Participatory Governance for Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park: The Case of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, Moçambique

Camilo Correia Nhancale

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at the Faculty of AgriSciences

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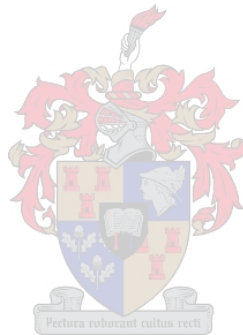
**Supervisor:
Dr Scotney Watts**

March 2007

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part, submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:

Camilo Correia Nhancale

Abstract

This study assessed (a) the inclusion of local communities in the process of the establishment and management of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* (PNL); (b) local community resources use practices, livelihoods strategies, land resources use and ownership and institutional arrangements at the grassroots; and (c) attitudes and perceptions of local communities towards the park and its implications for the sustainability of the park.

The study shows that local stakeholders were left out in the planning and implementation processes of the park, which was through top-down approach. There was a lack of involvement of local communities and co-ordination with local stakeholders concerning on-the-ground activities. Local community participation occurs through consultation, thereby depriving primary stakeholders of any decision-making power. However, the study notes that the ongoing interaction between the park management, community advocacy organisations and local communities in the park represents a positive step towards the evolving practice of participatory governance of the protected area. It is also shown that local communities have diverse livelihood strategies, including subsistence agriculture, livestock herding, forest products harvesting, small businesses, handicrafts and cash remittances by migrate labourers. It is worth noting that land and forest resources use constitutes the foundation of their livelihood strategies. Local communities considered land to belong to traditional land chiefs who head local socio-cultural and political organizations in rural areas. They allocate land and control access to natural resources. Other community members asserted that the land belongs to the respective families that inherited and use it.

The legal framework in Mozambique authorises the establishment of new institutions at the grassroots. This overlaps with the pre-existing traditional institutions in the rural areas, resulting in power conflicts and in some cases disruption of local institutions for governance of natural resources. The park's decision to resettle local communities outside the park, the elephant raids on villages and farmland, and the lack of employment for local youth, has evoked strong resistances to conservation among local communities. These have also increased tensions and negative attitudes towards the park. It is recommended that the sustainable development of the park take into account the complex and dynamic interaction between all affected stakeholders, including the respect of local communities' rights to land and natural resources, their livelihood strategies, traditional leadership and natural resources governance institutions. Resettlement of communities living along the Shingwedzi River Basin within the park elsewhere should be conducted in a participatory manner with the aim of making the communities better off in the new resettled areas.

Abstrak

Die studie het die volgende assesseer (a) die insluiting van die plaaslike gemeenskappe in die proses van die totstandkoming en bestuur van die *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* (PNL); (b) die gemeenskaps-gebruikspraktyke van hulpbronne, bestaansstrategieë, grondgebruik en eienaarskap, sowel as institusionele ooreenkomste op grondvlak; en (c) die plaaslike gemeenskappe se persepsie en houding jeens die park en die implikasies daarvan vir die volhoubaarheid van die park.

Die studie toon dat die plaaslike rolspelers nie geken is in die beplanning- en implementeringsproses van die park nie en dat 'n bo-na-onder-benadering gevolg is. Daar was geen betrokkenheid van die plaaslike gemeenskappe en geen koördinasie met die plaaslike rolspelers aangaande die grondvlak-aktiwiteite. Die plaaslike gemeenskap se deelname geskied deur konsultasie, waardeur die primêre rolspelers ontneem word van enige besluitnemingsmag. Die studie merk egter dat die voortdurende inter-aksie tussen die parkbestuur, die gemeenskap se aanbevelings-organisasies en die plaaslike gemeenskap in die park 'n positiewe stap is in die evolusie van die praktyk tot deelnemende bestuur van die beskermde area. Daar word ook getoon dat die plaaslike gemeenskap diverse bestaansstrategieë beoefen, insluitend die volgende: bestaansboerdery, veeboerdery, die gebruik van woudprodukte, klein besighede, handwerk en kontantbetalings deur trek-arbeiders. Dit is noemenswaardig dat die gebruik van grond- en woudhulpbronne die fondasie uitmaak van die bestaansstrategieë. Die plaaslike gemeenskappe meen die land word besit deur die tradisionele leiers aan die hoof van die plaaslike sosio-kulturele en politiese organisasies in die plaaslike omgewings. Hulle allokeer grond en oefen beheer uit oor die toegang na natuurlike hulpbronne. Sommige lede van die gemeenskap hou vol dat die grond behoort aan die families wat dit geërf het en gebruik dit ooreenvolgens.

Die wetlike raamwerk in Mosambiek voorsien vir die totstandbring van nuwe instellings op die grondvlak. Dit oorvleuel met bestaande tradisionele instellings in die landelike areas en lei tot magskonflik, en in sommige gevalle tot skeurings in die plaaslike instellings en bestuur van natuurlike hulpbronne. Die park se besluit om plaaslike gemeenskappe buite die park te hervestig, die verniel van landerye en dorpies deur olifante, en die tekort aan werksgeleenthede vir die jeug, het 'n groot weerstand jeens bewaring binne die plaaslike gemeenskappe veroorsaak. Dit het ook verhoogde spanning en 'n negatiewe houding jeens die park meegebring. Daar word aanbeveel dat die volhoubare ontwikkeling van die park, die

komplekse en dinamiese inter-aksies tussen alle rolspelers, in ag moet neem. Dit sluit in respek vir die plaaslike gemeenskappe se regte tot die grond en natuurlike hulpbronne, hulle bestaansstrategieë, tradisionele leierskap en natuurlike hulpbronbestuur-instellings. Hervestiging van gemeenskappe langs die Shingwedzi-riviergebied binne die park na elders, behoort te geskied deur 'n deelnemende proses, met die oogmerk dat die gemeenskappe in 'n beter posisie sal wees in die nuwe areas as voorheen.

Acknowledgements

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my beloved daughter **Deize Wanda Nhancale**

Acronyms

ACNUR/PNUD – Alto Commisariado das Nações Unidas para os Refugiados/Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento (United Nations High Commission for Refugees/United Nations Program for Development)

ACTF – Áreas de Conservação Transfronteiriças (Transfrontier Conservation Areas)

ADMADE – Administrative Management Design for Game Management Area

ANOVA – Analysis of variance

AWF – African Wildlife Foundation

CAMPFIRE – Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources

CARITAS – Caridade Cristã (Christian Charity)

CBNRM – Community Based Natural Resources Management

CBD – Convention on Biological Diversity

CFJJ – Centro de Formação Juridica e Judiciaria (Centre for Lawyers and Attorneys Education)

CITES – Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species

CDOs – Community Development Organisations

COGEP – Conselhos de Gestão dos Recursos Naturais (Natural Resources Management Councils)

DNAC – Direcção Nacional das Áreas de Conservação (National Directorate for Conservation Areas)

DPADRG – Direcção Provincial de Agricultura e Desenvolvimento Rural de Gaza (Gaza Provincial Directorate for Agriculture and Rural Development)

DPCAAG – Direcção Provincial de Coordenação de Acção Ambiental de Gaza (Gaza Provincial Directorate for Environmental Affairs)

DPTG – Direcção Provincial de Turismo de Gaza (Gaza Provincial Directorate for Tourism)

DPT – Direcção de Promoção do Turismo (Directorate of Tourism Promotion)

DPJDG – Direcção Provincial da Juventude e Desportos de Gaza (Gaza Provincial Directorate for Sports and Youth)

FNP – Fórum para a Natureza em Perigo (Forum for Endangered Nature)

FRELIMO – Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front)

GEF – Global Environmental Facility

GLTP – Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park

GNP – Gonaredzhou National Park

IUCN – International Union for Nature Conservation

INE – Instituto Nacional de Estatistica (Statistics National Institute)

INIA – Instituto Nacional de Investigação Agronómica (National Institute for Agronomic Research)

KfW – German Bank for Development

KNP – Kruger National Park

MCBNRM – Makandezulo Community Based Natural Resources Management

MoU – Memorandum of Understanding

NGO – Non-governmental Organisation

ORAM – Organização Rural de Ajuda Mútua (Rural Organization for Mutual Help)

PNL – Parque Nacional do Limpopo (Limpopo National Park)

PIU – Project Implementation Unit

PRSP – Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

PPF – Peace Parks Foundation

RRP – Refugee Research Programme

RAMSAR – Ramsar Convention on Wetlands

RE – Reconstruindo a Esperança (Rebuilding the Hope)

RENAMO – Resisência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance)

SADC – Southern Africa Development Community

SANParks – South African National Parks

SPSS – Statistics Package for Social Sciences

SUNI-CREATE – A consortium of consultancy companies that worked in PNL

TFCAs – Transfrontier Conservation Areas

UNAC – União Nacional dos Camponeses (National Peasants Union/Association)

UN – United Nations

VETAID – Veterinarian Aid

WB – World Bank

WWF – World Wide Fund for Nature

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Effective park protection requires understanding of the social context at varying scales of analysis (Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000; Brandon *et al*. 1998) and giving it focused value for those depending on it (Fabricius *et al*. 2004). Sustainable protected area management is an approach to understanding complex ecological and social relationships in rural areas (Pimbert & Pretty, 2000). Rural livelihoods, particularly of the poor, are complex and dynamic, based on a wide range of activities and strategies (Grundy *et al*. 2004; Chambers, 1998). Protected areas are social spaces; they may also represent many cultural, aesthetic and spiritual values locally (Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000) because people are part of the nature (Pimbert & Pretty, 2000).

Most of the land that is critical for biodiversity conservation in the world is inhabited by local communities (Colchester, 2000; Brandon *et al*. 1998). Many parks in the world have been subjected to human use for thousands of years. In some, biological integrity has remained sufficiently high – meaning that ecological processes are still intact – for these areas to be of high importance for biodiversity conservation (Brandon *et al*. 1998). However, Dugelby & Libby (1998) argued that many of the subsistence activities of local communities are not compatible with the ecological integrity of parks and, in fact, pose serious threats to conservation of biological diversity in these areas. The assumption is that local communities should not use protected areas for consumption and their livelihoods. This argument contradicts the fact that biological integrity of many areas subjected to human use for thousands of years is still intact. Today, many of these areas are important for biodiversity conservation. Nevertheless, 'new' biodiversity hotspots subjected to human use for generations are still being 'discovered', recognised and proclaimed as national parks or national reserves. This is the case for *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*. Contrasting Dugelby & Libby (1998), Ghimire & Pimbert (2000) argued that conservation programs are only valid and sustainable when they have dual objectives of protecting and improving local livelihoods and ecological conditions. In other words, conservation should not only be seen to preserve biological diversity, but also to improve local people's livelihoods and sustainable development. This can be achieved if projects dealing with the management of natural resources gain the

support of local communities through their active and full participation with full rights over the resources.

It is recognised that conservationists should start their work in areas inhabited by local communities from the assumption that they are dealing with local people with legitimate rights to the ownership and control of their natural resources (Government of Mozambique, 2003a; Peace Parks Foundation, 2003; Colchester, 2000). The understanding by the conservation community that respect for the rights of local people is not just a matter of pragmatism, but it is also a matter of principle has been long in coming (Colchester, 2000). This means that participation and devolution of rights to local community in the establishment of conservation areas, especially those crossing borders such as the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park is a crucial factor for the success of biodiversity conservation and rural development. The current conservation discourse and debates recommend that in all projects dealing with the management of natural resources, it is necessary to gain the support of local communities (Colchester, 2000; Pimbert & Pretty, 2000).

According to Grundy *et al*. (2004), over the past decade research in this field has moved from documenting community use of natural resources to understanding the complexities of institutional governance in order to meet community needs. Experiences have shown that the key to real empowerment of communities to manage their natural resources sustainably lies in governments' ability to devolve decision-making to local level (Grundy *et al*. 2004). Empowerment implies a shift of control towards the people who actually do the core work; power operates at various levels – within a person, between people, and between groups (Cook, 1997). Gumbi (2001) argued that empowerment is a process concerned with developing the capacity of people to form judgements on the effects of community activities to determine goals to be arrived at and to adopt technical changes in ways which encourage initiative, self help, and participation.

1.1.1 Transboundary Parks

Transboundary parks, protected areas or natural resources management areas have a range of objectives, including: (a) conservation of biodiversity, ecosystem services, natural and cultural values across boundaries; (b) promoting landscape-level ecosystem management; (c) peace building and laying the foundation for collaboration (trust, reconciliation and cooperation); (d) increasing the benefits of

conservation to communities on both sides of the borders; (e) economic development (largely through tourism) to local and national economies; and (f) cross-border control of problems such as fire, pests, poaching and smuggling (Metcalf, 2003).

Transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) or transboundary conservation areas are defined as "relatively large areas, which straddle frontiers between two or more countries and cover large-scale natural systems encompassing one or more protected areas, as well as multiple use areas and allow the protection of large-scale ecosystems" (Ferrão, 2004:7; Magome & Murrombedzi, 2003:121; SADC, 1999: Article 1; World Bank, 1996: 5). TFCAs represent ecosystems that do not recognize national boundaries (Brandon *et al*. 1998). TFCAs are seen as useful mechanisms for the protection of global biodiversity or biosphere, because biomes straddle national boundaries (Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002). TFCAs (also known as peace parks) are not new; they date back to attempts by Czechoslovakia and Poland to resolve a post-war disputed boundary in 1924. Albert Park, which was first established by the Belgian regime in 1925, spanned the colonial states of Ruanda-Urindi and the Congo (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003). The recent 1992 Biological Diversity Convention called upon sovereign states to co-operate in order to protect transfrontier nature reserves (Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002). In addition to environmental protection or biodiversity conservation, TFCAs are thought to be useful in preventing conflict between states (increase political cooperation) and build confidence among states, leading to peace in the region (Ferrão, 2004; Magome & Murrombedzi, 2003; Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002) and economic growth based upon increased economies of scale (Magome & Murrombedzi, 2003).

In southern Africa, it is hoped that TFCAs will help to redress and promote regional integration. The establishment of peace parks in the region is in line with the three aims of the treaty that established the Southern African Development Community (SADC), namely:

(a) deeper economic cooperation and integration, on the basis of balance, equity and mutual benefit, providing for cross-border investment and trade, and free movement of factors of production, goods and services across national boundaries;

(b) common economic, political and social values and systems, enhancing enterprise, competitiveness, democracy and good governance, respect for the

rule of law and human rights, popular participation and alleviation of poverty; and

(c) strengthened regional solidarity, peace and security, in order for the people of the region to live and work in harmony (SADC 1992: Article 4).

The TFCAs framework is also provided by SADC Wildlife Policy (1997), which provides for the establishment of TFCAs as a means of promoting inter-state co-operation in the management and sustainable use of ecosystems, which transcend national boundaries (Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002). The SADC Protocol on Wildlife and Law Enforcement (1999) also provides for regional co-operation in the development of a common framework for the conservation of natural resources, enforcement of the laws governing these resources and their sustainable use (SADC, 1999;[1]). In addition, the protocol requires that local communities be involved in conservation and sustainable use of wildlife.

The SADC states are expected to be well placed to develop regional tourism by jointly managing, operating and marketing the nature-based tourism industry for increased mutual benefits in jobs and wealth (Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002). Whereas such benefits are expected to accrue to local communities and to raise their level of living, it is still not clear how these local populations would benefit from participating in such a venture (Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002).

Most conservationists, therefore, see TFCAs as useful means for making national parks "more attractive to local people and better adapted to conserving wildlife" (Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002:204). However, some argue for better rather than larger reserves, because large reserves are costly in terms of their conservation requirements and cause land hunger among local communities (Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002). It is commonly known that much land was appropriated from indigenous people under the pretext of conservation. However, the question is how the establishment of TFCAs relates to the demand for land by local communities (Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002). For instance, in the case of Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, Magome & Murrombedzi (2003) stated that preparation and signing of the memorandum of understanding (MoU) between the governments affected went ahead without attention being paid to the aspirations and concerns of local people both in South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Nhantumbo &

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[1] Conceptual Plan for the Establishment of the Proposed Gaza-Kruger-Gonaredzhou Transfrontier Park. October 2000.

Massango (2001) found that communities were not consulted before the Mozambican government signed MoU with the governments of Zimbabwe and South Africa for creation of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park.

1.1.2   The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park

The concept of transfrontier parks in southern Africa has evolved over a long period. It dated back from 1938, when a Portuguese ecologist (Gomes de Sousa) proposed that the colonial administration establish transfrontier parks with neighbouring states (Ferrão, 2004; [1]). However, the idea was only renewed in the late 1990s when the former president of WWF-South Africa, Anton Rupert met with the former president of Mozambique Joaquim Chissano and discussed the possibility of establishing transfrontier parks in the region (Wolmer, 2003; Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002; [2]). Afterwards, the Mozambican Government recommended feasibility studies that were undertaken and culminated into the recommendation of conceptual shift away from the idea of strictly protected national parks towards emphasis on multiple resource use by local communities (Ferrão, 2004; World Bank, 1996; [1]). The Kruger-Gonaredzhou-Gaza Transfrontier Park Pilot Project was established, which later was renamed the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP).

The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park is one of the six peace parks that are being developed in southern Africa, namely: Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park; Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation and Resource Area; Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Park; Ai-Ais/Richterveld Transfrontier Conservation Park and Limpopo/Shashe Transfrontier Conservation Area. GLTP measures approximately 35,000 km² and includes *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* (PNL) in Mozambique, the Kruger National Park (KNP) and the Makuleke Area in South Africa and the Gonaredzhou National Park (GNP), Malipati Safari Area, Majinji Pan Sanctuary and the proposed Sengwe Biodiversity Corridor in Zimbabwe (Grossman and Holden, 2003; Magome and Murombezi, 2003; Peace Parks Foundation, 2003). The Gonaredzhou National Park is not contiguous with either *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* or the Kruger National Park. It is separated from the northern part of the Kruger National Park by a corridor of tribal land owned by the Makuleke Communal Property Association and managed as

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[2] Beach, G. GIS for the Peace Parks of Southern Africa. Available online
ww.gis.esir.com/library/unerconf/proco2/Pap124411244.htm.

an integral part of the Kruger National Park as a contractual park (Grossman & Holden, 2003). However, the original vision for the area includes *Parque Nacional de Banhine* and *Parque Nacional do Zinave* as well as the interstitial land between the parks (Grossman & Holden, 2003; Peace Parks Foundation, 2003) (figure 1).

The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park was established by formal agreements between the governments of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe on 10th November 2000. However, the planning and development of this greater area is the subject of ongoing work between the Government of Mozambique and various NGOs (Grossman & Holden, 2003).

According to the Peace Parks Foundation (2003), the objective of transfrontier conservation areas is to bring about sustainable economic development through eco-tourism, which is the fastest growing industry in the world. The idea behind transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) is thus to address poverty caused by massive unemployment. It is using conservation as a land use option. People living in and around peace parks often have few alternatives, but to exhaust the very resource base on which their survival depends (Peace Parks Foundation, 2003). The economic potential of TFCAs lies in eco-tourism, which benefits the people living in these areas, without depleting natural resources (Peace Parks Foundation, 2003). However, some argue that eco-tourism and employment could not be a remedy for high unemployment rates in rural areas because eco-tourism is seasonal and cannot absorb many people in rural communities (Koch, 2000; Sindinga, 1999).

