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Strategies for sustainable rural development in Mozambique: a case study of the Chimani Transfrontier Conservation Area Project

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Declaration

I declare that this Research Report is a product of my own work. It is submitted to the Faculty of Humanities of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies. This study is unique; it has not been done before nor submitted for any other degree or examination in any other institution, academic or non-academic. I also declare that all the sources used or quoted in this Research Report have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Johannesburg, 15 February 2007

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Paulo Lopes José

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I dedicated this Research Report to my daughter Izza Melaní.

Abstract

Strategies for Sustainable Rural Development in Mozambique: a Case Study of the Chimanimani Transfrontier Conservation Area Project

This study examines the process and implementation of a conservation project in Chimanimani locality, a remote rural area located in Sussundenga district in the central province of Manica. The Chimanimani Transfrontier Conservation Area Project, as the Project became known, was one of the conservation area projects established in three provinces of Mozambique (Maputo, Gaza and Manica[1]) in the years following the civil conflict. In essence the Chimanimani Project was framed to enhance environmental sustainability of the targeted areas and contribute to poverty reduction through sustainable use of local natural resources. Accordingly, it was seen as a way of improving the overall quality of life of the targeted communities. The study analyses the Project efforts of utilizing the synergies between conservation and community development in rural areas where income-earning opportunities are limited. The research has focused on two of the five Chimanimani communities (Nhaedzi and Moribane) and brings to the fore evidences of the factors that have affected either positively or negatively the success of the Project.

Key words: Community, Community Participation, Community-Based Natural Resources Management, Development, Sustainable Development and Sustainable Livelihoods

[1] In Manica the Project was implemented in Chimanimani locality district of Sussundenga.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AMRU - Organization for the Empowerment of the Rural Woman
ARPAC - Cultural Patrimony Archive
CAMPFIRE - Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources
CBNRM – Community Based Natural Resources Management
CEF - Forest Experimental Centre
CMC- Community Management Committee
DDARD - District Directorate for Agriculture and Rural Development
DINATEF – National Directorate for Land and Forestry
DNFFB - National Directorate for Forestry and Wildlife
DPA - Provincial Directorate for Agriculture and Rural Development
DPT - Provincial Directorate of Tourism
FAO - Food and Agriculture Organization
FF- Ford Foundation
GEF- Global Environment Facility
GESOM - Manica Social Education Group
GoM-Government of Mozambique
IAC - Chimoio Agrarian Institute
ICDP- Integrated Conservation and Development Project
IMF- International Monetary Fund - WB- World Bank
IUCN -International Union for Conservation of Nature
Manag. – Management
MAP -Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
MLEA - Multi Lateral Environmental Agreements
NGO -Non-Governmental Organization
NRM- Natural Resources management
ORAM - Rural Organization for Mutual Help
PAC - Cultural Activist Program
PMP -Project Management Plan
PPF- Peace Park Foundation
Pres. – President
SPFFB - Provincial Directorate of Forestry and Wildlife
TBCAI – Transboundary Conservation Area Initiative
TFCA - Tran Frontier Conservation Areas
TFCAISP - Tran Frontier Conservation Areas and Institutional Strengthening Project
TFCAP - Tran Frontier Conservation Areas Project
WCED- World Commission on Environment and Development
WTO- World Trade Organisation
WWF- World Wildlife Foundation

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

Nowadays, the increasing debates, projects and action plans on environment and development reflect the responses that different societies relate to nature and to the environment. As a consequence, since the early 1970s there has been more focus on debates on environmental issues. One of the events that pioneered such events was the Conference on Human and Environment held in Stockholm in 1972 (Parnell, 2000).

The Stockholm Conference adopted an Action Plan[2], which contained important recommendations concerning environment management and development and approved the establishment of an international conservation organization (United Nations Environment Program) to provide continued leadership and coordination of environmental actions[3].

As a follow up to the Stockholm Conference, a World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) was created in 1983. The WCED set itself the task of examining the links between the environment and development (Morris, 2002) and in 1987 it produced a report known as the Brundtland Commission's Report "Our Common Future"[4]. The report stated that critical global environmental problems were primarily the result of the enormous poverty of the South and the non-sustainable patterns of consumption and production in the North. It called for a global strategy that united development goals and the environmental concerns – described by the now-common term "sustainable development"[5].

Twenty years after the Conference on Human and Environment, a World Summit on Environment and Development took place in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). This Summit tackled very important issues related to environmental problems facing the world and adopted important strategies toward the minimization of the environmental problems. The documents containing such strategies became known as Agenda 21 (Parnell, 2000, p. 6).

Agenda 21, put forward a Global Plan based on the principles of sustainable development and the integration of economic, social and environmental objectives in the

[2]The recommendation of the Stockholm Conference Action Plan spanned in six broad issues, among them: human settlements, natural resource management, pollution of international surface, education, social aspects of the environment development. See: www.are.admin.ch/are/en/nachhaltig/international_uno/unterseite02330
[3] See: www.are.admin.ch/are/en/nachhaltig/international_uno/unterseite02330
[4] See the entire document at http://alcor.concordia.ca/~raojw/crd/reference/reference001377.html
[5] See: www.are.admin.ch/are/en/nachhaltig/international_uno/unterseite02330

overall development strategies of all nations of the world and gave particular emphasis on the importance of participation, and action plans based on local priorities and local involvement (Brocklesby and Hinshelwood, 2002; Parnell, 2000).

Despite the fact that the Rio Summit boosted the establishment of environmental management plans as a duty of the governments of all nations, the efforts toward the implementation of sustainable development goals in most developing countries are still undermined by market oriented approaches of international organisations like the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO)[6].

According to Virtanen and Palmujoki (2002), the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF and WB) like other international trade organizations are concerned with the creation of free markets zones rather than pursuing purely sustainable development strategies. For example, even before the Rio Summit, during the later 1980s, the Bretton Woods institutions forced most of the developing countries to adopt structural adjustment programs. Soon after the Rio Summit the market oriented approaches adopted in Marrakech at the conclusion of the Uruguay round of the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1994 also pushed many of the poor economies of the South to liberalize their economies and open their markets to the world[7].

As is known in environmental policy designing, market-led approaches offer very little help because they cannot guarantee environmental sustainability and they are in practice almost certainly unable to achieve major reductions in environmental impacts. With structural adjustment programs becoming a permanent affair of the governments of the developing world, fiscal restraint, cuts in social expenditure and export promotion had been the measures to guarantee a stable playing field for investors and traders. In an effort to stabilize currencies and make payments and foreign debts, speeding up the extraction of natural resources (minerals and biological resources) for export was an easy short-term solution of the developing world countries. Therefore, by throwing larger quantities of natural resources into

[6] Heinrich Böll Foundation: "The Jo'burg Memo. Fairness in a Fragile World. Memorandum for the World Summit on Sustainable Development: Heinrich Böll Foundation, World Summit Papers, Special Edition, July 2002 (see http://www.worldsummit2002.org/publications/memo_en_with.pdf)

[7] www.wto.org (page consulted in April 2006).

the world market, developing countries hoped to keep their export earnings from deteriorating (Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2002).

Since environmental problems continued deteriorate, experts and international organisations concerned with environmental protection organised an international meeting where they could review the previous environmental protections plans and strengthen new agendas and frameworks for environment management. Their efforts ended up with the preparation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development[8], which took place in Johannesburg - South Africa in 2002. As in the previous Summit, the Johannesburg Summit also adopted a comprehensive strategy for the implementation of sustainable development (UN, 2002, p. 37).

In summary, the Johannesburg strategy for the implementation of sustainable development advocated that all the components of "sustainable development" - economic development, social development and environmental protection – had to be promoted, hence at the same time integrated into development plans. It also highlighted that social issues, especially the improvement of living conditions of the poor, were essential for the effective management of the environment (Ibiden).

Although there are still some constraints in pursuing "sustainable development" goals, the strengthening of developing countries environmental movements is making possible the re-evaluation not just of individual projects and programs that have shown to be ecologically destructive, but also of the very conceptions and paradigms of development that generate such projects (Shiva, 2002, p. 19).

In Mozambique, the adoption of Agenda 21 as a framework for the country's sustainable development strategies has influenced many of the government conservation and development programs. For example, since 1994, the government embarked on programs aimed to promote development and environmental sustainability of areas with valuable natural resources (Moçambique - Comissão Nacional para o Desenvolvimento Sustentável[9], 2002, p. 19-24). The government Action Plan for the countryside is outlined in a more elaborate and explicit manner, based on strategies and programs pursuing the central

[8] http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/environment/wssd/, see also http://www.worldsummit2002.org/
[9]Moçambique - Comissão Nacional para o Desenvolvimento Sustentável - Literally this means Mozambican National committee for Sustainable Development

objective of reducing poverty through the promotion of sustainable social and economic development (Couto, 2006, p. 28).

In order to ensure development and environmental sustainability in remote rural areas with valuable natural resources (especially forest and wildlife), the government introduced Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) programs (Nhantumbo, 2003), while in some of the conservation areas (quite often in buffer zones surrounding officially designated reserves or conservations areas) Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) were introduced to promote economic activities that are environmentally sound as well as remunerative for local communities (Nhantumbo, 2006, p. 21).

1.2. Mozambique Geographical and Historical Overview

Located on the southeastern coast of the African continent, bordering the Indian Ocean in the East, Mozambique is a diverse country ranging from low-laying plateaus and coastal areas through to highland mountains. The country covers a total area of 799.380 sq km including 2.470 km of shore line, 13.000 sq Km of inland waters, several massifs running from Manica through the Northern provinces and into the highlands of Malawi (Boyd et al., 2000, p. 6).

The country has a common borderline with the Republic of South Africa in the South and the Republic of Tanzania in the North. In the West it borders the Republics of South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and the Kingdom of Swaziland (Mozambique, 2002, p. 1, See map 1 in Appendix 1). The country has a population estimated at 18 million habitants (Mozambique - INE, 1999) and more than eight (8) ethnic groups (Hatton et al., 2001, p. 36).

The country is essentially an agricultural-based economy with more than 80% of the population employed in the agriculture sector and 70% living in rural areas, where they depend on land and natural resources for their survival (DNFFB, 1999). The first national census, which took place in 1997, has shown that the rate of adult literacy was 40%, but only 28 % of the Mozambicans living in the countryside were literate, as against 65% in the urban areas (INE, 1999; see also Virtanen and Palmujoki, 2002, p. 46).

From 1976 to 1992, the country experienced a period of internal conflict (civil conflict). The conflict disrupted much of the country's attempts towards social and economic development. The civil war destroyed much of the established infrastructure inherited from

the colonial period and that developed soon after independence and aggravated the already difficult situation that many Mozambicans were facing (poverty; lack of access to education, famine and disease), millions were killed and injured, hundreds of thousands were forced to become refugees and many thousands were internally displaced. The war drastically reduced the government's ability to respond to the needs of the population (Hanlon, 1996).

During the war, many people, mainly from rural areas, moved across national borders trying to find refuge in the neighbouring countries (South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania). During the conflict government effort was directed to assisting the people affected by the war. Consequently, forests and other wildlife resources were left to their fate. Poachers and illegal hunters took control of the country's wildlife and natural resources and contributed to the disappearance of the endemic wildlife resources and to the degradation of natural ecosystems in the areas affected by the war (DNFFB, 1999). The war also increased the pressure on the land and other natural resources located in safe areas surrounding the major villages and towns (Norfolk, 2004, p. 6).

The dire situation in which many Mozambicans were living led the government to search for lasting solutions to end the conflict (Hanlon, 1991). Since the late 1980s, negotiations took place between the government and the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo) the then rebel forces (Alexander, 1997).

During the negotiations,[10] the Mozambican Liberation Front (Frelimo) government changed the country's constitution in 1990. This Constitution facilitated the country's transition from a one-party state to a multiparty system and created political environment that contributed to the end of the civil war in October 1992 and the first multiparty election, held in 1994 (Hanlon, 1996).

Regarding natural resources management, for the first time since independence, the 1990 Constitution recognized the rights of the local authorities on land and natural resources (Mozambique, 1990 Constitution). Since then, important decisions on the utilization of natural resources were devolved to the local levels, which heralded a return to pre-colonial practices when traditional authorities had the power to set up rules regarding natural resources access, use and management (Schafer and Black, 2003).

[10] The negotiation for peace in Mozambique took place in Rome (Italy) from late of 1980's to late 1992. On 4th October 1992 a Peace Agreement was signed between the Government and Renamo.

The end of the civil war in 1992 enabled the government to redouble its efforts towards the country's economic recovery. Through national and international partnerships, the government embraced programs aimed at advancing the country's economy and to rehabilitate the natural resource base and the endemic ecosystems severely destroyed by the war. One of the important plans designed by the government, with technical and financial support from the World Bank through the Global Environmental Facility (GEF)[11] was the Mozambique Conservation Areas and Institution Strengthening Project. This Project was implemented in three provinces, namely: Maputo, Gaza and Manica (DNFFB, 1999).

In Manica (the area which the research focuses on) this Project was implemented in Chimanimani locality, a rural area located in eastern part of Sussundenga district, province of Manica. This area has a common borderline with the Republic of Zimbabwe were it is located the adjoining area of the Chimanimani Transfrontier Conservation Area (See Map 2 in Appendix 1).

The overall objective of the Project was the rehabilitation, conservation and the management of the local natural biodiversity endowments as well as to improve the living conditions of the local communities. The Project had a broad set of related objectives in biodiversity conservation and economic development. Through institutional and capacity strengthening, building on community-based conservation projects and applying lessons learned from neighbouring countries, learning experience through partnerships among government agencies, NGOs, rural communities and the private sector, the Project would set the stage for future investments within the area and contribute to the sustainable rural development of the area (World Bank, 1996, p. 6).

Through land security measures and small-scale conservation and development activities, the Project would support field level conservation activities, by enabling local communities to continue to manage and benefit from their ecosystems. The implementation of all these activities would have also provided the framework for private investment in eco-tourism and cultural tourism within the area. It was expected that the establishment of the Project within the targeted areas could contribute significantly to poverty reduction (World Bank, 1996, p. 6-7).

[11] Global Environmental Facility is a World Bank institution, which deals specifically with environmental projects and related issues.

1.3. Aims and Objectives

This study objective is to analyse the process, the establishment and the impact of the Chimanimani Transfrontier Conservation Area Project (Chimanimani TFCA Project). Therefore, the research has analysed the extent to which the Chimanimani Project has achieved its goals and objectives, specially the desired "sustainable rural development".

1.3.1. Research Question

The study was oriented by the following core question: *to what extent has the establishment of the Chimanimani TFCAP enabled sustainable rural development within the targeted areas?* The related questions explore the extent to which the establishment of the Chimanimani Project enabled: environmental sustainability, improvement of living conditions of the local communities, local communities' participation in the local conservation and development initiatives, capacity building, entrepreneurial activities and support of local development initiatives within targeted areas.

The research has also explored the reliability of the Project (if the project strategies were integrated into mechanisms that ensured that its plans had the financial resources which could allow it to achieve the proposed objectives and that its plans did not only represent wish lists), consequently, the study has analysed the Project social, economic and environmental programs.

1.4. Rationale for the Study

Since there are many criticisms of the projects sponsored by the World Bank in developing countries (Hanlon, 1986; Longan and Mengisteab, 1993) and due to the fact that the Mozambican Conservation Areas and Institutional Strengthening Project was undertaken with active support of the World Bank, it has become important for both academics and scholars to examine the sustainable rural development strategies implemented in Mozambique in the years following the civil conflict.

Since most of conservation projects undertaken in Mozambique have active support from the World Bank, it may be argued that the successes and failures of this Project will reflect on the dominant development policy framework and practices employed in the World Bank's sustainable rural development strategies for Mozambique. Therefore, understanding

the rationale of this kind of project became my subject matter. I hope the analysis will help to understand the rationale behind the implementation of sustainable rural development strategies in some of the conservation areas of Mozambique.

Additionally, the implementation of ICDPs are conditioned by the factors such as scale, length of specific geographical situations, ecological and cultural and the socio economic and political context, that can contribute positively or negatively to their success (Abbot al all, 2001, p. 1146), thus, the study of the Chimanimani TFCA Project brings valuable lessons for the people who work on conservation matters and sustainable rural development programs (policy makers, stakeholders, scholars and NGO's, etc).

1.5. Rationale for the Selection of the Study Area

The study focuses on the Chimanimani TFCA because it was one of the forests included in the implementation of ICDPs in the country. The selection of the area to compose the case study was also informed by the fact that this locality was one of the areas pioneering the implementation of the World Bank's conservation and development approaches.

The selection of the two communities to be research units was informed by the specificities of the two areas. While the Nhaedzi[12] community had never experienced conservation projects, the Moribane community had experiences of living within a forest reserve. The area was gazetted as forest reserve during the colonial period[13] (DNFFB, 1999). Within other three communities (Tsetsera, Zomba and Mahate) the Project used similar approaches as those used in Nhaedzi. Therefore, I believe that the selected communities reflect the overall situation of the study area.

1.6. Research Design

The research used a case study design to analyse the problem stated before. The selection of case study design was informed by the fact that this method proved to be an effective tool in analysing a variety of data within different units of study (De Vans, 2001). In fact the use of case study design allowed me to analyse in depth particularities and

[12] Unlike Moribane, where the area had been under forest reserve status since 1959, in Nhaedzi there had never been a conservation Project.
[13] See Chapter 4, section 3.3.

specificities of the targeted area and come with explanations and conclusions for the problem above stated.

1.7. Study Population

The study population comprised individuals (men and women) from the above-mentioned communities with different social status (elderly, peasants, traditional leaders, local committees members, scouts, and camp guars) who were 18 years old and above, and lived in Chimanimani during the time the Project was implemented (1996-2002). To this group were added the former Project staff members, because I realized that they were good sources of first hand information.

1.8. Sampling

The respondents were identified through non-random selection, which allowed inclusion in the sample of individuals of different status and groups. The non-random selection ensured that all key informants were incorporated in the sample. During the fieldwork (undertaken in December 2005 and January 2006) I interviewed eighteen 18 individuals, 2 women and 16 men[14]. The ages of the informants were between 28 and 57 years. 7 of the informants were selected in Moribane, 7 in Nhaedzi. Amongst the interviewees there were local leaders, peasants, scouts, camp guards, members of the local management committees. The last four interviewees were selected amongst the former Project staff members.

[14] Reasons for the small number of female informants in our sample are further explained in section 1.12, which deals with ethical issues.

1.9. Description of Data

1.9.1. Primary Sources

The research process gave attention not only to interviews but also to written sources. Primary sources used in this report comprise published material (Project proposals, Project reports and communication between Project staff members and the Project donors). These documents were found in the Chimoio, in the offices of the Provincial Directorate of Tourism (DPT)[15].

