On 1 December 1990, a cease-fire was signed between RENAMO and FRELIMO (Newitt:1995:573).

Map 4: Map of Mozambique showing the various provinces



Source: Darch and Pacheleke (1987:361).

2. 2. 6. Labour migration from Southern Mozambique to South Africa

As was discussed above (2.2.3), there has always been interaction between the local inhabitants of Southern Mozambique and people who stay in what is now South Africa because of cultural and kinship ties. There is evidence to show that migration along traditional trading routes increased with the growth of the ivory trade since the early parts of the nineteenth century. Migration escalated with the rapid development of the sugar industry in Natal, which increased the demand for labour (Newitt 1995:482). The demand for labour was not met by the Zulu who stayed in Natal in South Africa. The reason for this is that among the Zulu agricultural work was women's work and the cash incentive for male labourers was too low to entice them to work in the sugar plantations (Davenport 1987:117).

To combat labour shortages, Britain took steps to use freed slaves and also started to import labour from India in 1860. Between November 1860 and June 1861, 1 593 Indians entered Natal. By the end of 1866, the number of Indians in Natal had risen to 6 445 (Ballard 1981:109). However, plantation owners found that Southern Mozambique was the most abundant source of labour (Newitt 1995:482-483).

Indigenous people from Mozambique have always seen migratory labour in South Africa as an alternative in times of economic hardships. The nutrient-poor soils in the environment they live in provides low crop yields even at the best of times. The establishment of the Gaza Empire put extra pressure on tribal people in the southern region. People had to pay tribute in the form of cattle, consumer goods, women and children. This deprived people of most of their surplus production. The situation worsened in the 1870s after the demand for ivory had driven most elephants from the region and people had lost this valuable economic resource. Also, the wars that followed the death of Soshangane in 1858 led to widespread destruction, which was felt especially in the extreme southern part of Mozambique, devastated time and again by Swazi raids.

A large number of people died due to famine and epidemics. Many destitute people gathered in large fortified settlements or sought protection in Portuguese *presídios*

(garrisoned enclaves). These events created ideal conditions for labour recruiters to sign up workers for the sugar plantations in Natal (Newitt 1995:483).

In 1859 the Natal Legislative Council passed Law 13 of 1859, which provided for the legal entry of Mozambican labourers on a three-year contract to Natal. This law caused problems for the Zulu king at the time, Cetswayo. Due to various problems affecting the Tembe (as discussed above) Cetswayo had already lost a lot of the annual tribute from Tongaland. Cetswayo was therefore reluctant to allow the Tembe to cross Zululand freely because he feared losing this important resource base. The Tembe were also disinclined to sign a contract on a three-year basis. However, the continuing impoverishment of Tongaland forced many labourers to enter Natal to seek work. Eventually, Cetswayo expressed his willingness to allow the Tembe workers to cross through Zululand. By the end of 1873, five migrant rest stations had been established along the coastal route and a promise had been obtained from Cetswayo not to molest Tembe men travelling through his country in exchange for a commission paid to the Zulu king (Ballard 1981:114).

The number of Mozambicans entering Natal on the government-recruiting scheme increased annually. Recruitment peaked in 1878, with 5 000 Mozambicans entering Natal through Zululand. White agriculturists preferred Mozambican labour to Indian labour, because, they said, Mozambicans have greater strength and stamina to perform manual tasks than Indians. Mozambican labour was also a lot cheaper. Compared with the £30 it cost to obtain an Indian worker, it cost only £1 to employ a Mozambican labourer (Ballard 1981:115).

The number of Tembe labourers working in Natal changed the tributary system that existed between the Tembe and the Zulu. Although Cetswayo was unwilling to co-operate with the Natal authorities at first, he later recruited Tembe men to work in Natal himself. The reason for this was that Cetswayo began to see the value of the hard currency in which tribute was now paid. The Government of Natal paid Cetswayo a third of the wages earned by labourers that Cetswayo forced the Tembe *inkosi* at the time, Noziyingili, to send to Natal. With this money, Cetswayo could buy cattle and other goods perceived as superior to the traditional tribute he had

received from an already depleted natural resource base in Southern Mozambique (Ballard 1981:116).

Labour migration from Mozambique to South Africa was encouraged even further after the discovery of diamonds in the Orange River in 1867. Once diamonds had been discovered in other parts of South Africa, larger and larger numbers of labourers left Southern Mozambique in search of work (Newitt 1995:483).

Workers were attracted to Kimberley by wages and weapons. Firearms were easily available in Kimberley and many traditional leaders sent parties of young men to the mines so that they could purchase firearms. Even after the sale of firearms had been stopped, many young Mozambican men still went to the area for the high wages which enabled them to buy consumer goods, increased their status and provided them with the necessary money for *lobola* (Newitt 1995:484). *Lobola* refers to goods handed over by a bridegroom's family to the father or guardian of the bride to supplement a marriage (Doke *et al.* 1996:460).

Money earned for *lobola* increased in importance, due to raids from the Gaza Empire on the people of Southern Mozambique which made it nearly impossible for young Tembe men to transfer *lobola* in the form of cattle, because their cattle was stolen during the raids. People in Southern Mozambique were stripped of most of the cattle necessary for *lobola*, and they could not enter into customary marriage without transferring *lobola*. Initially, hoes were used as *lobola* instead of cattle, but with the increase in migrant labour, *lobola* came to be transferred in consumer goods. This had a detrimental effect on the authority that lineage heads had traditionally exerted over their sons, since the lineage heads had traditionally provided the cattle their sons used to get married. Hence, wages earned in the mines in Kimberley and in the sugar plantations in Natal initiated a social revolution in Southern Mozambique (Newitt 1995:484).

In 1886, the demand for labour from Southern Mozambique increased dramatically with the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand. To ensure a steady influx of workers, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, established in 1896, set up labour recruiting stations in Southern Mozambique (Newitt 1995:492).

Large numbers of labourers to the South African mines came from Mozambique. In 1920, as much as 55.6 % of labourers employed by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association came from Mozambique. Over the years, this percentage had decreased gradually, but it was always substantial. On the eve of the Second World War, no fewer than 84 335 Mozambicans were employed through the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. This ads up to 26.11 % of the total number of labourers employed in the South African mines through the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (Van der Horst 1942:216-217).

