

**REFLECTION ON THE ROLE OF DISTRICT GOVERNMENTS IN THE  
SUSTAINABLE MANAGEMENT OF ARTISANAL GOLD MINING IN  
MOZAMBIQUE**

***REFLEXÃO SOBRE O PAPEL DOS GOVERNOS DISTRITAIS NA GESTÃO  
SUSTENTÁVEL DA MINERAÇÃO ARTESANAL DE OURO EM MOÇAMBIQUE***

***REFLEXIÓN SOBRE EL PAPEL DE LOS GOBIERNOS DE DISTRITO EN LA  
GESTIÓN SOSTENIBLE DE LA MINERÍA ARTESANAL DE ORO EN MOZAMBIQUE***

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**ABSTRACT:** This article focuses on the role of district governments in the sustainable management of artisanal gold mining in Mozambique. Therefore, the objective of this study is to analyze the role of the district government in the sustainable management of artisanal gold mining in the face of opportunities and obstacles in the development of that district. A qualitative approach was adopted. The interview was applied to nine people being directed to members of the district government by the district services of economic activities, geology, and mines, assuming the established hierarchy encompassing the locally instituted leadership at the base, two members of the associations and individual miners including children and women. The results obtained showed that there are tendencies for local authorities to intervene positively in the sustainable management of artisanal gold mining, given that there is strong legislation at the national level that provides for mining associations, so that artisanal miners.

**KEYWORDS:** Governments. Management. Artisanal mining. Gold. Sustainability.

**RESUMO:** Este artigo tem como tema papel dos governos distritais na gestão sustentável da mineração artesanal de ouro em Moçambique. Por isso, o objetivo deste estudo consiste em analisar o papel do governo distrital na gestão sustentável da mineração artesanal de ouro face às oportunidades e obstáculos no desenvolvimento daquele distrito. Adotou-se uma abordagem qualitativa. A entrevista foi aplicada a nove pessoas sendo direcionadas aos membros do governo distrital por parte dos serviços distritais de atividades econômicas, geologia e minas, assumindo a hierarquia estabelecida abrangendo a liderança localmente instituída na base, dois membros das associações e garimpeiros individuais incluindo crianças e mulheres. Os resultados obtidos mostraram que há tendências de as autoridades locais intervirem positivamente na gestão sustentável da mineração artesanal de ouro, dado que existe ao nível nacional uma legislação forte que prevê o associativismo mineiro, de modo que os mineradores artesanais.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Governos. Gestão. Mineração artesanal. Ouro. Sustentabilidade.

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**RESUMEN:** *Este artículo se centra en el papel de los gobiernos distritales en la gestión sostenible de la minería artesanal de oro en Mozambique. Por tanto, el objetivo de este estudio es analizar el papel del gobierno distrital en la gestión sostenible de la minería aurífera artesanal frente a las oportunidades y obstáculos en el desarrollo de dicho distrito. Se adoptó un enfoque cualitativo. La entrevista fue aplicada a nueve personas siendo dirigidas a miembros del gobierno distrital por los servicios distritales de actividades económicas, geología y minas, asumiendo la jerarquía establecida que engloba a la dirigencia instituida localmente en la base, dos miembros de las asociaciones y mineros individuales incluidos los niños y mujeres. Los resultados obtenidos mostraron que existen tendencias para que las autoridades locales intervengan positivamente en el manejo sostenible de la minería artesanal de oro, dado que existe una fuerte legislación a nivel nacional que prevé asociaciones mineras, para que los mineros artesanales.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Gobiernos. Administración. Minería artesanal. Oro. Sustentabilidad.*

## Introduction

Mozambique has been benefiting from a series of socioeconomic and political transformations that are embodied in the initiative to create institutions with a view to guaranteeing a government closer to the citizen at the local level, thanks to the decentralization reforms. With a view to ensuring good governance, Mozambique introduced decentralization in 1990, with the constitutional revision.

In this logic, Nguiraze and Aires (2011) confirm that the central government initiated a process of planning and managing local development in the country, where one of the key actions in this process was the decentralization and modernization of public resource programming instruments at the province and district level, accompanied by articulation between the State administration and local communities. In this regard, given the implementation of decentralization, Serra and Cunha (2004) argue that there was a need to establish communication and collaboration mechanisms between local state bodies and community authorities to coordinate the management of collective interests and reduce the absence of the state in several areas of the country.

Mozambique's positive experience as a decentralized government is not without its drawbacks and a policy of gradualism meant in fact an extremely slow delegation of powers to the Local State Bodies (LSB), namely: the provinces, districts, administrative posts and localities (GROELSEMA, 2009). With an emphasis on the districts, the aforementioned author argues that,

as a result of deconcentration, they also experienced greater authority. Although they exercise less discretionary power than municipalities, they

actually exert considerable influence over local development. For example, agriculture, industry, commerce, mineral resources, transport, forests, livestock and tourism are areas that are part of the same portfolio of economic services placed under the supervision of a Director of Economic Services. Consequently, the challenge in more remote districts is to identify and retain qualified individuals to take responsibility for these vast portfolios (our translation).