Documents concerning the establishment of the local management committees and associations were found at the provincial headquarters of the Rural Organization for Mutual Help (ORAM) in Chimoio. Documents concerning the general legal aspect of Natural Resources Management (NRM) in Mozambique were found at the national office of the Internal Organisation for Conservation of the Nature (IUCN) and at the Department for Conservation Areas at the Ministry of Tourism in Maputo. Written sources have been very useful because they contained official information concerning the establishment of the Project as well as the impact of the Project's as viewed by the implementers.

1.9.2. Interviews

The information collected in interviews concerns different people's perceptions and experiences of the Project. During the fieldwork, I conducted semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions as the principal data collection method. The use of semi-structured interviews with "key informants" has enabled me to collect people's experiences that are not available in any other recorded formats.

The use of interviews has allowed me to be in touch with people who possess the information being sought; they allowed me to capture the thoughts of local people more openly and accurately about the topic than it would be possible using structured interviews or survey questionnaires. Most of the interviews were individual; however there were a few group interviews made as a way of making people recall important facts or events undertaken during the Project activities within the area.

[15] Note this Project had been functioning at the offices of the Provincial Directorate of Forest and Wild Life (SPFFB), but due to the restructuring occurred at the national level within the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, now Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, the Project management at the central level was transferred to the Ministry of Tourism and at the provincial level was transferred to the Provincial Directorate of tourism (DPT).

1.9.3. Secondary Sources

Secondary sources comprised written material such as articles published in scientific journals, books, research reports, newspapers articles and Internet sources. These sources have been consulted at the University of the Witwatersrand Libraries and, in Mozambique specially the libraries of Land Studies Unit (NET) and of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN)[16].

1.10. Data Analysis

After the interviews, transcriptions and translation were made in order to use interview contents. Views and perceptions of the respondents are analysed taking into account the existing written sources and the framework. Quotations are used to identify the source from which the information is taken. Respondents' opinions, fieldwork notes and other sorts of data are used to clarify or to support my argument about the topic in analysis.

1.11. Limitations of the Study

Although there have been some success made during the research, there were also some limitations. Firstly, since the Project was under the coordination of Provincial Directorate of Forest and Wildlife (SPFFB), the structural changes that occurred within the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, now Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development affected the Project's archives because part of its staff and documents were moved to the offices of the Provincial Directorate of Tourism (PDT), also functioning in Chimoio. During the transfer process (from one office to another) many important documents were lost.

Other constraints were related to the lack of assistance for the identification of some of the Project documents. During the fieldwork in Chimoio, the former Project coordinator was sick and unable to provide all information and help, she could have provided if she was not sick. Due to the nature of the subject matter of this research and the above-mentioned limitation, the study has been limited to qualitative research methods.

[16] This organisation is also known as the World Conservation Union

1.12. Ethical Issues and Considerations

One of the main constraints faced during the fieldwork was related to ethical issues. In patriarchal communities such those in Chimanimani, men continue to have power over women. As a result, men do not accept that their wives attend interviews without their consent. This factor has limited the number of female interviewees in during the research. None of the respondents requested anonymity and for that reason, list of the names of the interviewees is presented in the last section of this report.

1.13. Overview of the Research Report

This Research Report is divided into six chapters. Following this introduction, which comprises the key issues to be discussed in the report and the basic methodological issues, there are five (5) other chapters, which deal with the following:

Chapter Two: In this chapter I define the key concepts used in this Research Report. It is also in this chapter where I present the literature review concerning the concepts and the debates on sustainable development and natural resources management; and lastly I discuss the relationship between conservation and development.

Chapter Three: In this chapter, I make an overview of the history and the state of natural resources management in Mozambique, particularly in Sussundenga district. The chapter begins by analysing the resources management systems undertaken during the colonial period. It also brings some key elements that have informed the establishment of the Transfrontier Conservation Projects in Mozambique.

Chapter Four: In this chapter, I discuss the key elements related to the process of the establishment of the Chimanimani TFCAP within the selected areas. In this chapter I also examine some key elements related to the establishment of the Project's program particularly in Moribane and Nhaedzi. The chapter also deals with issues related to capacity building programs, the institutionalisation of local associations and community management committees.

Chapter Five: This chapter examine the impact of the Chimanimani TFCA Project in two communities, namely: Moribane and Nhaedzi. The chapter analyses the Project's programs and the extent to which they enable sustainable rural development within the targeted areas. It presents the challenges faced by the Project in its task of delivering the

managements of the natural resources to the local communities. The chapter deals also with issues related to the Project sustainability and the problems related to the implementation of the income generating activities, gender issues, community involvement and Project sustainability.

Chapter Six: In this chapter, I summarize the analysis done in this Research Report. It is in this chapter that I make an analysis of the Project objectives and its achievements. I also explain the key elements that have severely hampered the success of the Project.

CHAPTER TWO: KEY WORD DEFINITIONS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

In order to undertake this study I needed to understand the key concepts that are related to sustainable rural development. In this chapter I develop a conceptual framework, to help me understand the problem that I have defined before, then I review the literature on conservation management and the relationship between conservation and development.

2.2. Defining the key Concepts and Terms

2.2.1. Community

The concept *community* used in this Research Report is related to the environment and natural resources management practices. According to Borrow and Murphree (2001) *community* can be defined as a spatial grouping of people, who physically live in the same place, share the same socio-cultural identity, and derive a sense of unity from common history and cultural heritage. Economically Borrow and Murphree (2001) define *community* as a group of people who share interests and control over particular resources.

Despite the fact that Barrow and Murphree (2001) have used social, geographic, economic, social and ethnic aspects to define the concept *community*, their definition tends to see *communities* as homogeneous entities. In fact all communities are differentiated by a variety of *aspects*, which can arise from the interests of the community members over access to, and the extent to which they are interested in, the management of the resources located in their areas. These varied interests are shaped by gender issues, class, age, ethnicity, political filiations, entitlements, political and economic power and power relations (Corson, 2005).

With regard to natural resources management the official definition of the term *community* in Mozambique was made in the Land Law 19/97, which defines *community* as a grouping of families and individuals, living in a circumscribed area at the level of locality or below. The Land Law 19/97 definition sees primarily *community* objectives as the safeguarding of common interests through the protection of areas of habitation, agricultural areas, whether cultivated or in fallow, forests, sites of socio-cultural importance, grazing lands water sources and areas of expansion (Mozambique, Land Law19/97- article 15).

Although this Law defines the term *community*, the definition continues to be too loose to fit some Mozambican realities. This is because, the definition does not recognize that there are sometimes conflicting interests on the issues of to resources by individuals living within certain areas (considered a "community"). Rather than focusing on hierarchies and social relations that mostly affect the extent to which dwellers of a given area are really interested in safeguarding the common interests of a given resource, the Land Law (19/97) definition has focused on the safeguarding of common interests (Mozambique. Land Law 19/1997 article 15).

Recognising that there are differences in the definition of the term I have defined *community* in the context of the problem, which I am analysing. So, I have defined *community* as the smallest administrative structures that mostly correspond to the local chieftaincy boundaries accepted by local traditional authorities and which stakeholders (Government, NGO or Private Sector) usually interact with. The adoption of this concept stem from the fact that I recognise that within communities there are multiple interests and actors and that these actors influence decision-making process as well as the internal and external institutions that shape decision-making process.

2.2.1. 1. Community Participation (involvement) in NRM Projects

Efforts toward the improvement of biodiversity conservation and natural resources management systems has contributed to the establishment of many CBNRM programs in Africa. Since the 1970s conservationists have doubled their efforts toward the establishment of CBNRM programs in many remote rural areas with valuable resources (Murombedzi, 1998). In order for communities to participate in either CBNRM program or ICDPs, the benefits of such programs must outweigh the costs from the community perspective. Consequently, the *involvement* of local communities in the management of their resources has necessarily to reconcile the goals of equity, development and empowerment in the hands of local rural people while avoiding that traditional leaders taking the lead and advantage of the benefits accruing to a given community because through status as representatives of their communities in relationship to donor or development agencies (Kumar, 2005, p. 11).

Although many Transfrontier Conservation Area initiatives make reference to the involvement of local communities, there is more need to clarify the nature of this *community*

involvement because otherwise such *involvement* can be limited to the extent to which local communities act as a labour pool to make conservation areas more productive. In essence, CBNRM programs need to be capable of addressing local values, needs and interests; failure to do so undermines the potential of such initiatives (Katerere, Hill and Moyo, 2001, p. 20)

To overcome such problems, it is important that such project implementers (local institutions, NGOs and donors) have to identify and create grassroots institutions that correspond and represent the community. Such grassroots institutions can be local associations or locally created committees that link the community with the project implementers. If the grassroots institutions are created locally and are really representative they are effectively in a position to represent their communities. However, if this process is not done properly, communities will not be in position to demand the devolution of their rights and actively participate in the project programs (Murombezi, 1998).

On the other hand, if the devolution process is done properly, it could enable the involved communities to share the benefits accruing from their *participation* in whatever project is implemented in their areas. For example, they can benefit from non-local organizations when these use resources located in the surrounding areas where the community is located (Soeftestad, 1988) or other incentives and benefits resulting from the establishment of conservation areas within the areas where they live. This can include the social benefits (schools, clinics, roads, employment) and the introduction of alternative sustainable livelihoods that do not hinder conservation initiatives (Abbot et al., 2001).

In Southern Africa, a well-known and successful experience in *involving* communities in the management of natural resources is found in Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) experiences in a Zimbabwean rural community. The CAMPFIRE programs demonstrated that CBNRM programs can encourage *community participation* in local development and can motivate local people to join new networks and forge new relationships that can help them to acquire skills in organizational capacity and political actions. Such acquisitions give the local population more autonomy and enable them to take part in the decision-making of their development (Shackleton et al. 2002).

2.2.2. Community-Based Natural Resources Management

As a concept *Community-Based Natural Resources Management* refers to ideas, policies, practices and behaviours guiding the management of natural resources (soil, water, species, habitats, landscapes or biodiversity) that exist in the area in which local communities live (either permanently or temporarily) and the access to benefits derived from the management of those resources (De Beer and Marais, 2005).

Worldwide, *CBNRM* refers to the initiatives that devolve tenure and responsibility for management of the key resources to autonomous local institutions. In essence, establishing a *CBRNM* program within a given area, means having local communities playing the central role in identifying resources, defining development priorities and adapting and implementing management practices (Corson, 2005).

In Africa, *CBNRM* programs are the ideas behind several of the donors foundation's initiatives that integrate environmental protection and restoration with strategies designed to improve local livelihoods, create new economic opportunities and increase social equity by converting natural resources and environment services into natural assets that benefit low income people. Generally, *CBNRM* programs encourage economically impoverished communities to use the resources that they have in abundance to promote industry, trade, tourism and asset building, while at the same time being careful that they do not damage such resources (Chano and Khan, 2002, p. 6).

In Southern Africa, the idea of involving communities in environmental conservation and natural resources management, especially forest and wildlife dates back to the 1970s when a husbandry scheme was introduced in Zambia to address the issues of elephant protection and management in an area adjacent to the South Luangwa National Park (Ribeiro, 2001, p. 4). During the 1980s and 1990s this management strategy was adopted in other Southern African countries, among them: Botswana, Zimbabwe and Namibia (Serra, 2001).

In Mozambique, the adoption of CBNRM approaches dates back to the end of the civil conflict. Since 1994, more than 42 CBNRM programs have been established in rural areas with direct assistance from governmental institutions and experienced NGO's. To some extent, the establishment of CBNRM programs in some of the remote rural areas of Mozambique increased community involvement in conservation and development programs (Nhantumbo, 2003; DNFFB, 1999).

In order to regulate community participation in local development initiatives and programs, in 2000 the Mozambican Government issued, the Local Government Framework (Decree 15/2000), which prescribed the rights and duties of local institutions in community development initiatives and programs. Since then, local institutions and local traditional authorities were officially given rights to be the representatives of their communities in consultations when natural resources such as forests or minerals are exploited in their territory or when land is leased out or when community development programs are to be implemented (Decree 15/2000).

This Decree also emphasis that elected community representatives (community management committees) can also represent their communities when private commercial businesses want to establish themselves in their territories. In such a situation, these representative bodies are given authority to frame partnerships with outsiders (investors, donors, NGO's, government institutions, etc.) and empower the participation of the communities´ members in the local decision making process (Decree 15/2000).

2.2.2.1. Institutionalisation of Community Based Management Programs

Environmental management programs based on community participation have challenged the ideas of conservation as preservation (Murphee, 1999). Worldwide the emergence of the new conservationist approaches with emphasis on CBRNM and ICDP stem from the recognition of the values that these conservation and development approaches provide for both conservationist (states institutions or non governmental organisations) and local communities (Ribeiro, 2001).

Notwithstanding the fact that the goals of CBNRM activities are likely to be similar everywhere, the establishment of either CBNRM or ICDP in a given area has to reflect the local specificities (local history, cultural factors, social and political environment; long established social relations). For Soeftestad (1988) the use this program for the achievement of conservation goals implies that resources management at local levels has to start with the communities as a foundation, and end with community as a focus. In order words, this means that *the process of institutionalisation* of a participatory program for the management of natural resources in a given community implies that implementers have to understand the communities' social and institutional realties. Consequently, the *institutionalisation* of such

programs will imply that the implementers have to identify; reform and legalize the local institutions (with reference to the local and nation-state level) as well as create strategic alliances between different institutions located at different levels that have overlapping sets of objectives and goals.

In order to overcome such situations, in Mozambique it has became a rule that before the institutionalisation of an ICDP or a CBNRM program, the implementer is required to undertake a consultative work to understand the internal logic and needs of the particular community where the programs are going to be implemented (Serra, 2001, Nhantumbo et al, 2003).

2.2.3. Development and Sustainable Development

2.2.3.1. Development

While in the past *economic development* was seen in terms of the increase of economic indicators, Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Todaro, 2003; Ray, 1998; Hunt, 1989), recently, many economists, states and international organizations from both the developed and developing world recognise that the the development process has not only to take into account principles of economic measures but also non-economic social indicators such as the improvement of people's lifestyles through the improvement of education, increasing of employment opportunities, infrastructure development (housing, schools, roads) communication facilities, empowerment in decision making processes, service delivery, more health and health care service to the citizens, reduction of environmental degradation, etc. (Harries, 2000; Todaro, 2003; Ray, 1998)[17].

According to Sen (1999, p. 5) the narrow views of *development* in term of economic measures (GDP, growth and industrialization) does not reveal the extent to which certain political or social freedoms, such as the liberty of political participation and dissent, or opportunities to receive basic education are or are not conducive to development.

Sen (1997, p. 543) argues that *development* can be achieved if human capabilities are expanded, because this will enhance productivity, which in turn will raise economic growth.

[17] See also: http://cbdd.wsu.edu

As he explains broadening development priorities and bringing demographic changes within reasoned control can also be a way of looking for reasonable *economic development*.

Following this argument, a logical step toward the definition of *social development strategies* (principles, policies and visions) would be for the development agencies to become a lot more explicit about the specific kinds of social changes they think they can help to bring about and how they can do this. Otherwise without significant processes toward such clarification, it is hard to see how one can move towards or taking social sustainability more seriously (Thin, 2002. p. 61)

In the light of these considerations, the analysis of *development* made in this study has to take into account the following: improvement of peoples' lives: education, increase of investments, introduction of small enterprises and business facilities, employment opportunities, infrastructure development (housing, schools, roads); communication facilities, empowerment of local communities in decision-making process, service delivery, health and health care service and the reduction of environmental degradation.

2.2.3.2. Sustainable Development

Worldwide *sustainable development* is a developmental approach that has to do with the overall improvement of the quality of life as well as the satisfaction of human needs for both the present and further generations. As Patrick at al. (1997, p. 3, 4) state, human and natural resources uses can complement each other to minimize the costs and add value to the development process while protecting the environment. These linkages provide the deep-seated imperative, which seek out a more participatory and enlightened approach to development management that brings together the various stakeholders and sectors to produce more pathways that are integrated and cognizant to environmental sustainability.

According to Abbot et al (2001, p. 115) in the implementation of whatever s*ustainable development* projects, implementers have to take into account activities that affect the attitudes and behaviours of the local people, so that they become more supportive of conservation measures that regulate natural resource use whether enforced by an outside agency or self improved.

For Abbot et al (2001) making *sustainable development* work in rural areas will mean moving from a narrow and important concern with economic growth *per se* to considerations

relating to the quality of that growth. These concerns will ensure that peoples' basic needs are being met, that the resource base is conserved, that there is a sustainable population level that environment and cross-sectoral concerns are taken into decision–making processes, and that communities are empowered.

In Mozambique, making *sustainable development* for the rural poor means the development of environmentally suitable initiatives toward poverty reduction and the strengthening of their asset base. Therefore, the strategies aimed at poverty reduction among the poor in Mozambique imply the improvement of the poor's productive capabilities, support for business development initiatives, expansion of social infrastructure and services an increase in their consciousness on the impacts of their practices on the environment (Ferraz, 2002).

2.2.3.4. Sustainable Livelihoods

In the last two decades the world and especially the African continent has witnessed an increase of ICDPs designed to improve biodiversity management systems and the living conditions of communities mostly located in remote rural areas with valuable ecosystems and natural resources (forests and fauna). Such projects rely on the introduction of alternative *sustainable livelihoods* strategies that do not threaten conservation goals (Salafsky, 2000, p. 1422).

In most developing countries, challenges imposed by inadequate government resources, weak management capacities, weak state presence in areas where natural resources are located, weak law enforcement, ineffective legal systems and the establishment of protected areas on areas legally or customarily owned and managed by local people, it has proved to be impractical or impossible to declare many purposed protected/conservation areas off-limits to human use (Salafsky, 2000, p. 1424). As a consequence, since the 1990, integrated conservation and development approaches appeared as alternatives for the old conservation strategies[18], which saw conservation purposes as conflicting with survival strategies of poor communities living inside protected areas or in adjacent areas (Barreit and Arcese, 1995, p. 1073).

[18] The old conservation models saw protected areas as borders that unauthorised people were not supposed to cross and were meant to use resources outside those areas (Adam and Hulme, 1999).

The use of integrated conservation and development approaches have proved to be necessary for conservation projects to meet local *livelihoods* by introducing alternative sustainable strategies which can improve the living conditions of people living inside protected areas or in adjacent areas. In such areas the introduction of *alternative sustainable livelihoods* can contribute to stopping local practices and activities that degrade local ecosystems. Such *livelihoods* can be based on activities that encourage local people to impede external threats to the biodiversity (Salafsky, 2000, p. 1424).

