

MINING POLICY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL AND SUSTAINABLE INTEGRATION OF THE RESETTLED IN CATEME-MOZAMBIQUE: 2009-2017

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Introduction

The government of Mozambique has been developing various actions aimed at poverty reduction and the consequent shift towards development. One of the actions taken has been the permission of foreign investment in the country, which, in turn, contributes to gathering foreign currencies which, if used correctly, can contribute to the increase of development. It is in this context that, in 2007, the government signed a contract with Vale Moçambique to start the extraction of coal in the coal basin of Moatize district. Due to the fact that the object in question is located underground in several villages in the aforementioned district, it was essential to move the population from its usual place of residence and consequent resettlement in other locations, including the village of Cateme.

However, during and after the resettlement process, there have been several conflicts between the affected population and the mining company Vale Moçambique, in which there is a resistance to leave the places where they previously lived, the reluctance to receive houses built by the company Vale Moçambique, by the potential resettled people, and later the occurrence of demonstrations that culminated in the blockade by the resettled population of access routes frequently used by the company. These issues gravitate to the following starting question: What are the reasons behind the resettlement conflicts in Cateme? This question opens space for the fulfillment of the general objective of the research, which is to understand the implications of the resettlement of the population in Cateme, whose process followed three methodological steps. In the first, works with content related to the subject

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were read in order to fill the researcher in what has already been written on the subject. In the second stage, the fieldwork was carried out. In addition to the observation, interviews took place at the Cateme Resettlement Center and the Moatize District Government from August 2015 to June 2017. At this stage, 32 informants were interviewed, 31 of them resettled and 1 member of Moatize's government. The ages of respondents range from 21 to 83 years. The choice of this age group is because they are considered to be people who can provide reliable information. Almost all of the interviews were with resettled individuals because they are the subjects who directly suffered the change. The interview with the government official was made because this institution, along with Vale Moçambique, outlined the strategies and implementation of resettlement and was sufficient because it is assumed that all that was transmitted was from the perspective of a spokesperson. The conversations with the informants were made in Portuguese and Nhúngue because both the researcher and the informants communicate in these languages. However, despite several attempts, it was not possible to talk to Vale Moçambique spokesman, an aspiration which was minimized by the availability of its Position Paper (Vale Moçambique, 2013), which clarifies, in a cross-sectional way, the mining company's positions around the resettlement process in Cateme. The third stage was reserved for data processing and analysis.

The present work has as its theoretical framework of analysis Social Management from the perspective of Cansado *et al.* (2011). These authors argue that social management is concerned with the involvement of all in the collective decision-making process without coercion, based on language intelligibility, dialogicity, and enlightened understanding as a process, transparency as a presupposition and emancipation as an end. In agreement with Tenório (2008b, 160), the authors also incorporate the concept of deliberative citizenship, which should intermediate the relationship between the interveners. Therefore, deliberative citizenship means, broadly speaking, that the legitimacy of decisions must originate in discussion processes guided by the principles of inclusion, pluralism, participatory equality, autonomy, and the common good. As an emphasis, social management can be defined as that oriented towards the social (as a purpose) by the social (as a process), guided by the principles of ethics and solidarity (Fischer and Melo 2006, 17). For the decision to be effectively collective, it must be free of coercion and everyone must be free to express what they think (Tenório 2008b, 161). Moreover, decision-making is based on understanding, argumentation, not negotiation in the utilitarian sense of the term. The decision is really collective, coercion is foreign to the process, and understanding (not negotiation) must be its way. This is where said dialogicity emerges as another feature of

social management. Transparency, mentioned above, arises as a necessary condition for the other characteristics, since secrecy and information asymmetry make collective decision-making based on enlightened understanding impossible. In this sense, language must be intelligible to all participants. Based on Freire (1987; 1996; 2001) and Tenório (2008a, 161), there is the emancipation of man as the end of social management, based on previous characteristics, the deliberative democratic process and the full exercise of citizenship. Effective participation in the decision-making process brings growth and maturity to actors (Freire 1987; 1996; 2001), who broaden their view of the world as human beings, endowed with reason and citizens participating in a public sphere.