The lack of livelihood security ultimately undermines conservation objectives, as poverty, rates of environmental degradation and conflicts intensify in areas surrounding parks and natural reserves. Indeed, it is when local people are excluded that degradation is more likely to occur (Pimbert & Pretty, 2000)**.** Peace Parks Foundation (2003), Ghimire & Pimbert (2000) and Brandon *et al.* (1998) emphasized that one of the most important strategies is to link conservation objectives to development activities. This means that improved natural resources use, production and marketing should be integrated with social services (water supply, education, health), and income-generation projects. In this case, partnership and alliances between stakeholders (government, NGOs, communities, and the private sector) are needed. However, parks do not employ enough local people; there is a limit to the number of people that can be absorbed into these projects. Thus, community based

conservation programs should not be seen as a magical remedy for high unemployment rates in rural areas (Koch, 2000).
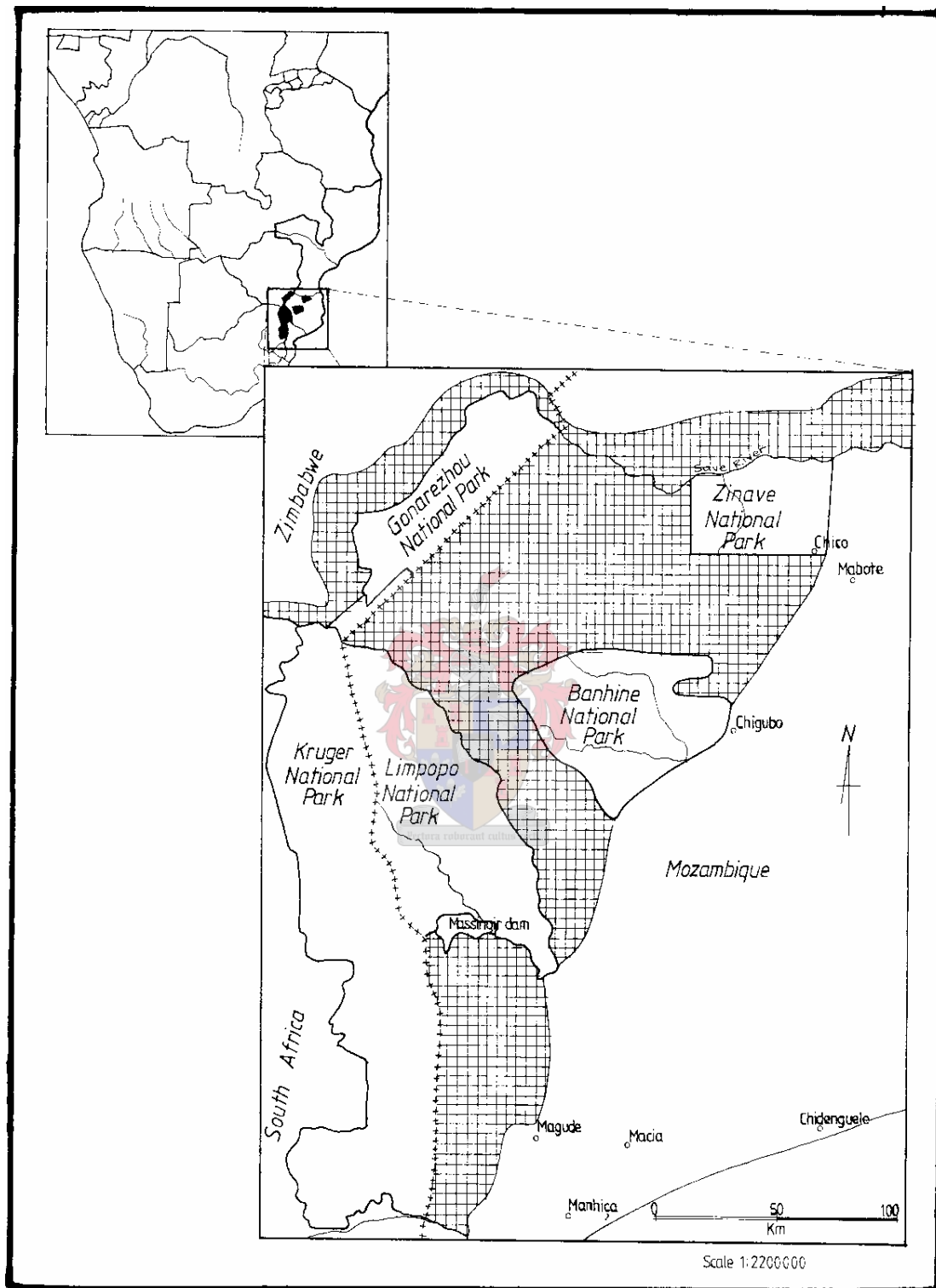
Figure 1: The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park and its location in southern Africa including *Parque Nacional de Banhine*, *Parque Nacional do Zinave* and the interstitial land between the parks. Source: Adapted from Peace Parks Foundation (2003).

1.1.3 Origin of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*

The Portuguese colonial regime used *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* (PNL) as a hunting zone since the late 1920s due to its wildlife potential (*pers. comm.*)[3]. Nonetheless, it was only in the late 1969[1] that the area was proclaimed as official *coutada* 16 (hunting zone). The designation of the Kruger National Park (KNP) in the 1920s in South Africa encouraged a Portuguese ecologist to propose that the hunting area be declared a national park (*pers. comm.*)[3]. The vision of the Portuguese ecologist was to link the park with the Kruger National Park. In 1938, the Portuguese ecologist proposed to the colonial administration to establish a transfrontier park with the neighbouring countries of South Africa and Zimbabwe (Ferrão, 2004; [1;4]). However, it continued as a hunting area until the early 1990s. In 1987, there was an initiative supported by the African Development Bank to transform the area into a national park that would be linked to the Kruger National Park[3]. However, it was only in the 1990s that feasibility studies were undertaken aiming to transform the *coutada 16* into a national park in order to establish transfrontier conservation area with neighbouring countries.

The Government of Mozambique requested the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) through the World Bank (WB) to provide assistance for the preparation of the project and feasibility studies (World Bank, 1996). The results of the feasibility studies were realised in 1996. They recommended a transfrontier conservation area with active involvement of local communities (Anstey, 2001; World Bank, 1996). A transfrontier technical committee comprising representatives from Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe was created during that time. The non-governmental organisation, Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) was the facilitator of the process between the three countries. Complying with the World Bank recommendations, the Makandezulo Community Based Natural Resources Management (MCBNRM) project under the auspices of IUCN-Mozambique was established. The aims of the MCBNRM project were to consult local communities about the establishment of the park, and community education about the objectives and benefits of biodiversity conservation (Nhantumbo & Massango, 2001).

The Peace Parks Foundation was an important role player in the establishment of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, as a facilitator. The Peace Parks Foundation

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[3] Interview with the park warden – Gilberto Vicente (2004).
[4] Brochura no. 2 da série de publicações do Parque Transfronteiriço do Grande Limpopo.

commissioned a socio-economic, demographic, land use and attitudinal survey of the communities residing in the Shingwedzi River Basin within the park by a consultancy consortium, SUNI-CREATE. Accordingly, a consultancy team elaborated the management plan, which was based on the SUNI-CREATE socio-economic, demographic, land use and attitudinal survey report. The SUNI-CREATE (2002) report states that all families knew that they would be affected by the project and they had been informed that they were living in the park. Conversely, the Refugee Research Programme [RRP] (2002) of the University of Witwatersrand report states that the majority of the households had never been consulted about the park nor had any information. Similarly, a year before the SUNI-CREATE socio-economic diagnosis, Nhantumbo & Massango (2001) found that many local people had no information about the park or had heard it from the radio, which contrasts with the SUNI-CREATE (2002) report.

The Governments of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe signed the tri-lateral agreement for the establishment of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park on 10th November, 2000. Consequently, Mozambique had to transform the *coutada 16* into a national park. Subsequently, the hunting area (*coutada 16*) was proclaimed *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* by a Ministerial Decree no. 38/2001 of 27th November 2001 (Government of Mozambique, 2001a). The proclamation was based on the area's ecological characteristics, diverse ecosystems, endemic species and the danger of species extinction. In terms of international classification, the park is IUCN's category II national park which is defined as: "An area of land or sea designated to protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations; to exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purpose of designation of the area and to provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible" (Grossman & Holden, 2003:16).

According to the Peace Parks Foundation (2003), the development of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* would entail one of the biggest community development projects undertaken in Mozambique and would hopefully serve as a model for similar projects elsewhere in Africa.

1.1.4 Brief Background of Mozambique

Mozambique is located in the south-eastern part of Africa. It is bounded by South Africa and Swaziland in the south and south-western perimeter; Zimbabwe and Zambia in the western perimeter; Malawi in the north-western perimeter; Tanzania in the north; and the Indian Ocean in the east. Mozambique has a coastline length of 2,515 km from north Rovuma River to south Maputo River (*Ponta do Ouro*). It has an area of 799,380 km² and a human population of more than 18 million inhabitants (INE, 2004). The country's official language is Portuguese. Mozambique became independent on 25th June 1975. However, Mozambique experienced 16 years of civil war (1976–1991), perpetuated by the current opposition political party RENAMO against the FRELIMO Government.

Mozambique's democratisation meant changes in policies and legislation to meet the current socio-political situation. Consequently, legal instruments and policies for the management of natural resources and biodiversity conservation were also reviewed and amended (e.g., Land Law, Environmental Law, Forest and Wildlife Law, and Local Institutions Law). The new legal framework for natural resources management and biodiversity conservation attempts to 'devolve' rights over resources to local communities as 'legitimate owners'. Accordingly, they 'must be' fully involved in the management of natural resources and biodiversity conservation, being the 'first' beneficiaries. However, it seems that the government is not prepared or willing to devolve power to local communities. Power is to be delegated, and not to be transferred to local communities.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.2.1 Local Community

An estimated six thousands people live within the park mostly along the Shingwedzi River Basin, while sixteen thousands live adjacent to the park along the Limpopo River. The greatest challenge is to improve the livelihoods of these communities, whilst simultaneously conserving biodiversity (Peace Parks Foundation, 2003). Addressing the need of biodiversity conservation without any harm (IUCN, 2003) to approximately six thousands of local people that depend on natural resources for their livelihoods and ensuring the devolution, ownership and the full participation of these people in the decision-making process regarding the park, are the major challenges.

1.2.2 Policy Framework

The principles of legal instruments that deal with natural resources in Mozambique, such as the Land Law and the Forestry and Wildlife Law are based on sustainable use of natural resources, the devolution of control over the resources to users and ensuring their participation in the design and implementation of policies and development initiatives (Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003). This means that local communities should be the primary beneficiaries of resource utilization activities. Nhantumbo *et al.* (2003) stated that many analysts have concluded that the policy framework designed to ensure participation of stakeholders in the sustainable use of resources is well laid out in Mozambique. However, the question is how this translates into implementation. Conversely, Virtanen (2001) argued that the legislation regarding natural resources management in Mozambique is vague. The author is making reference to regulations, especially those concerning the devolution of power and procedures for local community participation. It seems that the state is unwilling to effectively devolve 'full power' to local communities. According to Salomão (2004:5), "management powers are to be delegated and not transferred to local communities and other actors. Concrete rights and related decision-making powers that would support the policy rhetoric on community participation and decentralisation are not established by any provision of the law and its regulation".

Nhantumbo *et al.* (2003) stated that in areas of strict state jurisdiction such as protected areas in Mozambique, residents have limited rights, as the primary objective is conservation. Hence, this role is assigned mainly to the government, which in turn may choose the form of partnership with other stakeholders, including local communities. Therefore, there are dual rights for the same target group: the rural community inside and outside state protected areas. This suggests that communities in the areas of state jurisdiction should be resettled outside these areas if they are to have the rights that the rest of the population has in the multiple use areas (Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003). In the case of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, local communities living within the park are to be resettled. Nevertheless, according to Nhantumbo *et al.* (2003) such a premise goes against the preservation of cultural values that communities attach to the resources they use.

There are discrepancies in the rights over resources between communities within protected areas and in buffer zones, and those who are in multiple use areas (or productive zones). Protected areas are under state jurisdiction, while productive areas

are more likely to be controlled by the private sector. The attempted devolution of resources to communities tends to occur in the productive areas (Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003). It is, however, difficult to say whether the government is prepared to give way to ensure equity in resource distribution to all users, irrespective of where they are accidentally located.

1.2.3 Resettlement and Resources Alienation

In developing countries, many protected areas were created regardless of the existence of local people. Often these people had lived for generations (De Oliveira, 2002) in those areas. The prominence of protected area systems in the context of rural or agricultural development is problematic because of its specific method of restricting resource use to local populations. It has customarily led to extensive resource alienation and economic hardship for many rural social groups (Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000). Lines for parks or reserves were drawn without considering the fact that people lived in those areas or used them for cultural, religious and subsistence activities (De Oliveira, 2002).

In many cases, local populations were forced out (De Oliveira, 2002) and resettlement has been undertaken (Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000; Brandon *et al.* 1998). Ghimire & Pimbert (2000) and Brandon *et al.* (1998) argued that resettlement has been a controversial component of park establishment in many parts of the world. Socially, resettlement is almost always likely to be controversial depending on how the process is carried out: whether people whose lands were expropriated were consulted or compensated, who was compensated, at what value and within which time-frame (Brandon *et al.* 1998). Tribal peoples, poor farmers, fishermen and pastoralists displaced by coercive conservation have seen their needs and rights poorly met in their new more risk-prone environments (Pimbert & Pretty, 2000). There are examples in which people have been willing to be resettled from parks, if compensation and participation in the resettlement process were adequate. In other cases, resettlement has been involuntary and has led to conflict, especially when people have strong ties to particular areas (Brandon *et al.* 1998). The important source of conflicts are land use and tenure, which arise due to population growth, lack of available land in recently settled areas, land tenure insecurity, and lack of economic and social development opportunities (Brandon *et al.* 1998; Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000). The environment, too, often suffers as a result of forced relocations.

Traditional balances between humans and their environment are disrupted; people are confined to small and inappropriate lands, traditional social institutions which used to regulate access to resources and patterns of land use and tenure, are undermined (Fabricius, 2004; Colchester, 2000). Short-term problem solving behaviours replace long-term planning. The result is environmental degradation in newly resettled areas (Colchester, 2000). This promotes conflicts and park invasion in some cases (Fabricius, 2004; Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000), because displaced people become worse off than before in every means possible (Fabricius, 2004).

In *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, the management plan includes the displacement and resettlement of communities living within the park according to the World Bank principles[5]. However, the concern is how the resettlement process will be undertaken and whether it meets the World Bank resettlement principles. It is difficult to assess whether the resettlement will meet the IUCN and World Parks Congress recommendations regarding the governance of protected areas. It is also difficult to assess whether community 'rights' are recognised in the establishment of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*.

The Mozambican government officially proclaimed the park. However, Grossman & Holden (2003) stated that in *coutada 16*, which is actually *Parque Nacional do Limpopo,* there is an apparent contradiction between the description of the boundaries and the published co-ordinates, which can be a source of conflict with local communities. Accordingly, the boundary is to be re-aligned in a participatory manner by the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) and in association with the affected communities.

1.3 STUDY AREA

There is little research documentation available for the study area. Some of the ecological and rainfall descriptions of the area are based on records done in the adjacent Kruger National Park as it has ecologically similar features.

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[5] Boletim Informativo do Parque Nacional do Limpopo – Moçambique/ N° 1 – Agosto de 2004. Principios Directivos para Reassentamento da população. 'The resettlement must be voluntary and avoided if possible. Consultation and genuine participation of people to be resettled must be undertaken' – author's translation.

1.3.1 Location

Parque Nacional do Limpopo (PNL) is located in the western part of the Gaza Province between latitudes 22° 30'E to 24° 10'E and longitudes 30° 65'S to 32° 35'S (Nhantumbo & Massango, 2001). The international boundary with South Africa adjacent to the Kruger National Park forms the western perimeter of the park. It is located to the south of the international boundary with Zimbabwe. The Limpopo River in Mozambique forms the eastern boundary, whilst the Elefantes River forms the southern boundary. The park covers an area of 20,700 km² (Grossman & Holden, 2003; Peace Parks Foundation, 2003).

According to Grossman & Holden (2003), the buffer zone of the park extends westwards from the Limpopo River and northwards from the Elefantes River in the area between the latter's confluence with the Limpopo and Massingir Dam. The position of the western boundary of this zone is to date unclear as the map contained in the proclamation reflects certain surveyed points in the floodplain, whilst the text indicates that the boundary lies five kilometres west of the Limpopo River. The boundary is to be refined in conjunction with local communities, taking into account their land use in order to amend the proclamation.

1.3.2 Administrative Division

Parque Nacional do Limpopo (PNL) bonds three administrative districts, namely: Massingir, Chicualacuala and Mabalane. The Massingir District has an area of 5,858 km² and more than 41,000 inhabitants. It consists of three administrative offices: Mavodze, Zulo and Massingir (ACNUR/PNUD, 1996a). The last one is not part of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*. The Mavodze Administrative Office which falls within the study area consists of three localities: Mavodze, Chibotana and Machamba. The villages within the study area are: Mavodze-Headquarters, Machamba, Massingir-velho, Macavene, Bingo, Chimangue, Chibotana and Madingane. Zulo Administrative Office falls within the buffer zone of the park.

The Mabalane District has an area of 9,580 km² and more than 25,000 inhabitants. It consists of three administrative posts: Mabalane–Headquarters, Ntlavane and Combomune (ACNUR/PND, 1996b). It is only Combumune-rio and Ntlavene, which are part of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* (Nhantumbo & Massango, 2001).

The Chicualacuala District has an area of 18,243 km² and more than 38,000 inhabitants. It consists of three administrative offices: Eduardo Mondlane, Mapai and Pafuri. The Pafuri Administrative Office consists of two localities, comprising Mbuzi and Makandazulo (ACNUR/PNUD, 1997). Only Makandazulo is part of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* and falls in the study area.

