

Socioeconomic inequalities
and post-electoral conflict
in Mozambique

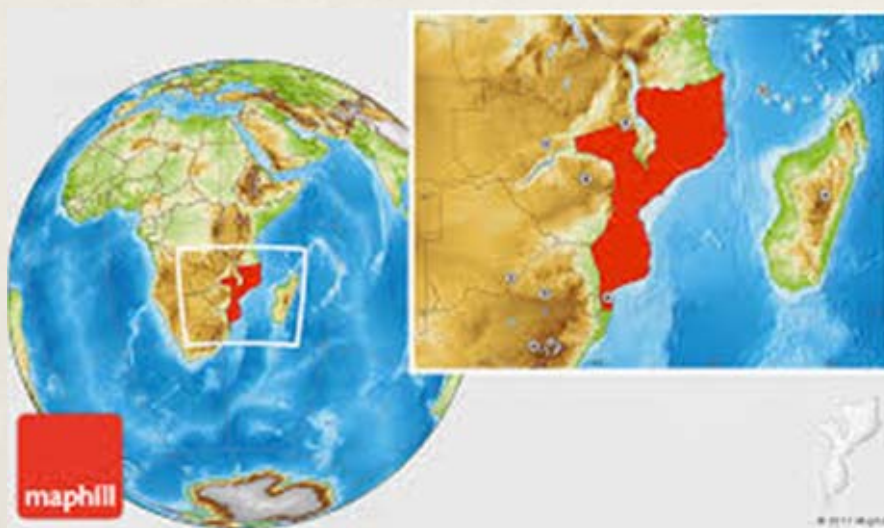
By: Cristiano Matsinhe, PhD
Center of African Studies
Eduardo Mondlane University

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① Mozambique and Regional Context



At regional, Mozambique is:

- Highly dependant from South African economy
- Strong historical/economic and e migratory ties with Zimbabwe and Malawi

Population (millions-2014)	26.47
Urban	32%
Rural	68%
Human Development	178/187
Ethnic Groups	More than 8
Government	Republic
Legislature	Unicameral Assembly
Females in parliament	39%
Ibrahim Index rank	22/52
Land area (sq km)	786,380
Provinces	11
Districts	140
Municipalities	54
Constitution	1975; 1990; 2004
Suffrage:	18 years of age; universal 5 years
President	Elected by absolute majority.
Key political Parties	Frelimo; Renamo and MDM
Economy	
GDP (US\$ millions)	\$15,630
GDP growth (annual %)	7.4%
Percent of population living under \$1.25/day	60.7%
Share of income going to the poorest 20%	5%
Share of income going to the richest 20%	51%

② Political and military conflict background

Past key events

In October 1992, the General Peace Agreement the postcolonial civil war (1976–1992) that pitted the Frelimo government against the rebel group Renamo.

The AGP had the force of law and envisaged a tri- partite political project: peace building, reconciliation and democratization through multiparty elections, decentralization and, more broadly, the rule of law

In 1994/1999/2004/2009/2014 Mozambique conducted presidential election, all officially declared won by Frelimo and highly contested by Renamo

- Narrow margins of difference on the counting votes
- Expressive results for Renamo in the most populated provinces
- Pre-electoral and post electoral violence
- Ambiguous position of the international community electoral observers

Current county status and regional implications

- In 2012, tensions escalated between the Frelimo government and Renamo, leading to undeclared war, blocking the national road 1 and other provincial main roads
- Peace talks went for two years, culminating in a second peace agreement in 5 September 2014
- **Last Election** held on 15 October 2014. **Results:** FRELIMO 55.9%, RENAMO 32.5%, MDM 8.4%, other 3.3%; seats by party - FRELIMO 144, RENAMO 89, MDM 17



Opposition party leader in rally. Source: Renamo Youth League

- ❑ As we speak, there are more than 4.000 refugees in Malawi
- ❑ Renamo president escaped from at least 3 assassination attempts
- ❑ Political leader and communities leaders from both sides are being persecuted and killed.
- ❑ Yesterday, the opposition leader just announced his intention to block the main national routes in the central region