The theory of Social Management was important for the investigation because the problem under study is related to social conflict. Therefore, tools such as deliberative citizenship, dialogicity, transparency, and emancipation are key to minimizing social conflicts and conflicts caused by involuntary resettlement in particular. Correlatively, the data collected in the field were rigorously analyzed taking into account this theoretical source. Regarding conceptual aspects, three key words stand out: Integration, culture and sustainable development, whose interpretations are illustrated below.

Pires (1999) states that the term integration is correctly used in sociological literature to designate, at the micro level, the way actors are incorporated into a common social space and, at the macro level, the way in which different social subsystems are compatible. For both situations, the concept of integration is related to the dynamics of social change. In turn, Leite and Morosini (1992) define integration from an economist perspective and state that the main purpose of integration is the economic leverage of the participating countries, an objective that must be closely associated with the social and cultural production of the countries involved. Both definitions are complemented by the fact that the former weaves aspects related to the dynamics of social change that lead subjects to incorporate into a common space and the latter by including the integration of citizens as a precondition for transnational experiences.

As for the term culture, Laraia (2001, 14), states that it was synthesized by Edward Tylor (1832-1917) in the English word "Culture", which, taken in its broad ethnographic sense, is the complex that includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, and customs acquired by an individual as a member of a society. In turn, Bosi (1996) argues that culture is a concept that encompasses all material achievements and spiritual aspects of a people. He adds that culture brings together a set of practices, techniques, symbols,

and values that must be passed on to new generations to ensure social coexistence. For Chiavenato (2003), culture is a generic term used to mean two different meanings. On the one hand, the set of customs, civilization, and achievements of a time or a people, and on the other hand, arts, erudition, and other more sophisticated manifestations of human intellect and sensibility, considered collectively and in specific organizational contexts. Here we see the complementarity in the definitions of culture taking into account the valorization of knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs of a people, and the essence of relativism.

However, Beyhaut (1994, 15) brings together the concepts of integration and culture. For this thinker, true integration takes place at the level of cultures and one should be wary of the usual explanations that view cultural integration as a vertical social process, i.e. imposed from top to bottom. Therefore, cultural integration presents itself as a very varied, fundamentally spontaneous process, minimally affected by the adoption of government measures, bearing in mind that industrial civilization and the expansion of models spread by Western economy and technology do not imply creating always the same world, without local variations and with minimal participation of dependent societies. Bourdieu (1974) adds a historical perspective in which cultural integration makes the thought schemes of an era truly understandable, enshrining it as habits of thought common to a generation.

The last concept that deserves special attention in the article is the sustainable development that emerged during the Brundtland Commission in the 1980s, where the “Our Common Future” report was produced, when Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland introduced the concept as “How current generations meet their needs without, however, compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland *apud* Scharf 2004, 19). As early as 1986, the Ottawa Conference (Ottawa Charter 1986) sets out five requirements for achieving sustainable development: integrating conservation and development, meeting basic human needs, achieving equity and social justice, providing social self-determination and cultural diversity, and maintaining ecological integration. For Camargo (2003, 43), sustainable development is a process of transformation in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the direction of technological development and institutional change harmonize and reinforce present and future potential in order to meet human needs and aspirations. From the perspective of Cavalcanti (2003) sustainability means the possibility of continuously obtaining equal or superior living conditions for a group of people and their successors in a given ecosystem. However, in the present article, we used the previously described definitions of sustainable develop-

ment from the perspective of Camargo (2003) and the Ottawa Charter (1986) which, from the researcher's point of view, are more exhaustive definitions. However, other definitions of sustainable development presented illustrate a chain of ideas whose common denominator is the harmony between financial and environmental issues to meet present human aspirations without jeopardizing future generations. The research aims to contribute to a reflection within the scientific community about resettlement motivated by mining and clarify the outline of one of the most commented resettlement processes in Mozambique today because most citizens do not have detailed access to what really happened.