In the 1970s the situation on the gold mines changed considerably with the removal of the controls on the gold price. Profits made by the gold mining industry could now be used to mechanise and to increase wages, which made employment in the mines an option for South African citizens, who had, till that time, looked down on mine work. Between 1970 and 1979, the percentage of South African workers on the mines increased from 28% to 63%. The embargo placed by Malawi in 1974 on all labour recruitment for work in South Africa further convinced the mine industry to focus its attention on the local population. However, it was at that time heavily dependent on Mozambican labour. In 1975 a record number of 113 000 Mozambicans were recruited. However, the rhetoric of FRELIMO worried the South African government and in 1976 the mines instituted a policy of not re-employing Mozambicans once their contracts had expired. In 1977, only two years after the 1975 record employment of Mozambicans, a mere 36 447 Mozambicans were employed by South African mines (Newitt 1995:498).

The situation for Mozambican labourers in South Africa improved slightly after the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984. The government of Mozambique asked that the quota of Mozambican labourers be raised to 120 000. The South African government backed the idea and in 1985, there were again 52 410 Mozambicans employed in South African mines. However, in the following year, the South African government changed its course and threatened to expel all foreign workers. As a compromise, all new recruitments were halted and only those Mozambicans who were re-contracting were allowed to work in South African mines (Newitt 1995:499).

2. 2. 7. Socio-cultural impact of historical events on the present situation in Matutuine

Historical events have had an enormous influence on the present socio-cultural situation in the Matutuine District of the Maputo Province of Mozambique. There is a strong Portuguese influence in the area that is evident from building styles and the fact that most people converse in Portuguese, even when the people they talk to speak the same African language they themselves do. People say that they prefer it this way because Portuguese is a binding factor in a nation with strong ethnic diversity. There is also still a strong Tembe influence in the area, especially among the older people. It would, however, be incorrect to state that there is ethnic homogeneity in the area. This is largely due to the displacement of people brought about by the war of independence from Portugal and the Mozambican Civil War.

The Civil War has had an immense influence on the area's present inhabitants. Quantitative research results indicate that 72% of the current inhabitants of the area lived outside Matutuine during the war. The majority of these people (35%) lived in South Africa and Swaziland. The children of many of these people were born outside Mozambique and grew up in other countries and attended school there.

This situation means that especially the younger people living in the research area have been exposed to foreign cultures. It can therefore not be said that the people of Matutuine have a single cultural identity. Recently people from Maputo and other areas in the north of Mozambique have moved into the research area due to the tourism developments at Ponta Malongane and in Ponta do Ouro and the job opportunities these places afford.

The forced migration of labourers to Natal and years of migration to the mines in South Africa have also had considerable effects on the present situation in Matutuine. According to Newitt (1995:502), the mines ' … worked major social changes not least in the structure of the family, the monetarisation of the economy and the growth of a relatively prosperous "middle peasantry" '. The institutionalisation of migrant labour disrupted the pattern of agricultural production as well as the social cohesion of the family. Since men were absent for periods of up to 18 months, they became removed

from their normal production tasks. Tasks like building houses, constructing roofs, catching fish and small game and clearing fields were gradually taken over by artisans paid for in wage earnings (Head 1995:135).

Mine earnings especially affected the transfer of *lobola*. It caused the inflation of *lobola* and the replacement of cattle as *lobola* goods by monetary payment. Miners also joined independent churches and developed a taste for consumer goods. However, in general, the influence of mining is regarded as a conservative force. Miners tended to seek money to improve their status within traditional authority structures and were even more concerned with the continuance of traditional hierarchies and structures than people who did not partake in the migration (Newitt 1995:502).

Nonetheless, there may be some truth in the assumption that Mozambicans who went to South Africa came into contact with the ideals of African nationalism and the struggle for the independence of Mozambique. The Portuguese were relatively successful in isolating the indigenous population of Mozambique from revolutionary happenings during the 1950s and 1960s elsewhere in Africa. Those who went to the mines were exposed to these political changes. They became involved in the politics of South Africa. They agitated with mineworkers on the Witwatersrand, joined political movements and came into contact with ideals their countrymen had been isolated from (Newitt 1995:521).

2. 2. 8. Economic impact of historical events on Matutuine

The introduction of the mercantile capitalist system at Delagoa Bay and the resultant competition between the Zulu and other peoples in northern Natal to secure the trade routes from Natal had a detrimental affect on Southern Mozambique. These events have been identified as two of the main causes of the underdevelopment of the area. In this regard it was especially the tributary system instituted by the Zulu that caused great hardship. It led to the exploitation of the natural and the human resources in the area and greatly contributed to underdevelopment (Ballard 1981:118).

The large-scale exodus of Portuguese from Mozambique in the mid-1970s also had detrimental effects on the economy. The Portuguese had done little to train the indigenous population to perform highly skilled tasks. Thus, when they left, the Portuguese took with them most of the available formal skills 'down to the level of (say) taxi-driver or mechanic assistant' (Raikes 1985:231).

Due to these factors, Mozambique still has, largely, an economy based on subsistence-agriculture. This is especially evident in the southern parts of the country. There has been extremely little infrastructure development in the research area. The majority of the roads to the east and south of the Maputo River are sand roads traversable only by four-wheel drive vehicles. There are only two tar roads in the area and the one, leading to Zitundo is in a poor state of maintenance. The other two roads in the area are gravel roads which become extremely treacherous in rainy conditions. Although there are four hospitals or clinics in the area many people prefer to travel to Manguzi in South Africa to seek medical attention there. There is also no electricity supply in the area, except at Bela Vista, Ponta Malongane and Ponta do Ouro. At Ponta do Ouro and Ponta Malongane the electricity is, however, mainly reserved for the benefit of tourists who frequent the area. There are only eight public radio-telephone links which have to serve the entire study area. There is also no water-infrastructure, except for the facilities at Ponta do Ouro and Ponta Malongane, which are again reserved for use by tourists. A past characterised by exploitation from various quarters and war is largely responsible for this situation.

The migration of Mozambican labour, especially from the southern parts of Mozambique, has had several important economic effects. As has been discussed, the wages earned on the mines play an important role in the production-patterns of peasant households. The country's balance of payments has also been greatly influenced by foreign exchange receipts from remitted wages (Head 1995:129). Prior to 1975, nearly 50 % of the country's foreign exchange earnings came from a gold premium paid by the South African government for Mozambican mine workers in South African mines (Leatt, Kneifel & Nürnberger 1986:165). Even in 1995, Mozambicans still made up 13.6% of the total workforce at South African gold mines. This translates to 28.4% of the foreign labour force in South Africa at the time. A similar pattern can be seen at the coalmines (Head 1995:129).

