

Ethnic Mobilisation in Politics - Machangana Ruling Over

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Abstract

"Ethnic Mobilisation in Politics - Machangana Ruling Over" is an article that composes a chapter of the ongoing Thesis entitled "The Influence of Ethnicities in Political Conflicts in African States: The Case Study of Mozambique (1976-2019)". It aims to analyse ethnic mobilisation to political support as a potential influencer to the emergence of political conflicts in Mozambique. The main conclusion shows that in Mozambique there is a strong ethnic support to politics, in such a way that each presidential candidate and his Political party have its bastion in his ethnic origin. However, it is not a result of an ethnic mobilisation, but in a scarcity of political records, the voters scrutinise the candidate based on the easiest information available, which is ethnicity. The article reviews the role of ethnicities in South Africa and Angola to be used as a brief comparison with Mozambique, from which concluded that, the more ethnicities play an important role in politics, the country is likely vulnerable to political conflicts. The study is a result of a field research conducted via interviews, during 45 days of a participant observation in Mozambique.

Key-words: Mozambique, political conflicts, ethnicities, ethnic mobilisation, political support.

1. Introduction

Ethnic conflicts are not a new case in the world and they are not happening only in Africa. However, in Africa they have a special feature closely connected to colonial racial or ethnical segregation to implement the policy - divide to rule.

A better understanding of the influence of ethnicity in political conflicts today, demands a historical review of the political construction of such a country. The African nation-states had their birth through colonialism, therefore, it is inevitable to review the previous territorial and ethnic

organization before and during colonialism for better interpretation of today's world.

In general, African peoples were organized by kingdoms and empires in a clear ethnic basis. Colonialism greatly used this organization as an advantage to applying the strategy divide-to-rule, by creating alliances with chiefdoms.

The dissatisfaction against colonial administration showed a need of union of African peoples to tackle the common interest, which was the liberty and it ended in nationalism.

In the aftermath of independence, the African movements that led the struggle for independence claimed to themselves the right to rule over the country in a single-party government system. However, the demand for recognition of local needs could easily raise ethnic issues under the umbrella of democracy and a multiparty system.

This is a new era in which the leadership must be scrutinized from a society characterised, from the one side, by the lack of enough information to sort among candidates. Since the candidates do not have leadership records from the beginning, the costless information such as ethnic origin, seems to be the salient to be valued. From the other side, in democratic regimes based on patronage-client system, there is an enforcement of equilibrium of ethnic favouritism, as voters expect co-ethnic elites to favour them in the distribution of benefits, and elites expect co-ethnic voters to favour them in the distribution of votes.

Two countries of Southern Africa, from different colonies, were selected to this study to support the general idea of the influence of ethnicity in political conflicts. The analysis of these two countries is used, first, for a general overview of political mobilisation in different perspectives and, second, for the purpose of a brief comparison about the role of ethnicities in political conflicts in Mozambique. South Africa was chosen based on its close geographic, political and economic relationship, taking into consideration that it was a British colony. Angola was the same Portuguese colony as Mozambique.

In Mozambique, Angola, Congo, etc. political conflicts emerged right from transition from colonial rule to self governance or during democratisation. Furthermore, in Mozambique, the time sooner before or after elections is known as the critical for the emergence of conflicts.

However, ethnic identity or mobilisation alone is not a threat to a conflict but when it is charged by politics, becomes a paved way for a conflict.

The article aims to analyse ethnic mobilisation to political support as a potential influencer to the emergence of political conflicts.

In order to fully accomplish the main goal, three specific objectives were defined, as follow: Description of the role of ethnicities during the

consolidation of nationalism in two countries with different colonial past (South Africa and Angola) in the context of political conflicts; Demonstrate political support through ethnic ties in different regions of Mozambique via partial results of General Elections; Identify the connection between ethnic mobilisation and the emergence of political conflicts on the basis of regional frustration.

The article is composed by three main sections, besides the current introduction and the conclusion. The first section describes ethnicities in South Africa and Angola with a particular emphasis on its political exploitation. The second section brings a demonstration of ethnic support to Presidential candidates in five elections seasons, along to the country. The third section discusses the threat of upsurge of political conflicts based on disproportional ethnic support which ended up with changes in electoral organs composition and an amendment in the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique.