1.3.3 Climate

The climate of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* (PNL) is described as subtropical, with warm wet summers and mild dry winters. The average maximum day temperature increases from south to north, with absolute maximum temperature of about 40°C from November to February. High temperatures during summer result in high evaporation rates that impact negatively on the effectiveness of precipitation. Annual temperatures vary from 22 to 24°C and from 24 to 26°C, respectively. Although the mean minimum temperature is above the freezing point, frost is periodically recorded in the lower lying areas along rivers in the Shingewdzi area. There are no precise rainfall figures available for *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*; rainfall data for the area are based on the adjacent Kruger National Park's long-term figures. The mean annual rainfall varies from 360mm in the far northern part to over 500mm along the Lebombo range in the south-western part of the park. Effective rain occurs from September to April with a short dry period of four months (Grossman & Holden, 2003).
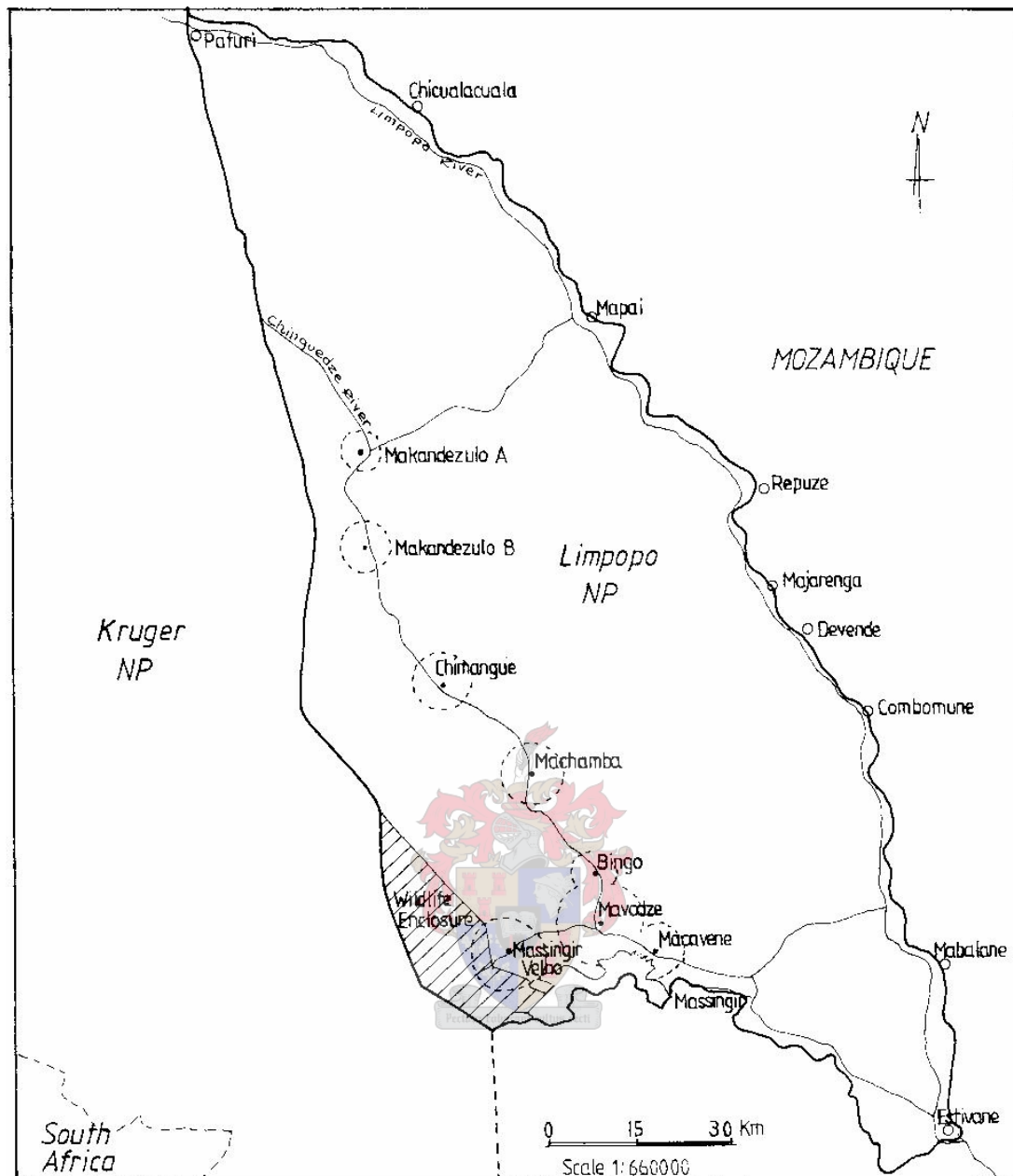
Figure 2: Map of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, showing the eight villages (circles in dotes) located along the Shingwedzi River to be resettled. Source: Adapted from Peace Parks Foundation (2003).

1.3.4 Hydrology and Vegetation

The hydrology of the region is dominated by three river systems: the Limpopo (the largest), Elefantes and to a lesser degree the Shingwedzi. The river systems have an overwhelming impact on the land use of the region. They influence population distribution as well as wildlife distribution and hence affect tourism zoning and utilisation. Therefore, the river systems must be seen as the prime factor determining land use (Grossman & Holden, 2003).

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The Limpopo catchments are derived from the interior plateau and the northern part of the eastern escarpment of South Africa as well as from the interior plains of eastern Botswana. The varying landscape and rainfall patterns have widely differing effects on the hydrology of the Limpopo River. Its runoff is influenced and controlled by various dams in the Crocodile, Marico and Piennars Rivers. The Limpopo, once perennial, currently dries up during the end of winter during dry cycles and only few pools remain in the riverbed (Grossman & Holden, 2003).

The Elefantes is derived from the eastern interior of South Africa. High runoff and flooding are produced by the catchments of the Elefantes, the Wilge and Steelpoort Rivers. Dams in these catchments also influence runoff and flooding. The Elefantes River remains perennial throughout the season (Grossman & Holden, 2003). Only a small part of the Shingwedzi River reaches the escarpment and its high rainfall regions. The river is not perennial and dries up in its lower reaches. It drains the central portion of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* and it has a large effect on wildlife distribution through the Lubombo rhyolite mountain drainage. The smaller streams retain water for longer periods and attract wildlife from the dry waterless sandveld interior (Grossman & Holden, 2003). The streams also impact the human population distribution, as five out of eight villages within the park are along the Shingwedzi River Basin. Even, those not along the river, have their farm plots in the flood plains.

Figure 3: Women and young girls at Chimangue Village fetching water in the Shingwedzi River.

Several vegetation communities occur: mopane woodland and shrubveld, mixed bushveld, sandveld, riverine woodland and edaphic grasslands (Grossman & Holden, 2003). The climate, type of soils and occurrence of watercourses determine the vegetation type of the zone. The vegetation consists mainly of grassland with *Colophospermum mopane* trees and medium to high forest in wet zones (Pafuri) with *Combretum spp* and *Burkeia africana*. Spots of open and low forests and intermediately dense to dense stands of *Schmidtia pappophoida, Themeda trindra, Digitaria* s*p.* and *Tristida congista* also abound. River margins are dominated by A*cacia xanthophloea* and stands of *Androstachys johnsonnii*, as well as *Panicum maximum, Urochloa* s*p.* and *Sporabulos ioclados* (Nhantumbo & Massango, 2001).

Figure 4: Stands of *Colophospermum mopane* within the *Parque Nacional do Limpopo.*

1.4 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERIZATION OF THE STUDY AREA

Approximately 6,000 people live within the park, representing more than 1,090 families (sampled villages). The Shingwedzi River Basin population practises subsistence agriculture along the alluvial soils of Shingwedzi River Basin. The community in the area belongs to the Shangan tribal or ethnic group. There are no job opportunities in the area. This resulted in a long history of job-seeking men migrating to towns, especially to those in neighbouring South Africa to work in the mining

industry. Nowadays, due to the closure of many mining companies, there is only a seasonal migration to South Africa to work on farms during the harvesting season or in informal work and business. The main sources of income and survival activity of local community are agriculture and cattle herding. The crops cultivated in the area are maize, cassava, beans, sweet potatoes and vegetables. Weissleder & Sparla (2002) report that the villagers within the Shingwedzi River Basin own more than 5,000 head of cattle.

Some small groups of local men trade cattle as a main income generation activity. They buy cattle from the locals and sell it in Maputo. There is a commercial exchange amongst the villages. Villages that do not produce sufficient crops buy from other villages. Thus, exchange and trade with the small traders known as M*aguevas,* who come from other districts or from Maputo to buy maize or to barter with other goods or products such as clothes, soap, oil, and so on, do occur. The trade is conducted in tuck-shops, at home or *barracas*[6] because there are no shops or markets in the villages.

Figure 5: *Magwuevas* at Bingo Village, trading 'surplus' maize produced in the local community.

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[6] Permanent stall or small shop, similar to a tuck-shop sometimes built in local materials where all consumable goods and clothes are sold.

Infrastructures such as roads are very poor or non-existent; the existing roads are the so-called *Mugwadnu*[7], which are inaccessible or cannot be used at all in the rainy season. The health system is impoverished; in some villages, there is no health centre and where they exist there are no qualified medical personnel. There may only be a local health activist or an elementary nurse. Water is supplied from the river in most villages or from local water catchments; only one village (Massingir-velho) has two water pumps built by the park project. There are primary schools in all villages, and the primary education is gratis. In some villages, schools were built using local materials. However, many school-aged boys commence primary education late because their parents send them to school only when they have acquired cattle herding skills.

Figure 6: Partial view of a primary school at the Mavodze Village.

1.5 CRITERIA FOR SELECTING THE STUDY AREA

The study was carried out in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP), specifically in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* (PNL) in Mozambique. Eight villages within the park were covered by the study. These villages are the most affected by the park establishment. They are to be displaced and resettled according to the park management plan. The villages sampled have a direct influence on the park's daily activities. They are within the boundaries of the park along the Shingwedzi River Basin. This river has influenced the human population settlements and wildlife

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[7] Characteristic rural road opened manually, which looks like a railway.

distribution. Resettlement of these villages along the Shingwedzi River Basin is seen as a *sine-qua-non-condition* for the implementation of the tourism and wildlife management plans. The location of these villages overlap with the area proposed for low density tourism and medium to high density tourism according to the park's tourism and wildlife plans. However, these communities depend entirely on land and forest resources use for their livelihoods.

The villages sampled are Makandezulo A and B in the Chicualacuala District, Pafuri Administrative Post. These two villages are situated within the park. Ximangue, Machamba, Bingo Mavodze, Massingir-velho and Macavene Villages in the Massingir District also fall within the park boundaries, while Chibotana and Madingane Villages are in the buffer zone, but in the same district. These two villages were sampled for comparison with villages within the park.

1.6 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1.6.1 General objectives

This research seeks to (a) explore and understand how inclusive or exclusive the process of the establishment and management of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* has been, especially at the grassroots; (b) explore and understand local community resources utilisation practices, livelihood strategies, land tenure and institutional organisation for natural resources management at the grassroots; (c) assess the perceptions and attitudes of local communities towards the park, and how these have affected the sustainability of the park; and (d) to analyse the implementation at the grassroots of policies for participatory governance in natural resources management and biodiversity conservation. It is worth noting that natural resources policies in Mozambique stress sustainable development and recognition of local communities' rights over the resources, and their full participation in the establishment and management of protected areas. The study examined *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* in Mozambique as a case study to determine the practice of protected area management in the new participatory context.

1.6.2 Specific objectives

There are five key research objectives that this study seeks to address:

1) to assess the stakeholders who participated in the establishment of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* (PNL) and their role in the process;

2) to assess the role of traditional authority in the management of natural resources and in the establishment of PNL and its implications for biodiversity conservation and sustainable management and development of the park;

3) to determine the patterns of land tenure and use and resource use practices by local communities living within and around the park;

4) to assess local community attitudes and perceptions towards the established park and the potential implications for biodiversity conservation; and

5) to conduct a socio-economic diagnosis in order to:
   a)   determine the current local community livelihood strategies and their relations with biodiversity conservation objectives;
   b)   understand local communities' involvement and their role in the establishment of the park, their, perceptions, expectations and receptiveness of the park establishment;
   c)   understand the social and institutional organisation within communities, its implication for participatory governance and decision-making over natural resources, and income generation activities.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.7.1 Data Collection

A preliminary field visit and data collection was carried out in January 2004 in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*. Four villages within the park and two in the buffer zone were visited during the preliminary fieldwork. Contacts were established with local authorities (governmental and traditional), park managers, and NGO officials in Maputo. Semi-structured questionnaires were also administered to households and

structured interviews to governmental and NGO officials. The questionnaires were constructed in Portuguese, but they were administered in Shangan as the majority of the villagers could not speak Portuguese. The purpose of the preliminary fieldwork was to assess the characteristics of the study site, to test the efficiency of the questionnaires and to facilitate further gathering of all relevant information in the shortest possible time.

The final fieldwork for data collection in the park was conducted from August to September 2004 in the eight villages within the park, and in the two villages in the buffer zone or multiple use zone. Additional data collection and interviews with officials in Maputo were conducted from August to October 2004, and in March, June July and November 2005. The collection of tertiary data, which included the available literature and technical field reports, was done in Maputo and in Stellenbosch throughout the course of this study (2004-2006). The techniques used for data collection are described below.

1.7.1.1 Triangulation

The techniques used in this research were questionnaires, interviews, observation and examination of documents. These techniques when combined produce differing, but mutually supporting data. Each method approaches the collection of data from a different angle and from its own distinct perspective. These perspectives were used for comparison and contrast. Triangulation involves more data and different kinds of data on the same topic. Thus, it is more likely to improve the quality of the research, which allows seeing the data from different perspectives and understanding the topic in more rounded and complete form (Kumar, 2002).

In this research, the seven types of data gathering techniques described by (Messerchimidt, 1995) were used, namely:

i) semi-structured interviews;

ii) individual respondent interviews;

iii) household interviews;

iv) key informant interviews;

v) group interviews and discussion;

vi) focus group sessions; and

vii) accidental interviews.

Figure 7: Household head interview at Bingo Village. At the back, the typical houses (huts) within the park and the granary in the construction already containing maize.

1.7.1.1.1 Socio-economic Diagnosis

Triangulation was used in the socio-economic diagnosis of the study area. Household questionnaires were conducted to derive information on the following aspects: social and traditional institutions, social organization, status of local leadership (administrative and traditional), conflicts, land access and tenure, forest resource value (socio-cultural and economic), family size, education, health, water supply, farm ownership, economic activities, economic constraints and opportunities (access to market) and the existence of social services (hospital, school, water point and market).

Also, direct observations, oral and local histories were also recorded and utilised. All informants were interviewed formally and informally. The individuals surveyed included: local government officials (District Administrator, District Director of Agriculture and Rural Development and District Rural Extension Technicians), local authorities (Chief Administrative Officer, Secretaries of the Localities and Community Leaders), teachers, nurses, vendors, NGO officials, park managers and villagers of different social status.

1.7.1.2 Participatory Rapid Assessment

Participatory rapid assessment was conducted through semi-structured interviews with local communities, key informants, focus groups, which included traditional leaders, teachers, park managers and household heads of randomly selected families in the villages surveyed. Historical trends on land tenure and forest use, customary practices of controlling forest access and resource use, types and modes of resource collection and use, water catchments areas, resettlement process, understanding of the environmental value of the park, attitudes and perceptions of local communities towards the establishment of the park, its development and its conservation, were all recorded.

Officials from the park administrative headquarters in Maputo and officials of NGOs working in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* were also interviewed. In the Massingir Village, local government authorities including the District Administrator and his assistants, the Chief Administrative Officer for Mavodze Administrative Office, the District Director of the Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development and the Park Project Implementation Unit (PIU) officials were interviewed.

Direct observations during random transect walks were made. A Sony digital camera was used to record different environmental conditions and meetings within the villages and the park. Indirect record of soil characteristics, geology, hydrology, climate and ecology of the study area was conducted using technical maps and reports.

Figure 8: Men's discussion focus group meeting at the Madingane Village.

Figure 9: Women's discussion focus group meeting at the Machamba Village.

1.8 SAMPLE SIZE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERIZATION

It was important to understand the characteristics of the sample size in this research. The sample characteristics helped to improve the understanding of local communities' attitudes, perceptions, and their understanding of the park. In addition, it helped the understanding of local communities' perceptions of land tenure and ownership. Table 1 illustrates the sample size of households surveyed using the household inquiry.

Table 1: Number of families in the villages and the percentage of families surveyed in the sampled area.

Village	Families (total)	Surveyed families (no.)	Surveyed families (%)
Makandazulo A	26	15	58%
Makandazulo B	98	32	33%,
Chimangue	103	25	24%
Machamba	107	24	22%,
Bingo	105	35	33%,
Massingir-velho	206	31	15%,
Mavodze	345	40	12%,
Macavene	104	38	37%,
Xibotana	230	25	11%,
Madingane	81	32	40%,
Total	**1,405**	**297**	**21%,**

Source: Villages' Community Leaders and the Mavodze Administrative Office.

In the villages within the park, 240 households were surveyed. They represented 22% of the total households (1,094 from the research records) within the park. The Chicualacula District, contributed 4.3% (n=47) to the total households surveyed. The district has only two villages within the park and along the Shingewdzi River Basin, with 124 households, representing 11% of the total population within the park. In the Massingir District, 17.7% (n=193) of the households were surveyed. Fifty-seven households were surveyed/sampled in the buffer zone of the park. Thus, 297 households were surveyed within the park and the buffer zone. These represented 21% of the total households in the sampled area (1,405 from the research records). The main target group was the household heads, considering that in the Mozambican rural system they are the family representatives. Where the household head was absent, the spouse was interviewed. In the absence of the spouse, the next eldest family member was interviewed and classified as 'others'. Of all those interviewed 66% (n=196) were male-headed households and 34% (n=101) were female-headed households. Thirteen percent (n=37) of the female-headed households were widows.

It is worth noting that the majority of the respondents were born in the area where they were interviewed, while a significant number were born in other villages, but within the same district. Thus, 92% (n=274) of all household interviewees were born in the area, while only 8% (n=23) were not born in the area (Table 2). Those not born in the area or in the village were either married to a local inhabitant (44.4%, n=32), followed relatives (19.4%, n=14), or have moved into the area because of resources availability (15.3%, n=11). Those who moved there for other reasons such as business or having served as a soldier, but retired and did not return to the area of origin represented 14% (n=10). Seven percent (n=5) of the inhabitants were living there because of employment.

Table 2: Place of birth of the respondents and the respective percentages.

This Village	A. Village	A. District	A. Province	A. Country
75%	17%	6%	1.7%	0.3%

A. = Another

Sixty-three percent of interviewees (n=187) had no education, 18.2% (n=54) had attended primary school, and 16.5% (n=49) could read. Only 2.4% (n=7) had secondary education. Practically, all the interviewees were peasants (95%, n=280), while only 2.4% (n=7) were peasants and practised some occasional small business.

Businessmen and teachers constituted 1.3% (n=4) each. Teachers and businessmen had farm plots, which diversify their livelihood strategies. The mean and range age of respondents according to their sex are represented in the following Table 3.

Table 3: Mean and range age of respondents by sex.

Sex	Mean age	Standard deviation	Range
Male	49.16	15.654	19 - 90
Female	42.76	15.391	14 - 80

1.9 DATA ANALYSIS

The data were coded using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) software. Various operations such as descriptive analyses, frequencies, cross-tabulation and qualitative analyses were performed using SPSS as well as Statitsica. Statistica was also used to analyse categorical and nominal variables using the chi-square test. One-way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) was used to analyse continuous variables. The statistical tests were used to test for statistically significance differences in response to a category under analysis between respondents within and between the villages. All statistical operations were run with a confidence interval of 95%.

1.10 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Seven chapters constitute this thesis. Chapter one introduces the study and explores the need for understanding the social complexity of rural systems and the interactions with biodiversity conservation, sustainable use of natural resources and poverty. The brief history of transfrontier conservation areas and the establishment of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park are highlighted. The history of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, the rationale for the study (problem statement) and the objectives of the research as well as the methodology used for the study are outlined in this chapter.