This in-depth discussion on the history of the Matutuine District and its inhabitants is important in the context of the study on the establishment of the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area, because it illustrates the causes of the economic underdevelopment of the area. This study illustrates below that people migrate to the area from various parts of Mozambique because of the slight promise of employment offered by the small-scale tourism developments along the coastline. This is indicative of the desperation of these people, who find themselves in an extremely poor economic situation. Any developments planned for the Matutuine area will thus have to take cognisance of the fact that both the people in the area, people from other areas in Mozambique, and even people who stay in northern KwaZulu-Natal will probably flock to the area in the hope of being employed. The developmental needs of the local people must therefore be a key priority in the establishment of the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area, otherwise, these people, who are extremely reliant on nature for their survival (see Chapter 4), will increase the pressure on the natural resources to such an extent that nature conservation will not be viable.

Furthermore, there is a lack of political capacity and law enforcement throughout the area that will also be detrimental to the successful establishment of the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area. The focus of the rest of this chapter is therefore the political system in the area and the demography of the area. These two aspects are discussed to show that the socio-economic needs of the local people of the Matutuine District must play a primary role in the establishment of the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area.

2. 3. POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE RESEARCH AREA IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2. 3. 1. Traditional political organisation of the Tembe

The traditional political-administrative system of the Tembe functions in much the same way as that of other Southern Bantu-speaking peoples with whom they are grouped. At the head of the political unit there is a king, called *inkosi* in Zulu. Councillors and advisors, usually composed of his family members or *umdeni*, assist him. The *inkosi* has supreme authority over the entire tribal area. The tribal area, called *umhlaba* in Zulu, is divided into various wards or *izigodi*. At the head of each *isigodi* there is an *induna* or district (ward) headman. This person is usually appointed by the *inkosi* in council and is responsible for ensuring that the policy implemented by the *inkosi* in council is adhered to at local level (Hammond-Tooke 1993:79). Boonzaaier (1980:72) and Hartman (1972:103) describe a similar situation amongst the Tsonga.

The royal linage of the Tembe clan is traced back to the founding *inkosi*, Mtembu, from whom the Tembe took their name. The chieftainship is hereditary and passes from father to son, but it is not necessarily the oldest son of the *inkosi* who succeeds him. In the case of Ngwanase, for instance, it was the child of one of his younger wives, who cared for him during his illness, who became *inkosi* after his death (Felgate 1982:153).

When the Tembe moved into the area they now occupy, they were faced by many indigenous peoples claiming to be the original owners of the land. In order to subdue them, the *inkosi* appointed his relatives as *izinduna* over the indigenous tribes. These *izinduna* were granted far-reaching powers and most of the administration of the Tembe as a tribe revolved around them (Felgate 1982:147).

The *izinduna* formed a council who advised the *inkosi* on policy and actions when they convened (Felgate 1982:157). The traditional political-administrative system of the Tembe was thus relatively uncomplicated. The *inkosi* and his councillors

determined national (tribal) policy and governed accordingly, and the *izinduna* and their advisors were responsible for government at a local or *isigodi* level.

2. 3. 2. Political administration during the colonial era

The colonisation of the Tembe tribal area by Britain and Portugal respectively meant that the Tembe found themselves under the authority of two different imperial masters. These two imperial powers implemented two radically different systems of colonial administration (Van Aswegen & Verhoef 1982:14). Britain followed a policy in Africa that can best be described as indirect rule. The British used the indigenous authority structure to exert their own control. Indigenous people were allowed to follow their own traditions and ways of life, provided they paid homage to the British crown. This meant that the Tembe living in what was called British Tongaland were left free to follow their traditions and customary way of life (Smith & Nöthling 1993:280).

The situation in the Portuguese colonies was markedly different. The Portuguese system of colonial administration can best be described as one of centralisation and assimilation (Smith & Nothling 1993:287). Although the Portuguese colonies were not called provinces until 1951, the Portuguese administrators had always seen them as being an integral part of Portugal (Seegers 1977:59-60).

This philosophy of centralisation can clearly be seen in the political administration of Portuguese colonies such as Mozambique. The Prime Minister of Portugal was at the head of colonial administration. He was only responsible to the President of Portugal and not to the National Assembly. Below the Prime Minister was the Minister of Overseas Areas, who was empowered to dictate colonial administration and policies via the promulgation of decrees. A Ministry of Overseas Areas, who served in an advisory capacity, assisted him (Seegers 1977:62). The National Assembly, to which seven Mozambicans were elected, had very little influence on the formulation of colonial policy (Van Aswegen 1980:360).

A Governor-general was appointed by the Portuguese cabinet as head of the legislative and executive authority in each colony. He governed with absolute

authority, although a Legislative Assembly, with the power to stipulate laws, assisted him. The Legislative Assembly, however, only had legislative powers while it was in sitting. This meant that the Governor-general could nullify all the laws the assembly made after they retired. Judicial power was divided into two categories. One system, *regimo do indigenato* (see below), catered for unassimilated blacks while whites were tried according to Portuguese law (Seegers 1977:64).

The Portuguese divided Mozambique into nine districts: Cabo Delgado, Gaza, Inhambane, Lourenço Marques, Manica e Sofala, Moçambique, Niassa, Tete and Zambezia. A governor appointed by the Ministry of Overseas Areas was at the head of every district. He was assisted by a District Council comprised of elected and appointed members (Seegers 1977:64).

The districts were subdivided into *concelhos* and *circumerições*. A *concelho* was a relatively developed area with a measure of local governance. A *circumerição* was a rural area not yet developed enough to qualify as a *concelho*. At the head of the *circumerição* was an *administrador*, responsible for the development (assimilation) of the indigenous people. Those areas that were the least developed were further divided into *postos administrativos*, with a *chef do poste* in charge of every *poste* (Van Aswegen & Verhoef 1982:18-19). These areas were mostly black-dominated areas where few Portuguese had settled. To facilitate administration, the *postos administrativos* were further divided into *regedorias* under the leadership of a *regulo* or under a traditional leader (Seegers 1977:65).