In the area of mineral resources, on its boom in the districts, with emphasis on gold, the persistence in the practice of illegal and clandestine artisanal mining has been favored, a fact that tends to show the ineffectiveness of the performance of district governments in sustainable management, justified by an imbalance in the logic of articulation of the Community Participation and Consultation Institutions, within the scope of the implementation of the law of the local bodies of the state and its regulation, highlighting: the local councils, administrative post, locality, village, local forums and community development committees. This fact seems to be in connivance with the local authorities, through neo-patrimonialist practices, demonstrated by corruption, be it purely economic or linked to a social exchange.

For Macucule (2006) this imbalance is allied to the limitations verified in the participatory management of natural resources, evidenced by the instrumentalization of participatory processes by elites, with interests alien to sustainable management; lack of transparency in the management of benefits generated from participatory processes; lack of political will at government levels and resistance to changes at administrative and local levels that are manifested by the persistent state monopoly in resource management; the inability of State services at different levels and departments to implement existing legal instruments (Inspection, elaboration and participatory implementation of management plans); the problem of legitimacy and representativeness of social and legal units in participatory management (committees/councils in resource management versus traditional structures).

Effectively, the Manica district is no exception to the alarming contours of artisanal gold mining, which is why we find it pertinent to pose the following starting question: *How did the Manica district government participate and take responsibility for the sustainable management of artisanal gold mining for local development?*

Considering the theme, research purposes, problem and advanced research questions, this research has the general objective: To analyze the role of the district government of Manica in the sustainable management of artisanal gold mining in the face of opportunities and obstacles in development place. This objective unfolded into the following specific objectives: a) Demonstrate the capacity of local bodies at the Manica district level in the

sustainable management of gold mining; b) Evaluate the type of relationship established between the local bodies of the district and practitioners of gold mining in the face of local development; c) Identify the main challenges for the district government of Manica in terms of compliance with legislation in the mining sector.

Thus, according to these data, the following guiding hypotheses were elaborated for the study: a) In the period 2005, the management of gold mining, the district government of Manica participated and took responsibility through the formulation of policies to raise awareness of associativism, supervision, training, granting of mining licenses to nationals and foreigners. b) The district government of Manica developed a participatory and responsible government, in partnership with the local community, through institutions of participation and community consultation in the promotion of good artisanal mining practices, mitigation incentives, monitoring, evaluation of the extraction process of mineral resources and community management of mineral resources.

The discovery of mineral resources has resulted in a socioeconomic and political catapult of Mozambican society, particularly in the district of Manica. Thus, the research is justified by two (2) motivational pillars, the first being internal and personal and the second external and academic.

It is understood that the end of 2017 and the beginning of 2019 was marked by a reduction in the influx of foreigners, private buyers of gold in that district. As a sample, we chose to choose the three villages in the locality of Mharidza, namely, Chazuca, Nhamucuarara and Nhamachato, in a biased way because they differ in situations of associativism and mineral groups in the value chain (CIP, 2010).

### **Artisanal Mining**

Artisanal mining is not consensual, but contextual, as it is generally associated with its result, which implies that it can be designated as Artisanal or Small-Scale Mining (ASM). To do so, we resorted to the definition of Chaparro (2004), in his work “the fundamental characteristic that is called small mining”, which is not easy to define. However, ASM, according to the universal measurement parameters, ends up defining it according to its characteristics in the following way: (a) Intense use of labor; (b) social and legal conflicts; (c) low technological development; (d) environmental deterioration; (e) generation of local productive chains; (f) poor safety and hygiene conditions; (g) low production costs.

## Decentralization and its dimensions

It was assumed that the extensive literature on district government in sub-Saharan Africa fits into the matter of the decentralization process, which is embodied in a set of reforms of institutions in the respective systems of government. Currently, this matter has raised intense debates in society. Existing preliminary studies on decentralization, even if they are not transversal; in this sense, this study intends to contextualize and identify the universally accepted dimensions in order to frame the district government in its respective dimension and, effectively, the operationalization of its institutions in Mozambique.

According to Lustosa (s/d), decentralization as an alternative strategy for improving the management of public policies and, mainly, of social policies, is not such a recent topic, if not in Brazilian discourse, certainly in international documents and texts. To Tobar (1991, our translation),

decentralist theses began to be defended more emphatically by international organizations such as the UN, the World Bank and PAHO, in the early 1980s. Perhaps, no publication has been more paradigmatic than that of G. Shabbir Cheema and Dennis A. Rondinelli, entitled *Decentralization and development* (1983).

Now, in this study, the authors enunciate several functions of the decentralization of power, such as, the reduction of the negative effects of bureaucracy, respect for priorities and local needs, facilitation of a greater representativeness in the formulation of decisions and a greater equity in the allocation of resources, increasing legitimacy and institutional stability, etc.

The term charges a particular functionality in each case, according to the characteristics of its users. That is, different actors use the concept in particular ways. Despite this, there are also elements common to the definitions developed by different authors.

Some of these common characteristics are the following: a) its application suggests thinking about strengthening the "local" sphere; b) the problem of decentralization is of a political nature, its effective and efficient implementation is of an administrative nature; c) the process itself is not possible to achieve in isolation and is only viable within the framework of a general reform process; and d) the dichotomous conceptualization of centralization vs. decentralization has no explanatory power over the empirical data. Consensually to the authors, the meaning of decentralization is the transfer of powers from the central government to local instances, with the possibility of transferring power and financial resources with the

aim of reducing the size of the administrative structure, which streamlines the management of public policies and brings the state of society.