Chapter two reviews the theoretical concepts of participation and policy framework for local community participation in biodiversity conservation, and participatory governance of natural resources and sustainable development. The chapter explores and reviews the policy framework at international, regional and national levels.

Chapter three assesses the establishment of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, the stakeholders involved and their role in the process. It also assesses and discusses the

institutional framework and co-ordination of the management of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*.

Chapter four assesses and analyses the institutional organization at the grassroots and the role traditional leadership and traditional authority play in the management of natural resources and biodiversity conservation at the grassroots. It also discusses the role of local institutions and their influences on the governance of natural resources in the established *Parque Nacional do Limpopo.*

Chapter five assesses and analyses the land tenure, patterns of resources use and livelihood strategies of local communities. It also discusses its implications for land tenure and resources use for the future of natural resources management and biodiversity conservation in the established park, while securing sustainable development.

Chapter six assesses and analyses local community attitudes and perceptions towards the establishment and management of the park and its implications for sustainable management of natural resources within the protected area.

Chapter seven outlines the conclusions and it offers recommendations for overturning the inadequacies identified by this study.
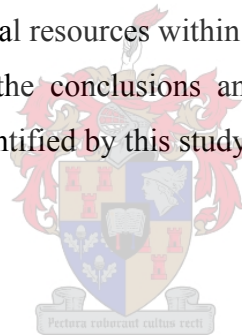
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Policy Frameworks for Participatory Governance of Natural Resources

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Theoretical concepts of community participation in local development as well as in biodiversity conservation, particularly in protected areas, are reviewed in this chapter. The chapter explores the policy and legal framework for participatory governance of natural resources and biodiversity conservation at international, regional and national levels. Much attention is paid to the inclusion of local communities that live within protected areas in the decisions that affect the sustainable management of these areas. Local communities are expected to accrue benefits from conservation activities, with the shift from coercive conservation approach to participatory conservation approach for sustainable development, which is the core of the present research.

2.2 THE POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY BASED NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

2.2.1 The Participation Concept

The term participation means different things to different people; there are different opinions as to what public participation means (Davids *et al*. 2005; Pijnenburg, 2004; Kumar, 2002; Gumbi, 2001; Pimbert & Prety, 2000; Matakala, 2001; Midgley, 1986). There is no consensus on what participation is as it depends on the context. Like many other areas of rural development, conservation has been characterised by very different interpretations of participation. It is thus essential for professionals to focus on appropriate process for participation if sustainability and biodiversity conservation goals are to be met (Pimbert & Pretty, 2000).

Participation in community development can be defined as an active process by which beneficiary client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish (Gumbi, 2001; Midgley, 1986). Participation refers to people's involvement in decision-making process on program implementation, benefit sharing and involvement in evaluation of such

programs (Gumbi, 2001). Participation is the means of empowering people by developing their skills and abilities so that they can negotiate with the development delivery system and can make their own decisions in terms of their development needs and priorities (Davids *et al*. 2005). However, participation doest not only include people into decision-making about their future, but also raises consciousness and empowers them (Myburgh, 2003) in dealing with the issue under consideration.

Communities can greatly enhance participation by making it a point that the following principles are taken into consideration: (a) to involve as many people as possible in a specific area in discussions of the various needs and problems of their community and the consideration of collective action to meet them; (b) to represent the interests of collective action to meet them; (c) to accommodate and represent the interest of community members; and (d) to ensure that broad issues affecting the whole community are dealt with seriously (Gumbi, 2001). Yet, these assumptions consider community as a homogeneous group. However, a community is not homogeneous as there are different interests, relationships, concerns and problems within a group. Thus, we cannot assume that involving as many people as possible would enhance participation greatly. Pijnenburg (2004) argues that every mode of participation can be perfectly justified, depending on the objective of the intervention and on the specific local context. However, it is probably better to speak of optimal group rather, than maximum group participation (Pijnenburg, 2004).

2.2.2 Typologies of Participation

There are several types of participation. Davids *et al*. (2005), Fabricius (2004), Pijnenburg (2004), Kumar (2002), Pimbert & Pretty (2000) and Naguran (1999) described seven types of participation: First, passive participation: people participate by being told what is going to happen or what has already happened. Second, participation in information giving: people participate by answering questions posed by extractive researchers or project managers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches, but do not influence proceedings. Third, participation by consultation: external agents define both problems and solutions. The consultation process does not concede any share in decision-making, as there is no obligation to take onboard people's views. Fourth, participation for material incentives: people participate by providing resources; for example, labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. People have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end.

Fifth, functional participation: people participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. The involvement does not take place at early stages of project planning, but after major decisions have been made. People tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may become self-dependent. Sixth, interactive participation: people participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local groups or strengthening the existing ones. People take control over local decisions, and so have a stake in maintaining structures or practices. Seventh, self-mobilisation: people participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions. The self-initiated mobilisation and collective action may or may not challenge existing inequitable distributions of wealth and power. According to Pimbert & Pretty (2000), the implication of the typologies is that the term participation should not be accepted without appropriate qualification.

Davids *et al*. (2005) outlined four modes of participation, which overlap with the seven typologies described above in terms of contribution, involvement, control, influence and enhancement. First, anti-participatory mode: public participation is considered a voluntary contribution by the public to a program, which leads to development, but the public is not expected to take part in shaping the program content and outcomes. Second, manipulation mode: participation includes public involvement in decision-making process, in implementing programs, sharing the benefits and involvement in efforts to evaluate such programs. Third, incremental mode: public participation is concerned with organised efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations for groups or movements excluded from such control. Fourth, authentic public participation: public participation is an active process by which the public influences the direction and execution of the program with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values, which they cherish.

As one moves from passive participation to self-mobilisation, the control of the local people and outsiders over the process varies. In the case of passive participation, people's control is almost non-existent while in self-mobilisation, people have almost total control over the process - the role of outsiders is at best minimal (Davids *et al*. 2005; Kumar, 2002). It is also possible to have manipulative participation where participation is simply pretence, and people have no role as in the

case of nominated members to some official boards who have little say in the decision-making process (Kumar, 2002).

The impact of different kinds of participation will be different (Davids *et al*. 2005; Kumar, 2002). For example, while participation by manipulation and passive participation can disempower community, both interactive participation and participation by self-mobilisation can be highly empowering (Kumar, 2002). Participation is therefore being increasingly viewed as the process of empowering local people (Davies *et al*. 2005; Pijnenburg, 2004; Kumar, 2002). The focus is on transfer of power and change in the power structure. Thus, interactive participation and participation through self-mobilisation are critical for participation to become a process of empowering the people so that they gain more control over their own resources and lives (Kumar, 2002).

Ghai & Vivian (1992) stated that the development of rules and structures by a society to ensure that any individuals or groups do not overexploit the resources is a kind of participation, which forms the basis of many communities. People often organise to oppose the resource management priorities of external agents, rather than to cooperate with them. Such social mobilization is an active and visible form of participation in resource management practices. However, it is impossible to categorise a complex and multi-faceted intervention with various actors within one typology, label or level of participation. Participation can take multiple forms and serve different interests; it is vital to distinguish clearly what those interests are (Pijnenburg, 2004).

2.2.3 Degrees of Participation

Gumbi (2001) described seven degrees of participation, participant's action and illustrative modes for participation achievement, as illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4: Degrees of participation, participant's action and illustrative modes.

Degree	Participant's Action	Illustrative Mode
1	None	The community is told nothing
2	Receive information	The organization makes a plan and announces it. The community is convened for information purposes and compliance is expected.
3	Is consulted	The organization tries to promote a plan and seeks to

		develop the support, which will facilitate acceptance or give sufficient sanction to the plan so that administrative compliance can be expected.
4	Advises	The organization presents a plan and invites questions. It is prepared to modify the plan only if absolutely necessary.
5	Plans jointly	The organization presents a tentative plan subject to change and invites recommendations from those affected. It expects to change the plan at least slightly and perhaps even more substantially.
6	Has delegated authority	The organization identifies and presents a problem to the community, defines the limits and asks the community to make a series of decisions, which can be embodied in a plan, which it will accept.
7	Has control	The organization asks the community to identify the problem and to make all the key decisions regarding goals and means. It is willing to help the community at each step to accomplish its own goals, even to the extent of administrative control of the programme.

Source: Gumbi (2001).

The seven degrees of participation described by Gumbi (2001) are not different from the seven types of participation described by Davids *et al*. (2005), Pijnenburg (2004), Kumar (2002) and Pimbert & Pretty (2000). The degrees also flow from passive to active participation. However, the whole initiative in the seven degrees of participation described by Gumbi (2001) is from an external organization, even in the active community participation. In the seven types of participation described by Davids *at al.* (2005), Pijnenburg (2004), Kumar (2002) and Pimbert & Pretty (2000), active community participation is driven by internal self-mobilisation. Access to information for all affected parties is the crucial factor for meaningful participation. In other words, for the community to be able to participate meaningfully, it needs to be fully informed and able to transmit its views, wishes and interests. A two-way communication process is essential. Community should have a free flow of information in order to secure informed planning and decision-making (Myburgh, 2003).

2.2.4 Participatory Development and Participation-in-development

Participatory development and participation-in-development are two different types of participation (Kumar, 2002, table 5). Participatory development is a passive participation where everything is pre-determined. Davids *et al*. (2005) refer to it as involvement, which is associated with passive participation (weak public participation, co-option, placation, consultation, mobilisation and top-down decision-making process). Participation-in-development seeks to involve stakeholders in the whole process. Davids *et al*. (2005) refer to this participation as empowerment, which entails self-mobilisation and public control of the development process. In participatory development, people do not take part in the planning and decision-making process; they are merely passive participants. However, in participation-in-development, people are integral part of the process; they are involved from the conception, planning, decision-making and evaluation stages.

Table 5: Comparative analysis: participatory development vs participation-in-development.

Participatory development	Participation-in-development
It approaches conventional project practice in a more participatory and sensitive manner.	It entails genuine efforts to engage in practices that openly and radically encourage people's participation.
It is introduced within the predetermined project framework.	It stems from the understanding that poverty is caused by structural factors. It attempts to alter some of the causes that lead to poverty.
It is a top-down form of participation in the sense that the management of the project defines where, when and how much the people can participate.	It is a bottom-up form of participation in the sense that the local people have full control over the process and the project provides for necessary flexibility.
It is the more prevalent practice. It is more dominant in terms of resources availability.	It is more prevalent with NGOs than with the government.

Source: Kumar (2002).

2.2.5 Advantages of People's Participation

Kumar (2002) identified five major advantages of people's participation in sustainable development programs. First, people's participation can ensure efficiency. People will

take responsibility for the various activities, improving efficiency and making the process more cost-effective (Kumar, 2002; Narayan, 1995; Migdley, 1986; Sharma, 1985). However, there is a danger that project implementers in the name of people's participation, may assign fewer resources and transfer the burden of the project costs onto the local people (Kumar, 2002).

Second, people's participation can enhance effectiveness, making the project more effective (Kumar, 2002; Narayan, 1995). It is necessary to grant the local communities a say in decision-making in strategies and participation in implementation, thereby ensuring effective utilisation of resources.

Third, people's participation can improve self-reliance (Kumar, 2002; Midgley, 1986); many development interventions create a kind of dependence syndrome. If local resources, both human and material, are utilised on the basis of decisions taken by the people themselves, the realisation grows that the problems faced by the people can have local solutions. Thus, it is possible not only to break the mentality of dependence, but also to increase their awareness, self-confidence and control of the development process. The involvement in decision-making, implementation and monitoring helps in developing local human resources (Kumar, 2002; Midgley, 1986).

Fourth, participation enhances coverage. Most projects have been at best only partially successful because the non-poor, the elite and the powerful obtain most of the benefits (Kumar, 2002). People's participation can be a potent way of ensuring the flow of benefits to target groups (Kumar, 2002; Narayan, 1995). Furthermore, cost-effective operations can ensure that resources are available for wider coverage of the weaker sections of society than would otherwise be possible.

Fifth, participation ensures sustainability. The involvement of local people and the utilisation of local resources generate a sense of ownership over the development interventions to the people. The sense of ownership is essential for the sustainability of the interventions even after external funding stops (Kumar, 2002).

2.2.6   Argument against Participation

There are certain limitations to people's participation in development. Kumar (2002) listed four major arguments against people's participation. First, participation leads to a delayed start and slow progress in the initial stages of the fieldwork, thereby delaying the achievement of physical as well as financial targets. Delal-Clayton *et al.*

(2003) characterized it as transaction costs of maintaining institutional mechanisms. Second, an increased requirement of material as well as human resources to support participation may become necessary because in a participatory process it is necessary to move along the path decided by the local people. This may be a more costly method in terms of both money and time for local people with already busy lives for executing development interventions (Delal-Clayton *et al*. 2003; Kumar, 2002).

Third, participation is a process and once it is initiated it has to be allowed to take its own course and hence may not move along the expected lines. It is an empowerment process where people are empowered to make decisions, and donors, governments and other players have to relinquish power and control. Relinquishing power and control is not easy (Kumar, 2002). Pijnenburg (2004) pointed out the lack of attention to power relations in participatory development interventions, especially within local communities. This is sustained by Midgley (1986) who asserts that communities are comprised of individuals who differ in their desires to become involved. Socially, those who are fragmented into different factions or divided by culture, religion or other allegiances, which Pijnenburg (2004) classified as local diversity or groups with different interests will not co-operate as effectively as those that are cohesive and well integrated (Midgley, 1986). Fourth, interactive participation generates many expectations and as well as excitement (Delal-Clayton *et al*. 2003; Kumar, 2002). Increased expectations may not always be realised and if there is no follow-up to early discussions, disillusion may set in and jeopardise people's willingness to participate (Delal-Clayton *et al*. 2003).

Pijnenburg (2004) refers to the lack of commitment and change in attitudes and behaviour that are required to achieve a transformative process in which the poor become empowered as "bad practice" (Pijnenburg, 2004:16). In most projects, participation is more illusory than real. Therefore, participation remains rhetoric, rather than a reality (Kumar, 2002). Midgley (1986) pointed out that many governments, particularly in Africa, fail to provide adequate financial support to community participation. Thus, community participation is not more than a slogan, which brought few tangible benefits (Midgley, 1986). This is despite a general realisation that participation in the sense of interactive participation or participation by self-mobilisation has to be an essential ingredient in development processes (Kumar, 2002).

2.2.7 Obstacles to People's Participation

People's participation takes place in a socio-political context. There are three major obstacles to people's participation: structural, administrative, and social (Davids *et al.* 2005; Pijnenburg, 2004; Kumar, 2002). First, Structural obstacles comprise those factors, which form part of the centralised political systems and are not oriented towards people's participation. The situation is typified by a 'top-down' development approach adopted by development agencies (Kumar, 2002). Second, Administrative obstacles refer to administrative structures that are control-oriented and are operated by a set of guidelines and adopt a blue print approach. This provides a little space to local people to make their own decisions or control their resources. Third, Social obstacles like the mentality of dependence, culture of silence, domination of local elite, or gender inequality hinder people's participation (Davids *et al.* 2005; Kumar, 2002; Midgley, 1986). Pijnenburg (2004) argues that the inequalities ingrained between the participants are constantly being reproduced. As a result, it is difficult for poor people to have access to and control over certain resources as equal partners to the non-poor.

While Davids *et al*. (2005); Pijnenburg (2004) and Kumar (2002) point out obstacles to people's participation, Delal-Clayton *et al*. (2003) identify it as costs of participation. This includes the cost of providing information. When people are involved, it requires effective and timely feedback and recognition of their contribution, cost of raising expectations, cost of facilitation and transaction costs (Delal-Clayton *et al.* 2003). Most of participatory development fails to take into account the larger obstacles and hence the impact is hardly sustainable and pervasive (Kumar, 2002).

2.2.8 Participatory Governance for Natural Resources Management

Participatory governance for natural resources management is to get people involved in governing natural resources. The people know what is good for them and they will always participate and collaborate in programs that will redound to their own good (Jimenez, 2004). People participate in the development of their own livelihood strategies and cultures (Delal-Clayton *et al.* 2003). Participation and collaboration are essential components of any system of learning, as change cannot be effected without full involvement of all stakeholders, and the adequate representation of their views and perspectives (Pimbert & Pretty, 2000). Participation involves devolution of

power and access to decentralised institutions that honour people's priorities (Davids *et al*. 2005).

Governance is "about the rules of the game in a given system; it is the socio-political interactions between those governing and those being governed" (Katerere, 2002:27). It is about finding a way to make "decisions that reduce the level of unwanted outcomes and increase the level of desirable outcomes" (Mahomed 2002:39). These outcomes, in the case of resources governance, include efficiency, equitability and sustainability of resources access, management and use (Mahomed, 2002), as well as transparency, responsiveness, accountability and minority representation (Nhantumbo *et al*. 2003). Governance of natural resources includes the structures and processes of power and authority, co-operation, conflict and dispute resolution concerning resource allocation and use, through the interaction of organizations and social institutions (Mahomed, 2002).

Decentralisation is seen as a legitimate political and economic means to achieve greater participation, efficiency, equity and accountability at the lower levels of decision-making (Katerere, 2002; Ntsabeza, 1999). It is the process aimed at giving grassroots institutions the power of decision-making and rights to control their resources (Nhantumbo *et al*. 2003; Ntsebeza, 1999). Decentralisation describes the process by which bundles of entrustments, for example, regulatory and executive powers, responsibility and authority in decision making are transferred to local groups (Campbell & Shackleton, 2001). Within the context of community based natural resources management (CBNRM), one of the key elements of governance is the capacity of communities to participate and contribute to decisions on access to the use of natural resources (Mahomed, 2002). Given that past failures in community based natural resources management have been linked to the non-participatory and centralised methods of planning, decentralisation and empowerment are now considered keys to new natural resource management project initiatives (Katerere, 2002). Decentralisation has taken many forms, resulting in different organizational structures for natural resources management (Campbell & Shackleton, 2001). There has been a policy shift to advocate that local resource users play a more active role in the management of natural resources. There has been a considerable progress in decentralising authority over forests from the state to local communities in Asia, and there are now numerous examples within Africa (Campbell & Shackleton, 2001).

Decentralisation can occur through devolution, in which case, the entrustments are transferred more or less completely to local users (Nhantumbo *et al*. 2003; Katerre, 2002; Goldman, 1998). Devolution entails the complete transfer of decisions regarding certain public responsibilities from a central government to a lower level of government. It captures the real spirit of decentralisation, which is the transfer of authority to public institutions closer to the population (De Oliveira, 2002). Devolution enables people to dynamically participate in the governance of their own lives by moving power and initiative to local levels. However, if this is not seen, then the entire devolution endeavour becomes a farce (Murphree, 2004). In the southern Africa region, effort has been made to transfer at least some responsibility and authority over natural resources from a central level to a lower level (Campbell & Shackleton, 2001). The transfer of authority can be manifested as the control of decision-making, income, expenditure, benefit, transfer of ownership and property rights. Decentralisation is frequently accompanied by competition for the benefits of the new authority. This may take place between the organization receiving authority and existing organizations, between the bodies transferring the authority and the receiving authority, or it may emerge amongst different actors within the community (Campbell & Shackleton, 2001). However, the call for vesting secure rights in local people is sometimes portrayed as dangerous because government might lose its power to protect wider societal interests (Magome & Murrombedzi, 2003).