In this report I considered *sustainable livelihoods*, to be those livelihoods which comprise the people's capabilities to deal with the daily basic needs (their means of living, including food, income and tangible or intangible assets)[19], the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital) activities and access to such assets (mediated by institutional and social relations) that generally together determine the living gained by individual or household in a period of time (Murray, 2000, Sunderlin et al. 2005).

Due to the fact that *livelihood strategies* stress the means rather than the outcomes of peoples, individuals or households, the adoption of ICDPs necessarily emphasise the introduction of sustainable development strategies while at same time empowering local communities to use and manage in a sustainable manner the resources located in their area for a considerable period. Such strategies have to take into account activities that not only enhance household incomes but also food security, health, social network, savings, equity, ownership of resources and participation in decision-making processes (Shackleton at al., 2000, Corson, 2005).

2.3. Literature Review

In this section I critically review ideas concerning the relationship between conservation initiatives and developmental agendas. The section briefly brings forward the ongoing debates concerning the relationship between conservation and development.

2.3.1. Conservation Initiatives in Africa

In the mid-eighteenth century the world witnessed an increase of initiatives toward the establishment of protected areas (reserved places for the nature aside of human dwelling

[19] Tangible assets are resources and stores, etc: and intangible assets are claims and access to such resources.

areas, where people consumptive of natural resources is restricted or prohibited) (Adams, 2000, p. 270; Wilshusen, 2003, p. 8). In the 1940s to 1950s, a considerable number of national natural reserves were established by government agencies in Europe. These initiatives were first established in the United Kingdom and further spread through the world by conservation organizations like the IUCN and World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) (Adams, 2001, p. 270).

According to Adams (2001, p. 271), during the colonial period, African conservation initiatives followed the experience of the industrialized countries, establishing protected areas (land set aside for "nature" or "wildlife", where human use is either prevented or severely constrained) for biodiversity conservation purposes.

For example, most of the actual protected areas (reserve, parks and hunting areas) gazetted in the 1950s by the Portuguese colonial authority in Mozambique followed the same rationale, where conservation areas were land set aside "nature" or "wildlife" where human use was prevented (See Hatton, 1995, Hatton and Couto 2001; Schafer and Black, 2003; Virtanen 2005). After independence, lack of state enforcement mechanisms, which were undermined by the civil war, contributed to the degradation of some of the protected areas with communities living inside them (World Bank, 1996).

Because of these challenges, from the late 1970s, the dominant narratives of forest conservation[20] had no longer enjoyed harmony in Africa. These forest conservation models (conservation as protection) were progressively challenged by other discourses that stress the need for not excluding local people, either physically from protected areas or politically from the conservation policy process. As a result, the new approaches of conservation, rather than excluding local people from protected areas, advocate and promote the participation of the local communities in the management of natural resources located in the areas in which they live. This counter-narrative was labelled "community conservation" (Adam and Hulme, 2001, p. 12-13).

The changing paradigm of conservation models, which happened in the late 1970s, hastened the adoption and use of CBNRM programs by many African countries. The use of

[20] Protected areas, land set aside "nature" or "wildlife" where human use is either prevented or severely constrained

this natural resource management model is aimed at improving at the same time biodiversity management systems and the living conditions of the local communities (Adams, 2001).

From early 1990s onward the CBNRM programs begun to enhance not only community participation in natural resources management programs but they also began to implement programs that could enable the overall development of the targeted communities. These new approaches of community conservation and development became known as ICDPs (Ribeiro, 2002, see also Moleele and Ntsabane 2002, p. 6).

Within the areas where these conservation and development initiatives are established, conservation projects take into account the social, economic as well as political issues (redistribution of resources and access to social benefits, poverty-eradicating measures and non-environment degrading income generating activities, political situations). Although there are some good results from the use of CBNRM and ICDP in pursuing conservation and community development objectives, it is very important that implementers of such strategies (donors, conservationists, state agencies, etc) do not disturb the social environments and deepen conflicting interests within local communities. Therefore, the implementers of these programs have to ensure that their development strategies do not destroy the resource base on which local communities depend for their survival (Singh and Houtum, 2004, p. 256).

2.3.2. African Development Approaches and their Relation to Conservation Initiatives

From the late 1880s to the second half of the last century, almost all African nations had been under colonial rule. With some exceptions, it was not until the 1940s to the later 1970s that many African nations achieved their independences. During the colonial period, most African countries economies were dependent on their former colonizers. Lack of development in Africa in the 1950s was explained mainly in terms of modernization (African economies were seen as backward[21] and economic growth was the desirable objective of development). To overcome the problem of underdevelopment the post independence African states tried to restructure their economies to respond to the local situations and conditions by introducing economic incentives that could have regenerated agriculture, commerce, social services and other sectors that could push the African economies forward (Murombedzi, 1999).

[21] The African economies were not industrialized as happened in Europe, some countries of Asia and America.

As Murombedzi (1999, p.5) explains, during the 1950s to the late 1960s, some independent African states tried to overcome the problems related to lack of economic development by centralizing the economy and state planning. Such policies created situations conducive to the proliferation of *parastatal* organizations operating in all key sectors of the economy, including on NRM programs.

Focus on national planning and state participation in the economy contributed to the strengthening of the already centralized bureaucracy in the state with many African states becoming less responsive to local imperatives in resources management. Centralization also led to further disregard of local resource use and management capacities and contributed to the further destruction of local resources management institutions (Murombedzi, 1998).

Due to the failure of the "modernization approach to development", in the early 1970s another development model which focused on the development of the rural economies was tried (Murombedzi, 1998, p. 5). In this approach, rural development came to be seen as the engine of development in African economies (Sanderson, 2005, p. 324).

Despite, the shift to the "new development paradigm" little was done to understand the dynamics of rural African communities. Local communities were not given the necessary authority in the use and management of the resources located within their areas. Lack of resources and capacity in the African states central resources management agencies proved many states incapable to regulate natural resources use and management in remote rural areas. Thus, poachers and other illegal resource users continued to be sheltered by local communities (Murombedzi, 1998) and the decade (1970) demonstrated an increase of resource depletion and there has been a decrease in state capital regarding NRM programs (Ghai, 1992, p. 15).

To overcome the early 1970s development approach, later in the decade, another development paradigm was introduced. Since then, development concerns shifted from urban industrialised bases to rural agricultural development and there were tendencies to integrate rural communities in local development processes. For example, since the late 1970s, there was an increase in the participation of rural communities in conservation and development initiatives. In some of the developing countries, like Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Namibia and Kenya many conservation strategies, which promote the participation of local

communities conservation and development programs were designed and implemented (Serra, 2001; Abbot et al., 2001; David and Marshall, 2001).

2.3.3. The Emergence and the Widespread of ICDPs

Integrated conservation and development approaches tend to resolve problems inherent to the sharing of costs and benefits by local communities in initiatives related to natural resources management. The use of *Integrated Conservation and Development approaches to conservation provides incentives, alternatives, and in some cases compensation for resource use forgone by resource dependent communities living near biodiversity rich and protected areas. In a protected area context, Integrated Conservation and Development approaches attempt to reconcile the management of protected areas with the social and economic needs of their neighbours and thus overcome the inequities and ineffectiveness that had characterized parks in the developing world* (Mahanty, 2002, p. 1370).

Worldwide, the relationships between economic growth, rural development, poverty alleviation and conservation of nature are influencing attitudes toward development policies. The need to address at the same time biodiversity conservation and development agendas has led many developing countries to design ICDP for their protected areas. The rationale behind these projects is that ethically they are suitable because they sustain livelihoods and rights of those immediately affected by the restriction on the use that conservation strategies often entail and pragmatically they address the failures of traditional models of biodiversity conservation (Mahanty, 2002, p. 1370), where conservation projects attempted to reserve places for the nature (forest and wildlife biodiversities) separated from humans (Adams, 2001, Salafsky, 2000). Moreover, the use of Integrated Conservation and Development approaches assumes that human and nonhuman systems are interdependent and that the challenges of conservation and development are inextricable (Barreitt and Arcese, 1995, p. 1075).

Since more than 80% of the Mozambican population living in rural areas depends directly on agriculture and natural resources for their survival, the devolution of natural resource management rights to the local levels has become one of the key strategies that ensures the participation of the local communities in the design and implementation of

policies and development initiatives. Since the 1990s, this devolution, in the sense of a reconciliation of development and conservation goals, has become the key issue to the country's sustainable development practices for the rural areas (Nhantumbo et al., 2003). For example, the Chimanimani TFCAP was inspired by other successful ICDPs (World Bank, 1996).

According to the DNFFB (1999), the use of integrated conservation and development approaches in Mozambique would help to create frameworks and instruments to reconcile the management of the protected areas with the social and economic needs of local communities and neighbourhoods. In Chimanimani the Project designed a conservation model based on the creation of a biosphere reserve in Nhaedzi and an establishment of CBRNM programs in Moribane[22] forest reserve.

According to Chimanimani TFCAP Management Program, the establishment of the Project would lead to the creation of a biosphere in Nhaedzi with two distinct areas: A *core conservation zone* (a strictly protection area) where people's consumption of natural resources would be restricted or prohibited and an *outer* conservation zone known as *buffer zones* (DNFF, 1999)

The buffer *zones*, allowed limited uses that ensured the protection of the core zone[23]. Within the *buffer zones* the Project would create a spatial compromise that would enable local people to continue to meet their livelihoods while protecting key species and habitat. In such areas the Project was committed to the improvement of the livelihoods of local people by providing them with alternative economic activities which were hoped to keep local people from other livelihoods and activities that could damage the local ecosystem. Thus, within the *buffer zones* the Project would develop income-generating activities (beekeeping, mushroom collection, maize commercialisation, and the improvement of local agriculture practices) and install social infrastructures such as schools, clinics, shops and mills (DNFFB, 1999).

2.3.4. The Relationship between Conservation Projects and Development Initiatives

Abbot et al., (2001) and Mahanty (2002) argue that notwithstanding the fact that equitable sharing of costs of conservation is not straightforward, a range of actors and

[22] In Moribane the Project was very committed to the improvement of natural resources management program because the area had been under reserve status since 1959.
[23] For more details see chapter 5, section 4.

institutions revisited protected area policies to make them became part of the solution to the problems of the poor and not create new ones when pursuing sustainable development goals. As a result, in areas where conservation projects are introduced, development projects can also be offered as a compensation for benefits foregone by the establishment of protected areas or when restrictions on resource use are implemented (new agricultural schemes, schools, clinics and roads can be developed).

Offering alternative solutions for people living inside protected areas and development packages can reduce the pressure on the natural habitat, which may be threatened by agricultural encroachment or over harvesting. Such solutions can arise from the increase of the value of livelihoods derived from the land outside the site valued for biodiversity (promoting agricultural activities or alternative economies). In areas where ICDPs are established, development initiatives can also focus on the increase of the value of resources from the natural area itself (through developing markets for previously under or unexploited products, improving harvesting or processing or developing tourism (Abbot et al., 2001).

According Abbot (2001, p. 1116), an assumption at the heart of ICDP is that development activities will in some way affect the attitudes and behaviours of the local people, so that they are more supportive of conservation measures that regulate resource use, weather enforced by an outsider agency or self-imposed. Accordingly, for an ICDP to contribute effectively for the development of any conservation area, it is important that it addresses a range of other programs (employment, education, improvement of social infrastructures, housing, service delivery, food security, health, social network, savings, equity, ownership of resources), which can effectively contribute to the well being of an individual (Songorwa, 1999).

In other words, "sustainable rural development" can be achieved if the welfare of rural populations is increased, because development and conservation are essential for sustainable development. *Without development, it is extremely difficult to undertake conservation Projects and preservation of natural resources is crucial if development is to continue* (Ghai, 1995, p. 55).

2.4. Conclusion

The use of integrated conservation and development initiatives in conservation areas to promote both wildlife conservation and development goals can effectively achieve the desired results if designs and implementers of such plans take into account the local socio economic situation and integrated local communities in the conception of such projects. Therefore, the implementers have to make sure that the ones who they work with are the representative of their communities and that the local communities are aware of the costs and benefits of their involvement in the Project. Before the implementation of a given Project, the implementers have to make sure that the grassroots institutions are created properly and that they work for their communities and not for the interest of small number of individuals.

In terms of community participation I believe poor rural communities are more likely to participate in CBNRM program, if the benefits of their involvement in such programs outweigh the costs of their participation.

CHAPTER THREE: CONTEXTUALIZING THE COUNTRY AND THE AREA OF STUDY (CHIMANIMANI)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the socio-economic and political situation of Mozambique from pre-colonial times to the present. The chapter focuses on the social, economic and political factors and policies that have affected the overall development of the country, and the status of natural resource management in Mozambique with special reference to Chimanimani TFCA. My argument is that the colonial authority administrative structure was set up so as to take advantage of Mozambican natural resources. As a result, many of the conservation policies issued by the colonial authority were set up to control the resources so that they could use them in further occasion rather than pursuing conservation goals.

After independence, the Frelimo government tried to reorganize the natural resources management system, but its efforts were undermined by the lack of financial resources and the war, which destroyed much of the country's infrastructure and wildlife resources. After the civil war new efforts were made which ended up with the establishment of three transfrontier conservation areas projects among them the Chimanimani TFCA Project.

3.2. Colonial Authority Practices and Policies Concerning Land and Natural Resources in Mozambique

Although Portuguese presence in Mozambique dates back to the sixteenth century, their formal occupation of arable lands for agriculture and plantations and the exploitation of natural resources only began to be noticeable in the early nineteenth century. The establishment of Portuguese colonial settlements in Mozambique contributed to the over exploitation of natural resources (especially forest and wildlife) particularly in remote rural areas (Hatton et al., 2001).

From the later nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, Portuguese colonial authorities occupied many remote areas, which were still under the control of local kingdoms and chieftaincies (Newitt, 1995, p. 16). During this "occupation war" those traditional leaders who showed no resistance to the colonialists, concerns and were loyal to the Portuguese authority were allowed to continue to exercise their authority in their kingdoms and

chieftaincies. Those who rebelled against the Portuguese authority were displaced and replaced by new local leaders loyal to the Portuguese authority (Covane, 2001).

After the "occupation war" the Portuguese colonial authority established a new administrative system based on local institutions. In this administrative system, the control and administration of the least administrative structures under the district level known as *regulado* was given to a local traditional leader (régulo). However, such areas generally fell under the jurisdiction of a white authority known as *Chefe do Posto (post chief)* (Newitt, 1995).

Within a *regulado a* local leader was the representative of the Portuguese colonial authority; he was the one who implemented colonial policies and agendas. After the institutionalisation of the *regulados,* local practices regarding land and natural resources management relied mostly on customary laws (Covane, 2000). In essence, in rural areas these administrative structures continued until its replacement in the year following the country's independence (Schafer and Bell, 2002).

Nationwide, the demand for land for farming and areas for the exploitation of timber and rubber began to increase with the establishment of the Portuguese settlements in many remote rural areas since the late 1950s. Portuguese settlers came from overseas to Mozambique to take advantage of commercial farming and business opportunities supported by the Portuguese authorities (Hedges and Rocha, 2000, p. 165).

In some rural areas, the establishment of Portuguese colonial settlements pushed the ordinary inhabitants in the development areas (colonatos) to marginal lands away from their farms and plantations. However, since the development of social infrastructure during the 1950s was limited to selected areas, and the quantity of land given to the Portuguese settlers was relatively low, Africans could retain much productive land located away from the important commercial centres (Schafer and Black, 2003).

Portuguese colonial efforts toward the control of the country's natural resources especially forest and wildlife, which began in early 1900s, continued in the following years until their defeat in 1974 (Newitt, 1995)[24]. For example, in 1965, the colonial authority issued

[24] The Lusaka accord signed between Portuguese colonial authorities and Frelimo in September 1974 had marked the end of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique and the beginning of the rule of the Transition Government to the proclamation of Mozambican independence in June 1975.

a Forest Law, which regulated much of the colonial effort toward the use and management of the country's natural resources (Hatton et al., 2001, p. 36).

Until 1974, at least four national parks (Banhine, Bazaruto, Zinave and Gorongosa) and approximately twenty forest reserves were demarcated and fifteen (15) hunting areas were gazetted (Hatton et al., 2001, p. 36). The Portuguese colonial authority tried to make profits out of the protected areas, particularly from the amounts charged by official licenses for private logging companies willing to operate within the areas with valuable natural resources (especially timber) (Schafer and Black, 2003).

3.3. The Area of Study and the History of its Populations

The Chimanimani escarpment, where the Chimanimani TCAP was established covers an area of approximately 1740 km² and it is made up of a core massif at over 1000 meters of altitude. The area is located in the eastern part of the central province of Manica (Sussundenga district), bordering eastern Zimbabwe. The adjoining areas are located on the other side of the border (within the Zimbabwean National Park) and cover an area of approximately 360 km². About 6000 families inhabit the lower zones of the Chimanimani TFCA in Mozambique (DNFFB, 1999, Anstey and De Sousa, 1999, p. 197).

At present, the Project staffs are the only official representatives of the government at local level with the conservation area. The social and hierarchal structure of this society suggests the almost complete absence of woman in decision-making process and the relegation of females to the domestic sphere (DNFFB, 1999; Vol. 2, appendix 3).

From the colonial period to the establishment of the Chimanimani TFCAP[25] in late 1996, the area had little in terms of schools, roads, clinics or shops. Until 1890s, excluding maize production using traditional techniques (use of small handle hoes in shifting agriculture), the area had little in terms of other economic activities. The Portuguese who came to control the area in the late 1890s, made land grants only to white Portuguese farmers who came to take advantage of commercial farming and business activities facilitated by the colonial authorities (Hedges and Rocha, 2000, p. 165). At the end of the nineteenth century many Mozambicans were still living in scattered settlements in rural areas and were less sensitive to issues on land tenure (DNFFB, 1999; Appendix 3).

[25] The central area of Chimanimani includes the communities of Tsetsera, Nhaedzi and Mahate.

Because Portuguese colonial authorities did not invest in social infrastructures (schools, roads, clinics and shops), the population of Chimanimani and especially Chikukwa was more dependent on Zimbabwe for the basic social services[26] (jobs, trading, schooling, etc.). Until recently, lack of access to the area had made Chimanimani relatively poorly integrated into Manica province administration (Anstey and De Sousa, 1999).

In the 1950s, the Portuguese authorities demarcated and gazetted within Sussundenga district three forests reserve (Maroga, Moribane and Zomba). Although the law under which these reserves were created did not allow settlements within the reserve, lack of staff and resources to resettle elsewhere the few families that at the time the forest was proclaimed a national reserve were living there, led the administration to authorize such families to remain. However, the families were required to observe norms concerning forest reserve management (prohibition of starting of fires, logging activities and hunting for commercial) (Interview with Nhangabire M'punga, traditional leader. Moribane, 12 December 2005).