Binotto *et al.* (2010) situates decentralization within a political-institutional plan, where it is conceived as a breakdown of public power through various modalities ranging from a simple deconcentration of activities to the decentralization of decision-making power, that is, the transfer of competences or powers. On the political-institutional level described above by Binotto *et al.* (2010) identify three dimensions/forms of decentralization, 'namely: the social (Spatial), administrative (Deconcentration) and political (Devolution) dimension.

### **The administrative dimension or deconcentration**

For Binotto *et al.* (2010) the term decentralization discussed here is synonymous with the transfer of competences and functions between units, between spheres of government or between agencies. The administrative understanding of the term decentralization seeks greater efficiency in public management, reduction of the bureaucratic process, in addition to bringing governing bodies closer to the public sphere and society as a whole, aiming at meeting social demands and “fulfilling its objectives”.

Additionally, Soiri (1999, p. 18) understands that decentralization implies the deconcentration of State functions and the redefinition of its relationship with the new local bodies. For Faria and Chichava (1999), there is administrative decentralization or deconcentration, in which case the decentralization is carried out without implying a definitive transfer of authority, decision-making power and implementation from the central administration to other agents outside the central bodies.

### **The political dimension or devolution**

In this aspect, decentralization is a strategy for the redistribution of the State's political power, from the central level to the others Binotto *et al.* (2010). There is political decentralization or devolution when decentralization implies a final transfer of decision-making power and implementation from central administration to elected Local Bodies (FARIA; CHICHAVA, 1999).

Regarding the dimensions of decentralization described above, it is stated that the district government manifests itself in the exercise of administrative decentralization (deconcentration) which, commonly to others in Mozambique, extends from provinces,

districts, administrative posts, localities and settlements, differentiating of its functions. Furthermore, the focus of this study is the district, which is why, then, we discuss aspects related to the administration of the district, focusing on the local bodies that guarantee its performance.

Assuming that the district governance process is the result of the implementation of administrative decentralization in Mozambique, at the district level we note that this process has been taking place with the involvement of the Community Participation and Consultation Institutions (CPCIs) established by the legal framework that it is found in Law 8/2003 on Local State Bodies (LSB) and its respective regulation enshrined in Decree 11/2005.

### **Local State Bodies at district level**

Local state bodies, at the district level, are defined as decision-making centers dispersed throughout the national territory, more qualified by law to resolve administrative matters on behalf of the State and, therefore, form part of the direct administration of the State and owe obedience to the institutions of the Government (AMARAL, 1998).

Correlation to Law no. 8/2003 of 19 May, in article 8: “For the exercise of their functions, the Local State Bodies are organized at the levels of province, district, administrative post, locality”.

Furthermore, regarding the district, article 35 no.1 (al. c) specifies that “it is incumbent upon the District Administrator to promote the participation of communities and community authorities in the respective social and cultural development activities at the local level. Likewise, it should be noted that it is up to the District Government to promote and support local development initiatives with the participation of communities and citizens in solving problems”. The monitoring of this process is under the responsibility of the Ministry of State Administration (MAE, Portuguese initials) and the Ministry of Planning and Finance (MPF, Portuguese initials), then Ministry of Planning and Development (MPD, Portuguese initials). In LOLE (Law of Local State Bodies), participation is an organized, active and conscious process in which communities assume their part in the actions of the district government. This process is based on principles of participation, representativeness, diversity, independence, capacity, responsibility, integration and articulation

In this way, in Mozambique, at district level, institutions for dialogue are created between Local State Bodies, civil society including local communities which, hierarchically,



are distributed as follows: District Consultative Council (CCD), Local Forums and Community Committees.

### **The articulation of local state bodies in the sustainable management of artisanal gold mining in the districts**

For the management of natural resources, the governments of Southern Africa have faced a growing demand for public involvement in decision-making, in other words, this exercise translates into the need to make the government feel participatory, in which many cases, if based on public consultation. In this work, the term community management of natural resources is used. The Mozambican government establishes not only its vision and leadership over the process, but also the institutional framework within which partnerships, in collaboration between stakeholders, can be successful (MEDEIROS, 2011).

Now, as is reflected in Decree 6/2006, on the district planning service and art. 5. al, 3), basically, in the field of industry, it is up to the district government to: publicize the industrial potential, attract investors, promote small industry to take advantage of local capabilities and potential, issue opinions on applications for licensing economic activities, inspect the industrial network and promote and supervise artisanal mining.

In this context, there are few pragmatic studies that approach the management/community management of natural resources (minerals) in a sustainable way, in particular for gold mining, a fact that leads local authorities to not include the participation of local communities, since, for the sustainable use of local natural resources, it is necessary that there is participation of the two social actors that are the government and the local community.

Although on a small scale, for good governance and sustainable management of gold, the local state bodies in the district have promoted a series of activities translated into participatory government, one of them being the creation of community management commissions (CMC) of land and/or other natural resources. In this perspective, Lofort and Raimundo (1998) apud Matuele (2008) state that participation is seen as a process that allows social actors, with different powers and resources, to act in formal and informal instances to discuss their interests, identify and negotiate conflicts as well as developing actions considering the interests and concerns of the parties involved. And, in this study, the authors point out that the success of community participation is achieved with the representation of



local leaders in decision-making, which implies motivation, community leadership, means and willingness to learn.