During the colonial era, the Southern Maputo district was thus subdivided into various *concelhos* and *circumerições*. One of these was called Matutuine, covering approximately 5, 403 square kilometres. The administrator for Matutuine was based at Bela Vista. Four *chefs du postos*, stationed at Zitundo, Catuane, Catembe and Machangulo, assisted him. This situation continued after independence and was given statutory recognition by Decree Six of 1975 (Pollett *et al*. 1995:63).

Besides their policy of centralisation, the Portuguese also followed a policy of assimilation. In contrast to the British policy, which allowed African people to keep their own cultures alive, the Portuguese believed it was their God-given task to bring

'civilisation' to the peoples of Africa. In other words they wanted to turn Africans into Portuguese (Smith & Nöthling 1993:288). The Portuguese believed that they would ensure their authority in the colonies in this way (Van Aswegen & Verhoef 1982:35).

The racial policy followed in the Portuguese colonies was enunciated in the Statute of 1926, as amended in 1929. By means of decree, this Statue became two laws in 1933. These laws explicitly state that the aim of the Portuguese racial policy was based on the integration of the indigenous population and Portuguese settlers (Van Aswegen & Verhoef 1982:35).

On the basis of this policy, the inhabitants of Mozambique were divided into two groups, namely the *indigenas* and the *não-indigenas*. The *indigenas* were that part of the indigenous population who had not yet, according to the Portuguese, reached a high enough standard of civilisation. Nearly 98% of the Mozambican population resorted in this group. They were governed under the *regime do indigenato*. There is some similarity between this *regime* and the British system of indirect rule, except that the Portuguese banned any traditional laws that could not be reconciled with the principles of morality as defined by the Portuguese. The *não-indigenas*, consisting of all white Portuguese, assimilated black people and *mestiços* (people of mixed origin), were governed by Portuguese laws (Van Aswegen 1980:362). The difference between an *indigena* and a *não-indigena* could be changed by law if a black person had proved himself/herself worthy of the Portuguese culture. In this way, a person could achieve the status of *assimilado*, which excused him/her from various taxes and allowed him/her extra privileges (Van Aswegen & Verhoef 1982:36).

The main difference between the racial policy of the British and that of the Portuguese was that the Portuguese system encouraged cultural assimilation or acculturation. There were no laws in the Portuguese colonies that prohibited racial integration, and the law was not constituted along racial lines, but along cultural lines. Any person, white or black, could become a Portuguese citizen. A lot of status and privileges were attached to being an *assimilado*. Therefore, many people strove to become *assimilados*. This further strengthened cultural assimilation (Van Aswegen & Verhoef 1982:37).

In contrast to this, for a while, the British followed a strict colour-line policy in South Africa. It is true that indigenous people in Natal and the Cape could obtain political rights if they achieved a high enough level of civilisation, as defined by Britain, but very few black people qualified for the vote under these regulations. This policy underwent extreme changes after the end of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. Article 8 of the Peace Treaty of Vereeninging made black suffrage dependent on the consent of a white majority (Davenport 1987:228). In 1910, with the formation of the Union of South Africa, the only place where people who were not of European descent could attain the right to vote was in the Cape (Spies 1993:49).

The impact of these two different colonial systems meant that the Tembe in Mozambique were forced to take over a foreign language and, to a large extent, also a foreign culture, whilst the Tembe in South Africa were left to pursue their traditional ways. However the Tembe in South Africa did not stay free from foreign cultural influences and were particularly influenced by their Zulu neighbours. As has already been said, because the Zulu were the nation with status in their area, many Tembe, especially the men, started to speak Zulu and also started to refer to themselves as Zulu (Felgate 1982:9). This Zulu influence was strengthened when the Tembe tribal area was placed under the authority of the KwaZulu National Assembly after 1951 (Els 1993:101; Mountain 1990:30-31).

2. 3. 3. Political administration after independence

After Mozambique attained its independence in the 1970s, the Tembe were influenced by a radically different system of political administration. However, although the political administrative system adopted by the new government differed markedly from the system of colonial administration, many of the older structures were kept in place. The system employed can be viewed as a mixture between the historical administrative systems and the philosophy of Marxist-Leninism officially adopted by FRELIMO in 1977.

The most striking factor of the post-colonial system was its extreme focus on centralisation. As has been discussed above, the Portuguese followed a policy of centralisation. However, as will be shown below, the Portuguese system actually devolved more power to district and local government than the new system implemented by FRELIMO.

According to the communist-inspired constitution of Mozambique, the President and the Ruling Party (FRELIMO) were the highest authority in the country (Van Aswegen & Verhoef 1982:83). The country was divided into provinces, districts and localities. Provision was only made for assemblies at national and provincial level. At present, however, the new Mozambican constitution makes provision for assemblies at all three levels of government. In other words, during the communist era, decision-making was a lot more centralised (*Africa south of the Sahara* 1976:575-587).

It is not clear whether the communist political-administrative system has had a large influence on the lives of the Tembe-Thonga people. However, the conflict that developed, largely due to FRELIMO's acceptance of the communist ideology, did influence the lives of most Mozambicans in some way.

2. 3. 4. Political administration after the end of the Civil War

Mozambique underwent radical political changes after the end of the Civil War. On 30 November 1990, a new constitution that replaced the constitutions of 1975 and 1978 came into force. The shift from communism or state centralism to democracy is clearly visible in the wording of the constitution. The president and the party are no longer the *de facto* leaders of Mozambique, but are now responsible to the Assembly of the Republic, which is constituted solely of elected persons and not of people appointed by the president and FRELIMO, as was the case under communist rule (*Africa south of the Sahara* 2000:764-773).

To facilitate administration, the country is divided into 10 provinces (see Map 4). A governor heads the Provincial Government. The current governor for the Maputo Province is Soares Bunhaza Nhaca. He is assisted in his duties by a Provincial Assembly (*Africa south of the Sahara* 2000).

The Provinces are subdivided into municipalities or districts. An administrator heads each district and is assisted in his tasks by a Municipal or District Assembly (*Africa south of the Sahara* 2000). The research area falls into the Matutuine District of the Maputo Province. According to a government official, the Matutuine District administrator's seat is Bela Vista, which is the district capital. Matutuine is divided into five administrative posts, Bela Vista, Catuane, Zitundo, Catembe and Machangulo (see Map 4).