Although there are many rivers running through Sussundenga, fishing activities have never been the principal activity for the subsistence of local populations. The local communities rely on agriculture for their survival. After the proclamation of the forest as a reserve the Portuguese administration allowed communities living inside the forest to open small farms in the river riverbanks and low, where they produced maize and vegetables (Interview with Nhangabire M'punga, traditional leader. Moribane, 12 December 2005).

Despite the fact that Sussundenga district was one of the major producers of banana in Manica, banana farming in Chimanimani was allowed only for local consumption. Hunting and logging by the local population were prohibited. During the colonial period some of the families living inside the reserve tried to introduce cattle grazing, but the activity was not practicable due to the existence of tsetse flies (Interview with Inacio Naive Cherechere and Samuel Sete Muchate, peasants. Moribane, 13 December 2006).

Only the Portuguese colonial authorities had the right to issue licences for logging and hunting within the area. Those caught poaching or hunting illegally were arrested and punished and were subject to heavy fines (Interview with Inacio Naive Cherechere and Samuel Sete Muchate, peasants. Moribane, 13 December 2006).

[26] The areas is located along the Mozambican and Zimbabwean border, so the population used to cross the border in seeking of jobs and social services in Zimbabwe

In 1960, the Portuguese authorised commercial farming in Sussundenga's high grass plateaus of Tandara and Tsetresa. The farms produced wheat, potatoes and citrus, which were sold in the nearest markets. They also planted eucalyptus on the slope hills of Tsetsera plateau. The Portuguese also licensed logging and rubber exploitation companies to undertake to work within the area (Interview with Inacio Naive Cherechere and Samuel Sete Muchate, peasants. Moribane, 13 December 2006).

During the colonial period timber and rubber exploitation in Sussundenga district, especially in Chimanimani contributed to the opening of the first roads to the remote areas (DNFFB, 1999; Appendix 3). The farms, rubber and timber exploitation companies operating within the district, both employed local hired workers who were underpaid (Interview with Manuel Mahamba Mafuca, peasant, member of the local management committee. Moribane, 10 December 2005).

After the country's independence in June 1975, almost all logging and agricultural companies operating not only in Chimanimani but also in Sussundenga were abandoned by their owners who rejected the socialist development model introduced by Frelimo (Virtanen, 2005).

3.4. Traditional Practices Regarding Natural Resources Management in Sussundenga

Since the colonial period and even in the years following independence, practices governing the access, use and management of natural resources in Sussundenga relied on local beliefs and rules of the ancestors. Within each chieftaincy, the local *mambo*[27] assisted by a council of elders mediated conflicts and prescribed practices regarding land and natural resources management (Simbine, 2002). Because the local *mambo* was the individual who mediated with the spiritual world (which in Shona[28] beliefs are closely linked with nature and natural resources) and commanded power and authority over their communities, he was seen as the legitimate representative of their communities (Interview with Nhangambire M'punga, traditional leader. Moribane, 12 December 2005).

[27] Traditional leader governing an administrative structure equal to a chieftaincy (regulado) in shona/ndau communities.
[28] People from Chimanimani Belong to Shona traditions it is believed that Ndau as an ethnic group has been a part of the descendants of Shona Speaking groups.

In regard to natural resource management, the administrative systems introduced by the Portuguese colonial authorities contributed significantly to increasing the power of traditional leaders. At the local levels, the Portuguese designated as customary practices,[29] the laws and premises governing the access, use and management of natural resources (especially land, forest and wildlife) (DNFFB, 1999). In Sussundenga, for example the local *mambos* (assisted by the local councils of ancients) became the entities responsible for the enforcement of rules regarding the use of the resources. They were the ones who mediated conflicts between households over the access and use of natural resources (Simbine, 2002).

Since the *mambos* were the representatives of the colonial authority at the local level, the designation as customary practices of the laws and premises governing the access, use and management of natural resources reduced the need of its direct involvement in issues related to the management of natural resources. Outside *regulados*, the Portuguese authority reserved to itself the rights of setting up rules regarding the management of natural resources and even the licensing of logging companies (Schafer and Black, 2003).

In practice, the local authority's powers in Sussundenga are based on the local cosmologies, which are seen as the intermediaries between the new generations and the ancestors. In Sussundenga, traditional authority can be exercised to the household level, where natural resources are managed through a variety of practices, rules, and conventions based on local customary laws and beliefs. Individual households have direct access to land and natural resources considered community property. Within Chimanimani, natural resources (forest and wildlife) can be used by anyone living within the area as long as he/she follows the local norms and rules governing access to natural resources use and management (Schafer and Black, 2003).

3.5. Mozambique's Rural Development strategy After the Country's Independence

After the country's independence in 1975, the Government attempted a radical break with colonial patterns of economic development and administrative structures. Frelimo's socialist development approach led the government to nationalize land, collectivise production of the small and medium enterprises and put them under state control (Mayer, 1995).

[29] Mozambican Regulation on Traditional Authorities, Portaria 5639 – M 29/6/1944

In 1977, Frelimo eradicated freehold property rights and gave the state extensive interventionist authority over land administration. The state also outlawed private land rights and regulated the transfer of land and other resources. The only land tenure right given to small landholders was defined as the right of land use (*direito de uso e aproveitamento de terra)*. Accordingly, the state itself exercised paramount rights over land and reserved to itself the authority to revoke individual rights to the land and attribute rights in land to investment and other development projects, while individuals could theoretically transact improvements on their land. Formal land markets were not permitted within the socialist development model (Myers, 1995).

Centralization and collectivisation of production under state control was designed to overcome the legacy of underdevelopment through modernization (Hall and Yang, 1997). Although after independence, the Government radically changed the laws and regulations concerning land use; it did little or nothing in regard to the forest and wildlife management regulations. The state only took responsibility for maintaining and controlling the natural resources, national parks, forest reserves and hunting areas, but it did nothing to improve biodiversity management systems within the protected areas (Schafer and Black, 2003).

In most rural areas, Frelimo introduced production-based socio-economic units based on communal villages, agricultural co-operatives, and state-farms and factories (Virtanen, 2005). In this process dispersed populations were brought to *aldeias communias* (communal villages) where it was hoped development could take place. As part of Frelimo's policy, since 1977 traditional authorities lost their official status because of their loyalty to the Portuguese colonial authorities during the colonial period (Alexander, 1997).

In the *aldeias comununais,* new administrative structures called *grupos dinamizadores* (dynamizing groups) were established. This administration largely replaced the local traditional authorities (régulo) by establishing *chefes de grupos dinamizadores* (chiefs of dynamizing groups). This policy reinforced the marginalisation of traditional intuition that for a long period had been used to enforce customary laws concerning natural resources management (Schafer and Black, 2003, p. 65).

Frelimo's policy toward traditional leaders contributed to cleavages between the new chiefs (chefes de grupos dinamizadores) and the former leaders. In Sussundenga, for example, the new administrative structures demonstrated incapacity to work with grassroots

institutions, with many former traditional leaders continuing clandestinely exercising their authority concerning natural resources management practices[30] (Schafer and Black, 2003, p. 65).

Because traditional leaders were more legitimate in the eyes of the local population and were the ones who used to carry out public ceremonies, most people continued to show loyalty to them rather than to those imposed by Government. As a protest against their removal from office, traditional authorities refused to perform traditional ceremonies when asked by the *grupo dinamizadores.* Traditional authorities' attitude in relation to *grupos dinamizadores* helped to damage the prestige of the new administrative structures, while increasing their loyalty amongst the rural populations (ibid).

This situation was aggravated by the civil war, which undermined most of the Frelimo social and economic development strategies. From 1977 onward Renamo guerrilla forces with the active support of white minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa intensified attacks on villages located in the countryside and some of the rural areas fell under Renamo's control (Alexander, 1997).

In the fatten areas, the guerrilla forces adopted a policy of reinstalling chiefs and reinvesting traditional authorities and local leaders. To some extent, Renamo's policy increased its support amongst local traditional authorities that felt undervalued by the Government policy (Interview with Nhangambire M'punga, traditional leader. Moribane, 12 December 2005). The conflicts between the *chefes of grupos dinamizadres* with the former *traditional leaders (regulos)* was deepened by the degrading social and economic situation caused by civil war, which undermined much of the government attempts toward countryside socialization (Schafer and Richard, 2003, p. 67).

The intensification of the war led the government to orient its efforts toward the security of the populations affected by war. The war overshadowed the protection of the natural resources among Government priorities and much damage to the natural resources base was done in the course of the war. The war also made the flow of assistance from central and local government to rural areas difficult. It decreased the ability of the Government to maintain the infrastructures used for the management of the natural resources. In the course

[30] Unable to control the situation most times Frelimo's officials used to turn a blind eye to such practices (Schafer and Richard, 2003:64-65)

of the civil war many areas with valuable natural resources, especially forests and wildlife were severely devastated by Renamo forces, poachers and illegal hunters[31] (DNFFB, 1999).

In Manica, the war contributed to over exploitation of natural resources, and led to the destruction of the social infrastructures (roads, schools, rural canteens and hospitals) and aggravated the condition of life of the local people, because they were unable to produce or to sell their products in the nearest markets (Alexander, 1997).

As the war dragged on, control and management of natural resources in rural areas became weaker. At the household level, the war sharpened the disparities concerning administrative models in the access to natural resources (land forest and wildlife) with Renamo favouring the role of local traditional authorities, while in the areas under government control natural resource use and management were done by Government institutions and the *grupos dinamizadores* (Interview with Pedro Sete Razao, Moribane tourist camp guard. Moribane, 11 December 2005).

Despite the fact that after independence, the former traditional leaders were explicitly excluded from political power and marginalized in the management of natural resources, exigencies of the war brought a degree of rapprochement between the former leaders and the new ones. Since then the role of chiefs has varied greatly from place to place, depending on whether the party leadership and government administrative authorities adopted a conciliatory approach or an exclusionary one. In Sussundenga, the new chiefs felt themselves bound to seek the collaboration of local leaders to counteract Renamo's perceived advantage due the support it received from local traditional authorities and leaders (Alexander, 1997).

In essence this period was very critical in the history of natural resource management systems, with the Government trying to change the natural resource management systems by imposing socialist principles of economic development, which to some extent affected the way of management of natural resources. In the socialist economic development model, the management of natural resource was moved from the local level to the central level. It is important here to highlight that the implementation of the official natural resource management strategies was severely undermined by the civil war, which made the Government assistance in the rural areas impossible.

[31] During this period timber was cut, animals were hunted indiscriminately, fires were set in the former forest reserves and agricultural practices followed people's own whims.

3.6. Social and Economic Changes after 1984

The civil conflict which began in 1976 disrupted the country's plans for social and economic development drawn up soon after the country's independence in June 1975 and pushed the country's economy to the edge of disaster (Bowen, 2000, p. 185). The problems caused by the war proved that Frelimo centralized economic planning strategy was inappropriate to the prevailing conditions (Bowen, 1992, p. 262). From 1984 the Frelimo Government began to change radically its economic development approach, moving quickly from socialism to a market based economy (Hanlon, 1992, p. 117).

In 1984 Mozambique joined the IMF and the World Bank. In 1987 Mozambique begun to introduce the World Bank Structural Adjustment Program, locally know as PRE (Programa de Reabilitação Economica) aimed at alleviating macroeconomic problems and restructuring the economy (Bowen, 2000, p.185).

The shift from a centralised socialist planning toward an economy based on markets contributed also to radical changes in the country's political orientation from a one party state to a multiparty system. These changes were also facilitated by the democratic constitution passed by the Parliament 1990 (Cabaço, 1995; Hanlon, 1996; Alden and Simpson 1993). The 1990 constitution helped the conciliatory approach between government's leaders and traditional leaders[32] and created a political environment conducive to the end of civil war in October 1992 and to the first multiparty election held in 1994 (Alexander, 1997).

After the transition to multi-party elections held in 1994, the government recognized the importance of institutional coordination and public participation in natural resource management various new initiatives were undertaken and stakeholders were invited to collaborate in the government natural resources management plan. For example, most of the conservation projects and strategies adopted by the government after 1994 have relied on the involvement of local communities (through their representative institutions) of the areas where valuable natural resources are found (Nhantumbo, 2003).

To ensure participation of the local communities in the local decision-making processes, the Government worked in close partnership with national NGOs in the creation of grassroots institutions (local management committees and associations), which could

[32] Notwithstanding the fact that since the 1990 the government has recognised the role of local and traditional authorities, this recognition was formally institutionalised by the traditional authorities law 15/2000

represent the community in their relationship with the government, NGOs and other institutions in their areas.

Due to lack of administrative, technical and financial capacity, the Government stewardship was not adequate, and led to wasteful and unsustainable use of available natural resources. In order to overcome the problem and create sound strategies for the management of natural resources located in rural areas the government introduced in 1995 a National Environmental Management Program (Virtanen and Palmujoki, 2002).

Since 1994 new sectoral policies were also developed to improve the situation. In addition to the National Environmental Management Program, these include the land policy (1995), the agricultural policy (1995) and associated strategies (including the fisheries policy and implementation strategy of 1996, and forestry and wildlife policy and strategy of 1997), the national plan and strategy to conserve biodiversity (1997), and the water policy (1995). In addition the national legal framework has since been developed to support the sustainable use of natural resources. The key statutes are the Framework Environmental Law (20/1997), the Land Law (19/1997), the Forest and Wildlife Law (10/1999) (Virtanen and Palmujoki, 2002, p. 49).

The strengthening of the above mentioned institutions and laws showed, in the years following the civil war, the state commitment to the principles of sustainable development, including the need to protect environmentally sensitive areas and species. The state also recognizes the rights of local communities to participate in the management and use of land and natural resources (Matakala and Mushove, 2001).

3.7. Conclusion

Since the early days of the Portuguese presence in Mozambique, the country has witnessed an increase in the exploitation of natural resources. To achieve its objectives the Portuguese colonial authority had created an administrative system, to serve their interests. Rebel traditional leaders were displaced and replaced by those who showed loyalty to them.

During the colonial period, the Portuguese authorities redoubled its efforts aimed to control the country's resources. For this purpose, in the 1950s they demarcated areas with valuable natural resources (forest reserves, park and hunting areas), which could be further used for commercial purposes. Outside protected areas, the colonial government reserved to

itself rights of setting up rules regarding the licensing of companies willing to operate natural resources (especially forest and wildlife). In remote rural areas, the Portuguese colonial authorities relegated the practices and attitudes concerning natural resources management to the traditional authorities.

After the independence of Mozambique, the new Government broke with the colonial economic development model by introducing a development based on centralised socialism. In practice much of Government efforts were undermined by the civil conflict from 1977 to 1992. The war overshadowed the government efforts toward the protection of the natural resources and damaged the country's natural resource base. After the civil war, the government made efforts to push forward the country's economy, and to rehabilitate and improve the natural ecosystems. From 1994 onwards, the government with technical and financial support of its international cooperation partners designed and implemented important projects, among them the Chimanimani TFCAP.

CHAPTER FOUR: ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHIMANIMANI TFCAP IN SUSSUNDENGA DISTRICT

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the establishment of the TFCAPs in Mozambique. It pays special attention to the establishment of the Chimanimani TFCA Project in Sussundenga district. Thus, I analyse the process of the establishment of the Project and the institutionalisation of the grassroots institutions (local management committees and the income-generating associations). The chapter also explains the extent to which the Project affected local peoples' lives.

4.2. The Rationale for the Establishment of the TFCAPs in Mozambique

The end of the civil conflict in 1992 opened windows of opportunities for rural development. From 1992 onward conservation as well as development projects could be implemented in rural areas without impediment. After the first multiparty election held in 1994, the Government embarked on several plans (social, economic and environmental programs) aimed at reducing poverty through the promotion of sustainable social and economic development (Couto, 2006, p. 28).

For most rural areas with valuable natural resource, the Government recommended feasibility studies toward the establishment of conservation and development projects (Nhantumbo et al., 2003).

During the elaboration of the Mozambican TFCAP management plan the Government benefited from technical assistance and financial support from the World Bank.[33] As the TFCAP was one of the components of the regional Transboundary Conservation Area

[33] To undertake the impact assessment studies the Global Environment Facility (GEF), through the World Bank, provided funds for the feasibility studies, which examined the ecological, social, economic, and political feasibility of the initiative (Katerere, Y., et al; 2001, p. 5). During the implementation phase the World Bank/GEF helped the project by conducting research related to environmental impact assessments; it worked with provincial and local institutions for the elaboration of the Project Management Plan. It worked as the technical adviser during the implementation of the project at local levels and organized many seminars to get more input related to the best forms to be used in the management of the Project and suggested amendments and solutions for the specific cases and compiled the management plan for one of the 3 areas. Funds donated by the World Bank assured the implementation of the Project in its early phases and contributed to the capacity building of the Project's staff.

Initiative (TCAI) supported by the World Bank through the Global Environmental Facility (Wolmer, 2003, Katerere, Y., et al, 2001).

In 1996 the World Bank the produced the general framework for the Mozambican transfrontier conservation areas which became known as Transfrontier Conservation Areas Pilot and Institutional Strengthening Project Framework. The assessment studies identified three areas (Limpopo, Maputo and Chimanimani) suitable for the establishment of TFCA projects (Wolmer, 2003; Virtanen, 2005, World Bank /GEF 1996, DNFFB, 1996).

In essence, the establishment of the TFCA Projects in Mozambique would promote economic and political integration of the proposed areas into the regional transboundary conservation areas initiative[34] and help the government to test the approaches and synergies between conservation and community development in poor areas where income earning opportunities are limited (Katerere, Y., et al, 200, see also Wolmer, 2003).

The Government received support from the World Bank to implement this project because it was consistent with its assistance strategy for Mozambique (World Bank, 1996; p. 14).

The overall costs of the Project were estimated at 8.1 million USD. This amount included the implementation of the Project in three TFCAs. The money was given to the Government in a long-term pay off basis. From this amount, 1.5 million USD was disbursed for the implementation of the Project in Chimanimani[35](World Bank /GEF, 1996, Appendix 3).

Before the Project began, many protocols and agreements were signed between the Government (represented by the DNFFB) and the World Bank (represented by GEF senior officials) (Katerere et. al., 2001).

There was little intervention of the World Bank in specific areas. In fact the task of implementing the Project within the three proposed conservation areas was delegated to the DNFFB (Worl Bank, 1996, p.19).

To begin with, working groups were created in each of the three conservation areas. Generally, the representatives of all stakeholders forming part of the Project composed these

[34] The Trans Boundary Conservation Areas Initiative as the idea/strategy became known was aimed to link similar ecosystems in the region located on the both sides along the borders of the countries involved in the initiative among them Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa (World Bank /GEF, 1996).
[35] The specific Project, which our study focuses on.

groups. The Chimanimani working group was composed in later 1996. This working group had regular meetings with the Project coordinator at the Provincial Directorate of Forest and Wild Life (SPFFB),[36] its responsibilities was to prepare local natural resource management plan and implement the Project action plan (Interview with Ana Paula Reis. Chimoio, 14 December 2005).