It is advocated in this postulate that it is through participatory government promoted by community authorities that it is embodied in educational actions on the management of mineral resources and their benefits; efficient control and inspection of mining activity; planning the occupation of public lands in a fair way, respecting the local community, direct economic incentives and changes in legislation that encourage the appreciation of mineral resources.

Furthermore, it is noted that the effort of community authorities in the face of participatory management of natural resources has been aware of a set of obstacles, with emphasis on the political-legal ones highlighted by Macucule (2006), such as the divergence and contradiction of interpretation between some legal instruments relating to resource management by local leaders and the inadequacy of some legal instruments in the process of resource management and devolution of powers to communities.

### **Methodological procedures**

For the development of this research, a qualitative approach was adopted because it is suitable for research since it provides an important approximation between researcher and object of study, in the perspective of understanding the researched reality. This approach was preceded by a literature review, because, according to Minayo (2001), all research is developed from a literary review that allowed proceeding with a survey of knowledge about the topic addressed here and, consequently, the organization and elaboration of the theoretical framework.

In this context, for the deepening of the theory and the search for objectivity in the problem, the work was framed to the inductive method.

In structural terms, for the materialization and achievement of its objectives, the research comprised three (3) main phases, namely:

#### **1st Phase: Document analysis of previous studies or literature review**

In this phase, for familiarization with the theme, a bibliographical review was carried out based on the material already prepared, consisting of books, scientific articles, monographs, theses, documentary data, secondary sources in magazines and specialized

reports, registration files and published newspapers (some accessed on internet sites). From the bibliographical research listed, we privileged administrative decentralization (District Government) and Artisanal Gold Mining (*garimpo*), of an international and national nature, due to the capital importance they give to the study.

## **2nd Phase: Fieldwork**

In the case of the case study, the communication took place in the district of Manica, starting from the District Headquarters, Administrative Post and Locality. Field work was based on the technique of semi-structured interviews (formal and informal conversations) aided by a script of questions for each target group, notepad, device to record testimonials, telephone conversations in advance, participatory use of photographs, direct and participatory observation.

Using this technique, the interviews focused on the institutions of the District Government and the hierarchy of Local State Bodies at the district level, focusing on the administrative post of Machipanda, locality of Mharidza, highlighting three (3) cross-border villages: Chadzuca, Nhamachato, Nhamucuarara and their local communities. In this order of thought, 9 (nine) people were interviewed being directed to the members of the district government by the district services of economic activities, geology and mines, assuming the established hierarchy covering the leadership locally instituted at the base, 2 (two) members of associations and individual prospectors including women aged between 25 and 50 years and 2 (two) at local community members at the focal points and 1 (one) resident of Munhena.

Now, for the selection of the target group to be interviewed, two non-probabilistic sampling techniques were chosen, namely: net or snowball sampling and accidental or convenience sampling.

## **3rd Phase: Data Analysis**

Finally, the selection of the most punctual proposals from the interview script directed to each target group allowed decision-making, conclusions and the presentation of results.

In order to understand the level of effectiveness of the management of illegal mining by the District Government, at this stage, the study was carried out in two (2) ways.

## Content analysis

### Pattern matching analysis

After sorting the responses, the choice was made to select and compile the responses of the different interviewees according to their social status in the target group, in terms of similarities and differences, organizing them through agreement in the statement.

## Results and discussion

This section seeks to understand the role of district governments in the sustainable management of artisanal gold mining in Mozambique, specifically in the district of Manica, which allowed the definition of four categories, namely: a) Stage of the district government of Manica and the retrospective of artisanal mining in gold; b) Articulation of the district government of Manica in the management of illegal gold mining; c) The participation and responsibility of the district government of Manica in the management of gold mining: a look at the locality of Mharidza and d) Participation of the district government in the management of illegal mining to the empirical reality of neo-patrimonialism as an obstacle to development.

To comply with ethical research questions, the names of the participants were not revealed. Thus, each participant was assigned a letter as illustrated in the table below:

**Table 1**

Initials (Portuguese)	Meaning
1. TSDSDAE	Superintendent technician and delegate of district economic activities services in the district of Manica
2. DDSRM	Superintendent District Delegate for the Distribution of Mineral Resources
3. COM	Chief of the village of Machipanda
4. MAMM -1	Member of the Mimosa mining association
5. MAMM -2	Member of the Mimosa mining association
6. CRAAMM	Citizen residing in the vicinity of the Munhena mining association
7. MAC	Artisanal Chazuca miner
8. LCN	Community leader of Nhamucuarara
9. LCMPP	Community leader of Mharidza in the village of Penhalonga

Source: Adapted by the author

**a) FIRST CATEGORY:** District government stage of Manica and retrospective of artisanal gold mining

According to the Ministry of State Administration (2005) in Manica district, the current government system is based on the Executive Council. As a result of the approval of Laws

6/78 and 7/78, replacing the local City Council, which was headed by the District Administrator due to the accumulation of functions pursuant to article 491 of the Overseas Administrative Reform (RAU, Portuguese initials). At the district level, the State apparatus consists of the District Administration, other directorates and district sectors.