Overview of the context in which resettlement took place

Mining and resettlement should be seen in the light of the long history of human migration dating back to the period when Mozambique did not exist as a country, but a set of autonomous territories such as the Angoche Sultanate, the Mataka Kingdom and the Monomotapa Empire. Independently, they already extracted and traded valuable ores such as gold and precious stones. However, resettlements with near-current characteristics and state-oriented took place in a context in which Mozambique was already an overseas province under the aegis of Portugal.

According to Lillywhite *et al.* (2015, 5) in the mid-1900s, Portugal, along with other colonizing nations, followed a peasant settlement process that involved the clustering of scattered settlements in villages. This practice represented a defensive strategy, politically motivated to contain the nationalist guerrillas fighting for Mozambique's independence, which was achieved in 1975. After independence, the newly formed state continued the strategy of grouping the rural population into villages whose objective was to facilitate state intervention aimed at social development based on socialist assumptions.

Other resettlements with similar characteristics were conducted in compliance with Resolution No. 2 of 23 March, published in the Official State Bulletin, that advocated for Operation Production (1983), which was defined by the FRELIMO Party's Central Committee as that of "production" and of "strengthening the economy" (Quembo 2012, 67). Thus, many citizens considered unproductive during the raids were captured and sent to rehabilitation camps in Niassa province, such as the Unango district and Zambezia province, where the Caríco rehabilitation camp in the district of Milange stands out. In addition to the resettlement previously presented,

there are other disaster-driven realities such as cyclic flooding in the basins of the Zambezi, Limpopo, and Licungo rivers, which obligates the Mozambican government to relocate populations to spaces considered safe.

Other contents that address the resettlement problem have already been developed by authors such as Carson (1989), The Federal District Government of Brasilia (2008), Selemane (2010), Gustavo (2008) whose essence is fundamentally economics-based and environmentalists, besides works such as those written by the Brazilian Ministry of the Environment (2006), The Ministry of National Integration of Brazil (2008), Pagliarini-Junior (2009), whose phenomenon is directed to infrastructural aspects. Departing from the economics-based, environmentalist, and infrastructural emphasis, the present research differs from the approaches above, in that the object focuses on the integration of resettlers, whose motivation was to achieve the extraction of coal. The research focused on the inherent aspect of socio-cultural framing and sustainable development.

With the huge global energy needs, both current and future, there is no prospect, even in the long run, of dispensing fossil fuels as the energy base of modern industrial society. One of these fossil fuels is coal, which, if all other sources of energy suddenly disappeared, could alone ensure 150 years of consumption, by the methods so far applied and existing world reserves (José and Sampaio 2011, 2). According to data from the International Energy Agency (2014), coal is the second most important source of electricity in the world, accounting for 30% of total production, and projects that the ore will maintain a similar position over the next 30 years.

Mozambique is one of the countries with the largest reserves of coal in the world. Therefore, there are several identified coal basins in different areas of the country, in the provinces of Tete, Niassa, Cabo Delgado, and Manica, some of which are currently being evaluated through research on more than 100 mining titles attributed to various identities (individuals and legal persons) (MEDIAFAX of 22 July 2010, 7). Therefore, in June 2007, the Mozambican Government signed a contract that grants a mining concession to Vale Moçambique, owned by giant Vale, former Vale do Rio Doce Company, a company of the Vale do Rio Doce Group founded in 1942 in Brazil (Selemane 2009, 21). This company is mining coal in the Moatize Carbon Basin in the central Tete province and has from 9 November 2009 to 28 April 2010 transferred more than 760 households (out of 1,313 registered) living in mineral coal production areas in the municipality of Vila de Moatize (Selemane, 2009).