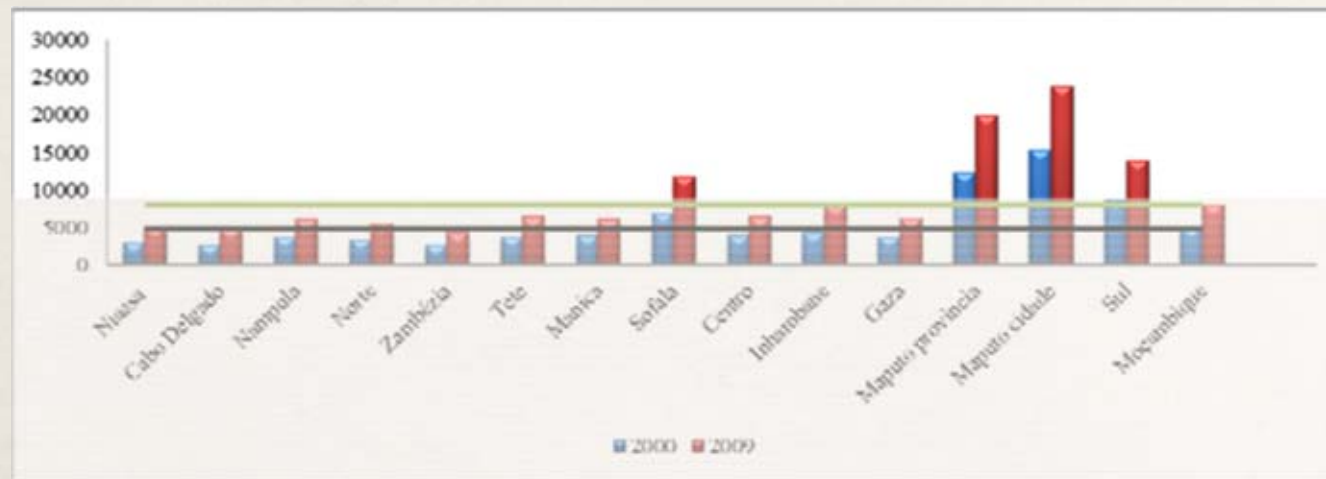
- ❑ The opposition leader has strong popular support in centre and northern region (6 provinces).
- ❑ Electoral commission had serious difficulties to announce electoral victory for the ruling party and the electoral result were decided by the supreme court.
- ❑ The supreme court decision declaring led to the third wave of armed conflict opposing the government (Frelimo) and Renamo.



[4.000 Thousand] of Mozambicans who fled Tete province into neighboring Malawi will not return home until government forces "stop terrorizing them", according to a report by...
ZITAMAR.COM