In order to find a coordinator for the Chimanimani TFCA Project, the DNFFB launched a call for applications for the vacancy. An experienced engineer (Ana Paula Reis) in the field of wildlife resource management was selected. The coordinator was to be responsible for supervising all activities undertaken by all stakeholders (NGOs, government institutions, private sector, local management committee, income generating association, etc.). Consequently, she had to be the chairperson of the local working group (Katerere et al., 2001. p. 6-7).

At the provincial level, the Project coordinator was to be accountable to provincial director of SPFFB. At the national level she had to be accountable to the DNFFB. She had also the responsibility of reporting to the SPFFB the activities being undertaken by all stakeholders within Chimanimani. She was to submit her report to the Provincial Directorate of Forest and Wildlife. After its approval at the provincial level it was submitted to DNFFB by the SPFFB. The DNFFB had the final responsibility of compiling in single report the three reports from the three TFCAs submission to the donor (the World Bank) (Interview with Ana Paula Reis. Chimoio, 14 December 2005).

4.3. The Establishment of the Chimanimani TFCA within Sussundenga District

The Chimanimani high altitude rain forests constitute one of the rare natural ecosystems in Mozambique and because of that it had been interest of both colonial and the post-independent governments to implement conservation projects in Chimanimani. During the colonial period, the Portuguese authorities concentrated their efforts on preserving the Moribane rain forest. These efforts ended up in 1959 with the delimitation of the area now belonging to Moribane reserve (Interview with Inacio Naive Cherechere and Samuel Sete Muchate, peasants. Moribane, 13 December 2005).

[36] See projects partners, section n° 4. 3.

After independence, the government tried to establish a biodiversity conservation project in the area, but the civil war undermined the plan. After the civil war, the idea was revived and its implementation was made possible through the National Program for the Environmental Management (NPEM) (Nuvunga, 1995, p. 4).

The impact assessment studies for Chimanimani TFCAP began in the early 1995 and after a year of research, workshops, and debates[37] at the provincial and local levels, the *Chimanimani Management Plan* was concluded and ready to be implemented (DNFFB, 1999).

The Project designed CBNRM programs to improve biodiversity conservation systems, while land security measures, social infrastructure development (schools, roads, clinics and shops), non-forest degrading income generating activities, and small-scale conservation and development activities would be introduced to improve the living conditions of local communities. Since the area has striking natural features (waterfalls, beautiful views, conditions for mountain hiking, wildlife), the Project included in the *Development Plan* the establishment of tourism activities (eco and cultural tourism)[38](DNFFB, 1999).

According to the *Project Development Plan*, the establishment of alternative sustainable livelihoods (income generating activities such as bottled water production, timber harvesting, bee keeping, mushroom collection and fish farming) would create conditions for the improvement of living conditions of local communities. Money earned from such activities could be reinvested in community development programs and other social areas not directly targeted by the Project (food security, health, social network, savings equity, ownership resources, etc.) (DNFFB, 1999).

From late 1996 to early 2002 about USD 1.5 million was sourced by the World Bank to ensure the establishment of the Chimanimani TFCAP (World Bank, 1996). The money was used for the implementation of the Project's programs (rehabilitation of roads, acquisition of social benefits[39]), payment of salaries of Project staff and workers (technicians, scouts, camp guards, masons, etc.), seminars, workshops, running costs (payment of

[37] Debates were undertaken with scholars, civil society, NGOs and governmental institutions.
[38] It was hoped that the local conditions and the lifestyles of the local people would attract national and international tourists to the area.
[39] The social benefits include the construction of primary school in the 5 areas, the opening of canteens and the acquisition of the mill).

communication facilities: water electricity, fuel, etc.), establishment of income generating activities (maize commercialisation, bee-keeping, mushroom collection and fish farming activities, etc.) (Interview with Ana Paula Reis. Chimoio, 14 December 2005).

Grants allocated to the Project were divided in to three main areas: *institution building, natural resource utilization and infrastructure development* (DNFFB, 1999 - Appendix 3, p. 3). For the *institution building* programs, the Project allocated USD 290 000. This amount was used for the training of community facilitators; establish registered local management committees, income generating associations and the training of community members in income generating programs (World Bank, 1996; Appendix 3).

About USD 1.093.000 was used in activities related to *natural resource utilization* - demarcation of communal land within *buffer zones*, establishment of income generating activities[40] forest inventory, consultancies and assessment studies for the development of small business projects like tourism, bottled water production and timber harvesting. About USD 185.000 was used in *infrastructure development* (maintenance of roads construction of bridges and five tourist camps (World Bank, 1996 - Appendix 3).

Other grants[41] were used to buy and maintain vehicles used for the implementation of the Projects programs. The Project also bought Very High Frequency (VHF) communications systems used for communication between the staff working in Chimoio and those working in Chimanimani (Interview Ana Paula Reis, Chimoio: 14 December 2005).

According to Pedro Garikai (former vice coordinator and community liaison official of the Chimanimani TFCAP), the complexity of the activities undertaken by the Project required the creation of partnerships between the implementers (SPFFB) and other institutions doing related activities in the area. The Project had partnerships with the following institutions: Cultural Patrimony Archive (ARPAC); Manica Social Education Group (GESOM), Organization for the Empowerment of the Rural Woman (AMRU); ORAM; Cultural Activist Program (PAC), Chimoio Agrarian Institute (IAC) and Forest Experimental Centre (CEF) (Interview with Pedro Garikai, former vice coordinator and community liaison official of the Chimanimani TFCAP. Chimoio, 13 December 2005).

[40] Maize surplus commercialisation, bee keeping, mushroom collection and fish farming.
[41] Our interviewee did not reveal the money used to buy the vehicles and the VHF communication system.

These institutions had their offices in Chimoio (the capital of Manica province) where working group meetings took place. They also had to have their staff working within Chimanimani. In order to coordinate the activities undertaken by these institutions, the Project scheduled monthly meetings to discuss their agendas and tasks and the problems faced by all stakeholders in their work. It was in such meetings that representatives of the different institutions presented their results and defined responsibilities for the following period (Interview with Pedro Garikai. Chimoio, 13 December 2005).

The responsibilities of these institutions were as described below:

ARPAC responsibility was to carry out historical research concerning people's life histories; habits, behaviours and beliefs. Information collected by ARPAC was used by the Project to understand local practices and attitudes regarding natural resource management. Such information was useful in the elaboration of *action plans* for each of the five Chimanimani communities (Interview with Alberto Caetano Mariano, former technician of the Chimanimani TFCAP. Chimoio, 10 December 2005).

As a community radio, GESOM activities focused on broadcasting the Project's programs, aimed at making the community aware of the benefits that they could gain from their involvement in the Project (Interview with Pedro Garikai, vice Project coordinator and community Liaison Official. December, 13 January 2005).

The Project also collaborated with AMRU, an institution that was working toward the empowerment of local women. AMRU organized local women to take part in commercial fairs in the nearest villages and towns where the household agricultural surpluses (especially maize) were sold (Pedro Garikai. Chimoio, 13 December 2005).

During the establishment of the Project programs, the local communities benefited from technical environmental awareness programs undertaken by ORAM within Chimanimani communities. ORAM also assisted the local communities in the process of delimitation of communal lands as well as in the process of institutionalisation of the local management committees and income generating associations (Interview with Jorge Consul, ORAM representative in Chimanimani Project. Chimoio, 15 January 2005)

To achieve its objectives and goals, the Project also used cultural programs such as community festivals, dance, and music to spread its agenda throughout the communities. The responsibility for the organization of the cultural programs was conferred to PAC (an

organization specialising in cultural issues). The Project had collaboration with academic and research institutions like IAC and CEF respectively (Interview with Mario Mussa Chipanzeque, scout and former president of the Moribane local management committee. Moribane, 11 December 2005).

To ensure the implementation of activities attributed to its partners, the Project allocated specific grants to these institutions, all of which all played an important role in the establishment of the Project's programs in Chimanimani. They created the basic conditions for the establishment of many of the Project's programs.

> When we went for the first time to Chimanimani people were unaware of their roles in the management of natural resources surrounding the areas in which they live. They had never heard about CBNRM program, they had never heard about any kind of community associations, in Nhaedzi for example, people had no access to facilities, … they had to go to Zimbabwe for milling and shopping. They had to send their sons to Zimbabwe for schooling … the only activity practiced in the region was subsistence agriculture (Interview with Jorge Consul, ORAM representative in Chimanimani Project. Chimoio, 15 January 2005).

4.3.1. The Project's Skills Building Program

From 1996 to 2002, the TCAISP helped the Mozambican government to upgrade its staff's skills through institutional strengthening and capacity building programs in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. The institutional capacity building programs created facilities for the implementation of the Project program in the three TFCAs.

At the provincial level, the Project trained its staff by enrolling them in capacity building programs and exchange tours. It strengthened the institutional performance by hiring qualified technicians to work for the Project (SPFFB, 1999, p 6). At the local level, 23 local community members were selected and sent to Gorongosa National Park to be trained as community scouts (Interview with Ana Paula Reis. Chimoio, 14 December 2005).

In order to help the implementation of its program, the Project created facilities for the creation of grassroots institutions such as local management committees and income generating association. It also helped clarifying the membership rights of these grassroots institutions. The responsibility for the creation of the basic conditions for the institutionalisation of such local institutions was allocated to ORAM (Interview with Ana Paula Reis. Chimoio, 14 December 2005).

The selection of the members of the local management committees was based on free election among qualified candidates nominated by the community (Interview with Jorge Consul. Chimoio, 15 January 2005).

> We had to nominate the candidates who we considered could represent us in the Project. It was amongst the nominated candidates that the community had to choose their representatives. The selection of representatives were made through election by all of 18 of age and above, and living in the community… (Interview with Nhatina Nhaedzi, Nhaedzi traditional leader. Nhaedzi, 6 December 2005).

According to Jorge Consul, 10 individuals (men and women from each community) had to be elected to become members of the local management committee. The elected members had to have good relationships with the other members of the community and the local traditional authorities. They had to express the interests of their communities in their relationship with the Project. For example, before a meeting with the Project staff to schedule the an implementation of a given plan, the members of the local management committees had to go through their communities to ask about their needs and what they thought the Project could do help them.

Since the activities of the local management committees were conducted after working hours, the members of these committees could continue with their normal work. In general there was only one meeting per week. However, there were special meetings if there were urgent problems to be solved. There were no salaries for the members of the local management committees (Interview with Alberto Caetano Mariano. Chimoio, 10 December 2005)[42].

> We were not paid…. We believed that we were working for the communities…. We believed that what we were doing was benefiting our communities. …. if the activities we supervised (management of the mill, canteen, income generating activities) were profitable we used the money to pay salaries for the mill operator, the canteen vendor and the staff working on income generating activities. If there was more money left, we used to pay the maintenance of the mill and buy groceries for the canteen…. After all this expenditure was made and we still had money we could then give incentives to the local management committees members … (Interview with Mario Mussa Chipanzeque, scout and former president of the Moribane local management committee. Moribane, 11 December 2005).

[42] Former project Technician

Although the guidelines concerning the creation of local management committees did not prescribe the number of men or women for each committee, they did outline the need for gender equity amongst its members. In the communities where I conducted the research (Moribane and Nhaedzi) I noticed that there was no such gender equity. To understand the causes of women´s lack of representation, I questioned Mário Mussa Chipanzeque a former president of Moribane local management committee, who explained that:

> Women´s lack of representation in the local management committees was caused by the prerequisites imposed by the Project for someone to be elected as a member … For example, it was a prerequisite that candidates had to be 18 years old and above and be a permanent resident in the area. He/she had to be available to work for the community when it was necessary… Because in this society the role of women is seen as belonging to the domestic sphere (child education; household activities which include firewood collection, cooking and farming), …. if a woman was elected to become a member of the local management committee, it meant that some times she had to abandon the household activities on which her family depended, to work for the committee. In Chimanimani and particularly in Moribane, women that were elected to the local management committee were those that did not have young children or had someone taking care of their homes when they were out on the local management committee business (Interview with Mário Mussa Chipanzeque, scout and former president of Moribane local management committee. Moribane, 11 December 2005).

Thus, the socio-cultural aspects of this society, which relegates women to the domestic sphere, contributed negatively to women´s participation in the local communities' decision-making process. Since the society relegates the female to domestic sphere, there were few female candidates nominated to become members of the local management committees.

According to Consul, community associations welcomed everyone willing to be registered as a member as long as he/she developed the activities; the association was concerned with (bee keeping, maize marketing, fish farming and mushroom collection). Everyone could be registered as a member of either one or more associations according to the activities he/she did. Since 2000, ORAM created conditions for the registration of local income generating associations. These associations were responsible for finding solutions for the development of the activities that they were concerned with and for channelling their problems to the Project.

To prepare the members of the local management committees for the work they were going to do, the Project supported experience visits. The members of the Chimanimani local management committees went to visit similar initiatives in Tchuma-Tchato (Mozambique), CAMPFIRE (Zimbabwe) and some went to Zambia, Kenya and Uganda. The exchange visits were aimed at introducing the members of the local management committees to some basic aspects concerning conservation, CBNRM programs, rural development and non-environment degrading income-generating activities. The selected sites were successful experiences of ICDPs (Interview with Alberto Caetano Mariano. Chimoio, 10 December 2005).

4.3.2. The Establishment of the Project in Nhaedzi

The Chimanimani TCAP was established in a mainly Ndau traditional community where people still believe that ancestors are the guardians of their lives. Consequently, the present as well as the future of their lives depend on their behaviours and respect of the rules set by their ancestors (Anstey and De Sousa, 1999, p. 198). To some extent, these beliefs affected local attitudes and practices concerning natural resource use and the relationship between local communities and the Project.

In Nhaedzi, local beliefs contribute to the preservation of biodiversity and wildlife. In this area the use of natural resources as well as hunting activities are prescribed by the law of the ancestors and an authorization has to be issued by the local traditional authority (mambo) for a person willing to hunt or do logging within the forest (Interview with Alberto Caetano Mariano. Chimoio, 10 December 2005).

> In Shona community, ancestors are believed to have handed down a set of rules according to which people in their area must live, including the rules regarding the use of natural resources. If these rules are broken, both the individual transgressor and the entire community must suffer. Punishment for breaking the rules of the ancestors is generally organized and overseen by the chief… (Institute for Social Studies/CEF/University of Sussex (UK) [undated] in: http://www.ogiek.org (Website visited in April 2005).

In Nhaedzi, a *council of the ancients*[43] chaired by the local *mambo* generally meets to define the priorities and needs concerning forest and wildlife resources. It is in these meetings where the areas allowed for logging and hunting are defined. The local rules also prohibit anyone killing big mammals without the local *mambo's consent.* Local beliefs also prohibit hunting activities for commercial purposes. The local community believes that a curse can fall to anyone acting against the rules set by their ancestors (Interview with Deniasse Chizicane, scout and former president of Nhaedzi local management committee. Nhaedzi, 3 December 2003).

Because the local customary rules regarding the management of natural resources had some of the principles advocated by CBNRM systems proposed by the Project for the area[44], the Project did not introduce significant changes in local natural resource management systems. It only strengthened the authority of the local management committees by making them the voices of their communities (Interview with Deniasse Chizicane, Nhaedzi, 3 December 2003). It also empowered the local traditional authority by setting them as the advisory body of the local management communities.

Since local customary laws did not clash with the legal frameworks, the Project allowed the community to use the local customary laws to solve problems resulting from natural resource use (especially forest and wildlife). If conflicts resulting from natural resource use were not solved locally and required the intervention of governmental institutions, the local management committee was responsible for channelling the problems to the Project staff, whose had the responsibility to forward the problems to the proper institutions (Interview with Ana Paula Reis, Chimoio: 14th December 2005).

In essence, the implementation of the Projects in Nhaedzi was facilitated by the collaboration of the local authorities with the Project staff.

> Chizicane was an influential man in the area. He was to be included in the community management committee. He was also a dynamic person; Chizicane understood us…. he facilitated our work within the area. He influenced his *mambo (*the local leader of Mapomberi chieftaincy - Régulo Dube) to accept our programs in the area… He was the one who helped us to carry to the community the Projects environmental awareness program (Interview with Pedro Garikai. Chimoio, 13 December 2005).

[43] In Chimanimani elder men and in some cases elder women generally compose the communities' councils of ancients.
[44] Conservation of the nature, introduction of a local management committee, control of hunting and logging, control of the opening of new farming areas in inappropriate areas, etc.

Since the early phase of the establishment of the Project in Nhaedzi there was cooperation with the local traditional authorities, but some community members resisted cooperating with the Project staff (Interview with Pedro Garikai. Chimoio, 13 December 2005). The ones who were reluctant to cooperate with the Project thought that the establishment of conservation Project in Nhaedzi would imply their removal from the area.

> Why should we have to be integrated in another system of resource management if the laws and rules of our ancestors (which we follow), have proved to be efficient for biodiversity conservation… they came here only because this area is better preserved than other areas… (Interview with Sandamucai Mateus Chirima, Nhaedzi tourist camp guard. Nhaedzi, 3 December 2005).

Another conflicting point resulted from the idea of substituting some of the agricultural practices, which threatened biodiversity conservation goals[45] by alternative sustainable livelihoods (income generating activities). In practice, the substitution of agriculture by alternative sustainable livelihoods (income generating activities) could have provided the community with money that could be used to improve their lives, however because it was the first time that such experiences were being introduced, it made the local community somehow unsure about the long-term sustainability of such initiatives, because failures of the programs would impact negatively in their lives. Moreover, "ceremonies to honour the local spirits involve the preparation of beer with grains produced on the land belonging to the spirits [Mareana Report 5 (undated)]"[46].

"Changing of activities would impede them from producing millet, a product used to prepare the traditional beer used in the traditional ceremonies. Changing of activities would lead to the loss of power because this community had to depend on their neighbours millets for the ceremonies to honour their ancestors" (ibid).

After many Project meetings with local community members, where the Project staff explained the Projects concerns, the conflicting points were quickly overcome; those who had been reluctant began to cooperate with the Project, but they reserved to themselves the righ to continue agricultural practices outside the *high priority conservation zones* (interview with Deniasse Chizicane, scout and former president of Nhaedzi local management committee. Nhaedzi, 3 December 2003).

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[45] Opening of farms in riverbanks, cutting down the forest for farming purposes, faming in steepy hills, etc

[46] See http://www.geog.sussex.ac.uk/research/development/marena/pdf/mozambique/Moz05.pdf (page consulter in April 2006).