The Administrator, in turn, responds to the provincial and central Government for the various sectors of activities in the district organized into district directorates and sectors (MAE, 2005). Still according to the MAE (2005), the Government is based on the chiefs of localities, local community and traditional authorities.

The heads of localities are representatives of the Administration and report to the head of the administrative post and, consequently, to the district administrator, being assisted by the heads of villages, secretaries of neighborhood, heads of blocks.

The activity of the District Government follows an essentially empirical approach and contact with the community. The District Consultative Council (CCD) of Manica is composed of 50 members representing all localities, among which 36 are men and 14 women (CIP, 2011 p. 11). In the district of Manica, the work was contemplated in the administrative post of Machipanda, composed of three locations: Machipanda-Sede with eight (8) villages, Muzongo, with six (6) villages and Mharidza, with fourteen (14) villages. In this case, the communication had repercussions in the locality of Mharidza, as the table below describes its political-administrative composition.

**Table 2** – The villages in the locality of Mharidza

<b>Chimedza, Nhamucuarara</b>	Chadzuca, Nhamombe	Ndirire, 3 de Fevereiro	Mudododo Mangunda
<b>Chinhandongue</b>	Nhamachato	Mukudo	
<b>Penhalonga</b>	Chua	7 de Abril	

Source: Adapted by the authors

According to Afonso and Marques (1993, p. 55), gold mining has been around for a long time. Several discoveries of artifacts of this metal, made in the territory of the former Momomotapa Empire, prove to us that the exploitation of that precious metal was quite intense.

This exploration, by rudimentary means, continued until the second half of the 19th century. The first explorations based on geological knowledge began in Manica, around 1892 and then in the province of Tete, in 1922. At that time, Macequece (current city of Manica),

was a flourishing city due to the great gold trade, coming from the Manica mining field. Additionally, in Manica, in the past, gold was seen as a symbol of power, being also used in rituals such as *lobolo* and in commercial exchanges with the Arabs, it was only in the 16th century that, with the strong interference of the colonial Administration, it was verified a decrease of this practice, where according to GEOIDE (2010, [n.d.], our translation), its revitalization was as follows:

During the colonial administration, the artisanal gold industry was banned and heavily controlled by the then government. After national independence, the informal extraction of precious mineral resources was prohibited, but later it was tolerated and, in some sense, encouraged by the State, through the purchase of the minerals produced and through the organization of producers in associations. And, in 2002, with the revision of the artisanal and small-scale mining activity law, it was formally legalized.

Like other border districts in Manica, studies carried out by Bakker (2008) confirm that adherence to this activity is associated with several factors that are embodied in the following: (i) economic crisis in neighboring Zimbabwe, which precipitated thousands of Zimbabwean citizens to gold and Tourmaline extractive industry in Manica and Bárue, respectively; (ii) the Mozambican government's tolerance for this sector of activity; (iii) widespread unemployment, especially among young people, aggravated by the lack of opportunities for continuing education on the part of young people who complete their final grades in the mining regions; (iv) the fact that the production of gold and Tourmaline is an important source of income and enrichment.

The continuous and constant demand for gold today is greater, with different purposes than the previous ones, since gold is already seen as a source of capital to alleviate the basic needs of the population, from self-sustenance, translated into the purchase of clothing, acquisition of food, payment of fees and support for other tertiary activities. In this regard, it is important to mention that data from DPREME (2012) indicate that in the district of Manica there are about seven thousand prospectors who operate in 14 foci, of which 1870 are women.

Given the greater demand for gold in the district, depending on the discovery of the lode, nowadays, mainly in the rural area, this activity has been the cause of enormous socioeconomic, cultural and environmental constraints and, even political, because the demand for this ore results in the devastation of forests, pollution of water in local rivers or streams, namely: Púnguè, Révuè, Mussambudzi, Nhamucuarara, Chua and Chimedza, that is, the degradation of soils that were formerly farms, homesteads, roads, places whose tradition considers them sacred heritage of humanity.

In addition to the rise in prices in the food market in the district, caused by the distortion of family farming, accidental deaths and the direct handling of mercury put the population at risk of gradually being exterminated by contracting mental and chronic diseases.

**b) SECOND CATEGORY:** Articulation of the district government of Manica in the management of illegal gold mining

We start from the assumption that it is the responsibility of the State to guarantee the well-being of citizens. In other words, in Weberian terms, the State is an institution of a political nature that holds the monopoly of legitimate physical violence, which, in parts, is embodied in the provision of qualified services closer to citizens. Furthermore, he must guarantee the order and public tranquility of these, through the search for viable and sustainable solutions bridging the externalities. Moreover, as stated by Forquilha (2007), the domination of the State, in a given environment, is supported by other means such as, for example, the socialization process through which citizens acquire models of behavior that allow consent. Indeed, the same author goes on to argue that in order to inculcate the attitude, behavior and adherence to legal norms in citizens, there is a process of socialization that relies on an important participation of the State itself.

One of the manifestations of this socialization process that links the State and the citizen in the lower levels is the district decentralization, implemented under the regulation of the Law of Local State Bodies (Decree 11/2005), starting to reflect its participation and responsibility in different levels that compose it. And, in the light of the same Decree, in its article 48, it refers that at the district level, the State apparatus is composed of three main elements: District Secretariat, Administrator's Office and District Services.