In agreement with Mosca and Selemene (2011) and Fian (2010), communities identified as belonging to urban areas of the village were resettled in the “25 de Setembro” neighborhood. Most of the population living in rural communities, with a focus on residents of the communities of Mitethe, Malabwe, Yagombe, part of the Chipanga community, and Bagamoio neighborhood, were resettled in an area 45 km from the city of Tete (capital city) and about 30 km from the village of Moatize (in Cateme), in a region where Vale Moçambique was in charge of providing the basic conditions for the survival of these communities, with the construction of new housing, supply of one hectare of land per family for agricultural cultivation, construction of classrooms and health facilities, in addition to other infrastructure.

Comparison of living conditions before and after resettlement

The appearance of the universe was accompanied by the existence of living beings and the human is no exception. In this process, changes in several aspects were observed in accordance with countless adversities which comprise structural and conjunctural aspects. Therefore, during specific periods of the history of mankind, and in consonance with the concrete goals and interests of men, changes are inevitable.

The resettlement process in Cateme brought with it some mutations in the daily lives of those affected, which in turn opened the way for an adaptive and integrative process which, of course, was not voluntary. Therefore, this reality arises as a result of the imposition of the agents that guided the resettlement process in the mentioned site. This reflection comes from the fact that most of the resettled informants in Cateme state that their daily lives are not the same, and several evidences illustrate this feeling, taking into account the answers that arose during the conversations. The first aspect is related to the quality of the land allocated for agricultural production, which they consider to be unsuitable for this activity, as they are arid compared to the fields they previously had, in addition to their size being of only one hectare for each family, regardless of the household size.

Aspects inherent in the distance between the Cateme Community and Moatize Village also deserve highlighting in this study. The resettled people stated that it is a long one and creates constraints. However, although the distance is considered long for the resettled, the investigator found that

the road separating the two sites is in good transitivity and is tarred to the “community gate”.

However, in the process of carrying out any action of the magnitude of involuntary resettlement, there is a need for administrative actions, beginning with the preparatory phase, in which feasible strategies for the efficient pursuit of activities and subsequent compliance with what is previously planned are outlined. Dahl (2001, 28) argues that in these actions democratic rules should be privileged, focusing on the effective participation of the actors involved in the process. Therefore, before a policy is adopted by the association, all members must have equal and effective opportunities to let other members know their views on what the policy should be.

It is in this context that before the resettlement began, there was room for negotiations between the mining company Vale Moçambique and the Government. Subsequently, the period for identifying the places for the transfer of affected citizens followed, and there is evidence that there were contacts between the actors already referenced and the populations affected by the process that led to the resettlement in Cateme.

Among several issues that were part of the negotiations, we should highlight some promises that were made to the resettled by Vale Moçambique, whose character needs analysis, especially by the resistance that the people showed in not wanting to leave the places where today coal is extracted and that were once spaces where they lived and owned their fields. This trend is illustrated in the following statement:

We at first had refused. Then they promised that we would have all the conditions including employment and support. They also promised that they would organize resettlement projects. But what is happening now is that each one fights in his own way and if anyone succeeds, one works five or six months and the contracts come to an end. They promised to give us good houses, but these have cracks. The problem with these houses is that they have no consistent foundation (Resettled Citizen, 42 years old. Own translation)².

Resettled citizens confirm that they were also promised that in the first five years they would be entitled to food, furniture, good houses, cattle, goats, and breeding pigeons, but most of what was said was nothing more than mere promises.

For cases of those that already have cattle and goats, they claim that they face grazing problems due to the aridity of the soil, which causes them to travel long distances to feed these animals. Therefore, it is a challenging reality and something that was not a routine in the places they were forced to abandon.