In addition, devolution of protected area management to local communities does not mean that the state agencies have no role. Governments have much to gain by decentralising control and responsibility for protected area management. Such protection is likely to be more cost-effective and sustainable when national regulatory frameworks are left flexible enough to accommodate local peculiarities (Pimbert & Pretty 2000). This is not the case for the Mozambican regulatory framework, which is "vague" (Virtanen, 2001:1) and "has a considerable long way to go" (Salomão, 2004:16).

2.2.9 The role of Local Communities in Participatory Governance for Natural Resources Management

There is no consensus on what should be called community or local community. In the context of the present study, 'community or local community' refers to the 'local people' that live within the sampled villages. According to the Mozambican Land

Law (Law no. 19/97 of 1st October), and Forest and Wildlife Law (Law no. 10/99 of 7th July), community is "a group of families and individuals living within a geographical area at the territorial level of a locality or subdivision thereof, and which seeks to safeguard its common interests through the protection of areas for habitation or agriculture including both fallow and cultivated areas, forests, areas of cultural importance, pasture land, water sources, and areas for expansion" (Government of Mozambique, 2004b; 2000a; 1999; Serra, 2003).

An increased role of local communities in natural resource management has recently been widely advocated as a solution to the problem of environmental degradation in the Third World (Virtanen, 2001). Local organizations are crucial for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity (Pimbert & Pretty 2000). This conclusion is based on a broad debate on the role of endogenous institutions in which academics, politicians and practitioners working in natural resources management have participated. In recent years, the poor outcomes of state-centred strategies of natural resources management and externally planned development interventions have forced both policy makers and scholars to reconsider the role of local level institutions in resource management. In their contributions to this debate, various actors have advocated the increased role of local communities as the best way to overcome the problems of the previous top-down approach (Virtanen 2001).

Negrão (1999) argues that in economically weak societies, the reason for community participation is the very high operational costs in protected areas. This is particularly because there is limited state capacity in terms of finance (Jones & Murphree, 2004; De Oliveira, 2002; Negrão, 1999), staff and required information to fight poaching (Songorwa *et al*. 2000) and institutional capacity to ensure effective implementation of management plans (De Oliveira, 2002). Nowadays, government institutions recognise their incapacity to effectively manage natural resources under their jurisdiction alone (Mushove, 2002). Dalal-Clayton *et al*. (2003) pointed out that the state is not a good manager of natural resources. As a result, there are many approaches to secure local participation for effective management of resources that local communities depend on (Dalal-Clayton *et al*. 2003; Mushove, 2002). The rationale is effectiveness; local people are the most familiar with the area. When conservation is community based it becomes easier to put in use people's traditional knowledge (Songorwa *et al*. 2000).

In addition, there is a permanent tension between conservation objectives and local community's basic needs. This results in hunting, uncontrolled forest burning and agricultural activities becoming non-controllable in protected areas (Negrão, 1999). Linking biodiversity conservation to the development of local people is a political, social and economic matter because conservation is a socio-political and economic issue (Jones & Murphree, 2004; Magome & Murombedzi 2003; Colchester, 2000). Thus, the solution to biodiversity conservation problems will be attained through providing the appropriate socio-economic and institutional framework (Jones & Murphree, 2004).

According to Negrão (1999), in Africa, there are three visions for community participation. First, the instrumentalist vision (southern Africa), which has the share of benefits as an exchange currency by conservation, which Jones & Murphree (2004) describe as economic instrumentalism on Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) policy. Second, the utilitarian vision (eastern Africa), which recognizes communities' knowledge and rights over the land. Jones & Murphree (2004) describe it as sustainable use and as a conservation paradigm. Sustainable use entails the provision of right incentives to landholders to adopt sustainable land use practices that do not lead to environmental degradation and loss of biodiversity. Sharing is a form of compensation because communities could not use the resources as they used to do before (Negrão, 1999). Third, the transforming vision (western Africa), where participation has the objective of qualitative transformation of communities for development.

Jones & Murphree (2004) describe four conceptual elements on CBNRM policy in southern Africa, including (1) sustainable use as a conservation paradigm; (2) economic instrumentalism; (3) devolutionism, where the rights to manage, to benefit and to dispose or sell or better leaving power as close to the action as possible; and (4) collective proprietorship where strong proprietorship rights over the land and wildlife is transferred to communal land.

Furthermore, Negrão (1999) argues that in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region there are four models of community participation that are being implemented, which are similar to those described by Rodrigues (2002). First, the private company (tourism company), which offers employment, promotes a rapid growth of a certain region and employment, but it has a limited distribution of benefits and revenues. Communities do not participate in the decision-making

process. Conservation is in danger because the collective management of the resources is not institutionalised. This model is oriented to the production of a unique product for a unique consumption – tourism. Second, company sharing revenues with the community, where the process of economic growth in the region is more equitably. There is also poverty alleviation because benefits are shared. The community participates in the decision-making process and assumes responsibilities for implementation, but sometimes there are conflicts and tensions with the state. This can be positive for conservation, depending on the scale of the project and the manner in which the revenues are distributed and applied. Third, joint company by shareholders where there are high potentialities for well-being and economic growth of communities. Nonetheless, there is a considerable time lag between the investment and the revenue generation. Most of the time communities are marginalized in the decision-making process. There are no shareholder assemblies and the state tends to substitute the communities, although there is a strong potential for sustainable use of resources and conservation. The success of this depends on the time and forms of benefit sharing. Fourth, company totally owned by community in which case the revenues accrue to communities. There is no capital injection and there is a strong tension with the state. Capacity building for effective participation in the decision-making process is necessary. Conservation revenues are generally low to have significant re-investments.
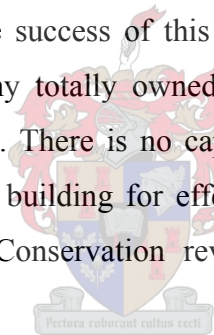
Negrão's (1999) and Rodrigue's (2002) models have some similarities to the institutional arrangements models governing CBNRM in southern Africa described by Nhantumbo *et al.* (2003) and Campbell & Shacklecton (2001). This includes the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), where district structures are the loci of power; department-sponsored initiatives, for example, village committees (Malawi and Tanzania); structures outside state hierarchies, such as traditional leadership without backing of the legal framework; and truly community based (Namibia, Makuleke in South Africa, Lesotho) with powers to make rules, to approve developments, to enter into partnership with the private sector, to receive revenues and distribute benefits, as in Negrão's and Rodrigue's second and fourth models.

Nhantumbo *et al.* (2003) argues that southern African countries have embraced CBNRM as a rural development strategy based on the devolution of some level of control over resources to local communities. The common denominator of

experiences in these countries is that they are wildlife and tourism based. This is hardly the case with initiatives, which are being undertaken in Mozambique that are forest products based than on wildlife (Jones & Murphree, 2004; Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003) with the exception of *Tchuma Tchato* (our wealth) project in the central province of Tete and *Reserva do Niassa* in the north-western province of Niassa. Nhantumbo *et al.* (2003) also stated that there are different models and bases for the implementation of CBNRM in southern Africa. For example, it may be based on strong traditional ownership of resources, especially land, but without recognition of such rights as it is the case in Botswana. It may be based on clear user rights over wildlife and other resources, but not tenure over land like in Namibia's conservancy model. It may involve devolution of authority to local communities for benefit distribution as in Namibia and Botswana. It may be based on strong government control through local level representatives, such as district structures in the case of CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe, which provides the foundation of CBNRM. Alternatively, it may be based on strong traditional leadership, which controls the process, as in the Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas (ADMADE) in Zambia. However, all have the common objective of improving the livelihoods of local communities (Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003).

Mushove (2002) describes four models of community organisation for management of natural resources:

(1)   state management of protected areas: the government is responsible for the management and it considers communities as a threat. The model does not function because of the extensive size of the areas under state control. The government does not have resources and sufficient capacity to manage. As a result, many of these areas are illegally occupied by local communities.

(2)   co-management of natural resources: there is partnership between the communities and external agencies, although the state maintains the authority and control over the resources. Examples include the *Tchuma Tchato, Chipanje Chetu* and *Chimanimani*, CBNRM programs in Mozambique.

(3)   community management of natural resources: the resources belong to the state, but the communities implement the management due to high value that they attribute to the resource.

(4)   management of natural resources within an externally sponsored regime: the government is the owner of the resource. The incentives and external institutions'

justification for community management is the driven force for the implementation of such programs.

2.3 GLOBAL POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Agenda 21 and the United Nations (UN) 1992 Rio Declaration on environment and development (Grubb *et al.*, 1995; Robinson, 1993; UN, 1993; 1992a) states that environmental issues are best handled with the participation of all concerned citizens, at the relevant level. At the national level, each individual shall have appropriate access to information concerning the environment that is held by public authorities and the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes (Grubb *et al.* 1995; Robinson, 1993; UN, 1993; 1992a). States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available. Local communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognise and duly support their identity, culture and interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development (Grubb *et al.* 1995; Robinson, 1993; UN, 1993; 1992a).

The principle 2(b) of UN 1992 Rio Declaration on forest highlights the need for sustainable forest resources and forestlands management to meet the social, economic, ecological, cultural and spiritual needs of the present and future generations (Elliot, 2004; Johnson, 1993; UN, 1993; 1992b). Consequently, governments should promote and provide opportunities for participation of interested parties. These parties comprise local communities, industries, labour, non-governmental organizations and individuals, forest dwellers and women in the development, implementation and planning of national forest policies. National forest policies should recognise and duly support the identity, culture and rights of local communities and forest dwellers. Appropriate conditions should be promoted to enable local communities to have an economic stake in forest use, perform economic activities, and achieve and maintain cultural identity and social organisation, as well as adequate levels of livelihood and well-being through, *inter alia*, land tenure arrangements. These serve as incentives for sustainable management of forests (Elliot, 2004; Johnson, 1993; UN, 1993; 1992b).

Furthermore, the Rio Declaration on forest states that the full participation of women in all aspects of the management, conservation and sustainable development of forests should be actively promoted (Johnson, 1993; Robinson, 1993; UN, 1992b). Appropriate indigenous capacity and local knowledge regarding the conservation and sustainable development of forests should, through institutional and financial support and in collaboration with local communities concerned, be recognised, respected, recorded, developed and, as appropriate, introduced in the implementation of programs. Benefit arising from the utilisation of indigenous knowledge should therefore be equitably shared with such people (Johnson, 1993; UN, 1993; 1992b).

The United Nations (1993; 1992b) and the draft on governance, participation, equity and benefit sharing submitted to the conference of parties on the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in February 2004[8] recall that (1) parties should establish policies and institutional mechanisms with the full participation of indigenous and local communities to facilitate the legal recognition and effective management of indigenous and local community in conserved areas by conserving both biodiversity and the knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities; (2) the engagement of local communities and relevant stakeholders in participatory planning and governance, recalling the principles of ecosystem approach should be enhanced; (3) enhancement and secure involvement of indigenous and local communities and relevant stakeholders should be considered (Elliot, 2004; [9]). The target is the full and effective participation of local communities in full respect of their rights and recognition of their responsibilities. This should be consistent with national laws and applicable international obligations that sanctioned the management of existing, and the establishment and management of new protected areas (UN, 1993; [9]).

Regarding resettlement, the draft suggested to the parties that any resettlement of indigenous communities as a consequence of the establishment or management of a protected area would only take place with their prior informed consent. This should again be consistent with national legislation and applicable international obligations[9].

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[8] Governance, participation, equity and benefit sharing. Programme Element 2 in the annex on Programme of Work on Protected Areas under Agenda 21, submitted to conference of parties on the Convention on Biological Diversity (Kuala Lumpur, February 2004). Available online www.ics/net/jp/publications/samudra/pdf/English/issue-37/art13.pdf.

For instance, the World Bank policy for resettlement asserts that involuntary resettlement should be avoided or minimized (Pearce, 1999; [9]).

There are six protected area categories according to IUCN protected areas classification (Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000; IUCN, 2003; Murphree, 2003). *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* is category II national park according to this classification. This category consists of national parks managed mainly for ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems, excluding exploitation or human occupation and provides foundation for scientific, educational and recreational opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible. Ironically, *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, was established with local people living within the area; they depend on natural resources for their subsistence. The question is how the park's category would affect local communities. Participants to the fifth World Park Congress held in Durban in South Africa 2003, realized that all categories include areas with human population. It emerged at the congress that there were testimonies of many cases where local communities were and still are forcibly removed from parks and reserves without agreement and fair compensation (World Parks Congress, 2003). This is against the World Bank and Agenda 21's principles on resettlement and social ethic. Pearce (1999) asserts that involuntary resettlement is the single most serious social consequence of development.

The World Parks Congress (2003) recommended that conservation must embrace moral and ethical principles, which start by doing no harm, especially to local people who depend on natural resources for their livelihoods. Attention should be given to local and traditional institutions for natural resources management, effective forms of representation, co-management bodies and participatory democracy in general. Understanding of socio-cultural, political and historical contexts in the establishment and management of protected areas should be promoted. A full range of stakeholders, particularly from local communities should be involved in decision-making at the inception of protected areas planning processes, as well as in the implementation and monitoring and evaluation phases. Ethical and moral principles should be adopted as an inseparable tenet of conservation, avoiding by all means the harm, dispossession and impoverishment of local communities. Seek ways to integrate local community needs for livelihood security with the maintenance of

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[9] Boletim Informativo no.1 Parque Nacional do Limpopo, Agosto, 2004.

biodiversity and ecological integrity. It is also appropriate to settle land claims involving protected areas effectively, provide security of tenure especially to local people and communities depending on land resources for their livelihood, and to cease the practice of forced removal of human population from protected areas (World Park Congress, 2003). According to Pearce (1999), it is necessary to fully recognise landholders' customary rights. Resettled people should be no worse off as a result of being displaced. Thus, resettlement must be treated as a development activity, rather than as a relief or salvage operation. However, Van Wicklin III (1999) argues that the most difficult aspect of reconstructing the livelihoods and incomes of displaced people is finding the financial resources necessary. In addition, increased demands on natural resources in the resettled area, especially common resources rights, fuel-wood, poles, water, and grazing lands must be assessed (Pearce, 1999). Displacement involves complex process of human interactions such as economy, socio-cultural disruptions and patterns of recovery and reconstruction (Mahapatra, 1999). Eriksen (1999:109) states that "resettlement aimed at restoring the incomes of farm families must deal with climatic and biological factors as an integral part of project design and implementation including agronomic implications for crop and livestock".

Mozambique is a signatory to the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) treaties and protocols, amongst them the Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement of 1999. The protocol states that the viability of wildlife resources in the region requires collective and co-operative action by all SADC member states. Article 6(f) states that measures for facilitating community natural resources management practices in wildlife management and wildlife law enforcement should be undertaken. Article 7(4) points out that party states should establish or introduce mechanisms for community based wildlife management and shall, as appropriate, integrate principles and techniques derived from indigenous knowledge systems into national wildlife management and law enforcement policies and procedures. Article 7(5) (a) states that member states shall promote co-operative management of shared wildlife resources and wildlife habitats across international borders. Finally, Article 7(8) highlights that party states shall in recognition of the important role played by rural communities in the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife, promote community based conservation and management of wildlife resources (SADC, 1999).

Colchester (2000) asserts that a strong consensus is emerging in conservation circles that African parks must involve local people in management decisions. Thus, it is necessary for governments to implement these declarations, principles and treaties to safeguard local community participation in protected area management. Mozambique has developed national laws whose resource conservation or community participation attributes are outlined below.

2.4 MOZAMBICAN FRAMEWORK POLICY FOR PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

In the context of the present socio-economic transition process, universally popularised concepts like decentralisation and Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) have gained popularity in the Mozambican politico-legal vocabulary (Virtanen, 2001). The paradigm shift to the decentralisation has been influenced by the concurrent global moves towards more participatory natural resources management and devolution of powers to local community (Grundy *et al.* 2004). However, the new legislation remains vague despite that it has been concretised, accordingly, with respect to the concept of community, and especially the role of customary authorities, (Virtanen, 2001).

Mozambique *has been* implementing the World Bank and International Monetary Fund's Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers *(*PRSP*)* being presently implementing the second phase (PRSP II). Accordingly, Mozambican Government states that good governance is a fundamental condition for success of the poverty reduction strategy. The current government program involves decentralisation and devolution of public administration to bring government closer to the people (Government of Mozambique, 2006; 2001b). In the forestry and wildlife sectors, the strategy aims to re-establish and rehabilitate with the involvement of local communities and the private sector hunting areas, forestry and wildlife reserves and parks (Government of Mozambique, 2001b). The strategy aims to promote equitable access to natural resources for local communities for sustainable use. Furthermore, the government's action plan is to consolidate the communication of the legislation on access to natural resources to users as widely as possible, while enforcing the law (Government of Mozambique, 2006).

The Republic's Constitution acknowledges the importance of a more consistent and broad participation of the civil society in administration as problem

solvers, and as full right participatory agents of development initiatives. They should not be mere instruments or passive recipients as spectators of central government directives, but pro-active agents of change (Grossman & Holden, 2003). Article 102 of the Republic's Constitution stipulates that the state should promote initiatives directed at obtaining further knowledge of natural resources, at carrying out inventories and valuation, and at defining the conditions of their utilisation in conformity with the national interest (Government of Mozambique, 2004a; 2001c).

2.4.1 The Republic's Constitution as a Framework Conservation Policy and Related Legislation

The Republic's Constitution defines zones of nature protection as public domain (Government of Mozambique, 2004a; 2001c). This is reflected in Article 6 of the Land Law (Law no. 19/97 of 1st October), which states that all totally and partially protected zones are public domain areas, i.e., areas for compliance with public interest (Government of Mozambique, 2004b). This includes national parks, which are totally protected zones.

Article 4 of the Environmental Law (Law no. 20/97 of 1st October) consecrates the general principle that the state promotes initiatives to guarantee the ecological equilibrium and the conservation of the environment, with the aim of improving the quality of life and living standards of the citizens (Serra, 2003). Article 109 (1) (2) of the Republic's Constitution and Article 3 of the Land Law stipulate that all the land is state property and should not be an object of alienation, sale, pledge or mortgage (Government of Mozambique, 2004a; 2004b). Article 111 of the Republic's Constitution and Article 12 of the Land Law award a certain degree of protection to those who use the land through inheritance or by occupation and use of long established rights (Government of Mozambique, 2004a; 2004b; 2001c). Linked to this is the Article 12 of the Land Law which states that the right to use and enjoy land may be acquired through occupation by Mozambican individuals who have been using the land in good faith for at least 10 years. The article also states that the right to use land by local communities will comply with the principles of co-titularity for all purposes of the law. However, Article 111 of the Republic's Constitution states that this shall not apply if and when the law considers such land as legal reserve, i.e., a protected zone or if it has been legally assigned to any other citizen or entity (Government of Mozambique, 2004a; 2001c).