Methodologically, the article is a result of a field research through a participant observation in different regions of Mozambique during 45 days, from June to July 2023.

2. South Africa

In South Africa, after its independence on May 31, 1910, the Apartheid regime sought to create an ethnic territorial division, arguing that "Separate development had to be pursued, so as to reduce the potential for ethnic group contact and friction." (Coakley, 2005, p.95).

Apartheid represented a system of differentiation and domination in which a privileged white minority held sway over a disenfranchised black majority.

This policy convinced the former South African President, F.W. De Klerk, as according to Coakley, (2005, p.95), his idea was that "(...) offering a high degree of autonomy to the various population groups, was the best way to defuse the tremendous conflict potential in South Africa's complex society."

Indeed, in order to accommodate this principle, population of South Africa was territorially organised by national communities for ethnic self-determination. The measure aimed to creating national states culturally homogeneous, known as the Bantustans States. Therefore, in 1959 the territory of South Africa was organized into ten Bantustans according to the main ethnic groups.

The demarcation of Bantustan was supervised by the Central Government with collaboration of traditional leaders so that the borders coincide with the historical tribes divisions. However, the demarcation was not accepted in its great extent as it was expected because, in *jure*, the Bantustans were ethnically homogeneous but in *facto*, no territory was

full homogenous. Furthermore, the strategy was understood as a means to strengthen social and economic inequalities in South African people.

The worst social and economic situation, coupled with the incapability of Bantustans to politically tackle the key issues within communities and, the fact that none of Bantustan was recognised internationally as independent state, contributed to abandon the ethnical territory organization.

After a long dispute, in the 1994 new Constitution of South Africa was reorganized by nine provinces whose demarcations were not concerned to its tribal boundaries.

The power of provinces is not to encourage ethnic politics but to assure check and balance between central and local or provincial authorities.

Therefore, the administrative division removes from political arena, ethnic division, however, the process in itself does not aim to discourage ethnic consciousness of each region created through history. Indeed, South African Government recognises and respect ethnic power to deal with traditional ceremonies and social cohesion.

This is the main reason South African people are proud with their ethnicity and language but not to use it as a weapon for conflict. They have a good ethnic cohabitation because they do not use ethnicity for social or political exclusion.

2.1 South Africa Political Organization and Ethnicities

The Republic of South Africa entered into a democratic system in 1994, where all the South Africans citizens, regardless of race, ethnicity or religion had the right to vote.

The apartheid regime ended in early 1990, however, up to that moment, South Africa was constituted of four main political parties, each one with its specific history of origin. The parties were the African National Congress (ANC), officially non-racial, primarily representing the aspirations of the oppressed people; Inkata Freedom Party (IFP), mainly composed of Zulu ethnic; New National Party (NPP) representing Afrikaners and; Democratic Alliance (DA), typically representing English South Africans.

During the years of government transition from apartheid (1990-1994), was created the Government of National Unity, which worked to draft the Interim Constitution and the electoral system.

So far we have discussed ethnical division of people of South Africa and emphasised that ethnic organization is not considered as a key factor for Administrative purposes, however, it does not mean that ethnic identity does not matter. Historically, and enforced by apartheid regime, South Africans are divided by race, ethnicity, class, religion, region, and language.

Taking into consideration the electoral system of Proportional Representation (PR), the Central Presidential Government system and, the smallness of several ethnic groups, South Africa did not use ethnicity for political mobilisation as none of ethnic group would be able to grasp enough support for political power. Therefore, according to Piombo (2009, p.21), ethnicities does not constitute a potential threat of conflict because "Without sustained political mobilization, ethnic identities are less likely to become vested with an importance that could lead to conflict and violence."

3. Angola

According to Martins (2021), Angola has about a dozen of ethnic groups, however there are three main groups geographically distributed, inter alia, Bakongo - North, Ovimbundu - Centre highlands and, Ombundu - South.

The ethnic consciousness and divisions resulted from pre-colonial kingdoms rivalry and it became evident through Protestant movements during colonialism.