According to a representative of the resettled people, there is also a sensitive reality that has not been fulfilled and is related to the exhumation and transfer of the remains of loved ones buried in cemeteries from the places where they lived before to bring them closer to the resettled in order to appease the spirits. The most aggravating factor is that in these places there are currently intense coal mining activities which, in turn, make it difficult, and in some cases impossible, to locate the graves as they have been vandalized.

However, among the many pieces of information that show disappointment at the way they were and are being treated during the eight years of their stay in the Cateme resettlement center, there are some cases of people that are adapting better to this new reality, which is demonstrated in the content of this interview:

² "Nós, no princípio, tínhamos recusado. Depois prometeram que teríamos todas as condições incluindo emprego e apoio. Prometeram também que iriam organizar projetos para os reassentados. Mas o que está a acontecer agora é que cada um batalha a sua maneira e se alguém conseguir, trabalha-se cinco ou seis meses e os contratos chegam ao fim... Prometeram também atribuir-nos boas casas, porém estas casas continuam a apresentar rachas apesar de terem vindo reparar. O problema destas casas é que não tem fundação consistente (Cidadão reassentado, 42 anos de idade)."

For me life has improved a little compared to where I came from. They gave me a project and I am involved in chicken farming and I can have some satisfactory results. I am enjoying living here in Cateme because it was an imperative. But I liked Mithethe better than here because it was close to Moatize Village and there I had a profitable coal business (Resettled Citizen, 42 years old. Own translation)³.

In addition to the testimony presented, there are cases of resettled people who do not consider if life has improved or is on the same level or if it has worsened in relation to places of origin. They simply assume that it is a different context and what they have to do is conform to the new reality. However, given these speeches, it is noticeable that in practice something innovative has occurred, such as the existence of 24-hour electricity and sheet-covered houses, unlike where they left, where houses were made of grass and had no power.

Another aspect that appeals to communities affected by the resettlement process has to do with their neighborhoods. Incidentally, the existing neighborhoods in the Cateme Resettlement Center strictly follow the social fabric that existed in Mithethe, Malabwe, Yagombe, Chipanga, and Bagamoio. Therefore, for most of these citizens, those who were neighbors in the places of provenance, are also neighbors in Cateme. However, there are some specific cases where this reality does not coincide, but these facts occur for purely optional reasons.

Integration of resettled considering political, cultural and sustainable aspects

After a thorough analysis of the conflicting aspects, taking into account the reality on the ground, for an efficient understanding of the phenomenon under study, it becomes peculiar to interpret the integration of the citizens affected by the resettlement, focusing on the policies adopted for the implementation of the process, socio-cultural and symbolic issues, beyond the sustainability of the resettled.

³ "Para mim a vida melhorou um pouco em relação ao local donde vim. Deram-me um projeto e estou envolvido na criação de frango e consigo ter alguns resultados satisfatórios. Estou a gostar de viver cá em Cateme porque foi um imperativo. Porém gostava mais de Mithethe do que cá por ser perto da Vila de Moatize e lá fazia negócio de carvão que também era rentável (Cidadão reassentado, 42 anos de idade)."

In agreement with Aristotle *apud* Amorim (2011, 17), man is by nature a political animal and his nature is governed by the precepts of justice and law, and only then can he fully realize his essence and excellence. In addition to being political, man is simultaneously a cultural being, as he is imbued with a set of ethical-moral values that make sense in a specific social context and are passed on from generation to generation and through contact with other social patterns which, in turn, define everyday behavioral attitudes. However, Kluckhohn (1949) *apud* Geertz (1989, 4) argues that, in addition to culture being a mechanism for the normative regulation of behavior, it also emerges as a set of standardized guidelines for recurrent problems. The symbolic order arises to clarify the meanings that actors give to their own feelings and actions in light of what is socially standardized. Therefore, the confluence of political, cultural, and symbolic aspects are the pillars for understanding the essence of the resettlement integration in the Cateme community whose cause was the extraction, disposal, and commercialization of coal.