The Environmental Law (Law no. 20/97, of 1st October) defines the following fundamental principles:

i) the rational use and management of environmental components to improve the quality of life of the citizens and the maintenance of biodiversity and of ecosystems; and

ii) the global and integrated view of the environment, as a unity of interdependent ecosystems, natural and man-made, that need to be managed in a way to maintain functional equilibrium without exceeding their intrinsic limits (Serra, 2003).

The Environmental Law defines that it is the government's competence to establish protected areas. These areas to be safeguarded may be national, regional, local or even international and may cover land areas, lakes, rivers and the sea. They may be declared in relation to their peculiar characteristics i.e. ecosystems of ecological and socio-economic value. Local communities and to a certain extent NGOs and the private sector shall have at this level, a considerable and indispensable participation in the management of such areas. However, any activity within these areas shall be subjected to a closer surveillance and inspection. Certain activities are prohibited. Prohibited activities include activities that may threaten conservation, reproduction, quality and quantity of biological resources, especially those that are threatened with extinction, the installation of infrastructures, deposit of waste and other materials and residues that may impact negatively on the environment, and so on (Serra, 2003).

The Land Law envisions that creation of wealth and social well-being through the use and enjoyment of land is the right of all the Mozambican people. Article 24 of the Land Law states that in rural areas the communities should take part in the management of natural resources, allocation of the right to use and enjoy the land, identification of the boundaries of the parcels they occupy and conflict resolution (Government of Mozambique, 2004b).

The Forestry and Wildlife Law (no. 10/99 of 7th July) is based on the principle to protect, conserve, develop and use, in a rational and sustainable manner, forest and wildlife resources for the economic, social and ecological benefit of the current and future generations of Mozambicans (Government of Mozambique, 2004b; 2000a; 1999; Serra, 2003).

Article 10(5) of the Forest and Wildlife Law states that the management of protected areas must be done in accordance with the management plan developed with

the participation of local communities and approved by the responsible sector. Article 31(1) of the Forest and Wildlife Law and Article 95 of the Decree no. 12/2002 of 6th July state that local management councils must be composed of similar number of members from local communities, private sector, associations and local state authorities for protection, conservation and promotion of sustainable use of forest and wild resources (Government of Mozambique, 2004b; 2000a; 1999; Serra, 2003). The management should secure the participation of local communities in the use of the resources for their benefit. These aspects of the law promote participatory governance of forest and wildlife resources. However, nothing is said about how such management should secure local community participation. This is one of the numerous examples of the vagueness of the regulations and the government's unwillingness to fully devolve local control over natural resources.

With respect to power delegation, Article 99 of the Decree no. 12/2002, which is the regulatory framework of the Forest and Wildlife Law states that the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development and the Ministry of Tourism should define by joint ministerial committee the terms and conditions for delegation of power to local communities, private sector, organizations and associations. Alternatively, the committee should define terms of reference for these stakeholders to enter into partnership with the state for their involvement in the utilisation and conservation of forest and fauna resources. The delegation of powers affects protection zones, buffer zones, official *coutadas* (hunting zones), productive forests, forests for multiple use and multiple use zones (Government of Mozambique, 2004b; Serra, 2003). Clearly, in the Mozambican legal framework on natural resources management powers are to be delegated to local communities and other stakeholders and not to be devolved as it is advocated.

Mozambique is a signatory to a number of international conventions that have implications for biodiversity conservation and natural resources management in the country. These include the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species (CITES) and Wetlands Convention (RAMSAR). Thus, it is the country's obligation to comply with international conventions and global policies on biodiversity conservation and participatory governance of natural resources, particularly decentralisation, empowerment and devolution of power over natural resources to local communities.

2.5 CONCLUSIONS

There is no consensus on participation; its definition depends on the context and objectives. Several types of participation have been described, ranging from passive to active participation. It is, however, difficult to say which is the ideal participation, especially when it comes to community participation. In addition, what makes this concept difficult is the heterogeneity of community. The community is not a homogeneous entity; there are different interests, beliefs, casts, opinions and views within a community group.

Advocates of community participation argue that participation ensures efficiency, effectiveness, self-reliance, coverage and ownership. However, some argue that participation can delay the process because it is costly in terms of money, time and human resources. To relinquish power and control from the governments to local communities is not easy. This is seen as the biggest challenge to the participatory process. In addition, structural, administrative and social obstacles hamper people's participation.

Within the context of governance of natural resources and biodiversity conservation, local community participation through community based natural resources management is seen as the solution to efficiency, equitability, ownership, self-reliance and sustainability of access to natural resources management and use. This could be achieved through decentralisation and power devolution to the grassroots institutions for decision-making over the resources. It is recognised that local communities living within protected areas must participate in the design, establishment, management, evaluation and monitoring of policies, laws or strategies that affect these areas. Such participation could include the resettlement process, where it is inevitable. However, involuntary resettlement must be avoided or minimized with respect to socio-cultural systems and customary rights over land and natural resources.

There has been a shift of policy from the traditional coercive conservation approach to the participatory governance approach. This approach focuses on sustainable use and management of natural resources. The global, regional and national policy frameworks for natural resources and biodiversity conservation have been reviewed and amended to acknowledge and meet participatory governance of natural resources. The role of local communities in resource management and the devolution of power over resources to local communities, as a means for sustainable

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development and rural development have been long in coming. Benefits to local communities, who bear the costs of conservation, are seen as incentives for community participation in resource conservation. However, it is difficult to assess that the implementation process at national levels, particularly in the context of participatory governance in the establishment of protected areas has been met and accurate. For example, it has been argued that in the context of participation and power devolution, the Mozambican policy framework on participatory governance for natural resources management is unclear, especially the regulatory framework. It seems that governments have been reluctant or unwilling to devolve powers and responsibilities over natural resources management to local communities and other stakeholders. In the case of Mozambique, the power is to be delegated and not to be devolved to local users. This has been receiving criticism from some scholars. It is argued that the policy does not reflect the widely popularised provision for devolution of power and authority. Communities within protected areas do not have the same rights as those in the productive areas as the land is of public domain and only the state can determine the conditions for land use. In productive areas, land can be delimited and the community can acquire land title, securing the control and devolution of power over the resources to local users. This does not apply to communities living within protected areas.
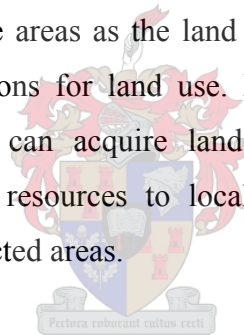
CHAPTER 3: Stakeholders and their role in the establishment and management of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*

SUMMARY

The current approach to the establishment and management of protected areas highlights the need to involve all stakeholders, including local communities. It is believed that this would minimise the costs of conservation, while accruing economic and social benefits to local communities. Stakeholders' participation in the establishment of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* at the grassroots was assessed. Local communities, traditional leaders, key informants, local government officials, the non-governmental forum for the park officials and the park authority were interviewed. The park appears to have been established through the top-down approach, without the participation of local stakeholders. Local communities and other stakeholders' participation are through consultation, which does not confer power for decision-making. The study shows that the approach to participatory governance is an evolving process, and there still more to be done to ensure participation in the established park. The legal and regulatory framework dealing with participatory governance in protected areas needs to be reviewed, especially the procedures and regulations to meet the country's reality and local peculiarities. This should account for local communities that live within the park as well as those who live at its margins.

Keywords: Community participation, natural resources, sustainable management, biodiversity conservation, protected area, forest and wildlife

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Centralised regulatory control and fences and fines approach have displaced local people and their subsistence forest-based strategies from conservation areas in the name of biodiversity conservation in many parts of the world (Fabricius *et al*. 2004; Weladji *et al.* 2003; Katerere, 2002; Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000). The lack of participation by local communities meant that they were not well informed about the purpose of the parks and their benefits (Ramutsindela, 2004). This leads to local people showing resistance to the establishment of protected areas. They perceive it as a burden rather than a benefit (De Oliveira, 2002). The approach leads to the relocation of local people, land disposal and restriction from water, wetlands, forest,

wildlife and traditional income (Webb, 2002; Koch, 2000; Reid *et al*. 1999). It also made subsistence hunting illegal (Fabricius *et al.* 2004), causing conflicts and park invasions in many cases (Fabricius *et al*. 2004; Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000). The perceived failure of the fences and fines approach has caused conservationists to search for alternatives (Songorwa *et al*. 2000). Consequently, it was realised that the successful establishment of protected areas would depend on the support of local communities (De Oliveira, 2002; Colchester, 2000; Pimbert & Pretty, 2000). The new model or approach entails local community participation in natural resources management and biodiversity conservation (Rodrigues, 2002; Songorwa *et al.* 2000). It allows access to natural resources, sharing revenue from the use of the resources and making conservation pay for costs of wildlife management as well as community development (Fabricius *et al*. 2003; Katerere, 2002). The approach focuses on biodiversity conservation for the sustainable use of natural resources (Weladji *et al.* 2003; Rodrigues, 2002). The assumption is that local communities' participation would minimise the costs of conservation, while accruing economic and social benefits. For instance, the failure to fully involve local communities in the management and planning process of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, has had serious repercussions and could ultimately threaten the viability of the park (Government of Mozambique, 2003a).

There is an increasing consensus in conservation circles that participatory governance of natural resources and biodiversity conservation could be a remedy to the failed fences and fines approach. For instance, Ramutsindela (2004) asserts that conservationists advocate that full participation of indigenous and local communities in the establishment of protected areas must be ensured. Involving local communities is seen as highly complex and critically important. Nevertheless, this has been and continues to be severely underestimated (Government of Mozambique, 2003a). Involvement of local communities in decision-making has been hard to apply in practice (Colchester, 2000).

According to Anstey *et al.* (2004), in Mozambique, there is an evolving framework allowing for partnership between the state, private sector and local communities to conserve biodiversity and to manage resources sustainably. This framework has created opportunities for rural communities to manage and benefit from the wildlife resources (Anstey *et al*. 2004). The Mozambican policy on wildlife and forest management asserts the involvement of people who are dependent on forest

and wildlife resources in the planning and sustainable use of such resources (Salomão, 2004). The Forest and Wildlife Law recommends an integrated management of natural resources, ensuring effective participation of local communities, associations and the private sector (Government of Mozambique, 2004b; 2000a; 1999; Serra, 2003). The transfrontier conservation areas project and tourism development acknowledges that the conservation authorities need to evolve into partnership building and outreach agencies that are effective catalysts for ecosystem and community based management. They should also facilitate sound private sector investment (Government of Mozambique, 2003a). This would require the full engagement of stakeholders, from the level of local communities to political decision-makers, and secure the private sector to enter into partnerships with local communities. Without the involvement of other institutions, the tendency is to adopt the traditional conservation approach (Government of Mozambique, 2003a). The Forest and Wildlife Law (Law no.10/99) asserts that local communities must be involved in the design of plans for wildlife management, including plans for national parks and reserves (Government of Mozambique, 2004b; 2000a; 1999; Serra, 2003). Local communities can provide important information for developing the management plan (De Oliveira, 2002).

This study attempted to assess the process of the establishment of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* and the role of the stakeholders involved. It also determined the role of local communities in the decision-making process concerning the establishment and design of the park and its management plan. It constituted empirical analysis of participatory governance for natural resources. More attention was paid to local community participation in the process because they are the stakeholders bearing the costs of protected area establishment in many parts of the world. According to Katerere (2000), local communities are the primary stakeholders in the management and use of natural resources because they depend directly on them for their livelihoods. The state and the private sector are considered secondary stakeholders because their degree of dependence is low and in many cases indirect.

3.2 METHODS

Triangulation was used to gather data for this study; the techniques used included questionnaires, interviews and assessment of official documents and secondary sources. Questionnaires were used to gather information from households, while

discussions in focus groups were conducted in the villages. The *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* officials, non-governmental forum for the park officials and local government officers were interviewed. The questionnaires and sheets for discussions with focus groups were designed in Portuguese, but they were administered in Shangan, the local language commonly spoken in the area. The fieldwork was carried out in the villages within the park along the Shingwedzi River Basin and in the two villages within the support zone. The interviewees in the villages were asked about how the community members participated in the establishment and management of the park. In the discussion focus groups, the participants were asked about community participation and its role in the establishment of the park and the levels of participation (grassroots meetings, decision-making and planning process). They were asked whether the community participated in the daily routine of the park and also who the stakeholders were.

The Project Implementation Unit (PIU) officials of the park were asked about the role of the stakeholders in the establishment and management of the park. Non-governmental forum officials were asked about their organization's role in the process of the establishment of the park. They were also asked about how, why and when their organizations became involved in the process. Local government officials which included the Massingir District Administrator, the Mavodze's Chief Administrative Officer and the Director of District Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development were interviewed and asked about the role of their institutions in the establishment of the park. They further were asked whether their organizations participated in the development of the management plan, as well as how and when their institutions became involved in the process.

The data were initially coded using the Social Science Statistical Package (SPSS) and qualitative analyses were done using SPSS and Statistica. Chi-square test was performed using Statistica to test if there was statistically a significant difference in response to category or treatment assessed between respondents within villages and between the villages, with a confidence interval of 95%.

3.3 RESULTS

3.3.1 Stakeholders and their role in the Establishment and Management of the Park

Two levels of stakeholders involved in the establishment of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* were identified. The first is the 'high-level stakeholders' and the second is the 'local-level stakeholders'. The 'high-level stakeholders' consists of those with high political and technical power for decision-making, comprising central governments of the three countries sharing the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa); the donors, World Bank and the German Bank for Development (KfW); and the non-governmental organization, Peace Parks Foundations (PPF), as a facilitator. The 'local-level stakeholders are those bearing the daily routine of the park on the ground, without power for decision-making in the process. The 'local-level stakeholders' comprise the Project Implementation Unit (PIU); Gaza Provincial Government, district governments, local communities and non-governmental organization forum for *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*.

Before the proclamation of the park, socio-economic diagnosis, human population census, and consultation of local communities about their attitudes and perceptions towards the park, were carried out. This was done through the Makandezulo Community Mobilization and Sensitisation Project implemented by IUCN-Mozambique and commissioned by the Mozambican Government. The aim of the project was to inform and 'consult' local communities about the establishment of the park and its objectives, as well as, to gather local communities' opinions on the park establishment. The project was implemented in Makandezulo, a locality with only two villages within the park, while 'consultation' and mobilization were not carried out in the majority of villages. In addition, the Peace Parks Foundation had commissioned a socio-economic, demographic, land use and attitudinal survey of the communities residing in the Shingwedzi River Basin within the park. This would help to guide further community development projects. However, the survey was not detailed enough for the project to rely on it as a full census [10]

The Mozambican Council of Ministers proclaimed the park on the same day that a "consultation workshop" with local community leaders and other stakeholders

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[10] Weissleder & Sparla (2002:2) asserted that another "baseline survey is needed to have figures on which to base further planning of community development".

was conducted in Xai-Xai, the capital of the Gaza province. The participants to the workshop were surprised and felt marginalized by the government in the process of the establishment of the park. They heard from the radio news during the workshop that *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* was proclaimed, while the "consultation workshop" about the park establishment was running. The non-governmental forum for the park questioned the reason for convening the "consultation workshop" when the government had already decided unilaterally to establish the park. The park was also proclaimed before the Makandezulo Community Mobilization and Sensitisation Project report was made available by the IUCN-Mozambique to the government and local communities[11].

3.3.2 Local Government Participation

Local government, both at provincial and district level were not involved at the initial phase of the project and also after the establishment of the park. This led to conflicts between the local government and the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) officials recruited at the central level to co-ordinate project activities on the ground. PIU and NGOs did not co-ordinate their activities in the villages with those of local government officials. There appeared to be no formal line of communication between these institutions that operate at the grassroots. For example, PIU officials attempted to inform and mobilise local communities about the park and the possibility of their displacement and resettlement, while the local government officials disseminated opposite message to local communities. They informed them that the area was not a park and they would not be displaced and resettled in another place. Local government officials encouraged communities to build better conventional houses, rather than huts if they could afford to do so. The lack of co-ordination between PIU, NGOs and local government, has lead to confusion within local communities, resulting in tensions in certain segments of the local population.

Local government authorities were only involved in the process in the later stages to mobilise communities after they had sent conflicting messages about the park. This has lead to local communities feeling that the government had sold their land to the park. Currently, the park is managed only by PIU, without the involvement of other stakeholders.

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[11] Interview with Eng. Massango, 2004, former IUCN-Mozambique, Makandezulo Community Mobilization and Sensitisation Project Official.

3.3.3 Local Community Participation

Local communities did not participate in the planning and establishment of the park. Makandezulo A and B Villages were the only villages consulted before the establishment of the park through a community sensitisation project implemented by IUCN-Mozambique. The other six villages within the park were only informed that they were living within the park after the park was established.

The interviewees were asked whether their community participates in the current management of the park. Eighty-three percent (n=243) responded positively, 14% (n=46) responded negatively and 3% (n=8) were not aware. There was no statistically significant difference in responses regarding community participation in the management of the park between the villages (x^2=27.87, df=18, p=0.64). Most interviewees (78%, n=187) said that the community participates in the management of the park through village management committees. Eight percent (n=19) stated that the community participates through the village management committee and recruitment as game rangers. Seven percent (n=18) noted that the community participates through their participation in the meetings regarding the park and 3% (n=8) indicated that the community participates through employment as game rangers. A further 3% (n=8) indicated that the community participated through delimiting of the park boundaries, while 1% (n=3) stated that the community participates in the use of natural resources and in patrolling the park. There was statistically a significant difference within and between villages (x^2=105.57, df=63, p<0.001) in respect to the community participation in the management of the park.

Management committees were established in all villages. Six to nine members per village were elected to participate in the local management committees, which constitute the community representatives to the park. District management committees were established from the villages' management committees. Seven members elected from the village committees are part of the district committee. However, not all villages are represented in the district committee, because districts have more than seven villages. Two members of each district from the district committee were elected to constitute the park committee, comprising six members. This committee is part of the park linkage committee. It is important to note that local community 'institutional participation' ceases at the park linkage committee.

3.3.4 Gender

Few women were represented on the management committee, although it is recognised that they play an important role in forest and natural resources management. In some villages, there are no women at all on the committee. However, 67% (n=153) of the respondents stated that women are represented on the management committee, 25% (n=58) of the respondents reported that women were not represented and 8% (n=17) did not know. There was statistically a significant difference between villages (x^2=101.03, df=18, p<0.001) regarding the women representation on the management committees. In the villages where women were represented, there is inequality in representation, as men dominate in a proportion of 4:1 in some cases and 5:1 in others. When asked about the inequality between men and women in the management committee, 46%, (n=30) of the respondents did not know the reason; 34% (n=22) responded that husbands do not allow their wives; 11% (n=7) responded that that men were more active than women; and 8% (n=5) responded that women prefer to mind their homes. There was no statistically a significant difference in responses to the question about the inequality between men and women (x^2=0, df=0, p=0.79) within and between villages' respondents.