It is worthwhile to remember that Angola was a Portuguese colony, which privileged "indirect rule" in its administration. By this way, Angola would be clearly divided into ethnic groups, so that African chiefdoms, must know their authority delimitations, that is, to avoid conflict between communities.

During forced labour, African chiefdoms had a responsibility to bring to Portuguese authority, the majority number of Africans to work as slaves in different manufacturers or in migrant labour. The more was the number of captured slaves, it increased African chiefdoms loyalty to Portuguese administration.

In migrant Labour, the main destination of slaves was the mines of South Africa and Rodhesia. Within the Angolan people, although they were not in direct competition in labour, the social differences were clear among the main ethnic groups, which contributed to shape different moral ethnicity.

In this matter, Portugal was a mentor of ethnic cleavages, such as Martins (2021, p.106), pointed out that "Portuguese colonialism contributed to the manifestation of ethnic cleavages in the political landscape of Angola, by creating a set of legal and economic circumstances that pushed a staggering number of Ovimbundu people to undertake migrant labour."

These circumstances, enforced ethnic division between Ovimbundu, Ombundu and Bakongo, already created by former kingdoms and Protestantism in Angola. At the top of differentiation was the customs, religions and their political conviction for a freedom, ending up in political tribalism.

However, the unbalanced culture and political organisation between Portugal and Angola revealed that the association of Angolan people does not mean necessarily to lose their ethnic identity but to value their common element - a nation. It was the upraise of Angolan Nationalism.

Despite that the consciousness of Angolan nationalism raised as a result of colonial exploitation, the history of ethnic division, which Portugal used to practice its divide-to-rule tactic, had its repercussion in the history of Post independence of Angola.

3.1 Ethnicity in Post-colonial Angola

This section aims to establish the relationship between the ethnic groups and the Angolan political environment.

According to Weigert (2011, p.24), the national liberation war in Angola started with the early manifestations of Angola Peoples Union (UPA), in 1950, mostly aggregating the Bakongo from north.

Then, small groups from different regions of Angola raised, however, a movement with a national statute was created in 1956 - MPLA (Popular Moviment for the Liberation of Angola), (*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*), largely formed by urban and intellectual people from Southern Ombundu, but aggregating different existing groups.

During the liberation war in Angola (1956-1975), frictions emerged within the MPLA and the movement became slightly divided.

In 1962 UPA merged with another party created in Congo, mainly composed by Ovimbundu from Centre to form National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) (*Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola*) to complain the leadership of MPLA.

UPA did not have a great impact to the Angolan political history, due to its unclear political structure. However, in its place emerged UNITA (National Union for Total Independence of Angola) (*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*), created by Jonas Savimbi in 1966, mainly supported by Ovimbundu ethnic group.

Unlike in some other countries such as in Mozambique, in Angola the three movements inter alia, MPLA, FNLA and UNITA did not merge during the Angolan liberation war. The guerrilla actions of each movement had a strong and direct effect in different geographic regions. The MPLA had its bastion in southeast mainly occupied by Ombundu group; The FNLA in Northwest region with people identified by Bakongo and; UNITA in central highlands composed mainly by Ovimbundu.

Weigert (2011, p.53), points out the fact that the three movements, MPLA, FNLA and UNITA, have fought separately to achieve the Angolan independence, as the first and main cause of a civil war soon after independence.

Indeed, after a cease fire signed in October 15, 1974 the friction among the three movements was increased regards the organisation of transition period to independence, set to November 11, 1975. All the movements' leaders felt themselves with the same rights to participate in transition process.

According to Weigert (2011, p.61), on November 10, 1975 the Portugal's Governor General turned an independent country over to the people of Angola rather than designating any of the three contending forces as the nation's new official leaders. However, MPLA self-proclaimed governance of independent Angola and sought to push UNITA and FNLA out of Luanda and other Angolan Cities.

Savimbi and his supporters moved to the UNITA initial base in the bushes of central highland to seek militarily and politically Ovimbundo support.

From that moment (1976), Angola was immersed in a long and horrible civil warfare between the two main political movements, MPLA and UNITA struggling to rule over Angola. The opposition between the two movements vary from political ideology left (MPLA) and right (UNITA), to their ethnical support which was Mainly Ombundo for MPLA and the mix of Ovimbundu and Bakongo for UNITA.