As far as political aspects are concerned, it should be noted that it is a reality that any human society in a specific space-time context feels confronted by problems and their resolutions. This factual dichotomy induces the researcher to the thought of Trotsky (1929), according to whom the essence of dialectic is linked to contradiction, and this leads us to conflict that, violently or not, leads us to solve problems. Also, to understand the problems it is peculiar to assume that human beings have convergent and conflicting interests that affect their daily lives and, consequently, decision-making tends to take the form of seeking cooperation with some generally adjusted solution and implicitly on the conflicting aspects (Sem 2010, 250).

In approaching the comparison of living conditions, the resistance shown by the affected citizens was evident, especially in not wanting to leave the places where they lived and practiced their daily activities. However, due to several persuasive meetings that were accompanied by promises and given the possible comparative advantages, they chose to give in. In this line, the political dictates, especially for their persuasive aspect, played a decisive role in this compromise. In fact, according to Couto (1996, 1), politics is the mediator of social relations and is the means by which the organization and maintenance of social order occurs. Therefore, it is through politics that the peaceful correlation between natural and legal persons, duly guided by laws and other normative codes, is ensured. In addition, it enables the human being – naturally a political and social being – to contribute to the improvement of the living conditions of the entire group in which they are inserted.

However, the lack of political rigor, especially in the dichotomy of efficient political-legal guidelines, has become a fertile space for conflicts. In the specific case of the resettlement process in Cateme Community, the theory was imbued with various expectations and, in practice, not all expectations created in light of the promises were fulfilled, creating a feeling of discontent. In the face of these realities, it is necessary to recognize that any individual and/or community behavior that culminates in strike is because the individual or the community feels excluded or manipulated by the opposing party in view of the apprehension and reciprocity of interests.

In the resettlement process in Cateme, the mismatch between the promises that came with persuasive policies and the practice on the ground was decisive for the creation of a collective feeling of distrust. Similarly, in a context of deep distrust of citizens affected by resettlement *vis-à-vis* the agents who organized the process, with a focus on the non-fulfillment of promises, emotional saturation precipitated the occurrence of peaceful demonstrations and that, in some cases culminated in violence, such as the blockade of the railway line used for the flow of coal, forcing the temporary stoppage of Vale Moçambique's activities. In response, Vale Mozambique requested security from government bodies that, in response, sent the Rapid Intervention Force, which violently dispersed the protesters.

The other focus of analysis on the resettlement issue in Cateme relates to integration, taking into account cultural specificities. In fact, all animate living beings have specific characteristics that emerge as a *sine qua non* condition for defining their behavioral actions. In the specific case of the human being, besides acting on instinct, their conduct is fundamentally determined by a rationality imbued with culturally standardized ethical-moral values. Indeed, there are cultural aspects that have been taken into account, such as the farewell ceremonies of the ancestors where they were forced to leave and the purification ceremony for a good stay in Cateme.

However, despite the observance of the above-mentioned rituals, there are important issues that citizens directly affected by the resettlement have been promised but were not taken into account, such as the exhumation and transfer of the remains of their deceased ancestors and relatives to the Cateme Cemetery. Nowadays, these remains are in the places they were forced to leave, where there currently are intense activities of coal extraction.

Citizens directly affected by the resettlement assume that both the cemetery, as well as the ancestral spirits, are and should be treated as sacred. And, according to Geertz (1989, 92), everywhere the sacred contains in itself a sense of intrinsic obligation, it not only encourages devotion but demands

it, and not only induces intellectual acceptance but reinforces emotional commitment. Sem (2010, 48) adds that an economic intervention without respect for cultural specificities can be harmful to a country, as it may lead to the elimination of its traditions and cultural heritage, and Silva (1963, 540) adds that this procedure weighs unfavorably on development. Concomitantly, given the data hitherto listed and taking into account the assumptions of Social Management theory from the perspective of Cansado *et al.* (2011), presented in detail in the introductory space, there are inconsistencies, especially in aspects related to transparency in dialogicity and lack of efficient inclusion in the decision-making process.

