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## Politics, history and conceptions of democracy in Barue District, Mozambique

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## SUMMARIES

### *English*

The present thesis analyses theoretical aspects of “democratic” decision-making in connection with empirical material drawn from Mozambique. Voting procedures at the national level, especially for president, are contrasted with selection procedures concerning certain hereditary leaders in Barue District, Manica Province. The national voting procedures for president are interpreted as representing a “choice set” approach to “democracy” as defined by Kenneth Arrow and Amartya Sen. In such an approach the selection of leaders is based solely on arithmetic mechanisms subject to certain formal conditions. The present thesis can be read as a critique of the “choice set” idea from the viewpoint of Mozambique as a case study. A summary of the thoughts of the thesis will be given first, followed by a summary of its chapters.

(1) “Democracy” is conceived of as a cluster of related and partially overlapping concepts about people’s influence in society. (2) The distribution of these concepts has known cultural and historical variation, although (3) some of these concepts are recognizable across cultural divides. (4) One concept, however, summarized here as the idea of the “choice set”, has been specifically Euro-American in its theoretical refinement, especially due to Kenneth Arrow and antecedents formulated by 18<sup>th</sup>-century European thinkers. (5) Nonetheless as of today the “choice set” idea is a dominant factor in the design of systems for selecting political leaders, including post-1990 Mozambique. (6) “Choice set” approaches do not reckon with factors concerning the relationships between different sections of society. (7) They are also heavily dependent on arithmetic exactness of comparison of citizens’ preferences, possibly producing unclear and/or manipulated election results. (8) Post-1990 Mozambique provides empirical examples of points [6] and [7], where cooperation between the former war opponents Frelimo and Renamo has proven difficult and where elections, especially the presidential election of 1999, have shown indications of manipulation that served incumbent party Frelimo’s interests. (9) Popular selection of leaders is possible without using the “choice set” idea. (10) Barue District provides empirical examples of point [9] where leaders of chiefdoms are selected within competitive situations not using a “choice set” approach. (11) Therefore, the “choice set” idea is failing to deliver nationally, and is not necessarily relevant in determining leaders of chiefdoms in Barue District, implying Arrow’s theory may at least in some cases be interpreted as not embodying “democracy” despite the insistence of many that it does. (12) Historical backgrounds are provided in order to understand precolonial, colonial and postcolonial political dynamics. (13) For the Mozambican situation specifically, the research results demonstrate that both the state recognition of hereditary chiefs and the election system based on the “choice set” idea are subsumed under Frelimo’s continued political hegemony and thus have failed to deliver the political diversification that they had been supposed to bring. On the national level especially the “choice set” idea is understood as theoretically sanctioning Frelimo’s political hegemony. Besides this, the thesis will pay attention to the influence of violence, intimidation and electoral fraud on political processes in Mozambique’s history.

Apart from the introduction (chapter 1), the thesis consists of four parts. In the first part theory

concerning thinking about “democracy” and the state is presented. The second part deals with political history of Barue up to 1918 and Mozambique until recent times. The third part focuses entirely on Barue since 1918 and contains the bulk of the fieldwork material. The fourth part contains the conclusion.

Chapter 2 introduces the epistemological background of the thesis. Chapter 3 describes the etymology of the word « democracy » and recapitulates some definitions of “democracy”. Chapter 4 provides a historical treatment of certain political ideas and practices in different parts of the world that can be associated with certain definitions of “democracy”. This chapter also contains some simple technicalities with respect to theoretical connections between Rousseau’s idea of the “general will” and Arrow’s conception of the aggregation of individual preferences into a collective preference, contrasted with ideas about “consensus”. Chapter 5 introduces considerations about the state, political parties and chiefs. Chapter 6 focuses on the topic of the “state recognition of traditional authorities” in relation to legal pluralism.

Chapter 7 presents historical material about Barue until 1918. Chapter 8 presents legal and political backgrounds of Portuguese colonial rule in the late-19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Chapter 9 contains reconstructions of the early development of Frelimo and COREMO, the organizations that conducted an armed struggle against the Portuguese colonizer. Chapter 10 describes events after independence with a focus on the consolidation of Frelimo as political monopolist, the Frelimo-Renamo war, the peace process and the subsequent elections which perpetuated Frelimo’s political hegemony.

Chapter 11 adds historical information as specified for Barue since 1918. Chapter 12 contains information about hereditary leadership in Barue District. Chapter 13 studies the Frelimo party in Barue as a political institution. Chapter 14 provides details on political practice and thinking from non-Frelimo perspectives. Chapter 15 provides the conclusion of the thesis.