3.3.5 Participation of Non-Governmental Organisations

Several non-governmental organisations (NGOs) approached local communities that live within the park during and after the process of the park establishment. However, there was no co-ordination between NGOs, the government and the Project Implementation Unit (PIU). Each NGO worked at its own perspective. The lack of co-ordination has generated confusion within local communities because different information and messages were communicated by different NGOs in the park. NGOs had different concerns and objectives. Some NGOs were working on building social infrastructures, such as schools and hospitals. However, their activities ceased when the area became protected. Other NGOs worked in the interpretation and dissemination of the new Land Law, informing and 'educating' local communities about their rights over the land and natural resources. The confusion generated by the lack of institutional co-ordination, led the government to call all NGOs together to harmonize their activities within the park and aggregate them into a 'common voice'. This culminated in the creation of the NGO forum for *Parque Nacional do Limpopo.*

The NGO forum consists of 10 members where seven are national NGOs. The seven national NGOs comprise *Organização Rural de Ajuda Mútua* (ORAM); *Fórum para Natureza em Perigo* (FNP, which is the secretarial), *União Nacional de Camponeses* (UNAC), *Caridade Cristã* (CARITAS – Chokwe), *Justica e Paz* - Xai-Xai, *Servico Civil pela Paz,* and *Reconstruindo a Esperança* (RE). International NGOs are represented by the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), International Union for Nature Conservation (IUCN – Mozambique), and Veterinarian Aid (VETAID – Mozambique). The objectives of the NGO forum for *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* are:

(i)   to guarantee effective local community participation at all levels in planning, implementation and monitoring;

(ii)   to guarantee information flow to all intervening sectors in the process; and (iii) to guarantee project sustainability to ensure tangible benefits to local communities.

3.3.6 The Private Sector Participation

There has been no private sector involvement in the process of the establishment of the park to date. However, the area was a hunting area before its proclamation as a national park. One private concessionaire (Gaza-Safaris) was operating in *Coutada 16* which has a lease scheduled to run up to 2010. Thus, the management plan and the tourism plan guide the involvement of the private sector. The private sector is expected to invest in ecotourism in partnership with the government and local communities. This is to be through concessions, as defined by the park tourism planning.

3.3.7 Institutional Framework and Co-ordination for the Management of the Park

Parque Nacional do Limpopo (PNL) is under the auspices of *Direcção Nacional de Areas de Conservação* (DNAC), a department of the Ministry of Tourism. The park is managed by the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) from DNAC. PIU has two project coordinators, one appointed by NGO, Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) and one park warden appointed by DNAC. Various staff, including a community officer, support PIU. The institutional framework and coordination for the management of PNL as showed in Figure 6 below follows the top-down approach. First, is the steering

committee, which is a decision-making board and the supreme/overall authority consisting of DNAC (president), Tourism Promotion Directorate (DPT), PPF, German Bank for Development (KfW) and *Areas de Conservacção Transfronteira* (ACTF). Second, the project linkage committee, i.e., the deliberative board, without any decision-making power. It consists of the administrators of the three districts bounded by the park, namely Massingir Administrator (president), Mabalane Administrator and Chicualacuala Administrator and other stakeholders, including the Gaza Provincial Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development, Gaza Provincial Directorate of Environment, Gaza Provincial Directorate of Youth, DNAC, ACTF, PIU and the Park Committee. The responsibility of the park linkage committee is to co-ordinate with the NGO forum, private sector, local communities, PIU, and local government. The park linkage committee deliberates the information gathered from the parties (NGOs, local communities, private sector, local government) and submits it to the steering committee, for appreciation and decision-making. Third, the park committee, which represents local communities at the project linkage committee, and consists of six members elected from districts management committees (two representatives for each district). Fourth, are the district committees, which consist of seven members elected from village management committees. Each of the three districts has its district committee. Fifth, are the village management committees, which consist of six to nine members elected from the villagers.

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                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │      Park Steering Committee        │
                    │     Decision-making board members:  │
                    │  DNAC (president), DPT, ACTF, KfW and PPF │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────┘

   ╭─────────╮      ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
   │  PNL    │      │     Project Linkage Committee       │
   │  NGO    │      │     Deliberative board members:     │
   │  Forum  │◀──── │ Administrators- Massingir (president), Mabalane and │
   ╰─────────╯      │  Chicualacuala, DPADRG, DPTG, DPCAAG, │
                    │     DPJDG, DNAC, ACTF and PIU        │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────┘

                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │          Park Committee             │
                    │ Six members elected from district management │
                    │ committees (two members from each district) │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────┘

                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │        3 District Committees        │
                    │ Seven members elected from village committees │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────┘

                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │     Various Village Committees      │
                    │ Six to nine members elected from the community │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────┘

                    ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐
                          Local communities
                    └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘
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Figure 10: Diagram of institutional arrangements for the management of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*.

Legend:

DNAC – *Direcção Nacional de Áreas de Conservação* (National Directorate for Conservation Areas).

DPT – *Direcção de Promoção Turistica* (Tourism Promotion Directorate).

ACTF – *Áreas de Conservação Transfronteiriça* (Transfrontier Conservation Areas)

KfW – German Bank for Development.

PPF – Peace Parks Foundation.

DPADRG – *Direcção Provincial de Desenvolvimento Rural de Gaza* (Gaza Provincial Directorate for Rural Development).

DPTG – *Direcção Provincial de Turismo de Gaza* (Gaza Provincial Directorate for Tourism).

DPCAAG – *Direcção Provincial para a Coordenação da Acção Ambiental de Gaza* (Gaza Provincial Directorate for Co-ordination of Environmental Action).

DPJDG – *Direcção Provincial da Juventude e Desportos de Gaza* (Gaza Provincial Directorate for Youth and Sports).

PIU – Project Implementation Unit.

3.4 DISCUSSION

3.4.1 Stakeholders and their Participation in the Establishment and Management of the Park

The establishment of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) was driven by the top-down approach, which is the external agenda of foreign donors, international NGOs and the southern African states (Wolmer, 2003). In fact, many community based natural resources management initiatives in Mozambique are established and administered by external agents, such as NGOs, who are involved in the facilitation and co-ordination of activities (Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003). In southern Africa, Peace Parks Foundation has been the facilitator and co-ordinator of transfrontier park initiatives. Subsequently, *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* was established following the GLTP approach and initiative. Local communities and other stakeholders were not involved in the preparation, planning, decision-making and implementation process. Similarly to these research findings, Schuerholz (2001) found that communities had not been informed sufficiently about the process leading to the establishment of the park, or about their role in the process and their relationships with other stakeholders. Similarly, Letsela *et al*. (2002) reported the lack of community involvement in the establishment of Bokong Nature Reserve and Tsehlanyane National Park in Lesotho. Ghimire & Pimbert (2000) assert that around the world, cases in which local communities are fully involved in project design from the beginning are rare. For instance, provincial, district and local government officials were left out of the planning process. As a result, they felt that they had been passed over, and were initially hostile to the project. The findings are similar to those of Pijnenburg (2004) in the community based natural resources management project in the Matutuine district, Maputo province, where local government officials were hostile to the project because they feared loosing control thereof.

The formal starting of a participatory planning process in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* was through a workshop held in Massingir on 27th to 29th November 2001 (Proceedings of the Inception Workshop, 2001). This happened after the Government of Mozambique had proclaimed the park. Even so, not all stakeholders were represented in the workshop. Additionally, there was a high level of misunderstanding about the conceptual framework of the park in the workshop (Schuerholz, 2001). Magome & Murombedzi (2003) assert that preparations and planning processes of the

Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park went ahead without attention being paid to the aspirations and concerns of affected local people. This has been the tradition in the forestry sector in Mozambique. For instance, the Government of Mozambique signed a management and development contract with a private investor without consulting communities living in *Coutada* 9 in the central province of Manica, (Durang & Tanner, 2004). Furthermore, when the state issues concessions and leases for timber, safari and agricultural enterprise, it rarely consults local communities. This can lead to unsolvable social problems that can threaten the viability of the protected areas management (Colchester, 2000).

The top-down approach is associated with the failure in natural resources management. This is because the decision-making is centralised and no attention is paid to the existing local socio-economic context (Cuambe, 2004). In this approach, participation only has instrumental value, and normally it takes the form of consultation (Myburgh, 2003). Usually, participants are restricted to the major stakeholders of the society, which includes government, academics, specialists and NGOs. Government decides the objectives, leaving the responsibility of implementation to everyone else (Myburgh, 2003). This agrees with the findings of this study; the stakeholders on the planning committee were the Mozambican Government, the donors and NGO, Peace Parks Foundation, while the implementation is left to the Project Implementation Unit.

Conversely, examples from the post-apartheid South Africa have shown a positive move towards stakeholders and local community involvement. For instance, the proclamation of the Richtersveld National Park in the late 1990s, which is currently part of Richtersveld/Ais-Ais Transfrontier Park, involved negotiations with local communities. The Nama Community entered into negotiations with the South African National Parks (SANParks), culminating in a partnership through a contractual agreement that recognised the community as a rightful landowner that maintained grazing rights, granted a fee lease and a co-management planning committee. The community alternates the chair annually with SANParks (Jones & Murphree, 2004; Child, 2004; Reid & Turner, 2004; Magome & Murombedzi, 2003; Myburgh, 2003; Mahomed, 2002; Turner *et al*. 2002; Turner & Meer, 2001), although the management plan committee does not perform due to the lack of institutional capacity on the local communities side (Turner, 2002; Turner & Meer, 2001). However, one can consider it as a positive move towards the bottom-up approach in

natural resources management. Similarly, the Makuleke Community in the Kruger National Park (Child, 2004; Reid & Turner, 2004), and the !Khomani San in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, entered into contract with SANParks after successful claim to their land. The Mier Community is only waiting for the completion of the process for the !Ae Kalahari Contract Park (Child, 2004). Colchester (2000) reported a similar contractual park between the Aboriginal people and the Australian Government where there is a sharing of power and decision-making. Contractual parks have emerged in many countries around the world, as a new form of sharing conservation responsibilities between states and rural landowners (Reid & Turner, 2004).

3.4.2 Local Community Participation

Participation at the grassroots level is crucial if one wants to achieve the bottom-up approach. People should influence the organization and structures through which development takes place (Myburgh, 2003). A basic tenet of participatory approach is that all groups must be involved in all phases of the decision-making process (Salomão, 2004). It is important that the multiplicity of stakeholders be recognised, and their role must be carefully defined (Katerere, 2002). Involving local communities can be complex (Government of Mozambique, 2003a; Salomão, 2002) since local communities are not homogeneous either geographically or socio-economically; they are complex and dynamic (Johnson, 2004; Katerere, 2002, Peters, 2002; Salomão, 2002; Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000; Naguran, 1999). They span a spectrum of diversity such as gender, age, religion, wealth, caste, culture, social class and personal or collective interests in resources use (Pijnenburg, 2005; Fabricius *et al.* 2004; Jones & Murphree, 2004; Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004; Coupe *et al.* 2002; Katerere, 2002; Peters, 2002; Salomão, 2002; Turner & Meer, 2001; Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000, Naguran, 1999).

This study revealed that the degree of community consultation and participation in the planning and implementation of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* has been marginal. Similarly, Wolmer (2003) asserts that the process of community participation in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park to date has been inadequate. However, one argues that the high political profile and complexity of transfrontier conservation areas make them vulnerable to the perception that participation and consultation process are inadequate (Government of Mozambique, 2003a). Although

participatory governance on the establishment of conservation areas is an evolving process, one could believe that it is not a convincing justification to leave out local stakeholders in the planning and decision-making process. Indeed, it is believed that it could constitute a good experience for the emerging approach of participatory governance of protected areas in the country. This would serve as an example in other parts of the globe for similar projects.

There is an ongoing debate on the efficacy of the Mozambican legal framework on decentralisation of natural resources management. Some analysts have concluded that the regulatory framework is vague (Virtanen, 2003) and it "has a considerable long way to go" (Salomão, 2004:16). The legislation is not adequately accurate to allow reliable implementation (Cuambe, 2004) and it is not flexible enough to accommodate local and diverse peculiarities. No strategy is advanced enough for harnessing the thousands of communities located in forested areas as a conservation and management force. Policies that govern the participation of local people in natural resource management are often poorly coordinated and inter-departmental cooperation is weak or non-existent (Fabricius, 2004). Yet, policies are still evolving in many southern Africa countries (Katerere, 2002) including Mozambique. For instance, in Malawi the lack of harmonization and integration of natural resources policies hamper co-management initiatives (Mahomed, 2002).

In Mozambique, local communities must be involved through consultation in decisions related to natural resources management as stated in Forest and Wildlife Law no.10/99 (Government of Mozambique, 1999). However, nothing is emphasised regarding the weight of local communities and other stakeholders in decision-making processes leading to the establishment of national parks and reserves (Salomão, 2004). The involvement of local communities and other stakeholders is a "necessity" rather than being recognised as a "right", which could allow a pro-active attitude (Salomão, 2004:5). The government retains the power to determine the conditions and restrictions under which local communities must participate in wildlife management. This means that the state has the ultimate power to decide whether communities can participate in wildlife management and access benefits from wildlife (Salomão, 2004; 2002; Ashley & Ntshona, 2002). This analysis confirms Katerere's (2002) argument that experiences in the region show that there is a lack of commitment by states to release power to local actors, despite numerous policies advocating devolution. Instead, the current trend is towards centralisation; states retain a degree of control.

Mushove (2002) and Matakala (2001) analysed community participation programs in southern Africa. They concluded that community participation models in natural resources management in the region do not confer real decision-making powers to local users, with their participatory approaches ranging from tokenism to mere consultation. This is with the exception of experiences from Tanzania, where there is a greater degree of devolution at village level. However, the conservancy policy and legislation in Namibia is flexible enough to the extent that it makes provision for the variety of socio-cultural and ecological conditions. In Namibia, communities can decide who should represent them in the conservancy committee (Fabricius *et al.* 2004)

In Mozambique, land is of state domain, meaning that it cannot be sold, alienated, mortgaged or pawned (Government of Mozambique, 2004a; 2004b). The policy acknowledges local community's customary rights over land and natural resources. Communal land can be delimited and acquire a land certificate, which awards property rights as a collective entity, allowing negotiations for contracts, partnerships and terms of use with investors (Cuambe, 2004; Government of Mozambique, 2004b; Jones & Murphree, 2004; Salomão, 2004; Negrão, 2002). However, it is not clear how local communities would enter and benefit from such partnerships (Assulai, 2004). Similarly, the Botswana policy on wildlife and conservation calls for the involvement of local people in resource management. Nonetheless, it does not refer to how this might be achieved (Fabricius *et al.* 2004).

In the case of the establishment of a national park in Mozambique, the government can automatically dispossess local communities' land. Consequently, communities in protected areas have limited rights because the primary objective is conservation (Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003). One can conclude that in protected areas local communities' customary rights, land ownership and rights over access to land and natural resources are limited and not recognised (Cuambe, 2004; Motta, 2004). Devolution in these areas tends not to occur, suggesting that communities should be resettled outside to have the rights of those out of protected areas (Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003). The manner in which those communities could benefit from the equity as others living out of protected areas remains an important issue to resolve, principally in the establishment of protected areas where people depend on natural resources for their livelihood (Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003).

3.4.3 Responsibility and Authority in the Management of Natural Resources

Although protected areas are controlled or regulated by the state, management functions can be delegated to other actors (Motta, 2004). For instance, the *Reserva do Niassa* is managed by a private entity, the Society for the Development and Management of *Reserva do Niassa,* with the mandate from the state (Rodrigues, 2002). In Africa, the control over land and management of natural resources is left only to the state and private sector (Murphree, 1998). However, one could suggest at best the delegation of the management task to local communities residing in established protected areas. Devolution should be the ultimate aim, which would occur when local communities have been empowered enough through their active participation with power and responsibility to take the core of the management itself. This could be through a long-term process. For instance, in South Africa, the Makuleke Community entered into a partnership with the park through contractual agreement (Child, 2004; Fabricius *et al.* 2004; Jones and Murphree, 2004; Reid & Turner, 2004; Kepe *et al*. 2003; Katerere, 2002; Turner *et al*. 2002; Turner & Meer, 2002). Similarly, in the Richtersveld, the Nama Community entered into partnership with the park authority through contractual agreement (Child, 2004; Reid & Turner, 2004; Magome and Murombedzi, 2003; Mahomed, 2002; Tuner, 2002). However, it is seen as a forced partnership because the South African National Parks imposed the conservation status of the land as non-negotiable (Katerere, 2002; Turner *et al.* 2002). Thus, partnership was the only way that the community could get their rights over the land (Reid & Turner, 2004; Katerere, 2002). In these circumstances, one party pays for goods and services without joint decision-making. Partnership should be a process of negotiations where the roles and ambitions of the parties are discussed and agreed upon. Real partnerships are based on trust, transparency, equity, and mutual benefits (Katerere, 2000).

Many authors have claimed that in Mozambique the legal framework hardly meets the popularised discourses on participatory governance in protected areas and devolution of natural resources (Assulai, 2004; Cuambe, 2004 Motta, 2004; Salomão, 2004; 2002; Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003; Virtanen, 2001). Clear policy on the rights of access to land and natural resources by communities in protected areas needs to be defined (Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003), clarified and harmonised. The lack of clarity and respect for different stakeholders and their goals cause conflicts in community based natural resources management initiatives (Fabricius *et al*. 2004). For example, in the

joint venture management between the state and the private sector, with local communities 'participating' through management committees in *Reserva do Niassa*, the role of stakeholders, mainly between the private sector and local communities, is not defined (Rodrigues, 2002). Implementation guidelines, stipulating how to put policies into practice (Fabricius, 2004) are poorly defined. Participatory governance of natural resources has to be balanced by suitable national policies, political and administrative decentralisation and devolution of authority to local users (Katerere, 2002). The practice reveals that there is a gap between the policy statements and the demonstrated willingness of the government to allow real control over resources to go to local communities (Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003). The institutional framework for the management of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* demonstrates the unwillingness of the state to devolve power over natural resources to the local level. The decision-making is at high-level steering committee, which consists of the state, donors and the facilitator NGO, Peace Parks Foundation representatives (figure 10). There are no local level representatives, such as provincial and district governments, local communities and the NGO forum for the park.

3.4.3.1 Management Committees

Although community participation is gaining a positive momentum, there are operational obstacles because the legislation is not clear when it comes to power, authority and responsibilities (Mushove, 2002). The responsibility and authority of both village and district management committees established in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* remain to be defined and clarified. Most government policies aim to devolve responsibility to local people, without giving them decision-making authority (Fabricius, 2004). There is no responsibility without authority and no authority without responsibility (Matakala, 2001). Responsibility is linked to the power of authority and the dynamics of responsibility can operate to build competence (Murphree, 2003). Authority without responsibility becomes worthless or disorderly; responsibility without authority does not have the essential mechanisms for its efficient implementation (Mahomed, 2002). Jones & Murphree (2004) argue that throughout the region the tendency is to devolve rights over natural resources to elected representative committees. These committees are responsible for decision-making on behalf of local communities and most having formal constitutions which provide operating rules for decision-making. This is hardly met in the *Parque*

Nacional do Limpopo context. Nevertheless, village committees have been elected to act on behalf of local communities (figure 10), but they are very 'far' from decision-making.