The civil war in Angola is, in its great part, a legacy of Portuguese colonial strategy, based on divide-to-rule on one hand, and on the other hand, the indirect rule, which at some point highlighted some ethnicities and undervalued others.

4. Mozambique: The Origin of Political Movements and Ethnic Identity

There is a relationship between political alliances and identity, which at some stance determines the kind of cleavages afterwards.

Such political alliances can take different forms from "(...) clientelist and patronage networks (...), or of networks of competing voluntary organizations allied with party machines, as in the United States, or of a system of favouritism and corruption that relate neopatrimonial bureaucrats to the population, as in many African states)". (Wimmer, 2013, p.12)

This relationship is based on the principle of legitimacy. As a general rule, people feel comfortable being ruled over by the elite from the same identity, which could be the same ethnic group, same city, or same region, depending on the nature of power (local or national).

This kind of legitimacy based on identity was clear through history. For instance in dynastic monarchy, the right to rule was reserved only for the members from king's family, in empires it was restricted to the conquering ethnic group, however, in democracy, legitimacy must be supported by the majority of people.

The sought of this majority support in a country, geographically divided by rivers into three main regions (South, Centre and North), culturally divided into Machangana (South), Macena (Centre) and, Macua (North) and furthermore, with unbalanced political support to certain political parties in different regions, demands a deep analysis in terms of ethnicities.

4.2 Ethnic Support

The natural geographic organization of Mozambique, coupled with its people settlement divided, traditionally, by large ethnic groups seems to have had a strong importance during the kingdoms and Empire organization. However, in practice, the relationship between ethnicities and politics, traced during that time keeps acting its influence in today's democracy but in a covert way.

The main political parties in Mozambique, that is, FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique - *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*), RENAMO (National Resistance of Mozambique - *Resistência Nacional de Moçambique*) and late, MDM (Democratic Movement of Mozambique - *Movimento Democrático de Moçambique*), are politically for national coverage, but in an anthropological analysis, there is a trend to construct a bipolarity of Machanaga from South versus Macena and Macua from Centre and north respectively about who has the right to rule over whom.

The FRELIMO party is for national coverage per excellence, based on its creation. It was a result of merging three local movements (MANU, UNAMI and UDENAMO) in a consensus, to struggle against an external force - the Portuguese colonialism.

RENAMO is a political party created by people mainly from Centre as a result of dissatisfaction of the political ideology of FRELIMO, right soon after independence in 1976.

The late political party with national coverage, MDM was created by Daviz Simango from Centre, a former member of RENAMO.

This ethnical composition of the main political leaders creates what Wimmer (2013) labelled as "Templates of legitimacy", in which the ethnic groups rely on their ethnic elites.

Legally, Mozambican democracy was born in 1990 with the new Constitution of Republic, determining in its article 1, that "The Republic of Mozambique is a unitary independent State, sovereign, democratic and for social justice". (Constituição da República, 1990, artigo 1)

However, the democracy based on the rights of citizens to vote their own rulers through elections was effectively started in 1994 with the first General Elections. From 1994 onwards, once in five years there are General elections to choose the President of Republic and the 250 deputies of Assembly of Republic.

In Mozambican electoral system, the President is elected as an individual candidate supported by his political party. Only the Deputies for Assembly of Republic are elected via party's list.

We will put much emphasis on the election of the President of the Republic to deepen the argument of ethnical support, since it is easy to identify the ethnical origin of a candidate as an individual than to analyze a political party.

The first two General Elections, that is, from 1994 and 1999 were disputed by two main candidates from FRELIMO and RENAMO, to stand as the President of the Republic of Mozambique.

Joaquim Chissano (JC), the president of FRELIMO (the then President of the Republic of Mozambique from 1986), was born in Gaza, in South, identified as belonging to the Machangana ethnic group. The particularity of being the then president of Republic was a great advantage out of other candidates. He was already known and with a long list of records in governance tracking, which was enough for his popularity and his own experience.

Afonso Dhlakama (AD), the president of RENAMO was born in Sofala, Centre and he belongs to Macena ethnic group.