In this process of socialization between the State and the citizen, one of the key actions enacted by the District Government of Manica, to guarantee its participation in the management of mineral resources, is reflected in the implementation of the plans of the Center for the Development of Natural Resources (CDS-RN) - Manica, focused on mitigating the effects resulting from the pollution of water, rivers, by prospectors, where community leaders and heads of administrative posts have been trained in techniques used in gold extraction, to disseminate to prospectors. In this way, under Decree 6/2006, the Government of the District of Manica was scheduled, the file for semi-structured interviews had the order of the Permanent Secretariat directing it to the District Services sector of Economic Activities of Manica (SDAE), via from this, it was up to the district delegate superintendent of DPREM,

affected in the distribution of mineral resources, to be responsible for their management, in the following terms:

To begin with, the district is rich in mineral resources, mainly gold, which is why there is an increase in illegal artisanal mining, because the exact place where it occurs is not known, what is certain is that it is practiced in a loose and irresponsible way; For example, with the decentralization of powers to established local authorities, we have carried out field work with a view to raising awareness and mobilizing prospectors to opt for good practices and sustainable ways of mining exploration based on the idea of Associativism, training, lectures that follow legal procedures for the exploitation of any natural resource, especially gold (DDSRM, our translation).

Under the district decentralization that gives competence and responsibility to the Local Bodies of the State to decide, execute and control in their respective area of jurisdiction, in the district of Manica, these competences are achieved through a set of days of activities that are embodied in the participatory Government, in such a way that in the district, all localities are subordinated and accountable to their respective Administrative Post. Now, in the Administrative Post of Machipanda, the participatory Government fits in the molds of the days of the Consultative Council of the Administrative Post, Local Consultative Council of the localities and the Consultative Councils of Populations (CCP).

In this logic, these institutions exist because they are considered to represent the highest level of dialogue and participatory planning at their respective levels, encompassing the local community, officially represented by the CCP in defining priorities and managing opportunities discovered (material and financial), in line with local needs. Thus, given the seriousness and strong demand for gold, in almost all the villages of Mharidza, the local Administration, through the Institutions of Participation and Community Consultation listed above, has been committed to intervening through debate forums structured by a common agenda, together with the communities. In this, our interviewee stated in the following terms:

Here in the town of Machipanda, the most affected area with mining problems is in the locality of Mharidza, but we have done our part through the Consultative Councils under the terms of Open Government based on meetings with all actors in society of different age groups to exchange ideas and sensitize them to practice responsible and sustainable mining; but it is difficult to put an end to this practice once and for all, as it seems to me that this is already a normal and customary activity or transmitted from generation to generation (CPM, our translation).

With the decentralization of competences and the consequent delegation of State powers to the local level, as part of the Community Participation and Consultation Institutions, the Local Public Administration of Machipanda has entrusted the community



authorities, commonly known as community leaders, subordinated to the district secretaries, these in turn, to the heads of localities, to ensure the restoration of order and public tranquility in their respective areas of jurisdiction. Now, the inspection process in the activities carried out by this cast seems to be in line with the reproductive logic of the functions performed by the structures of the *Dynamizing Groups*, demonstrated in the ability to promote the work of collective participation in the management of public affairs.

**c) THIRD CATEGORY:** Participation and responsibility of the district government of Manica in the management of gold mining: a look at the locality of Mharidza.

Effectively, to guarantee the sustainable exploitation of gold, the work of the Mharidza community authority is assisted by community leaders. This task has been at a discouraging pace, allegedly because they have not assumed their due powers with power, on the one hand. Due to the lack of knowledge of the legal provisions that give them legitimacy to do so, such as the regulation of the Law of Local State Bodies Law 8/2003 (Decree 11/2005), Ministerial Diploma no. 80/2004 and others that complement their legitimacy.

The poor interpretation of their competences, in some cases, makes them tend to practice neo-patrimonialism of the economic or social aspect, weakening their performance. Thus, the diagram below describes the reflection of the participation of local authorities in the jurisdiction of the town of Mharidza in view of the sustainable management of gold mining, having as the main indicator the formalization of mining associations in the three (3) villages covered by the study: Chadzuca, Nhamucuarara and Nhamachato.

**Table 3 – Locality of Mharidza**

<b>Villages</b>	<b>Intervention</b>
<b>Chadzuca</b>	Weak intervention by local authorities. There is no association
<b>Nhamucuarara</b>	There is intervention by local authorities, there is an association.
<b>Nhamachato</b>	There is great intervention by local authorities. There is an association

Source: Adapted by the author

As can be seen, correlation to the diagram shown above, the participation and responsibility of State institutions at the local level on the management of mining in the three villages is not consensual. Looking at the case of the village of Chadzuca, where the ball is

outside the area of jurisdiction of the locality, it is seen that in practical terms mining is irresponsible, applied in villages, in fields, along the Mussambuza river and its tributaries, in group consisting of 3-5 individuals, mostly from the same family. The highlight goes to the former installations of the *Monarch*<sup>2</sup> mine, a gold deposit explored in times past with the same company whose vein continues to attract Mozambican and Zimbabwean miners residing in nearby areas, which implies that, despite the Government raising awareness and lectures on good mining practices, his intervention has been doomed to failure.