At the head of each administrative post there is a *chef du poste*, appointed by government. An interview was conducted with the *chef du poste* of Zitundo. He explained that he is responsible for all socio-economic developments in his post. He is also responsible for law and order, but in a limited sense. He does not have a court and no cases are brought before him. He is only responsible for ensuring that suspected criminals are taken to Bela Vista by the police. The office of the *chef du poste* at Zitundo is severely understaffed. There are only two people working with him; one is his secretary and the other a tea-maker.

Due to financial limitations, the *chef du poste* indicated, very few developments take place in Zitundo. For nearly the entire time while research was conducted in the area, the only bridge over the Futi River was down due to the floods. The *chef du poste* said this meant that he could not pay visits to the various parts of the administrative area. He also said that even under the best of conditions he is not capable of visiting the administrative area, due to financial constraints.

The administrative areas are subdivided into localities and villages. Zitundo is divided into two localities (*localidade*), Zitundo and Manioca. These two localities are further subdivided into *povoados*. The term *povoado* can be loosely translated as a 'village' or a 'place' (Ferreira 1964:650). Thus Zitundo is divided into Zitundo sede, Ponta do Ouro, Puza um, Puza dois, Ndlovu, Mapungati, Gala, Ponta Malongane and Ponta Mamoli. Manioca is divided into Vumindawa, Geveza, Vuku, Musonge and Masale.

Before the Civil War broke out, a secretary was appointed as government representative in every *povoado*. According to the *chef du poste*, there are at present

only secretaries at Ponta do Ouro and Geveza. In the other *povoados* there are also people who claim to be secretaries. However, the *chef du poste* explained, these people are appointees of the FRELIMO Party and not government appointees. According to law these appointees do not have any power, but people in the respective *povoados* accept their authority. The *chef du poste* explained that at present research is being done to rectify the situation pertaining to government at local level.

2. 3. 5. Traditional political administration in contemporary Matutuine

The situation with regard to traditional authority has been severely disrupted by historical events. It was a surprise to hear from spokespersons that it is not necessary for a person who moves into the research area first to obtain the permission of a traditional leader to settle there or to pay one's respects to him. The only requirement is that a person must have a friend in the area where he wishes to settle. According to the traditional system, all land belonged to the *inkosi*. No one could buy land. The *inkosi* assigned land to anyone who made a submission (*khonza*) to him (Junod 1962b:6). The custom of paying a submission to the *inkosi*, practised widely amongst the indigenous people of Southern Africa, also entitled a person to utilise the communal natural resources held in trust by the *inkosi* and his council. The *inkosi* did not own the communal natural resources, but controlled access to them. In many instances, this control ensured sustainable harvests from natural resources by means of the *inkosi*'s regulating of harvesting periods and the volumes that could be harvested (Sansom 1974:137).

This disruption of the cultural value system becomes even more obvious when one realises that the majority of households, for instance in Ponta do Ouro or Ponta Malongane, are constituted of a man and a woman who are not married but may have as many as six children. The traditional leader in the Zitundo area explained that because people do not have any currency for *lobola* they can not get married. Hence they are allowed to live together and have children as if they were married, as long as the man promises to transfer the *lobola* at a later date. However, because the marriage is not 'sealed' (official), it is easy for a man to abandon his wife and children (Els & Kloppers 2000:35).

When one looks at the situation in Zitundo, one finds that the area over which the traditional leader claims influence corresponds with the boundaries of the administrative post. The *umhlaba* or tribal area is still divided into various *izigodi* with an *induna* at the head of each one. In the case of Zitundo these *izigodi* and *izinduna* are Ponta do Ouro (Mbawazani Timula), Ponta Malongane (Million Gumede), Ponta Mamoli (Simiao Tembe), Gala (Jonas Tembe), Ndlovu (Benizi Manzini), Puza (Ingariani Tembe), Masali (Thulani Tembe), Musongi (Carlos Musongi Tembe), Hucu (Amos Tembe) and Geveza (without *induna*).

The boundaries of the different *izigodi* are similar to those of the different *povoados*, discussed above. Thus ideally there should be a representative of government and a traditional leader in every section of the land. This system has its origin in the Portuguese colonial administrative system. As was discussed, the Portuguese divided areas where African people stayed in the colonies into *postos*, with a *chef du poste* at the head of every *poste*. The *postos* were subdivided into *regedors* with a *regulo* in charge in every one. The *chef du poste* and *regulo* had to control an area in cooperation with the traditional authority (Smith & Nöthling 1993:287). Today the function of *regulo* is fulfilled by the government-or FRELIMO-appointed secretary.

After the Civil War, as the *inkosi* at Zitundo with whom an interview was conducted related, the traditional authority structure was in tatters. He said that he had had to go to the various *izigodi* to make sure that there is an *induna* for each one. In cases where there was no *induna*, one had to be appointed. This was done simply by determining whoever in that specific *isigodi* was related to the Tembe clan. This implies that people still see the Tembe as the ruling clan. However, the *inkosi* at Zitundo did not acknowledge the authority of the *inkosi* of the Tembe in South Africa. He said that he knew that that person was a direct descendant of Ngwanase and Mtembu, but that the *inkosi* had no authority over the Tembe in Zitundo as long as he stays in South Africa.

Qualitative research in this study indicates, however, that the majority of the people in the Matutuine District still accept the authority of the Tembe *inkosi* in South Africa in customary matters. These customs are, however, purely ceremonial, as the local traditional leaders in Matutuine with whom interviews were conducted indicated

clearly that they do not take court cases to the South African Tembe *inkosi* anymore. They merely know of his existence and know that he is the traditional leader of all the Tembe people.

The *inkosi* at Zitundo has only limited powers. His main duties are ceremonial and focus on the first-fruit festival and sacrifices to the royal ancestors. He also has a restricted number of juridical responsibilities. When a minor crime has been committed inside the tribal area, the case is brought before him and his council, but if the crime is too serious, or if he cannot solve it, the police are called in to take the alleged perpetrators to Bela Vista. Compared with the traditional authority structure in the past, the *inkosi* at Zitundo no longer has powers as far-reaching as he historically had (Els & Kloppers 2000:37). It cannot be stated with any certainty how much power individual traditional leaders in the area have. In Xuxa, near Catuane, for instance, the traditional leader is also the secretary of the area. In the whole of Xuxa, he is thus the only traditional and political authority, which implies that his powers are greater, relatively speaking, than that of the other traditional leaders in the study area.