According to CNE (1994), the results of the first general elections in 1994 gave favouritism to JC in 53%, in comparison of his main competitor, AD with 33%. However, in terms of regional support, the table bellow shows that each candidate had a high rate of votes in his birth region.

Table 1: Distribution of votes per main Candidates in Regions - 1994

Regions	1994	
	JC	AD
South (Machangana)	1.260.171	91.794
Centre (Macena)	611.253	953.511
North (Macua)	815.586	580.860

Source: Adapted from CNE. Provincial results of General Elections, 1994.

JC, held a significant majority in Southern while AD was highly voted in his ethnic roots in the Centre.

Five years later, in the second General Elections, the strategies of mobilization from all candidates improved and the tournament was much complicated for the same two candidates, according to the table.

Table 2: Distribution of votes per main Candidates in Regions - 1999

Regions	1999	
	JC	AD
South (Machangana)	1.047.701	167.609
Centre (Macena)	526.707	1.206.515
North (Macua)	719.697	733.098

Source: Adapted from CNE. Provincial results of General Elections 1999.

In the second General elections the ethnical supports was more evident, that is, the difference of counted votes for each candidate was very large. JC was highly voted in the Southern and AD was highly voted in the Centre.

In anthropological view and in the perspective of this research it is a clear demonstration that the candidates have a strong support in their ethnic origin.

In the north region composed by Macua ethnic group, since none of the candidates belonged to this region, the competition was fair and probably the voters were judging the candidates based on their agendas, therefore, the difference was not significantly enormous.

4.3 FRELIMO with a new Candidate - a Macua from North.

In 2004 FRELIMO entered to the third General Elections with a new candidate, Armando Guebuza (AG), to dispute with the same candidate of RENAMO as in the previous elections, Afonso Dhlakama.

AG was born in Nampula, in Northern Macua ethnic group, however, he moved to the South with his parents from his six years old. Therefore, AG is theoretically Macua but in practice he is a Machangana from south.

In an ethnic perspective, AG received a strong support in the south because he grew up within this Machangana region. The Macua from North also gave to AG a good support based on his birth's origin.

AD kept his strong support from Macena from Centre as it is his political bastion and the birth region where he won sympathy from early age and through history.

In the fourth General Elections, 2009, the same main candidates AG and AD poled to win Presidential Elections. While AG was competing to renew the position, his main competitor, AD was struggling to enter for the first time to the Red Point Palace (*Palácio da Ponta Vermelha*), as it is called the Presidency Palace in Mozambique.

It is important to mention that AD failed in all the poles to win the necessary absolute majority to become the President, however, he was always on the top in the Centre.

In a nutshell, the Machangana from Southern always supported the candidate from their own group leading FRELIMO party during the JC candidature to the AG. The Macena from Centre always supported AD leading RENAMO.

The key motivation for this duality lies from the assumption that the candidate from our political elite can serve better to our region, than any other external can do.

In the fifth General Elections (2014), FRELIMO refreshed its politic composition with a new Candidate, Filipe Nyusi (FN). RENAMO kept his candidature, AD.

FN was born in the province of Cabo Delgado, the Northern part of Mozambique composed by Macua ethnic group. Different from his predecessor, FN was born and grew up in the Northern region, which in terms of political support, it ensured his majority in his birth region, and in the Southern, the bastion of FRELIMO.

Despite that AD never won the elections to become the President of Mozambique, he kept his political support in his origin region in the Centre in 2014.

The results of elections from 1994 to 2014 show a strong ethnic mobilisation for a political support and as a matter of fact, a binary competition between the two main political parties, FRELIMO versus RENAMO or South versus Centre.

The regional ethnic support strengthens our core thesis that ethnicities have an influence in the political conflicts in Mozambique.

5. 2014- New Political Conflicts, Old Operational Theatre

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

The purpose of RENAMO's insurrection should not be underestimated.

Regalia (2017, p.11) refers that:

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

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

The RENAMO's complaints were regarding to the Composition of the Elections National Commission (CNE) and the possibility to change the electoral system in which the winner takes all the authority.