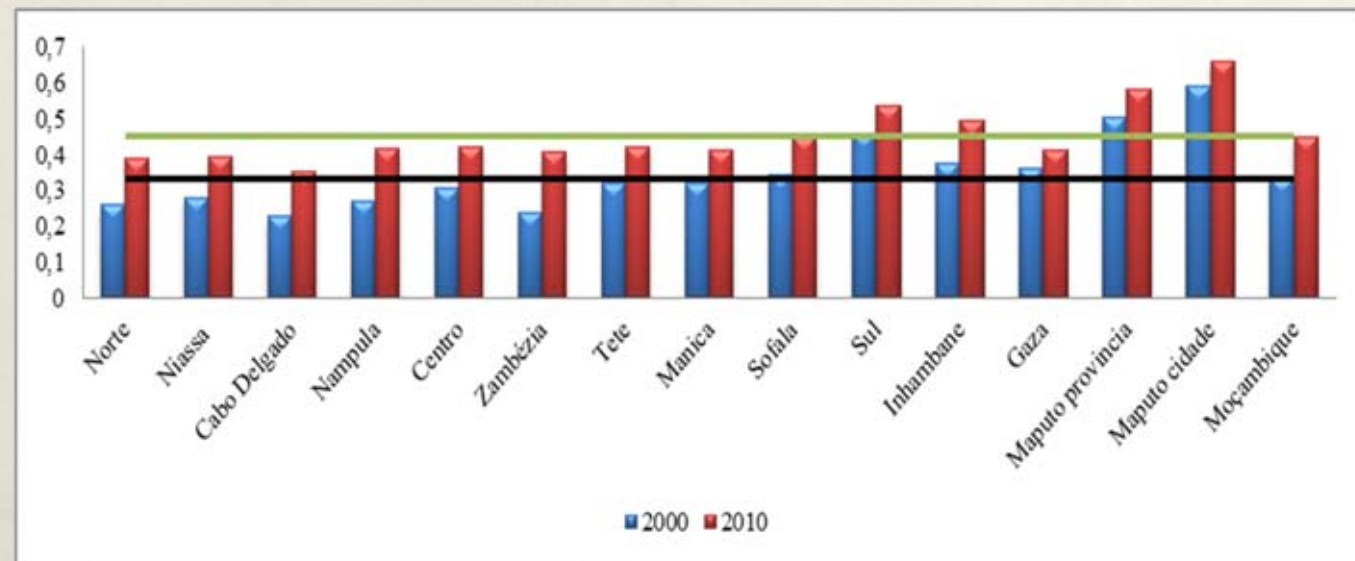
③ Social and economic inequalities

GDP per capita, 2003 prices (MT) 2000-2009



Source: National Institute of Statistics

Human Development Index, 2000-2010



Source: National Institute of Statistics

④ Unaddressed inequalities fuelling the conflict

There are competing explanations for the reemergence of the armed conflict

- ❑ Repeated electoral losses / accusations of fraud and violence
- ❑ Inequitable electoral system that entitle the win to take all (including nominate provincial governors and district administrators all over the country)
- ❑ Growing awareness of multiple forms of “partidarization” of the state and its resources
- ❑ Newly discovered natural resources (gas, oil, precious stones, gold) concentrated in the Central and Northern region
- ❑ Growing mass of young population in the center and northern region excluded from economic opportunities (access to education, service provision, financial system, etc)
- ❑ Continuous disproportional investment in the south region compared to the center and north (currently multiple infrastructure projects are being implemented in Maputo with massive loan from China)
- ❑ Growing articulation of ethnic divide narratives opposing the regions

⑤ Political will to resolve the issues

- ❑ Multiple international stakeholders involved in conflict resolution dialogue, constrained by their own bilateral bias and competitive interests
- ❑ Local mediators with strong political bound to one side, undermining the possibilities of building an enabling environment to establish confidence between the belligerent parties
- ❑ Internal tension and conflict within the Frelimo party sending conflicting and contradicting messages about the peace process, probably in association with the power transition process inside the party
- ❑ Tacit agreement among the neighbour countries not to interfere on neighbours matters, even when we begin to see waves of refugees crossing regional borders
- ❑ Fragmented Civil Society structures and voices to provide systematic balance between the 2 historic belligerent parties

⑥ Concluding remarks

Multiple combined factors, such as the global economic crises is challenging financial sustainability and intensity of the military conflict in Mozambique

- ❑ Nordic traditional donors are pulling out from the budget support undermining the economic sustainability of extreme position between the belligerents
- ❑ Internal pressure from “ independent” opinion makers and growing social media are challenging the propaganda and contra-propaganda that sustain the discourses and narratives about the conflict
- ❑ Recent past history of “success” story of peace-making in Mozambique remains as a positive shadow/umbrella reminding that is possible to reach consensus
- ❑ Apparently, “secret” corridors of negotiations aiming to rebuild sufficient confidence between Fralimo and Renamo remains open internally and externally, hopefully, this will bring the two parties to the negotiation table again.

Thank you!