It is a fact that the resettlement of citizens in Cateme was motivated by economic issues by Vale Moçambique, as well as by the Mozambican government, hence the need to illustrate some data inherent to these aspects. In the macroeconomic context, Mozambique is one of the few African countries with prosperous tendencies and that contributes the most to development in the world (Instituto Humanitas Unisinos 2011, 4). After a decade with an average GDP growth of 7.5% in 2016, it slowed to 4.3% due to greater fiscal constraints, falling foreign direct investment and the Hidden Debt crisis⁴. However, there was an increase of around 5.5% in 2017, driven by exports from the extractive sector (Santos *et al.* 2017, 2). Yet, Castelo-Branco *apud* Courier International (2015, 4) states that only 5% of profits generated by foreign direct investments are reinvested in Mozambique, while 95% of profits generated by mega projects, including Moatize coal, leave the country. However, the macroeconomic GDP indicators illustrated in numerical data are part of economic growth, which is not always synonymous with economic development, despite being one of the assumptions that can lead to sustainability. Given the percentage data illustrated, coal mining in the Moatize Coal Basin greatly benefits mega projects, in this case Vale Mozambique. In fact, it is the enormous benefits that make this company maximize its means of production and the routes to the alluded ore flow.

However, there is a disrespect for citizens forced to leave the places where they previously lived and where intense mining activities are currently taking place. For example, resettled people are unanimous in stating that where they formerly resided the lands were larger and arable for agriculture,

⁴ US\$ 2 billion debt contracted by the Mozambican government without Parliament's approval on the pretext of ensuring the country's coastal surveillance and ship building and repair, with the creation of three public-private companies, namely: Proindicus, which would have as a function to ensure the coastal surveillance of the country; EMATUM would be a tuna fishing company; MAM (Mozambique Asset Management) (Business & Human Rights Resource Center, 2019).

however, in Cateme only one hectare of land was provided for each family and, as if it was not enough, most of them non-arable and stony. Also, the resettled citizens in Cateme had houses built according to their will in the places they were forced to leave, where the persuasion was that improved and concrete-based residences would be built. However, the reality on the ground proves that the houses were made without consistent foundations and, as a result, they have several cracks, which is a danger to the lives of these citizens. Thus, there is a clear violation of human rights, which in turn undermines emotional stability and its sustainability. When talking about sustainability, we refer to the added value of the production processes, both at national level and, especially, in the context where production occurs directly. Nonetheless, there is clear evidence of the contribution that mining has to GDP. But there is no clarity on the added value of the production process to communities that have been resettled as a result of the start of coal production by mega projects.

The discovery of natural resources focusing on coal has been interpreted as a promise of development. However, the expectations created by the discovery and subsequent exploitation of coal, the way interventions are made, rather than stabilizing the lives of those directly affected, have turned them into a nightmare, and most of the population in the context in which the ore exploitation occurs continues to live below the poverty line. These data are also confirmed by FAO *apud* Human Rights Watch (2013). In addition to the impoverishment of the population directly affected by the resettlement, Mosca and Selemene (2013, 26) add that the neighboring populations of the large projects suffer from environmental effects, especially black dust, due to the intense activity of coal mining, sharpening welfare losses.

Development is the ultimate goal that citizens aim for, and the sustainability of the intervention must be highlighted. When speaking of sustainability, one refers to the added value in terms of production processes, both nationally and above all in the context where production occurs directly. For the first case, there is clear evidence of the contribution that mining has to GDP and world development. However, there is no clarity on the added value of the production process for communities that have been resettled as a result of the start of coal production by mega projects and, in this particular case, the added value from Vale Moçambique.