Concerning to the CNE, RENAMO complained that it was composed mainly by members from the ruling party, that is, FRELIMO, and on the RENAMO's view, it had an influence to the final results of the elections. There was a high possibility of manipulating the results of Elections due to the lack of members of opposition parties.

With regard to the possibility to change the electoral system, Dlhakama wanted the possibility to give an opportunity to those mostly voted in a certain region or Province to point out his administration officers.

It was not possible to accommodate all the requirements brought to the table by RENAMO, however, these negotiations with FRELIMO, representing the Government, found some consensus which ended with the changes in Electoral Law, 6/2013 from February 22, with much emphasis in its article 6:

1. The members of Elections National Commission, in respect of number 2, article 5 are organized as follows:

- a) five representing FRELIMO;
- b) four representing RENAMO;
- c) one representing MDM;
- f) Seven members representing Civil Societies Organizations.

The novelties in the CNE composition ensured the end of this conflict with the Accord of Cessation of Hostilities signed by government and RENAMO before October 2014 General Elections. The ceasefire was signed on September 5, 2014 by Afonso Dlhakama (late president of RENAMO) and Armando Guebuza (Ex President of Mozambique).

5.1 2015 -2019 - RENAMO with Macena and Macua Regions

Soon after the results of the General Elections of October 2014, although the balanced participation in the electoral organs, RENAMO started to complain that the elections were not fair, in contrast to what the international observers concluded that they were.

RENAMO was pushing for greater decentralization of power, requiring that the Provincial Governors be elected directly by local population, rather than appointed by the ruling party in Maputo.

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

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

Hence, by the decentralisation through the election of Governor, RENAMO can lead the six (out of eleven) provinces where he won majority of votes. The provinces in reference are those located in the Centre (Macena) and Northern (Macua).

Since the debate was taken seriously by the Assembly of Republic, the Constitution of Republic was amended through the Law 1/2018 from June 12, to accommodate what was previously unconstitutional. Thus, from the 6th General Elections in 2019, the Governor is elected through the party's list, in such a way that the first person in each political party's list stands as a candidate to be the Governor.

This constitutional change paved to an end of the violence lived from 2015 through, the Accord of Definitive Cessation of Hostilities, signed on August 01, 2019, by the Government represented by the President of Republic (Filipe Nyusi), and RENAMO by his new President Ossufo Momade.

With this position we can conclude that AD was convinced that he will win the provinces with his ethnical support and therefore, he could appoint his administration. Furthermore, it would be a great opportunity for the political parties with local support basis to gain access to administrative positions, which will not be possible in otherwise.

Indeed, the system contributes in converting the votes of each Province into a local known person.

6. Summing

Although ethnic organization in African states has emerged from the origin and settlement of peoples in different places, ethnic consciousness was a colonial construction to easily perform the strategy of divide to rule. Where indirect rule was imposed, such as in Portuguese colonies, chiefdoms, that were operating on a tribal basis, were supported to strengthen divisionism. Colonial Governments were concerned in discouraging nationalism.

Ethnic consciousness seems to be important in domestic dimension, however, it could influence political organization in the sense that from one side, ethnicity provides security and solidarity among members from the same group and, from the other side, the ethnic groups start to create small associations to ensure preservation of their culture and security, which later, transform into political movements. In Mozambique, the firsts movements namely MANU (South), UNAMI (Centre) and UDENAMO (North), aimed to fight for local freedom and to ensure regional interests.

Another important point to strengthening the influence of ethnicities in political issues is the geographical location of peoples. People located in the coast had an external contact very early and it enabled them to ensure a better experience and trading and education than those from interior. As a matter of fact, during the upsurge of nationalism, majority of political elites belonged to these ethnic groups and, it has a repercussion through generations. In fact, the result of this historic process was that there are some ethnic groups ruling (rulers) over others (subject), such as the case of Machangana ethnic group over others, and it ends up with violence. The political conflicts between RENAMO and FRELIMO in Mozambique and, UNITA and MPLA in Angola are the typical examples of this disproportional power feeling.

Where the political information about certain elite or political party is scarce voters scrutinise the candidate through their identity. In a nutshell, the political parties and their candidates do not use ethnic ties strategy for political mobilisation purposes, however, the voters still rely on ethnic origin of the candidate to address their alliances.

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