The position of traditional leaders in the authority system of Mozambique is, however, not clear, and all indications are that, although their positions are acknowledged, their positions have not been incorporated into the every-day local level administration. The negative impact of the Portuguese and later communist systems on the continuance and perpetuation of the traditional authority system is clear, as spokespersons were frequently not certain who had the most authority at local level; the traditional leader or the party secretary. To make matters worse, the Mozambican government has not yet decided where traditional leadership fits into local government. This creates considerable uncertainty among local people as to who is responsible for their well-being. In the research area, government at local level (official and traditional) is confused and unclear (Els & Kloppers 2000:38).

2. 4. DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESEARCH AREA

According to an independent census conducted by Helvetas Mozambique (1997), 36 927 people were living in the Matutuine District in 1997. The figures from this census were adopted in the current study.

2. 4. 1. Population distribution in the various administrative areas

The number of families and the gender composition of the different *povoados* in the five administrative areas in the region are presented in Tables 1-5 below respectively.

Table 1: Catembe: Number of households and gender composition

Povoado	Number of families	Male	Female	Total
Nsime	579	1314	1811	3125
Cufa	211	497	683	1180
Mungazine	352	887	1226	2 113
Cualhe	107	231	320	551
Djabissa	129	319	441	760
Muchocholote	87	211	285	496
Total	**1465**	**3 459**	**4 766**	**8 225**

Source: Helvetas Mozambique (1997).

Table 2: Catuane: Number of households and gender composition

Povoado	Number of families	Male	Female	Total
Mahau	152	383	487	870
Incassane	69	166	221	387
Manhangane	194	509	654	1163
Nalala	113	273	388	661
Total	**528**	**1331**	**1750**	**3081**

Source: Helvetas Mozambique (1997).

Table 3: Bela Vista: Number of households and gender composition

Povoado	Number of families	Male	Female	Total
Bela Vista-sede	673	1 898	2 131	4 039
Muama	145	381	486	867
Maccassane	126	308	420	729
Pedreira	97	244	337	581
Mabilibili	128	315	435	750
Salamanga	290	731	1009	1740
Capezulo	115	289	400	689
Massidla	119	479	661	1140
Pochane	227	571	789	1360
Hindane	146	367	506	873
Manihihane	107	269	371	640
Djabula	113	292	388	680
Madjuba	137	276	381	657
Lihundo	61	133	183	316
Thanga	67	160	221	381
Cholombane	117	280	378	658
Mavucuza	53	82	114	196
Madjajane	71	178	239	412
Massoane	117	261	348	609
Total	**2 909**	**7 514**	**9 797**	**17 322**

Source: Helvetas Mozambique (1997).

Table 4: Machangulo: Number of households and gender composition

Povoado	Number of families	Male	Female	Total
Nhonguane	132	218	289	507
Mhala	173	259	343	602
Maphanga	267	382	507	889
Ngomene	281	427	568	995
Ndelane	271	323	428	751
Mabuluco	148	292	315	577
Total	**1 272**	**1 851**	**2 450**	**4 321**

Source: Helvetas Mozambique (1997).

Table 5: Zitundo: Number of households and gender composition

Povoado	Number of families	Male	Female	Total
Zitundo-sede	341	864	1 169	2 033
Ponta do Ouro	267	639	720	1 359
Puza	103	264	322	586
Total	**711**	**1 767**	**2 211**	**3 978**

Source: Helvetas Mozambique (1997).

These statistics show that the majority of the people in Matutuine live around the administrative post of Bela Vista. The vast majority of the people in Bela Vista live in the district capital, Bela Vista-*sede*. This can be attributed to the fact that, as is discussed below, Bela Vista-*sede* is the only village in Matutuine where local people have access to electricity. It is also the only place in Matutuine where children can attend secondary school. The trend of people occupying the larger villages in the area is also evident in the other administrative posts. This is most probably due to the fact that people have a greater access to infrastructure (small shops, telephone) in these villages. The explanation for this trend is also due to the history of the area. As was discussed above (1.3.3.3), people were forcefully moved, by the armies of either FRELIMO or RENAMO to small villages during the Civil War. The current distribution of the population of Matutuine is thus a reflection of the history of the area.

The census statistics presented here also show that 57% of people in Matutuine are female and 43% male. The fact that the majority of the people are female may be attributed to men leaving the area to find work in other parts of Mozambique or in neighboring countries, as discussed above (2.2.6). Therefore, planning for any developments in the area should be focused on the specific needs of women and women should be a key target group in all development efforts.

2. 4. 2. Family and age structure

Of the 200 respondents to the questionnaire survey, 53% were male and 47% were female. The questionnaire survey is thus not really representative of the actual situation pertaining to gender composition, but since the main foci of the questionnaire survey was to test the validity and spread of qualitative research results

(see 1.4.3) it was deemed sufficient for this study. The oldest respondent was 89 years and the youngest 17, with a mean age of 39 for all respondents.

A total of 53.5% of the 200 respondents to the questionnaire indicated that they were married, while 30.5% of respondents indicated that they were single (see next paragraph), 7% were divorced and 8% were widowed. Only 13 men indicated that they had more than one wife (the highest number was 4 wives), while 14 women respondents (14.9% of all women respondents) indicated that their husbands had more than one wife. Thus polygamy is still practised in the area, although very few people are involved in polygamous marriages. This phenomenon is in all probability due to the prevalent economic situation.

Despite the fact that only 53.5% of the respondents indicated that they are married, 97% of the respondents indicated that they had children. Informants indicated that this is due to the extreme poverty in the area (see 2.3.5 and Els & Kloppers 2000:41).

On average families who participated in the research questionnaire have four children. This is twice the 'replacement fertility rate', which is calculated at two children per couple. If a 'replacement fertility rate' is achieved, births will merely replace deaths; in other words, there will be no population growth (Kegley & Witkopf 1995:298). However, the population in the research area by implication, doubles with every generation. If a generation is calculated at a modest 30 years, it means that by the year 2030 there will be close on 80, 000 people in Matutuine as a result of natural births alone as opposed to the current population of 36 927. The possible influence of the AIDS pandemic is obviously not calculated here, nor is any influx of people seeking jobs taken into account.