The present study highlights an unsustainable development as it primarily benefits the shareholders of transnational corporations, who appropriate land, natural resources, nature, and destroy the lives of people, animals, and ecosystems in the name of “development” and profit, forcing the unfairly

resettlement of many communities without guaranteeing the channeling of compensatory benefits and reparations. Therefore, it is the savage capitalism in which, regardless of the means, what matters is the operationalization of what is planned, where the ultimate objectives are privileged, without looking at the means that lead to their achievement.

Conclusions

After identifying the problem that guided the present analysis and before a work whose prologue was to assess the literature related to the theme, going through a field research that privileged a direct contact with the citizens affected by the resettlement and a subsequent thorough analysis of the the data collected, it was found that several factors, fundamentally exogenous, were the cause of the conflicts.

As for socio-cultural integration, it was found that some aspects were respected, which appeals to the resettled citizens in Cateme. However, there are other sensitive socio-cultural realities that have not been respected, such as the exhumation of the remains of their loved ones in places of provenance close to the community where they currently live, in addition to the former cemeteries being where today there is intense activity of mineral extraction.

There was also a mismatch between the promises made by both Vale Moçambique and the government to resettled citizens, whose speeches tended towards the improvement of living conditions after resettlement and the consequent apparent and effective non-fulfillment of promises. The apparent non-compliance is because some information obtained by the resettled is not confirmed by Vale Moçambique, such as the amount and period of donation of food baskets. Also, issues inherent to the adaptation at the place of arrival weighed heavily on making some conflicting decisions.

In short, at the present time, mining, rather than leading to a sustainable and socio-cultural integration of resettled citizens who suffered directly in the process, was actually unfavorable for these communities. Therefore, the discovery of mineral resources, focusing on coal, although considered as a promise for development, has not yet seen the profits from the sale of this ore reflected in the improvement of the living conditions of the citizens directly affected and, more seriously, the lack of respect for some socio-cultural specificities that was found, which, in turn, contributes to a clear reality of unsustainable integration and development.

Recommendations

Among several aspects that need improvement, there is the need for active involvement of subjects who can later be resettled. This practice needs frank dialogue and presentation of concrete aspects whose conclusions must be agreed. Therefore, contracts concluded between multinational companies with the government of Mozambique must, ultimately, correspond to the wishes and needs of the government and, especially, to the spatial and socio-cultural context of the directly affected population.

In order to avoid non-compliance with contractual clauses, it is up to the government to closely supervise and inspect what has been agreed, not only in matters relating to tax payments, but also in fulfilling its obligations towards resettled citizens. Coherent government intervention is unavoidable and can play a pivotal role in establishing an environment of trust within the community and it will gradually become the main protagonist of its own development. To this end, it is necessary to have a methodology based on a dynamic and creative combination of action and reflection, practice and theory.

It is known what the exploitation of mineral coal was the cause that pushed for the resettlement of the populations to Cateme, and this ore is a finite resource in the medium term.. Facing this situation, it is the duty of the actors directly involved in the processes of resettlement and mineral extraction to research and present alternative and sustainable actions in the present, with medium and long term results.

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the process of resettlement integration in Cateme, Moatize District, Tete-Mozambique Province, as a result of the start of coal mining, which focuses on the dichotomy socio-cultural integration and sustainable development. For this purpose, the qualitative method was applied in its ethnographic aspect. After fieldwork where participatory observation was privileged, it was found that mining rather than leading to socio-cultural and sustainable integration of resettled citizens in Cateme is characterized by an unfavorable reality for these communities. Therefore, there is evidence of non-respect for some socio-cultural specificities which, in turn, clearly contributes to a deficient integration and unsustainable development. Another factor that contributes to these realities is the factual mismatch between the promises made by both Vale Moçambique and the government to the resettled citizens, in which an apparent and effective breach of the promises was found, creating an environment of discontent and consequent opening of a space. for conflicts between the resettled citizens and the agents who caused the resettlement.

KEYWORDS

Resettlement; Integration; Culture; Sustainable development.

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