In General in Chimanimani, the Project established a *biosphere reserve model* with two distinct areas. A *core area of highest conservation priority* containing the land from above 1000m altitude and a *low priority conservation zone* (the outer conservation areas also known as *buffer zones* located below 1000m altitude) (DNFFB, 1999). Within the proposed *biosphere reserve area*, there are two chieftaincies belonging to this community, the Chikukwa and Mapomberi. The Chikukwa chieftaincy is located on the *core area of highest conservation priority* and Mapomberi is located on the *low priority conservation zone* (DNFFB, 1999; see also map 3 in Appendix 1).

Unlike the Moribane rain forest, an area that was proclaimed forest reserve in the late 1950s, in Nhaedzi there had never been a conservation Project. The Chimanimani TFCA Project was the first initiative toward the establishment of a conservation program within the area (Nuvunga, 1995, p. 4).

In Nhaedzi, the Project's philosophy was to create in the *buffer zones* conditions that could attract single and collective households living in the *high priority conservation area* to the *buffer zones* (Interview with Ana Paula Reis, former Chimanimani Project coordinator. Chimoio, 14 December 2005).

The Project's philosophy was aimed at achieving its goals without forced removals. It would be in the *low priority conservations zones* where land for habitation, grazing and agriculture would be distributed to the local communities. It would be also in *low priority conservation zone* that the government would support the community in their agricultural practices and provide them with resources (axes, plough and fertilizers) to undertake their activities (Interview with Ana Paula Reis. Chimoio, 14 December 2005).

The existence of beautiful sights (landscapes, mountain and hills) in Nhaedzi led the Project to design the implementation of tourism programs (eco-tourism and cultural tourism) within the area. According to Paula Reis taxes and revenues from the activities would be used in community development programs (development of small business, improvement of social infrastructures, health services, education, etc).

The *Project management plan* had proposed the establishment of other small enterprises within the *buffer zones* of the proposed Nhaedzi biosphere reserve. The Chimanimani *management plan* also recommended the introduction of small enterprises like timber harvesting, bottled water production within the *buffer zones*. However, these activities

were never been implemented because of lack of funds (Interview with Ana Paula Reis. Chimoio, 14 December 2005).

4.3.3. The Establishment of the Project in Moribane

The Moribane rain forest was gazetted as a national reserve in 1959 (Boletim da República 29/1959). The area is located within the jurisdiction of the administrative post of Dombe in Sussundenga district. It covers approximately 53 km² of dense rain forest (Serra, 2001). The National Road nº 216, which links the southern part of the country and Sussundenga village, passes through the forest. Almost all the population living in the forest belongs to the chieftaincy of M'Punga (ibid).

In late 1996 when SPFFB began to establish the Chimanimani TFCAP in Moribane forest, there was a research unit belonging to the District Directorate of Forest and Wildlife Resources (DDFFB). The CEF had built a research camp to accommodate its teams researching rare native plants for its multiplication within the forest (Serra, 2001). CEF was also concerned with the introduction of alternative sustainable livelihoods that could make local communities less dependent on the local ecosystems.

Since CEF's objectives were similar to those of the Project, the SPFFB (the Chimanimani Project implementer) gave CEF the responsibility of implementing all of its programs and activities in Moribane (Interview with Ana Paula Reis, Chimoio: 14th December 2005).

Unlike Nhaedzi, where the establishment of the Project programs had been relatively easy after the local communities understood the Project concerns within the area, in Moribane the situation looked completely different (Serra, 2001). The existence of social infrastructures like roads, schools and shops at the nearest administrative post of Drawe[47], and local contexts contributed to lack enthusiasm about the Project's concerns.

Consequently, some of the people from this community refused to cooperate with the Project. For example, according to Pedro Garikai (vice project coordinator and Chimanimani Project community liaison official), people's behaviour and attitudes against the establishment of CBNRM programs in Moribane were informed by their social and historical experience. During the consultation process in Moribane, individuals who had seen the

[47]The administrative Post of Darwe is aproximately 4 km from the Project main camp in Moribane.

Government economic policies implemented in most of the rural areas in the years following independence suspected that the establishment of a conservation project within the area was a hidden strategy to bring back the old communal villages.

These reactions arouse because the environmental awareness programs broadcast by the Project advised the local community not to live scattered in the forest and to build their houses near the areas where the social infrastructures would be installed.

According to Garikai, the community saw this strategy as similar to that used by the Government to establish communal villages in the years following the country's independence and people from Moribane did not want to go through such an experience again.

Those who had been living within the area since the colonial period believed that the establishment of the Project would imply rigid restrictions in local resource use as had occurred in the colonial period when the area was proclaimed a forest reserve.

The non-cooperation strategy was abandoned at the time when Nhangabire M'Punga, the local traditional leader, realized that he would benefit from the Project if he convinces his community to cooperate with the Project. Using his influence M'Punga persuaded the community to cooperate with the Project. Before the program was established in the area, he was almost the only interlocutor with the Project, a factor which enabled him to persuade the community that the establishment of the Project´s programs such as income-generating activities, (and not only the CBNRM program) was a result of his bargaining power. Therefore, from that time he became seen as a leader committed to the development his community (Interview with Mario Chipanzeque, Moribane: 11th December 2005).

Due to the fact that Moribane forest reserve was used as a hiding place during the civil war, there had also been increased pressure on the local resources, especially the forest and wildlife. In the years following the civil conflict, forest clearing for agriculture contributed to the loss of hundreds of hectares in Moribane. This situation was critical because forest clearing for farming purposes was generally followed by destructive fires, which in turn burnt extensive forest areas (Schafer and Bell, 2002; Serra, 2001).

In order to overcome the depletion of the Forest, in early 1997, the CEF introduced CBNRM programs. These were based on the involvement of local communities in

management of local resources (Interview with Mateus Sete Razão, Moribane tourist camp guard, Moribane, 11th December, 2005).

4.4. Conclusion

The establishment of the Chimanimani TFCAP in Nhaedzi and Moribane was, to large extent, influenced by the local historical economic and cultural contexts. Traditional practices regarding natural resources use and management facilitated the establishment of the Project in Nhaedzi rather than in Moribane where local people resisted cooperation with the Project.

In order to ensure the local communities' participation in the Project programs and in the local decision making process, the Project worked with experienced NGOs (ORAM) in the process of the creation of grass root institutions that could represent their communities in their relationship with the Project as well as to participate in the local development decision-making process.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE IMPACT OF THE CHIMANIMANI TFCA PROJECT ON LOCAL COMMUNITIES

5.1. Introduction

The establishment of the Chimanimani TFCA Project in Sussundenga district was informed by the need of improvement of the natural resource management systems and the living conditions of the local communities. It was expected that the Project could contribute significantly to poverty reduction and utilise the synergies between conservation and community development. Consequently, the Project worked hard in identifying, developing and implementing alternative sustainable livelihood strategies that could encourage local communities to stop depleting the local ecosystems as well as provide self-employment, and it introduced CBNRM programs to enhance community participation in biodiversity management (World Bank, 1996, p. 6-7).

This chapter discuss the impact of the Project programs in the areas where the research has focused, namely Moribane and Nhaedzi.

5.2. Project Contribution on Social Infrastructure Development

After the end of the civil conflict access to rural areas of Mozambique was very difficult. During the war most rural roads became derelict due to deficient maintenance (World Bank, 1996). For the maintenance of the tertiary roads (most of them located in rural areas), the Government benefited from funds from the World Bank (Hanlon, 2004).

The funds allowed the government to rehabilitate most rural roads including the National Road nº 216, which cuts through three[48] of the five Chimanimani communities. Since the Mahate and Nhaedzi communities are located in a very high altitude zone (heart of Chimanimani Massif), [49] these areas did not benefit from the tertiary roads rehabilitation program. As these areas did not benefit from the tertiary roads rehabilitation plan they have been the focus of the Chimanimani TFCA Project activities.

[48] Zomba, Moribane and Tsetsera

[49] According to Garikai the construction of the Road to Mahate was very expensive if compared to other communities. The construction of road to this area needed large amounts of money and since this area is mountainous with very low population density of it was not targeted as priority for the government.

In late 1996 the Project started with the rehabilitation of the road which links Mahate and Nhaedzi to National Road nº 216 at Chimbuare Junction[50]. For this work the Project used approximately 120 locally hired labourers. According to Garikai, hiring the workers locally had many advantages. There was no need for the Project to pay extra money for the accommodation of the workers; there were no transport costs and it was easy to bring the workers back to work when for any reason the works were temporarily interrupted.

From the time the Project began to open the road from Chimbuare Junction to Ferreira[51], more than 120 individuals from Nhaedzi and Mahate communities found jobs. The rehabilitation of the road took approximately 3 years. During this period people who were hired to work on the road were able to help themselves and their relatives. With the money earned (opening of the roads, construction of tourist camps, etc.), they bought bicycles, which are still used for transport locally. Incomes earned from these activities also helped many families in their daily needs (e.g.: to buy commodities and groceries and to pay for the education and health of their children) (Interview with Penisela Chigurugue, David Mudaugare, Richard Chianga, peasants. Nhaedzi, 9 December 2005).

After the creation of access facilities to Nhaedzi and Mahate the Project began to the implement the social infrastructure development program. In 1999 the Project offered money (10 million meticais[52] - approximately R3000) to the five Chimanimani communities to open community canteens. According to Nhatina Nhaedzi money offered by the Project is still used to buy groceries, which are sold in the canteens.

> We use money offered by the Project to buy groceries in Chimoio and sell them to community now we don't need to go to Sussundenga, Darwe or Zimbabwe for shopping … we have almost all we need in our canteens (Interview with Nhatina Nhaedzi, traditional leader, Nhaedzi, 6th December 2005).

In order to reduce the long distance that children from Chimanimani communities had to walk to find schools, the Project in collaboration with the District Directorate of Education (DDE) built primary schools for each of the Chimanimani five communities. The construction of the primary schools contributed to increasing the number of children

[50] The Chimbuare Junction is located on the national road n° 216. From Chimbuare Junction to Ferreira in the heart of Chimanimani massif where is also located the main Camp of the Chimanimani Project's is approximately 33 km.
[51] Ferreira is a Small Village located at the heart of Chimanimani massif. It is also in Ferreira where the main Project tourist camp in Chimanimani is located.
[52] Metical is the currency now in use in Mozambique and meticais being the plural.

attending school. For example, before the construction of the local primary school children from Nhaedzi had to walk long distances to Chikukwa in Zimbabwe to school[53] (Interview with Pedro Garikai. Chimoio, 13 December 2005)

Because of lack of funds, the Project did not built clinics within Chimanimani. However, in coordination with the District Directorate of Health (DDS), the Project regularly provided health services[54] and vaccination campaigns to the local communities. The Project also offered grinding mills to the Chimanimani communities. The objective of the Project in offering the mills was to reduce the long distances that inhabitants of theses communities (especially women) had to walk to find mills either in Darwe[55] (in the case of women from Moribane community) or in Chikukwa in Zimbabwe[56] (in case of women from Nhaedzi) (Interview with Pedro Garikai. Chimoio, 13 December 2005).

The infrastructure development program helped to improve the lives of the Chimanimani communities through the increase of mobility within the area (people and goods from Chimanimani could now easily move from one area to another).

After the infrastructures were built (schools and roads) the Project transferred the responsibility of their maintenance to the local communities. Due to the fact that the Project had used locally available materials to open the road, build the school, the canteens and the tourist camps, it had become quite easy for the local community to maintain such infrastructures. In December 2005, when I visited the area, I observed that the infrastructures built by the Project were still in good condition. According to my interviewees, *when there is a need to repair or fix something, the local management committees organise teams to do the work*. For example, in December 2005, I observed on my way to Nhaedzi more than four teams (of about 8 individuals each) working on the road.

The Project has also delegated the responsibility of the management of social benefits like the mills and the canteens to the local management communities. During the fieldwork I noticed that the social infrastructures are still benefiting the local communities. Money earned from the use of the canteen and the grinding mill is invested in other areas according to the needs of local communities.

[53] Chikukwa is located in other side of the border in Zimbabwe, approximately 7 from Nhaedzi
[54] Regularly the project contracted health technician to provide health services and vaccination campaigns within Chimanimani communities
[55] Approximately 4 km from Moribane
[56] Chikukwa is located in other side of the border in Zimbabwe, approximately 7 from Nhaedzi

In terms of results this program has a good records and has contributed to the improvement of living conditions within the area.

5.3. The Project Impact on Environmental Management System

When the Chimanimani TFCA Project began to be implemented in Sussundenga district in late 1996, agriculture was the only subsistence activity practiced by the local communities. Increasing numbers of farms in the area were contributing to the depletion of local forests (Serra, 2001). To reverse such trends, the Project involved local communities in the management of local ecosystems. It used environmental awareness programs to persuade local communities to participate in the control of illegal activities like the opening of new farms in inappropriate areas[57], illegal logging, poaching and starting of fires within the local forests.

> It was in the meetings with the local communities where we were taught about the benefits of preserving the natural ecosystems. The Project advised us about the dangers that may stem from natural resource depletion (Interview with Inacio Naïve Cherechere and Samuel Sete Muchate, peasants. Moribane, 13 December 2006).

The Project also worked with the institutionalised local management committees in the process of devolution of the rights of the management of local resources to the local levels. For that reason, it gave the local management committees the authority to manage and regulate the use of the local available natural resources by the members of local communities. It also gave to these institutions the authority to arrest those caught opening new farms in inappropriate areas, logging, poaching or starting fires within the forest. According to the seriousness of the problem, the transgressors could be judged either locally or sent to appropriate institutions (Interview with Manuel Mahamba Mafuca, peasant, member of the local management committee. Moribane, 10 December 2005).

The involvement of the local communities in biodiversity conservation programs contributed to the decreasing illegal hunting, logging activities and the starting of fires within local forests. For example, in Nhaedzi as well as in Moribane, the involvement of the local community in biodiversity management programs contributed significantly in this respect.

[57] There were areas, which were not allowed for the local communities to open new farm in farm on the steepy slopes near streams or to cut down forest.

Since then, all the members of the communities became responsible for patrolling their areas and reporting to the local management committees all illegal activities that they could see in their areas (Interview with Deniasse Chizicane. Nhaedzi, 3 December 2003).

Local community members were selected and sent to Gorongosa National Park to be trained as community scouts and were employed to work within their communities on their return. Because the scouts were recruited locally it was easy for them to recognise strangers or illegal hunters in their communities (Interview with Ana Paula Reis, Chimoio, 14 December 2005).

According to our interviewees the implementation of the Project in these areas also enabled the preservation of the community interest areas like rock paintings, waterfalls, caves, picturesque landscapes and hills (Interview with Penisela Chigurugue, David Mudaugare and Richard Chianga, peasants. Nhaedzi, 9 December 2005).

> The Project experiences showed us that it is possible to use our resources for our own development…. Moreover it brought us a primary school, it rehabilitated the roads, it brought a mill and gave us money to open a canteen; they institutionalised local management committees and income generating associations and empowered our community in decision-making processes…. It means that if we conserve our natural resources many projects can be implemented in the area … and more benefits will accrue to the area (Interview with Deniasse Chizicane. Nhaedzi, 3 December 2003).

Since one of the problems[58] threatening biodiversity conservation goals in Chimanimani (especily in Moriane) was related to the increase in banana farms in inappropriate areas; the Project prohibited the opening of such farms on steep slopes near streams (Schafer and Bell, 2002, p. 416). The Project introduced penalties for those caught starting fires or cutting down trees for the opening of new banana farms out of the areas allowed for such practices. After the introduction of all these measures the number of banana farms in inappropriate areas decreased considerably in Chimanimani (Interview with Amelia Fernando, peasant, member of the Moribane local management committee, Moribane: 11th December, 2005).

[58] Banana farm in Chimanimani and especially in Moribane were most often set in inappropriate areas (sloppy riverbanks), thus contributing to soil erosion.

5.4. The Project contribution on the Living Conditions and Poverty Alleviation

5.4.1. Employment and Job Creation

In order to generate and maintain alternative sustainable livelihoods, the Project introduced income-generating programs not likely to degrade environment like, bee-keeping, mushroom collection, fish farming and agricultural surplus commercialisation. These income-generating activities were introduced as strategies to make local communities less dependant on local habitats.

5.4.1.1 Bee Keeping Program

To initiate income-generating programs, in 1998 the Project invited the German NGO, GTZ[59] to conduct research aimed at exploring the potentialities of the area for bee keeping. The study concluded that the area had excellent conditions for the development of bee keeping activity (Serra, 2001).

After the study, the Project delegated the Organization for the Empowerment of the Rural Woman (AMRU) to undertake the bee-keeping program. The nature and principles[60] of AMRU led the organisation to work exclusively with women in this program.

Because local beliefs regarding gender division of labour see bee keeping as a male activity, local men protested and boycotted the AMRU's bee-keeping program (Serra, 2001).

> Married woman were forbidden by their husbands to participate in the beekeeping program, some men threatened to burn the hives used for the production of honey, some hid the equipment used for the collection of the honey so that their wives could not keep developing the activity (Interview with Inacio Naïve Cherechere and Samuel Sete Muchate, peasants. Moribane, 13th December 2006).

Relying on fieldwork experience, I understood that local men feared that if the local women engaged in the bee-keeping activities, they could earn more money than the men. Accordingly, the situation could contribute to instability in the family. In local men's

[59]Deutsche Gersellschaft fur Technsche Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). The GTZ or Germany Development Cooperation has been operating in Mozambique since 1985 providing viable, forward-looking solutions for political, economic, ecological and social development. It has supported reforms and the changing processes in Mozambique. Its activities were mainly geared to improving people's living conditions and prospects on a sustainable development basis (see http://www.gtz.de/en/weltweit/afrika/591.htm).

[60] Nation wide, AMRU nature, goals and objectives are concerned with the empowerment of rural women in the development process. For the reason in all areas where this organisation undertakes its activities, they work exclusively with women.

perceptions if women had more money than men, they would wish to be more independent and consequently there would be more divorces in the community.

Although it was quite difficult to find explanation for such behaviour, analysing the social and cultural traditions of the ordinary people from Chimanimani (see Simbine, 2001, Virtanen, 2005), I have come to conclusion that local communities in Chimanimani continue to live in a traditional patriarchal society where men are struggling to maintain control over financial resources within their household.

Since local women had no power to change the course of the situation they resigned themselves to their fate. Although it was not possible to interview some of the AMRU staff that worked for the area, I concluded that AMRU's strategy was to give an opportunity for the local woman to have a profitable activity, which could allow them to have incomes. Saving from the activity could be used in their daily needs, especially in the education of their children. If their children (especially daughters) were more educated, they could be in position to demand their and their mother's rights within and outside their community.