Regarding the village of Nhamucuarara, it should be said that mining is practiced along the Nhamucuarara river, in an itinerant manner as in the previous case. Unlike the village of Chadzuca, in this village, the Government, through the local community, managed to sensitize the miners to form an association called “Mimosa Mining Association”, located in the eastern part of Nhamucuarara. The District Government has had the support of the Geology and Mining sector through the actions of Mining Development Fund, then Manica Geological Institute, in material support associated with the activity, namely, stone crushing machines or training on good mining practices. In relation to this action, our interviewee argued the following:

As soon as we are in this association, the Government, through Geology and Mines, appears to hold meetings, select and train some members here and abroad, not only, as you can see, the material we are using to break down the rocks is part of the support on the part of Geology, because our mining is not alluvial, we rely on white mercury that, in the end, we deposit in a decantation tank (MAMM-1, our translation).

Regarding the village of Nhamachato, there are some similar aspects of artisanal gold mining in relation to that of Nhamucuarara, while the extraction of gold is done in an itinerant and loose way in the villages as well as along the Révuè river, the main source from the village. The Government, through the Geology and Mining sector, has provided assistance to a mining association in the Munhena area. In this area, the miners who carry out their work are concentrated in a large camp made of reed huts and plastic bags, made up of groups of families, unique, among them Zimbabweans and Mozambicans who, in addition to mining, promote various temporary activities, including the opening of stalls for the sale and consumption of foodstuffs. Naturally, this concentration causes problems of environmental

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<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that Monarch is a mining concession company located in the Nhamombe neighborhood (Vilalge of Chadzuca) and is now not active, and not protected by the Mozambican guard, which is why there is a resurgence of the mining community.

sanitation and the strengthening of the practice of prostitution. About the association of Munhena said our interviewee:

The association has already acquired a mining certificate by completing a roadmap from the Geology and Mines sector, we attached the money and headed to Chimoio and, later we heard that the documentation has already arrived in Maputo, so we are waiting for the remaining procedures (MAMM – 2, our translation).

As stated by António (2011), since the mining activity has been an alternative to agriculture, especially in the rural area of Manica, for the direct actors of this activity as well as the local population, through the sums coming from the mining, it is notorious the development that is reflected in the purchase of means of transport, construction of conventional houses, purchase of cattle, greater purchasing power to diversify the diet, payment of school fees to their children and care for health problems. Our interviewee confirmed this in the following words:

I am a widow and my husband was a member of the association. In addition to agriculture, I have been mining and, together with my family, we have done small business in the prospectors' camp. I have this house, as you can see. My three children have already finished high school in Machipanda-headquarter. Just as the Government is a friend of mining, its members have been monitoring the association by charging fees and dues. I don't see a problem with this (CRAAMM, our translation).

**d) FOURTH CATEGORY:** Participation of the district government in the management of illegal mining to the empirical reality of neo-patrimonialism as an obstacle to development.

According to Lalá and Ostheimer (2004), the State is considered a provider and protector, rather than a servant of the citizens who elected it, considering the extremely paternalistic culture of Mozambicans, highlighting the coexistence of two traditions and different socioeconomic trajectories. The first is evident in State discourses and refers to the paradigm of pluralist democracy in the context of a Western tradition, and the second is rooted in the African cultural tradition, which absorbs the notion of Government.

Nevertheless, it is a view that, in general, remains highly authoritarian, with precision criteria established, not by the application of depersonalized rules, but by the will of the “boss”. Given these characteristics, a group of African theorists in the 1980s developed a literature that was called the theory of the crisis of the State.

Starting from the idea of giving legitimacy to the State, as the sole driving force of development, this theory frustrated the State, not only in the political-administrative aspect, but also in the weak correspondence of the coverage of the retroactive process of public

policies to adapt to the needs occasional. In relation to what was said above, regarding the correspondence of the State's paternity in the provision of services and the exhaustive implementation of public policies, our interviewee expressed himself in the following ways:

I'm a medium technician in mechanical locksmithing at Commercial Institute Joaquim Marra do Chimoio, it's not our desire to do this activity, we're just looking for self-support because we don't have a formal job; the Government has sensitized us to form associations, but the experience I have is that the Government has not been fair to us, because we process the gold, however, when it comes to final arrangements, none of us participates and, when we take the gold to negotiate with Geology and Mines in the village, they take a long time to reimburse the money as agreed, taking more than two months for its reimbursement; sometimes even a year and, you see, we are a team that need to support our families, which is why we prefer to negotiate in the informal market with private buyers (MAC, our translation).

One of the basic characteristics of the theory of the crisis of the State in Mozambique in the 1980s, which still survives, in the administrative aspect, raised in this work, is qualified by some authors as neo-patrimonialism, characterized by a set of practices that are embodied in corruption, clientelism, nepotism, tribalism and prebendalism on the part of institutions in the management of public affairs.

From what has been said above, we can see that there is a tendency for economic practices to be allied to the State's incapacity, as a protector and provider of goods and services to the respective beneficiaries, evidencing the strong liberal thinking and economic crisis in which the great demand mining will cause major distortions in the productive sector of economies. Among the distortions, one can point out the abandonment of agriculture in favor of artisanal mining, excessive regulation and exaggerated interventionism by the State in private business.