The average of four children is lower than the figure indicated for couples in the whole of Mozambique, which is calculated as six children per couple (http://www.africaonline.com/AfricaOnline/countries/ mozambique.html). Of the children in the research area, 61% are younger than 17 years. By comparison, a survey done by the Institute for Natural Resources in 1995 (University of Natal-Pietermaritzburg) found that between 48% and 49% of the population who partook in the survey and who lived in the area between the Futi River and the coast were

younger than 20 years (Pollet *et al.* 1995:67). Although the findings of this study differ slightly with the findings of the study of the Institute for Natural Resources, they both indicate that a large percentage of the people in the research area are younger than 20 years. This means that a substantial part of the population of Matutuine is dependent on their families, or guardians for their subsistence needs. It also means that a subsistent part of the population will soon become part of the potential working force. It will therefore be necessary to create employment opportunities for these people.

There are slightly more boys than girls in the research area. Of the respondents, 94% indicated that they had sons and 97% of the respondents indicated that they had daughters. The mean number for sons as well as daughters per respondent is 2. The mean age for children, daughters as well as sons, is 13.

2. 4. 3. Migrancy

It was found that a high percentage of the male population younger than 39 years are at present absent from the study area. Many of these men are studying in South Africa or looking for work elsewhere (Pollet *et al.* 1995:67). Of the people present in the research area, many have recently settled or re-settled there. Of the 200 respondents to the questionnaire, 28% had lived in South Africa during the Civil War, 7% had lived in Swaziland and 1% had lived in Zimbabwe, while 22.5% had lived in Maputo, and 9.5 % had lived in other provinces in Mozambique. Only 2.5% of respondents indicated that they had been soldiers during the war. A total of only 27.5% of the respondents had remained in the Matutuine District during the war. This seems to indicate that possibly more than 60% of people who are at present living in the Matutuine District have moved there since 1991/1992 (since the end of the Civil War). Moreover, only 26% of all respondents indicated that their parents stay in the Matutuine District. This seems to corroborate the statement that more than 60% of present inhabitants of the area have moved into the area from other places in Mozambique and other countries.

A questionnaire survey conducted by De Boer and Baquete (1998) using a sample of 50 questionnaires in four villages (Bela Vista, Salamanga, Fabrica de Cal and near

Lagoa Piti) found that most people in these areas had been born in the Matutuine District. This does not, however, mean that they had stayed at the places they occupy at present during the Civil War. It is true that the populations of Salamanga and Bela Vista are more permanent in nature than those of areas closer to South Africa and Swaziland, like Catuane and Xuxa. It was easier for the people in Catuane and Xuxa to move across the border when trouble loomed. Similarly, the populations at Ponta Malongane and Ponta do Ouro are less permanent in nature and most people in the area have recently moved there or moved back since.

What is interesting to note, however, is that 81.5% of all respondents indicated that they regard the places where they currently live as their permanent homes. People therefore do not see their recent moves to the area as temporary. This implies that Matutuine is being re-populated now that the Civil War is over.

When asked why they moved to the areas where they live at present, 33.5% of the respondents indicated that they were seeking employment. This phenomenon is most noteworthy at Ponta Malongane, where 77% of the 200 respondents said that they had moved to the area to look for work. Qualitative research at Ponta Malongane confirms this trend, as the absolute majority of spokespersons indicated that they had come to Ponta Malongane because they had heard that tourists frequent the area, and they hoped to find employment (even if it would only be temporary). There are never less than ten young men or women who station themselves at the gate of the resort at Ponta Malongane in the hope of finding temporary employment as dishwashers and/or day labourers helping divers at the resort to carry and wash their equipment.

Job opportunities at Ponta Malongane are extremely limited. At the main resort there are permanent job opportunities for only 35 local people. These people are employed as cleaning staff, security guards, gardeners and labourers. There is also a second resort in Malongane, Thabundu, where eight locals are employed. Construction on the resort is still continuing, with labour recruited mainly from South Africa.

As can be seen from the figures in Table 4 above, Ponta Malongane was not included in the 1997 census. Spokespersons indicated that in 1997 there were fewer than eight households in the area surrounding Ponta Malongane. During the research period, 68

households were counted in the Ponta Malongane area, and there was ample evidence of new homesteads being constructed on a daily basis. At an average of 6 people per household, this means that more than 400 people have moved into the Ponta Malongane area since 1997. This is a state of affairs that is extremely worrying when one takes into account that the two resorts together provide permanent job opportunities for fewer than 60 people.

At Ponta do Ouro, as many as 38% of the respondents indicated that they had moved there in the hope of finding employment. This figure is not as high as in the case of Ponta Malongane, but it is still significant if one takes into consideration that the employment opportunities at Ponta do Ouro are just as limited as at Ponta Malongane. On the other hand, data relating to the population in Bela Vista, Salamanga and Madjadjane indicate that the people living there have all returned to live there despite having been displaced by the Civil War because their family live there or because they grew up there. The same situation also prevails among the population in Catuane and in Xuxa, although their movement into and from Swaziland and other areas during and after the Civil War seems to be much more erratic, with no set patterns, and their main objective was trying to make sure that they were not caught up in the war.

2. 4. 4. Education

A total of 62.5 % of respondents in this study indicated that they had attended school. By comparison, research by the Institute for Natural Resources in the area between the Rio Futi and the Indian Ocean indicates that only 40% of their respondents had attended school (Pollett *et al.* 1995:76). Of the 125 respondents in the sample of 200 in the current study who attended school, 5% attended school in South Africa, 1% attended school in Swaziland and 1% attended school in Zimbabwe, while the remaining 55% of respondents who had attended school had done so in Mozambique. Secondary schools, situated in Maputo, had been attended by 35 of the 125 respondents who had attended school. This equals 18% of the total number of 200 respondents or 28% of the total number of respondents who attended school. On average, respondents had completed four years of schooling.

Schooling in Mozambique is divided into primary and secondary education. Primary education consists of two phases, Standard 1 to Standard 4, and Standard 5 to Standard 7. This is equal to Grade 1 to 4 and Grade 5 to 7 respectively in South Africa. None of the schools in Matutuine, except for the one at Bela Vista, can offer schooling for more than the first phase of primary education. If a person wishes to study further than Standard 4, he/she has to attend boarding school in Bela Vista.