In my analysis I came to the conclusion that the GTZ research for the implementation of the activity within the area was more technical (the potentiality of the area for bee keeping activities) and it did not take into consideration social and cultural factors that could have hindered the implementation of the activity. In my analysis, if the assessment studies had been done properly, they could have prevented the organisation introducing such activities and led to the suggestion of other (locally acceptable) profitable activities or trying other ways to empower the participation of local women in decision-making.

As a response to the men's boycott of AMRU's bee keeping program, the activity was changed, so that it was based on local households, and that incomes from the activity could be controlled not only by woman but by the households itself. The Project reserved to itself the responsibility to buy the honey produced by the local households (José Fernado Ranguana, scout. Moribane, 11 December 2005).

Notwithstanding the fact that the Project found a solution for this problem, lack of markets for the honey produced made the program unsustainable and because of that the program was interrupted after the end of Project in 2002. Those who got their hives from the Project continue to produce honey, not for commercial purposes but for their families' consumption (Interview with Fernado Ranguana, scout. Moribane, 11 December 2005).

Here again, the Project implementers failed to conduct a reliable viability study, which might determine whether there were markets for the product and what alternatives could be developed in the case of the absence of local markets.

5.4.1.2. Fish-farming Program

The existence of excellent conditions (many rivers and valleys, lowlands with watercourse (especially in Moribane) stimulated the Project to introduce fish-farming program in Chimanimani. This activity was conceived as providing alternative sources of proteins to the Chimanimani communities[61]. Moreover the farmers could sell their surpluses in the local markets.

To get people ready for the fish-farming program, the Project invited those interested in participating in the program to visit fish farms raised for sale and consumption in Penhalonga (Zimbabwe). Notwithstanding the time and money spent in training programs less than 10 individuals among the 30 trained embraced the activity. Interviews with local community members revealed that the local communities´ expectations were that the Project would create fishponds[62] for the individuals willing to start the activity.

> The opening of ponds for fish farming is a very difficult and tiring activity…. the work is quite damaging, nobody can do that job alone especially in this area where the land is very hard to dig… we expected that the Project was going to open and distribute the fishponds for us… and we did not realise that it was our responsibility to create the ponds (Interview with Mário Mussa Chipanzeque. Moribane, 11December 2005)

Those individuals who were able to open their ponds received from the Project up to 200 *fingerlings*[63] to start fish farming. Those who opened their ponds in 1999 have sufficient fish for their families' consumption. Some of them even manage to sell the surplus of their production in the nearest village of Sussundenga.

According to Chipanzeque, fish farming is the only sustainable income-generating activity introduced by the Project in Moribane. Because of this there are many individuals

[61] This activity was not introduced in Nhaedzi do the specificity of the area The geographical characteristics of the area (mountains) did not allow the Project to introduce bee keeping and fish farming activities
[62] Fishpond – a well opened on the ground whit the purpose of a breeding space for fish. Fish farming system in Mozambique has been introduced by the DDARD in many of the districts of Manica province. Individual household can dig/open their pond for fish farming purposes.
[63] Fingerling – fish specie introduced in Manica for fish farming purposes.

willing to start the activity. Up to now, fish farming is increasing within Moribane. Those who received fingerlings from the Project are now augmenting the number of their fishponds. Due to the fact that all the Project programs were suspended in 2002, there is no more support for this program. Consequently, those wishing to start the activity now have to buy the *fingerlings* from their neighbours and ask the SPFFB for permission to undertake the activity. After the interruption of the Project in 2002, it became the responsibility of SPFFB to indicate the areas where the activity can be developed (Interview with Mario Mussa Chipanzeque. Moribane, 11 December 2005).

5.4.1.3. Mushroom Collection Program

Another non-forest degrading income generating activity introduced by the Project in Chimanimani was mushroom collection. However, lack of investment and technical support undermined the sustainability of this program. For example, for the product (collected mushrooms) to be accepted in international markets, it is required that the mushrooms be up to international standards. This meant at least that the mushrooms have to be dried in special conditions; nevertheless the Project did not buy the equipment necessary for drying the mushrooms collected locally. Additionally the Project did not develop infrastructure for the storage of the collected mushrooms. Because of the absence of such storage, the product was often exposed to rains, which contributed to their deterioration (Interview with Denisse Chizicane. Nhaedzi, 3 December 2003).

5.4.1.4. Agricultural Surplus Commercialisation Program

Since the people from Chimanimani had problems in finding markets for their agricultural surpluses, in 1998 the Project introduced the agricultural surplus commercialisation program. This program aimed to help Chimanimani communities to find markets for their agricultural surpluses (especially maize). Within Chimanimani this program was only introduced in the buffer zones of the biosphere reserve and in some areas adjacent to Moribane Forest, but it was not implemented in the high priority conservation zone, because the implementers were afraid that the introduction of this program could have impacted negatively on conservation of the local ecosystems. They concluded that the

program could have stimulated maize production and consequently the expansion of farming areas within the forest (Interview with Ana Paula Reis. Chimoio, 14 December 2005).

From 1998 to 2002 most of the Project's efforts to help the Chimanimani local communities sell their agricultural surplus were undermined by the bad harvests caused by droughts and pests, which affected maize production. Because local communities did not produce enough for themselves, they did not have enough surplus to be sold in commercial fairs organised by AMRU (Interview with Sandamucai Mateus Chirima, peasant, Nhaedzi camp guard. Nhaedzi: 3 December 2005).

5.5. Power and Gender Relations during the Project Activities

Leadership structures and kinship relations generally structure how a given community behaves in a given society or how the community reacts to external pressures requiring changed attitudes toward rules that have long governed social relations as well as the access and management of natural resources. In Mozambique, the Zambezi River constitutes a natural boundary between societies organized according to patrilineal kinship principles (those located in the south of the Zambezi) and those organized according to matrilineal principles of kinship relations (those located to the north of the river) (Newitt, 1994).

According to Mayers (1994) matrilineal structures in Mozambique are more often associated with agrarian societies living in small-scale dispersed settlements, while patrilineal structures are often associated with the raising of livestock and the centralized political domains, where men generally set up the social rules and behaviours concerning access to land and natural resources (water, wildlife, forest, land and expansive grazing lands).

Communities in our case study are located south of the Zambezi and are constituted essentially by Ndau patriarchal societies where male influence is felt in all spheres of society (Simbine, 2002). Despite the fact that this society recognizes the role of women in many social spheres (child education; household activities which include firewood collection, cooking and farming), the local traditional rules and customary laws give little authority to women especially regarding access to land and other related resources.

In this society men are the individuals who have rights over the land allocated to a given family or household. Customary laws in Chimanimani generally give men the authority

to establish priorities over the use of the available resources. In this society, social hierarchies, social behaviour and traditional rules generally determine how an individual or individuals interact with other members of the same society. As a result, social and cultural aspects of this society have affected the relationship between the Project and the community (Interview with Nhatina Nhaedzi, traditional leader. Nhaedzi, 6 December 2005; see also Anstey and de Sousa, 1999, p. 198).

In Chimanimani traditional leaders commanded respect and are more legitimate sources of authority than the government at the local level, and because of that kind of relationship and behaviour, the relationship between the Project and the community implied close relationship with local leaders[64].

Regarding gender roles, I noticed that the local beliefs regarding gender division of labour have impacted negatively on the participation of local women in the local decision making processes. The community beliefs, which relegate the woman to the domestic domain, explain the limited participation of woman in the local management committees and decision-making process. For example women had to abandon their role in local management committees and association to take care of child education and household activities, which include firewood collection, cooking and farming, etc[65].

5.6. The Communal Land Tenure Program

The use of CBNRM programs as a strategy to promote sustainable use of natural resources in Mozambique is informed by the fact that this kind of program enhances the participation of local communities in the management of their resources and allows the communities located in areas with valuable resources to obtain benefits from the exploitation of such resources (Nhantumbo, 2003, p. 7).

In order to transform the communal lands (the community´s natural capital) into a community realizable economic value, in late 2002 the Project began with the delimitation of communal areas located within the buffer zones of Nhaedzi biosphere reserve (Virtanen, 2005). After the delimitation of communal lands, land use certificates were issued and given to the local communities (interview with Pedro Garikai Chimoio: 13 December 2005).

[64] See the establishment of the Project in Moribane, Chapter 4, and Section 4.3.3.
[65] See chapter 4, section 3.1.

According to Pedro Garikai securing land tenure rights for Chimanimani communities was an official instrument that could allow the local communities to benefit from any further investment made in the communal areas. In essence, land delimitation in Chimanimani was a big step towards the recognition of land tenure rights that the communities could hold as a collective entity. This process gave the local communities the potential to negotiate the terms of use of their land by other users either individuals from other communities or entrepreneurs (such as private sector entities) (Interview with Ana Paula Reis, former Project coordinator, Chimoio: 14th December 2005).

Although the delimitation of communal lands located within the buffer zones of the biosphere reserve was made at the end of the program in 2002, leaving no opportunity for the Project to implement the proposed small business development programs, the program helped Chimanimani local communities to acquire land use certificates. With these certificates the local communities are in a position to use legal procedures against future evictions.

In late 2002, all Project programs and activities were interrupted because grants allocated to the Project were exhausted. Lack of funds led to the retrenchment of the scouts and technicians who ensured the implementation of the Project programs. Since then many of the programs introduced by the Project within the area were left to their fate (Interview with Denisse Chizicane. Nhaedzi, 3 December 2003).

5.7. Community Participation and Responses to the Project Initiatives

The existence of successful experiences of conservation and development projects in some of the rural areas with valuable natural resources (e.g. CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe) have hastened the adoption of ICDPs by many African states (Barreit and Arcese, 1995; Abbot, 2001). In essence, the rationale behind these projects is that besides contributing to biodiversity management they enhance the participation of the local communities in decision-making and local development processes (Shackleton et al., 2000, Corson, 2005) and allow the beneficiaries to continue to generate and maintain alternative sustainable livelihoods even after the end of the Programs.

In the formulating of the *Chimanimani Project Management Plan*, the Chimanimani Project designers relied on successful experiences from similar projects undertaken in neighbouring countries. Since 1995, conservation and development approaches were drown

from CAMPFIRE and implemented as "blue print" in Chimanimani (World Bank, 1996, DNFFB, 1999).

From its inception it was apparent that CAMPFIRE conservation and development approaches did not to fit Chimanimani reality. Nevertheless, the Project coordinators did nothing to change the situation and develop a specific framework to fit Chimanimani reality.

For example, through capacity building, training and employment, the CAMPFIRE programs supported sustainable development initiatives and promoted the participation of the local communities in the decision making process. In order to copy the CAMPFIRE conservation and development approaches to Chimanimani it would be necessary for the Chimanimani Project to invest in skills development programs. However, very little was done to develop local community skills that could have helped them set up the small business projects proposed by the Management Plan (e.g.: tourism, bottled water production and timber harvesting). The lesson learnt by the members of local management committees in the experience exchange tours were related to biodiversity management strategies and the development of income generating activities not likely to degrade the environment. The knowledge acquired in the exchange visits proved inadequate to upgrade local community skills related to issues concerning the development of small business projects.

> No lessons related to the development of small business activities, on the creation of partnerships between the community and the private sector were taught in such programs (Interview with Seven Watch, member of the Nhaedzi local management committee. Nhaedzi, 4h December, 2005).

Lack of skill and experience did not allow the Chimanimani communities to write the complicated proposals to apply for the community development funds made available by the government or to seek partnerships with the private sector to explore the business opportunities offered by the Project in buffer zones of the conservation area.

Although the Project Management Plan envisaged that the Project would finance incentives for the development of small business programs (granting funds for the community to develop small bottled water production enterprises, timber harvesting, infrastructure for eco and cultural tourism, etc), until the end of the Project in 2002 none of these funds were made available by the Project (interview with Alberto Caetano Mariano, Chimoio: 10th December 2005).

When analysing the Project programs I came to the conclusion that,

(1) The Project designers underestimated the post conflict situation, which to some extent contributed to the lack of skilled people who could effectively embrace the business opportunities offered by the Project[66]; and the absence of an effective private sector in these areas undermined the continuity of the Project programs.

(2) The Project designers also underestimated the lack of financial institutions, which could have provided credit facilitated the development of the small businesses proposed by the Project. Because most of the programs implemented by the Project were not based on the real conditions of the areas, there were many conflicting aspects concerning activities proposed by the *Project Management Plan* in relation to socio economic condition of the area.

(3) I also came to the conclusion that the consultation process undertaken during the implementation of the Project was not done properly. If this had been effective it could have corrected many of the conflicting aspects, which hindered the overall success of the Project. In my understanding, the consultation process undertaken by the Project in Chimanimani communities was a strategy to legitimise the Project, rather than an effective process of gathering information to be used in the design of a more reliable conservation and development model for the area.

Due to the fact that the Chimanimani Project designers did not take into account the communities' expectations and perspectives as well as the Mozambique post conflict situation, the Project ended up being a list of programs copied from other different realities rather than being a reliable conservation and development strategy conceived from below.

For example, from 1996 to 1999 the Project worked hard in identifying and institutionalising grassroots institutions (local management committees and associations), which could represent the local communities in their relationship with the Project. In my understanding, for these institutions to represent effectively their communities they had to take part in the Project decision making process (participating in the designing of Project Action plans which were made at the provincial level). However, no member of these

[66] Development of small business bottled water, timber harvesting, bee keeping, mushroom collection and fish farming. The incentives included credit facilities that could be obtained from the government through a bidding process. There were also fiscal incentives such as lower taxes on the investment made in the area.

institutions was invited to participate in such meetings. In most cases the roles of these institutions were limited to informing the local communities about the Project plans and decisions. Lack of community participation in the conception of the Project Action Plans led some of the Chimanimani communities, especially the Moribane community to refuse to cooperate with the project (See the establishment of the Project in Moribane, Chapter 4. Section 3. 3).

In my understanding the Project would have been successful if it had effectively targeted programs aimed at improving the overall living conditions of the local communities. For example, rather than focusing on non-environmental degrading income generating activities. It would have been important for the Project to develop other social and economic programs (food security, health, social network, education, access facilities, savings, equity, ownership of resources) not only focusing on programs that were more related to biodiversity conservation. If the local communities had more alternatives for their sustenance, they could easily stop the unsustainable exploitation of natural ecosystems and become more supportive of conservation measures that regulate resource use, whether enforced by the Project or another conservation institution.

The development of irrigated agricultural systems in areas adjacent to Moribane forest reserve and within the buffer zones in Nhaedzi biosphere reserve could have been very useful strategies to ensure food security to the local communities because this would have allowed local households to produce enough food for local consumption. Additionally, the sale of agricultural surplus could secure incomes to the community, but unfortunately until 2001 the Project made little or no effort as regards agricultural development programs.

It was also expected that CBNRM programs would be used to improve biodiversity conservation systems while land security measures, social infrastructure development (schools, roads, clinics and shops), small-scale conservation activities would work as incentives for further private investment in other economic activities (eco-and cultural tourism) (World Bank, 1996). Unfortunately, the Project only focused on improvement of the biodiversity management systems (improvement of community participation in biodiversity management programs, introduction of income generating activities not damaging to the environment) and measures to ensure further investments were implemented only at the end of the Project in 2002, leaving no room for the introduction of the planned small-scale

business programs. In our point of view, the delimitation of communal areas where the small-scale investment was supposed to take place should have been the priority of the Project because was essential to ensure the sustainability of the Project: it would have created employment and business opportunities within the area (development of small business).

Lack of sustainability of income generating activities (the only ones which could have provided local communities with cash), the absence of institutions that could employ individuals from this area and the failure of the Project to invest in social areas, which could have effectively contributed to the improvement of the living conditions (food security, social network, savings, equity, ownership of resources, housing, education, community participation in decision making, health services, etc), led the Chimanimani communities to return to their old livelihood strategies.

In 2002, all funds allocated to the Project were exhausted. As a result all Project programs were interrupted. Although the Project was not able to achieve all of its objectives, to some extent it improved the living conditions of some of the Chimanimani communities. For example (i) the opening of access facilities (construction of roads and bridges) to Nhaedzi and Tsetsera has contributed to the integration of these areas into the Manica administrative system; (ii) it increased peoples´ mobility to and from the area; (iii) it improved heath systems by bringing health technicians and promoting vaccination campaigns in the area (iv) by investing in social infrastructures, community education, the Project has given the area the first step toward its social and economic development. Moreover, after the end of the Project in 2002, these programs (especially education, health) have found technical and financial support from the government.

5.8. The Failures Consequences

The concentration of population within the area, lack of employment opportunities, the existence of excellent conditions for the development of banana farms (humid soils) and the failure of Project income generating activities led the Chimanimani communities to return to their old livelihood strategies. Consequently, since 2002 there has been an increase in the involvement of families in banana farming especially in Moribane where the land is very suitable for the activity. The producers have been granted markets in the nearest towns and villages including some of Mozambican big cities (Chimoio, Beira, Maxixe and Maputo).

According to Mario Mussa Chipanzeque, it is estimated that about 400 families depend mostly on banana farm earnings[67] for their survival. The size of the farms varies from one family to another[68]. Most families who own banana farms use the family members and traditional agricultural practices to undertake the activity.

Recognising the failures of the Project income generating activities and lack of employment opportunities in the area, in 2003 the District Directorate for Agriculture and Rural Development (DDADR) allowed local families to open small farms for the production of banana. Owing to the need of avoiding the expansion of new areas for banana farms in inappropriate areas the DDARD stipulated that within the forest no family could have more than two hectares of banana farms (Interview with José Fernado Ranguana, Scout, Moribane: 11th December 2005).

5.9. Conclusion

In this chapter, I analysed the impact of the establishment of the Chimanimani TFCAP in Sussundenga district. My analyses focused on Moribane and Nhaedzi communities. Both in Moribane, and in Nhaedzi the Project introduced income-generating activities designed to degrade the environment. They were introduced as a means to provide local communities with sustainable alternatives that could provide them with money to be used to improve their living conditions (pay for the education of the their sons, health services, housing improvement, food, etc). Unfortunately, due to the lack of sustainability, such income generating activities were interrupted soon after their implementation.

Although the Project had some success with regard to the improvement of biodiversity management systems within Chimanimani, it was unlucky in developing alternative sustainable strategies for the improvement of the living conditions of the Chimanimani community. Some of the reasons are explained by the failures of the approaches adopted by the Project. The Project was based on the experience of similar initiatives, especially the CAMPFIRE program. However, some of the lessons brought by the Project to Chimanimani have been shown not to fit the social and economic contexts of the local communities.