In fact, at the level of the Manica district, through the participation of State institutions, it can be understood that the neo-patrimonialistic attitudes in the persistence of artisanal gold mining manifest themselves in the molds of nepotism and clientelism, which is embodied in the instrumentalization of the participatory processes by elites, with interests outside of sustainable management. In this, with our interviewee we extracted the following details:

Look, the Government's reaction to this practice has not been very significant, because I think we are being used. In the meetings that we have had, within the scope of the Local Consultative Councils, the provincial government gives us a work order and we comply with it, but, on the ground, we are ashamed, since the garimpeiros verbally react saying that no matter how much you try to forbid us, we do not negotiate with you, but with your

hierarchical superiors; even so, we noticed that some of our colleagues have benefited from this practice by remaining silent without denouncing the danger we are in or claiming that the gold is in the territory of my jurisdiction and I am also gaining for it (LCN, our translation).

Based on this information, it can be believed that with the high prevalence of small-scale corruption in state administration, the trust of government and state institutions is in decline (LALÁ; OSTHEIMER, 2004). At the level of the Manica district, according to the National Directorate of Mines (2012, p. 6), this fact is proven by the involvement of individuals, called “*mandantes*”, with great economic power who provide the prospectors with the means of production such as Moto-pumps, large levers, Shovels, food, monetary values to pay the labor, legal assistance in cases of flagrante delicto by the inspection team, among others, highlighting the direct involvement of Agents of the Police of the Republic of Mozambique (PRM) and other well-placed agents or officials of the Mozambican state. Furthermore, information triggered by the same source confirms that the involvement of citizens of Zimbabwean nationality was reported who, in many cases, also provide the means of production. Corresponding to this description, our interviewee stated the following:

The State, through the Provincial Government, has made a lot of effort, but the people within it do not help, in fact I tell you that at the time I was sworn in as community leader and inspector, I was able to confiscate prospector material such as Moto-bombs, Pickaxes, Grinding for crushing gold rocks and Shovels, this material I handed over to Geology and Mines, but, after a while, on my field trips, I picked up the same material at the previous confiscation site with the respective *garimpeiros*. I was very unmotivated because I saw that my attitude was insignificant, which is why I prefer to leave it like that, I am scared because many of them are natives and other Zimbabweans, who in any case, in addition to spoiling our relationship of social coexistence, at any moment can hurt myself using black magic and flee to Zimbabwe as a way to relieve themselves of the crime (LCMPP, our translation).

On the one hand, it is possible to note that the continuous dynamics of mining in the district is not only linked to the political-institutional component but is also on a par with the sociocultural component that is embodied in the continuity of habits and customs over time and overcoming objectivity with subjectivity, since, for the *garimpeiros*, the intervention of the State through its representativeness and implementation of the legislature implies inhibiting the free practice of the activity that guarantees the subsistence and creation of obstacles in its accomplishment, making them resort to superstition practices to achieve their intentions and, consequently, the State loses its legitimacy as a provider and protector of the population, failing to play its due role, opting for the tolerance of this activity.

On the other hand, it was verified that the discourse of the two community leaders is associated with technical-legal limitations, configured in the weakness of the implementation of the current legislation for the resolution of the challenges imposed by society with regard to the responsibility of the State as the guarantor and provider of well-being to citizens, confirming Macucule (2006), by underlining that the participatory management process has been on a par with the inability of State services at different levels and Departments to implement existing legal instruments (supervision, preparation and participatory implementation of management plans).

Therefore, from the interpretation made in these last two speeches, the clarification of the lack of transparency in the management of benefits generated by the participatory processes of this mineral resource by the garimpeiros and the State (Geology and Mines) is notorious, causing a feeling of discouragement in the adherence to the associative discourse, as well as on the part of local leaders, there is a lack of commitment that the State develops from the upper echelon, tending to vitiate the transparency of resource management to satisfy its needs, opting for the instrumentalization of local leaders such as the guarantees the existence of the State, confusing the true delegation of powers, competences, motivations, means and willingness to learn in community leaders.

### **Final considerations**

The state, based on deconcentration, has been exercising its control in the best possible way, in accordance with sustainable public policies and appropriate to the circumstances of the discovery of natural resources. There are trends for local authorities to intervene positively in the sustainable management of artisanal gold mining, given that there is legislation at the national level that provides for mining associations, so that artisanal miners, when sensitized to join the association, can have qualifications and training on good practices and sustainable norms of artisanal mining.

The prevalence of artisanal gold mining in the district of Manica is not only linked to the social issue of being an alternative activity to subsistence agriculture, but also to the fragility of the adjustment of public policies of a legal institutional nature in the country in the mining area. Interventions by government institutions at the local level have been limited, fueling the connivance translated into small-scale corruption, embodied in the exchange of favors on the pretext of the Law and its competence, enticed by the sums that mining provides to practitioners, to the detriment of its salary motivation.

The weak dissemination of the legal provisions has been influenced by the socio-historical dynamics based on the logic of brotherhoods and neighborhoods between the two countries (Mozambique and Zimbabwe), regarding the expansion of the Monomotapa Empire and, later, the mutual cooperation for the reach of national independence, which strengthens clientelism, nepotism and economic or social corruption between the two social actors (community authorities and immigrants). Although controversial, field research reveals that local investment is visible in an indirect way, as artisanal miners have increased the demand for basic products, and consequently, the establishment of markets in nearby mining sites has become the main source of revenue collection through inspection in the regions where mining is carried out.

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