No school in the Matutuine District offers secondary education. To study further than Standard 7 it is necessary for a person to go to Maputo to stay there, at either boarding schools or with friends and family. According to spokespersons, government provides very little financial support for this purpose, although some church groups help out with food and clothes.

Spokespersons indicated that school fees alone per child per year in Maputo amounted to between R50 and R100. Besides this, the uniforms required for attending school in Maputo cost a further R100, and every child needs at least 2 uniforms. Another R60 is needed for stationery, and between R100 and R150 is spent on transport costs per child per annum. Parents do not have to pay for school books. A school bag costs a further R25. This means that even before the boarding school fees are taken into account (between R500 and R650 per annum), it will cost a parent R485 to send his/her child to school in Maputo. Some parents send their children to schools in South Africa. The cost to keep a child in school in Manguzi in South Africa is roughly the same as in Maputo.

The quantitative data regarding household income suggests that households in the research area have a mean annual income of between R2 500 and R3 500. This means that keeping one child in secondary school in Maputo can cost parents (or a single parent) R985 per annum, which translates into roughly 25% or 35% respectively of his/her annual income. Taking into account that 64.5% of respondents indicated that they were unemployed, and that the mean annual income is not derived from salary income, but is calculated on the basis of the value of agricultural produce used per annum plus that which is sold, it is obvious that it becomes virtually impossible for the average household in the Matutuine District to send children to

secondary school in Maputo. The same applies to sending children to Bela Vista for the last three years of primary school training.

The fact that 59,9% of the adult population in Mozambique are illiterate clearly indicates the negative results of the current system of education in the country (*Africa south of the Sahara* 2000:772). This situation is exacerbated by the fact that 77% of the respondents indicated that they had received no further training after school. Only 6.5% of respondents indicated that they had completed a short course after school, while another 6% of respondents indicated that they had obtained a post-school certificate or diploma, while only 1% of respondents indicated that they had a university degree.

The above findings imply that most people are not qualified for skilled and semi-skilled work. It is thus necessary to import skilled people from outside the area when future development in the region takes place. Moreover, people in the area will also not be able to take advantage of skilled and semi-skilled employment opportunities brought to the area by such development. The implication is a further influx of skilled/semi-skilled people into the area, with a subsequent lowering of living standards for the local inhabitants due to people pressure on available natural resources.

2. 4. 5. Employment and care of dependents

Only 34.5% of respondents are employed in one way or the other. There is thus an unemployment rate of 64.5%. On average, it has been eight years since unemployed people have had jobs. Employed respondents have had their jobs for an average of seven years.

A total of 7.5% of respondents are or were employed as farm labourers, of which 3.5% indicated that they had lost their jobs after independence, when the Portuguese left the country, while another 3.5% were soldiers who lost their jobs when the Civil War came to an end, and 2.5% had been employed by development programmes initiated by Blanchard Mozambique Enterprises, but lost their jobs when Mr Blanchard died and his programmes came to an end.

Respondents on average have to care for five people. One respondent indicated that he is responsible for 22 people. Only 32% of respondents indicated that there were people beside themselves who made some contribution to support their families financially (6% indicated that their brothers helped out, and 3.5% indicated that their sisters help out). Of the people who help support the family financially, 7.5% work in South Africa and 2.5 % work in Swaziland, while 4.5% of family members outside the direct household who support families financially work in Maputo. Some money thus enters the country from abroad where there are some employment opportunities. This indicates a reliance of at least 32% of respondents on people outside the area for financial support. On average, people from outside the immediate household who give financial support have had their jobs for much longer periods than people in the area. Compared with people in the area who are employed and who have had their jobs for an average of seven years, those few people who lend financial support from outside the immediate household, have held their jobs for an average of 27 years.

Only 6.5% of respondents indicated that someone in the household received an old age pension. In South Africa this figure is much higher: it is estimated that old age pensions make up close to 30% of the annual income of households living in the communal rural areas of South Africa (Els & Bothma 2000:20).

It would be safe to deduce that the people in Matutuine are extremely poor. Most people (64.5% of respondents) do not receive salaries. Apart from money coming in from outside the family and limited pensions, people have no access to capital. It was found that in order to get some money, people sell their crops or the fish they catch. Spokespersons at Lake Piti related that people walk all the way from there to Manguzi in South Africa with a bag of fish, which they sell for approximately R30. They can then use that money to buy supplies in Manguzi, where they believe, it is a lot less expensive than at the stores closer by at Zitundo and Ponta do Ouro. Investigation showed that prices for everyday products at Zitundo and Ponta do Ouro are indeed very steep, and are on average 30% higher than in Manguzi. One of the main concerns echoed by the people who stay near Lake Piti was access to quality goods that they can buy at a reasonable price. The desperation of the people at Lake Piti typifies the extreme poverty and the absolute absence of employment opportunities in Matutuine.

2. 5. CONCLUSION

The local inhabitants of Matutuine thus find themselves in a desperate situation. Their past is characterised by oppression from neighbouring tribes, colonial masters and a FRELIMO government-instituted system of political administration that aimed to eradicate the traditional cultural system that existed in the area. The turbulent history of the area is largely responsible for the desperate situation that exists there now. The war of independence from Portugal and the Mozambican Civil War led to the exodus of many people from the area. The actions of soldiers during these wars contributed further to the depletion of natural resources, especially wild animals, in the area. It will be shown in the next chapter that the local inhabitants also lost much of their livestock during these wars.

The desperate situation is aggravated by the fact that there is nearly no economic development in the area, which means that there are nearly no employment opportunities for local people. This increases the dependence of local people on natural resources for survival. If it is therefore the aim of the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area to conserve the natural resources in the Matutuine District, attention should be paid to the fact that the local people have few other alternatives than to utilise these natural resources for survival. Coupled with this, there is the alarming trend of people from various areas in Mozambique flocking to areas such as Matutuine where there is a promise of development and employment. This will further increase the pressure on the natural environment.

Consequently, it is essential to understand the natural resource utilisation needs of local people before any planning for conservation can be done. The following two chapters are devoted to this subject. In Chapter 3, the agricultural and livestock rearing practices of local people will be examined. In Chapter 4, the utilisation of wild animals and wild plants by local people is discussed. The extreme reliance of local people on natural resources, in the light of the limited alternatives available to them, as explained in this chapter, are discussed more fully.