[67] Banana from this area are sold in the main Mozambican cities (Chimoio, Beira, Maxixe and Maputo).
[68] The members of a household generally include the husband, wife and elder son including relatives if living inn the same household.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

The rationale behind the adoption of the Transfrontier Conservation Areas and Institutional Strengthening Project in Mozambique was informed by the fact that it was consistent with the government sustainable rural development strategies (improvement of biodiversity management through the promotion of sustainable use of natural resources and the development of remote rural areas). Moreover, the implementation of the Project was expected to help the Mozambican government to upgrade the skills of its staff through institution strengthening and capacity building programs within the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. It would be used also a test of approaches and synergies between conservation and community development in very poor areas where income-earning opportunities are limited (Katerere, Y., et al, 2001; Paper 2).

In essence the Project sought to devolve tenure and responsibility for the management of natural resources to local institutions as well as to increase the role of the local communities in the management of the natural resources located within the areas in which they live while at same time improve the overall condition of life of the local communities – the desired sustainable rural development. The Project used lessons from other ICDPs (especially the CAMPFIRE).

The establishment of the Chimanimani Project in Sussundenga district began with educational and environmental awareness programs aimed at introducing the Projects concerns to the local communities. To undertake its programs, the Project relied on the assistance of local institutions doing related activities (CEF, IAC, ORAM, PAC, GESON, ARPAC and AMRU). These institutions helped the Project during the implementation of its programs (conduct research, broadcast projects programs, undertake environmental education, and create conditions for the institutionalisation of the local management communities and associations).

The relationship between the Project and the local communities was facilitated by the work undertaken by the local management committees and associations, which were also responsible for the supervision of the income generating programs.

During fieldwork, I noticed that the establishment of the Project in Nhaedzi and Moribane was severely affected by the local economic and social contexts. As a result, the

extent to which the Project achieved its objective (sustainable rural development) differed from one area to another.

While some communities saw social infrastructure development as a step forward in their development efforts, others were sceptical about the Project's programs. For example, because the first social infrastructures (roads, school and the mills) in Nhaedzi were brought by the Project, this community saw the Project in a positive light as regards the improvement of their living conditions they thus became more supportive of the Project programs, while the Moribane community were more sceptical about the Project's programs.

Unlike Nhaedzi where social infrastructure was inexistent before the implementation of the Project´s infrastructure development program, from the colonial period the Moribane community had access to social infrastructures at the nearest administrative post of Darwe. As a consequence, Project investment in Moribane did not surpass the expectations of the local community, which was more concerned with the overall improvement of their living standards (health, housing, food security, employment, education, banking facilities, etc) rather than infrastructures and natural resource management systems. Moreover, in Moribane, excluding the fish-farming program, all other activities (the non-environmental degrading income generating activities like bee keeping, mushroom collection) introduced by the Project were not sustainable and they declined soon after their implementation.

Notwithstanding these problems it had some success in natural resource management programs. For example, the introduction of the Project social infrastructure development program (schools, roads, bridges, canteens and mills) has to some extent impacted positively on the living conditions of these communities. The construction of social infrastructures within these areas reduced considerably the dependence of Nhaedzi community on Zimbabwean social services and increased the number of children attending school.

Failure of the Project's non-forest income generating activities and absence of enterprises that could employ local community members led these communities to find other survival strategies sometimes harmful to the environment. For example, in Moribane the existence of excellent conditions for banana farming, led the community to find in banana plantations the only survival strategy that could provide them with income for their sustenance, while the Nhaedzi community returned to their traditional agricultural practices.

One of the objectives of the Chimanimani Project was to create conditions and a framework for further private investment in eco-and cultural tourism and promote the development of small business programs (bottled water production enterprises, small scale timber harvesting enterprises and small conservation and development projects). However, until 2002, no funds related to these programs were made available. Failure of the alternative sustainable livelihood strategies introduced by the Project led the Chimanimani communities to return to their habitual livelihood strategies.

Lessons Learnt From the Project

According to Virtanen and Palmujoki (2000, p. 71) local communities participate actively in integrated conservation and development projects only when they are convinced that the cost/benefit ratio is more favourable with the project than without it. In countries like Mozambique where more than 70 per cent of the population lives below the poverty line, and over 80 per cent of the poor are located in rural areas, for most of these rural people the alleviation of poverty is the first priority. In most cases they seldom or never consider nature conservation a priority issue.

As they explain it in a predominantly agrarian culture giving up the right to increase agricultural production by reducing land-area under cultivation is acceptable only if reliable and more profitable sources of livelihood can be provided. In the specific case of Chimanimani, I observed that most programs introduced by the Project directly targeted the improvement of biodiversity conservation and few measures were introduced to improve the living conditions of the local communities (housing, education, community participation in decision making, food security, health, etc). In my understanding, the fish-farming program was the only sustainable program introduced by the Project in the area, because it only depended on the local condition of the area and the product had secure markets in the nearest villages. These characteristics were not applicable to other income generating activities introduced by the Project.

In my analyses this happened because the Project designers did not take into account the local social, economic and historical contexts of the targeted areas. The area was recovering from a civil war that destroyed much of the rural areas economic base. It meant that at the time the Project began to implement its programs and activities, the local

communities were more concerned with the improvement of their lives (reconstructing their lives, rebuilding their houses, seeking new farming areas, raising money to pay for health services and education of their children, etc.) rather than embarking on conservation agendas.

The management of local ecosystems was important for the sustainability of rural environments, however, for these communities what mattered at that time was the improvement of their living conditions because they were recovering from a destructive civil war and their primary goals were concerned with the improvement of their lives.

In my opinion the Project would have been more successful and would effectively have contributed to sustainable rural development if in addition to its program (non-environmentally degrading income generating programs, CBNRM programs, land tenure program, social infrastructure development program), it had targeted other social and economic concerns focusing on the improvement of the living conditions of the people who had been severely affected by the civil war. Without a proper solution for these problems, it is impossible for the local communities to become supportive of environmental measures.

The development of small business programs proposed for the area required a lot of capital investment. Lack of incentives to invest in the area (access facilities, banking systems, communication facilities), undermined most project efforts toward the development of entrepreneurial activities within the area.

Lack of sustainability of the Project programs, lack of investment individuals with capital that could invest in activities proposed by the Project management plan (bottled water production enterprises, small scale timber harvesting enterprises and small conservation and development projects) led all Project conservation and development strategies condemned to a failure.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Project failed to address alternative sustainable livelihoods, it was lucky in increasing the participation of the local communities in conservation and development programs. In this sense, the Chimanimani TFCA Project constituted a positive experience in regard to the link between conservation agendas and sustainable rural development strategies in Mozambique.

Because the funds that were allocated to the Project ran out before the community achieved a development stage that could have allowed them to stand on their own, it is still necessary that similar Projects need to be implemented in this area. However, further projects

have to learn from the successes and failures of Chimanimani TFCA Project. They have to take into account the needs of local communities, the potentialities of the area and local social and economic context of the local communities, including active participation in the elaboration of the Project.

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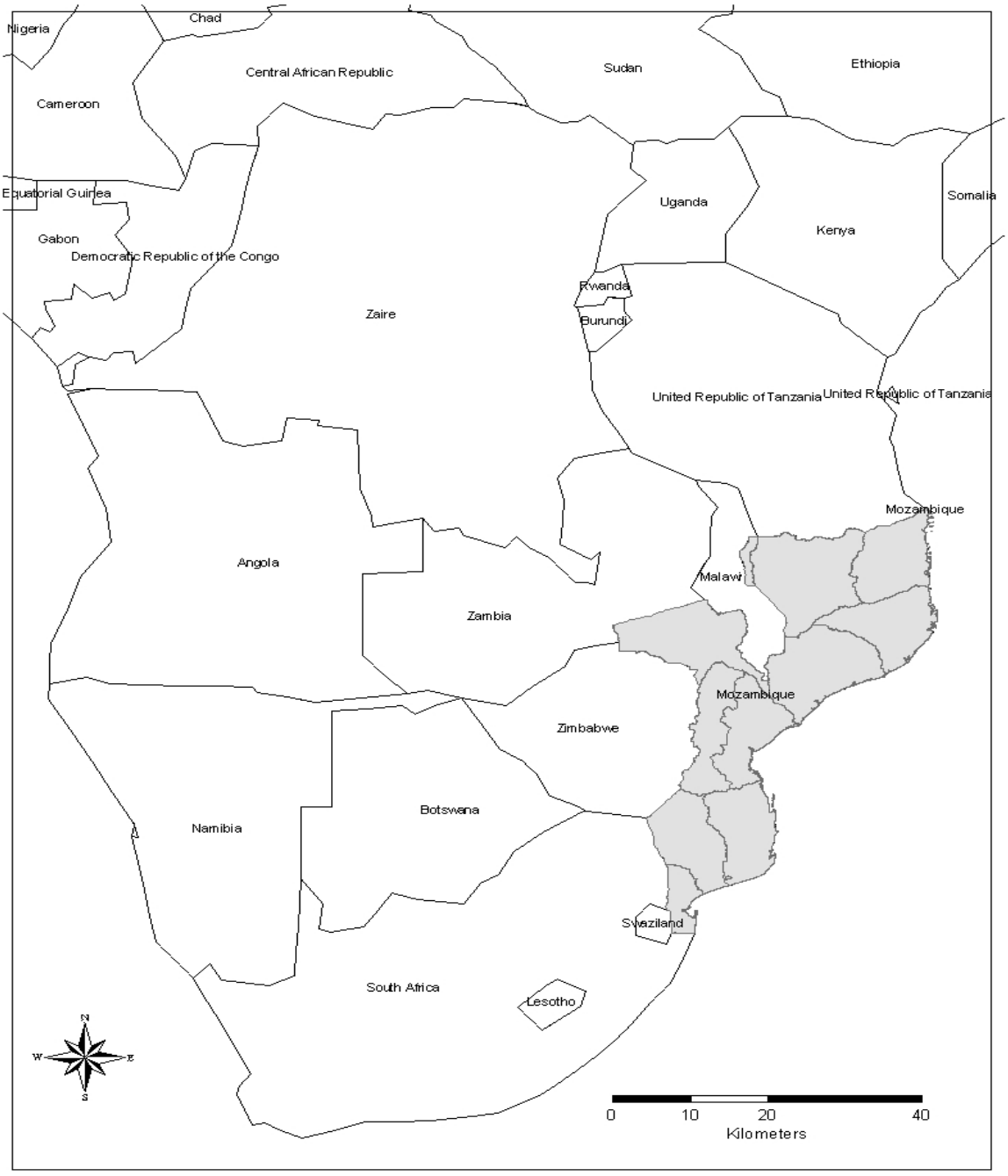
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- Forest and wildlife law 10/99 – October 1999
- Land Law 19/97
- Resolution on the Proclamation of the Chimanimani Reserve in Mozambique – Resolution 34/2003 – 19th April 2003
- Local Government Framework – Decree 15/2000
- Republic of Mozambique, 1990 Constitution

8. APPENDIXES

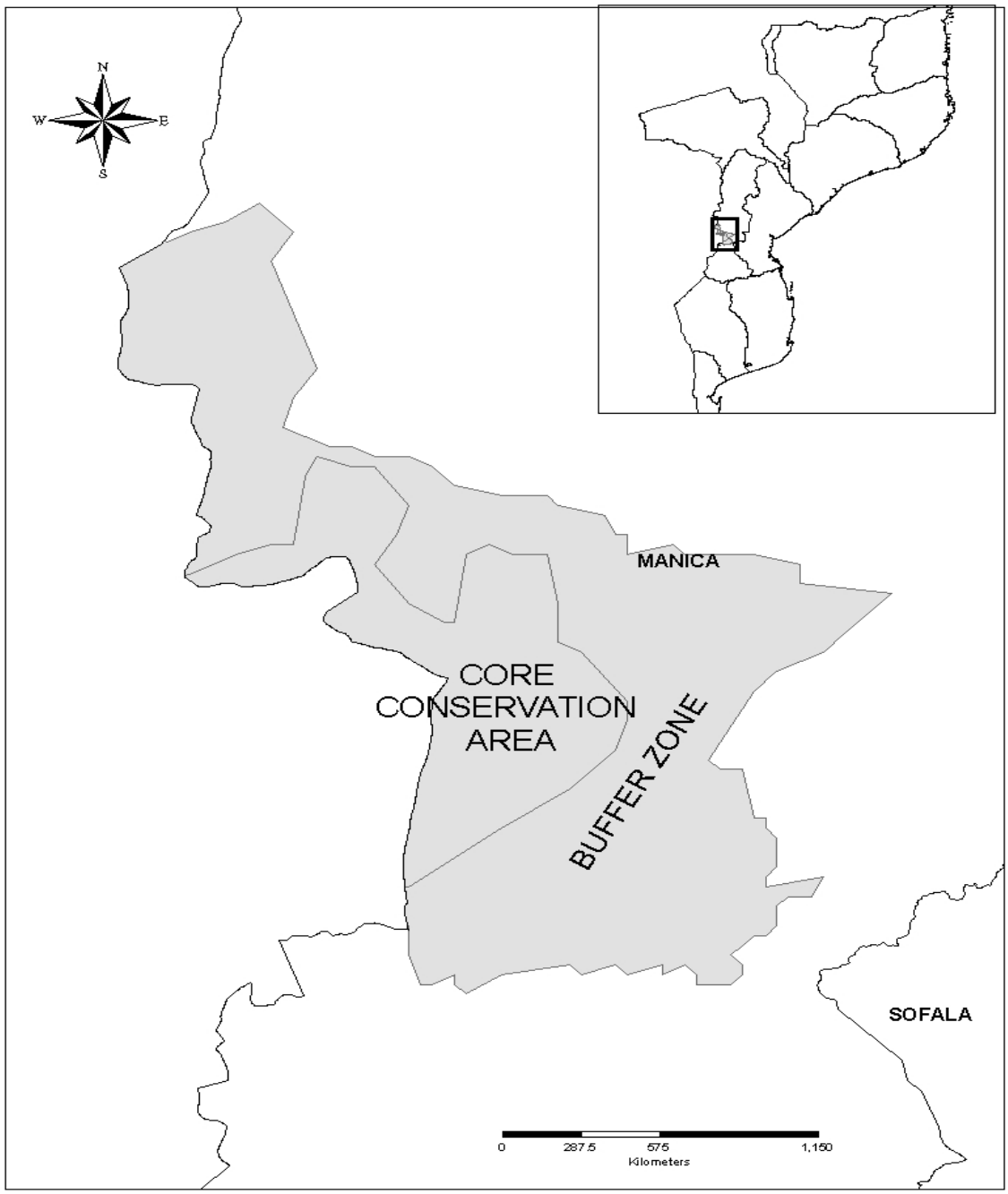
Appendix 1: Map 1: Map of Southern Africa Showing Mozambique boundaries and its neighbours



Source: DINATEF[71]

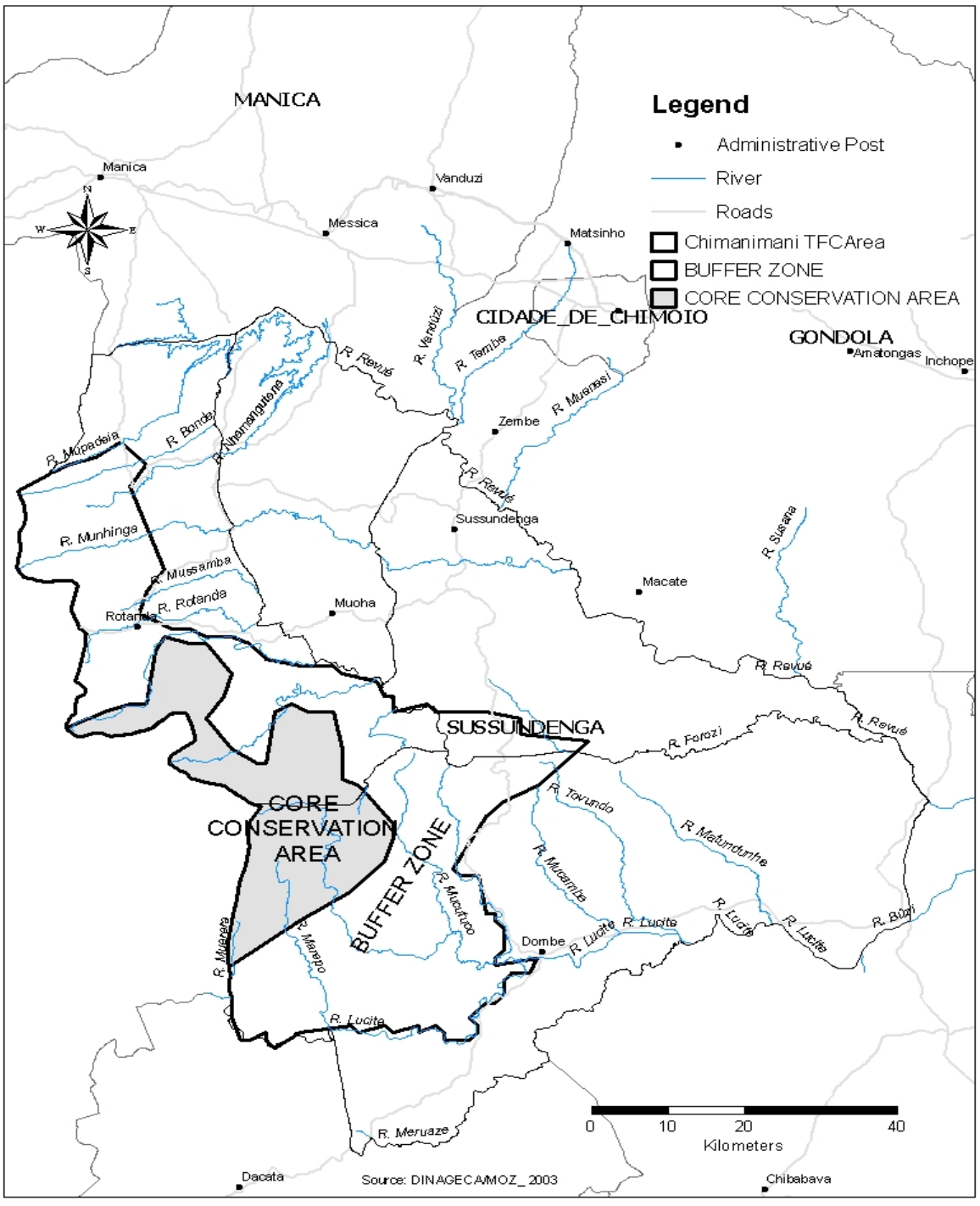
[71] National Directorate of Land and Forest (Mozambique)

Appendix 1: Map 2: Map of Mozambique showing the Provinces and the Area of Study



Source: DINATEF

Appendix 1: Map 3: Map of the area of Study



Source: DINATEF