Additionally, there are claims from villagers that their concerns are not taken into consideration in the decision-making process according to discussion section groups. This might lead local communities mistrust village committees. This could be attributed to the inability of the park committee (within the park-linkage committee) to deliver, because different villages have different concerns. The park committee was constituted on the assumption it would represent all villages' concerns. A similar trend is reported by Koch (2004) at Madikwe Game Reserve in the North-West Province of South Africa, where the Community Development Organisations (CDOs) forum helped to contribute to the fragmentation and lack of community cohesion. Similarly, in fishery co-management in Malawi, the beach village committee members felt that their opinions are not taken into consideration in decision-making (Mahomed, 2002). This could be associated with the fact that managers tend to combine different villages into single entities (Fabricius et al. 2004). This is the case of district and park committees in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, and the CDOs forum at Madikwe Game Reserve. However, groups differ significantly in terms of socio-economic conditions, attitudes and skills (Fabricius *et al*. 2004). The other problem is that the legal framework is not clear on where such committees would get the legitimacy to be recognised (Salomão, 2002). This study agrees with Mahomed (2002), Turner (2002) and Mushove (2002) that while participatory approaches are entrenched across the region, the willingness of the governments to relinquish power and control over natural resources to local communities still remains uncertain. Thus, participation becomes a method for the government to mobilise involuntary contributions, where there is devolution of responsibilities, but not rights and decentralisation of tasks, but not of resources (Peters, 2002). Evidence of this is the scant history of state encouragement to open consultation or participatory democratic engagement in rural Mozambique (Buur & Kyed, 2005).

3.4.4 Participatory Governance Models

The few examples of protected areas in Mozambique show that stakeholder participation models have evolved through local arrangements according to local circumstances. For example, in the marine *Parque Nacional das Quirimbas* (recently

established) and in *Parque Nacional do Bazaruto,* local community participation is through 'informal collaborative management'. In Bazaruto, local communities receive 50% of tourist fees from tourism operators, as compensation for limited use of resources. However, it will go down to 20% with the introduction of the new legislation regulating the forestry sector (Motta, 2004) which entails 20% of the revenue accrued from the use of natural resources to local communities. In *Reserva de Niassa,* the management is through a joint venture between the state and the private sector. Communities also 'participate' through village management committees (Anstey *et al.* 2004; Rodrigues, 2002), and they have been helped to market their locally farmed honey (Anstey *et al.* 2004). Indeed, one could believe, as acknowledged by Grossman and Holden (2003) that the long-term success of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* will depend on developing a constructive, mutually beneficial relationship between the park and local communities living within the park.

Furthermore, a model that meets local peculiarities should be adopted. The vagueness and unclearness of the policy concerning participatory governance of protected areas, in this context will have to be overcome by the will, commitment and flexibility of all stakeholders involved in the process (central government, provincial government, local government, technical staff, NGOs, donors and local communities). It will need to go along with a drawing up of clear policy framework on stakeholder participation, responsibilities, authority and on co-ordination between the parties. The aim should be to avoid conflicts and confusion that existed between the parties due to the lack of synergies and synchronisation. Information flow to and communication between all parties should be prioritised for consensus and common vision. The situation in *Parque Nacional de Limpopo* suggests for the need of urgent and flexible review and adoption of clear policy and regulations on governance of protected areas in the country. The policy should be flexible to accommodate different peculiarities applicable to many different protected areas inhabited by local communities that depend on natural resources for their livelihoods.

3.4.5 Implications for Biodiversity Conservation

Local communities have negative attitudes and perceptions towards the park, and as a result they are hostile to the park as stated in discussion groups sections. This could be due to the failure to involve local communities in the planning and decision-making process. They perceive the park as something from outsiders who are coming to

expropriate their land. Recently, they uprooted all park signboards in all village entrances. The signboards stated the names of the park and the villages. When they were asked why they had uprooted the park signboards, they responded that they did it because their villages were not part of the park. The park officials had fixed the signboards without consulting and agreed with local communities that the villages were part of the park. Accordingly, the attitude of local communities was to show that their villages were not in the park.

Local communities do not have a sense of being within a park or being stakeholders or partners in the park management. However, the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) officials have been mobilizing local communities to make them aware that they are part of, and stakeholders of the park. The village committees have only been confined to attending meetings held by PIU, without any influence on the management of the park. Some village committees have never attended meetings. They exist only on paper or 'simply do not exist', as they have hardly participated in any meeting regarding the park management. Indeed, this could ultimately hamper biodiversity conservation and the sustainable management of the park. Local communities are not willing to cooperate with the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) in the management of the park.
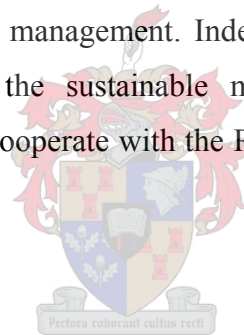
3.5 CONCLUSIONS

The establishment of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* was driven partly by external forces, such as the donors like the World Bank, German Bank for Development and the South African non-governmental organisation, Peace Parks Foundation, as a part of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Areas initiative. It has been characterised by a top-down approach, where the involvement of stakeholders, decision-making and planning at different levels has been marginal. The lack of local stakeholder involvement, especially the local government officials in the planning and implementation process has had serious repercussions at the grassroots. There is evidence that local government and local communities did not welcome the project. This has led to conflicts between the park authority and the local government and communities. The lack of co-ordination of on-the-ground activities, especially between the park authorities, local government and NGOs led to confusion and hostility to the project by local communities.

There is ongoing work in local communities to sensitise them towards the park and encourage their involvement in the park management process through village and district management committees. This represents a positive step for the evolving participatory process for the government and local communities in Mozambique. Nevertheless, provincial, district and local government spheres, communities and the NGO forum for the park do not participate in decision-making. Their participation is through consultation. This could be the reason why local communities feel that their concerns are not taken into account in the decision-making process.

The legal framework for the governance of protected areas in Mozambique has been evolving and represents a positive move towards participatory governance of protected areas by making provisions for local community participation in the development of management plans. However, some gaps and ambiguities still need to be clarified and adjusted to local peculiarities. In some cases, the policy is contradictory. For example, no livelihood activities should be carried out in the park as an IUCN category II national park on one hand and on the other hand, there are communities that live within the park and depend on natural resources for their subsistence.

The legal framework provides for local community participation in planning and management of protected areas, but it does not make reference to how and with which weight communities should participate. This can be seen as opening spaces to their exclusion in the process. The new institutions for the management of natural resources established at the village level do not have responsibility and authority. Local communities must follow bureaucratic, time consuming and costly procedures if they are to be recognised as legal entities, through the legal institutions provided in the Associations Law no. 8/91 of 18th July 1991 (Government of Mozambique, 1991). However, community organisation has its local and traditional dynamics that are not part of the bureaucratic state machinery. This needs to be considered, clearly defined and acknowledged if a more proactive local participation is to be met. In addition, the legal framework does not provide for the devolution of power to local communities, but delegation, which can be taken back by the state. The legislation defines that the protected area (IUCN Category II National Park) is for strict conservation and not for activities opposing conservation. This principle means that local communities' livelihood activities should not be carried out in the park. This contradicts the need for

conservation to serve as a vehicle for poverty reduction in communities that live within protected areas.

Effective involvement and participation of local communities in the process will require capacity building to develop well-organised and empowered communities. Local organizations can represent local needs more persuasively and help solve problems more appropriately when capacitated or empowered. Presently, while the policy framework is not clear and flexible enough, local arrangements between park authorities and local communities, as defined by local peculiarities will have to be put in place.
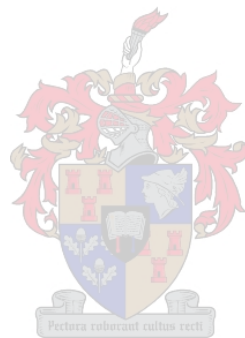
CHAPTER 4: Traditional Authority, Natural Resource Management and Biodiversity Conservation

SUMMARY

Traditional authorities experienced distinct empowerment and disempowerment phases in the Mozambican history. While the colonial regime destroyed traditional authorities and imposed indirect rule, FRELIMO abolished traditional authorities and imposed the *Secretarios da aldeia* (village secretaries) after the independence. In the new democratic Mozambique, traditional leaders are recognised and legitimised as local community representatives, including the *secretarios da aldeia,* and renamed "community leaders". The study assessed the institutional organisation at the grassroots and its role in community organisation and self-mobilisation for participatory governance of natural resources and biodiversity conservation in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*. The study revealed that the 'new' community leaders are an extension of the state administration, while the 'old' traditional land chiefs represent local socio-cultural and political organisations and they control the access to land and natural resources. This has led to conflicts, which affect community organisation and self-mobilisation for participatory governance of natural resources. The legal framework regarding traditional authorities and community participation needs to be reviewed and harmonised to avoid the overlap of institutions at the grassroots.

Keywords: Traditional authority, community leader, traditional land chief, natural resources management, local communities, grassroots organisation.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Traditional authority dates from ancient times. It is based on chieftaincy integrated in many lineages, with its councils (Alfane & Nhancale, 1995). It constitutes a genuine African form of local governance that is inherently democratic (Buur & Kyed, 2005). The ancient occupation of a territory by a certain lineage allowed it to become a sovereign community with its leadership (Araman, 2002; Magode, 1995). The

occupation of the land by other lineages would depend on the first lineage's consent (Magode, 1995).

Traditional leaders are defined as "people that exercise the leadership according to traditional law of the respective community" (Government of Mozambique, 2004c:1; 2002:2). Therefore, they constitute the socio-political institution, which is part of the culture and tradition (Cuahela, 1996). This constitutes local traditional political institution based on familiar lineages (Ricardo, 1999, Lundin, 1998). It is legitimised and disempowered by local community (Cuahela, 1996). For instance, the strong resistance to the occupation by the colonial power was due to the higher socio-political organisation of African traditional authority (Ricardo, 1999; Lundin, 1998).

The Portuguese colonial administration destroyed the traditional authorities in Mozambique (Ricardo, 1999; Mutaquiha, 1998; Alfane & Nhancale, 1995) and imposed indirect rule in rural areas via *regulados*, a mix of customary authority and imposed colonial local administration (Buur & Kyed, 2005; Pijnenburg, 2004; Murombedzi, 2003; SLSA, 2003; Negrão, 2001). Where possible, the colonial administration used pre-existing local traditional leader, or imposed a new *régulo* (Pijnenburg, 2004). However, even so, the *régulo* observed the customary law of succession (Negrão, 2001). The *regulados* tasks were strictly colonial (Pijnenburg, 2004). However, voluntary or hereditary traditional leaders were forced to work for colonial administration as *régulos* (Cuahela, 1996).

After the independence, FRELIMO abolished the *régulos* system (Buur & Kyed, 2005; Pijnenburg, 2004; SLSA, 2003; Ricardo, 1999; Mutaquiha, 1998; Roque, 1995), considering it as a part of the colonial administration (Buur & Kyed, 2005; Pijnenburg, 2004; Roque, 1995). The *régulos* were replaced by *grupos dinamizadores* (dinamising groups) with their *Secretários* and local assemblies (Buur & Kyed, 2005; Pijnenburg, 2004; Ricardo, 1999; Lundin, 1998), having the same functions as *régulos* (Roque, 1995). The *secretários* functioned as the bottom-end of the FRELIMO Administration and the central government (Pijnenburg, 2004). The banned institutions based on kinship and hereditary succession continued to exist (Buur & Kyed, 2005; Ntsebeza, 2000) and many local state officials relied unofficially on day-to-day collaboration with chiefs (Buur & Kyed, 2005). The *secretários* system failed partly due to rural populations enduring recognition of traditional authorities as legitimate leaders (SLSA, 2003). The introduction of the

multi-party political system to Mozambique also had similar effect on the *secretários* system.

Mozambique has embarked on policy and legislation reviews and changes to meet the decentralisation approach since the 1990s. The government has shifted its position towards traditional authorities (SLSA, 2003). It recognises their role, especially in the rural Mozambican society, (where the government administrative presence is weak or at best non-existent) as a way to extend its presence and action. To overcome the weakness and difficulties of the bureaucratic state to penetrate the local community, the government transformed the traditional authorities to extensions of the state administration (Fumo, 2005). Consequently, the legislation was formulated. This includes the Decree no. 15/2000 about local state authority articulation with community authority; the Ministry of State Administration Directive of 2002 about the process of legitimisation and recognition of community authorities; and the Ministerial Diploma no. 80/2004 about the articulation of local municipality authority (Government of Mozambique, 2004c; 2002, 2000b). The new legislation recognises community authorities as representatives of their communities, with the role of mobilising and organising the community for local development activities. The legislation acknowledges the consultation of community authorities for resolution of fundamental issues affecting the life, well-being and the harmonious integrated development of the local community. Buur & Kyed (2005:16) assert that there was a consensus that the decree is "a formalization of what already exists". However, the legislation opens a debate due to its nature of mixing "traditional chiefs" with the "*Secretarios*" as "community leaders" and by attributing double roles as community representatives and state administrative assistants. It is, however, difficult in the case of participatory governance of protected areas to assess whether the legislation on traditional authority is related to other legislation regarding governance of natural resources and biodiversity conservation, such as the Land Law and the Forest and Wildlife Law.

This research assessed traditional authority and the institutional organization at the grassroots in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* and their role in natural resources management. It assessed the relationship between the management of the park and local traditional authority. It also assessed the provision of the legal framework for traditional authority and its role in natural resources management.

4.2 METHODS

Semi-structured questionnaires, key informant interviews and focus group discussions were used in this study. The survey was conducted in the eight villages within the park along the Shingwedzi River Basin and in the two villages in the buffer or multiple use zone. Questionnaires were used to gather information from households. The interviewees in the villages were asked about their supreme local leader and how the local leadership is organised. They were also asked about the responsibilities each leader has in the community. They were further asked to identify responsible person(s) for conflict resolution within the community. Focus group discussions were conducted in the villages taking into account gender issues; women and men were interviewed in separate groups. The separation was based on the assumption that women would not freely answer certain questions in the presence of their husbands. In fact, it seemed, as women were freer to express themselves in the absence of men.

It is also important to note that in the local language in which the interviews were conducted, leaders are called *"hosy"* without any distinction between a community leader and a traditional leader. Thus, the researcher had to make clear distinction between the two during interviews. In the focus group discussion, the participants were asked about their local leadership, its institutional organisation and its tasks and responsibilities. They were also asked about the responsible person(s) who control(s) access to the use of land and natural resources. Where key informants were not local leaders, they were asked about the local institutional organisation, its responsibilities and co-ordination in the management of natural resources. Where the key informant was a local leader, he/she was asked to express opinion on the park and about his/her role in the establishment and management of the park. He/she was asked about the relationship with other local leaders and the park authority as well as about responsible person(s) for the control of access to land and natural resources.

The data were coded using SPSS software. Descriptive analysis was done using SPSS and Statistica. Statistica was also used to analyse statistically significant differences in response to the category or treatment under analysis between respondents within and between the villages, with a confidence interval of 95%.

4.3 RESULTS

4.3.1 Traditional Authority and Institutional Organisation at the Grassroots

When asked to identify the village authority, local communities frequently asked if the researcher would like to see, the "flag leader*"* (community leader) or the *hosy ya misava* (traditional land chief/owner). This suggested that they were unsure in identifying which leader would receive us. A vast majority of the respondents 89% (n=260) and the discussion focus groups listed the following grassroots institutional organisation (Table 8):

Table 6 . The leadership at grassroots institutional organisation.

Type of Leader	Comments and tasks
Community Leader	Elected by the local community, a newly established authority at the grassroots complying with the new traditional authority legislation, the Decree no. 15/2000. Locally is known as *"hosy ya mudjeke"* (the flag leader*)* because he/she displays the Republic's National Flag daily at his/her homestead, wears a uniform and emblems of the Republic.
Secretario da aldeia (village secretary)	FRELIMO's (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) elected leader after independence, is responsible of the *aldeia* (village).
Secretários dos bairros (quarter secretaries)	They are under the supervision of *secretário da aldeia* and they are responsible for the *bairro* (quarter) within the aldeia (village)
Chefes do bloco (cell chiefs)	They are under the *secretário do bairro* and they are responsible for a *bloco* (cell) within the *bairro* (quarter)
Secretário do Partido (party secretary)	FRELIMO's political party representative, interacts with all 'government' members in the village. The tasks are to get members for the party and to mobilise the community to vote for his/her political party. There were no declared opposition party representatives in the villages
Hosy ya misava (traditional land chief or "land owner")	Traditional land chief in a village or various villages, supported by a council of elders (a group of mostly elderly men who assist and advise the traditional land chief). The councillors know of the traditions and the history of traditional power. The *hosy ya misava* deals with the issue of land and traditional/cultural ceremonies

Eight percent (n=24) of the respondents mentioned the Chief Administrative Officer of the Mavodze Administrative Office as part of the governing institution. It is important to note that the Chief Administrative Officer was mostly mentioned in the Mavodze Village by 56% (n=22) of interviewees in this village. It is not surprising because the Mavodze Administrative-Headquarters is in this village. Two percent (n=7) of the respondents did not know how the institutional organization was and 0.7% (n=2) mentioned only the traditional leader. There was statistically a significant difference between respondents within and between the villages on the response about the institutional organization at the grassroots (x^2=163.92, df=27, p< 0.001).

There are village management committees in all the villages elected to represent community interests in the park. These are exogenous structures established by the park authority. Therefore, they are not part of the grassroots institutions. Nonetheless, they collaborate with the local council. The committee reports to local councillors (village government). The council then calls popular meetings to report to local communities the information that is brought from the meetings with the park and attended by the village committees. Figure 11 illustrates the schematic and harmonised institutional organization at the grassroots, as it was referred to in the discussion focus groups.
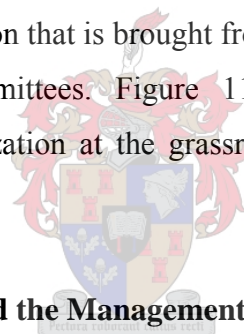
4.3.2 Traditional Authority and the Management of Natural Resources

The majority of the respondents (66%, n=194) identified the community leader (flag leader) as the supreme leader within the villages. This is followed hierarchally by the traditional land chief, *hosy ya misava* (15%, n=43), the secretary of locality (12%, n=34), the council of elders (5%, n=14) and others (3%, n=10). The others include religious chiefs, spiritual chiefs and so on. There was statistically a significant difference with respect to the responses about the traditional authority leadership as a factor of study within and between the villages (x^2=406.73, df=45, p<0.001). The *hosy ya misava* was mentioned as the customary authority (88% of respondents), who performs traditional ceremonies for natural resources harvesting and arbitrates conflicts over the land.

Fifty-four percent (n=160) of the respondents identified the park administration as the responsible authority for forest resources management in their surroundings. Twenty-seven percent (n=79) mentioned the traditional land chief (*hosy ya misava*) as the person who controls the natural resources in the area. This is

followed hierarchally by park game rangers (6%, n=19), government (5%, n=16), both government and traditional authority (3%, n=9), council of elders (3%, n=9) and traditional land chief, government and park authority (2%, n=4). There was statistically a significant difference between respondents within and between villages (x^2=178.08, df=72, p<0.001) with respect to the authority responsible for forest resources management. The traditional land chief is responsible for land allocation within the communities. Nevertheless, some religious groups as in the case of the Macavene Village oppose the customary practices, influencing local community not to participate in customary or traditional practices over forest resources.
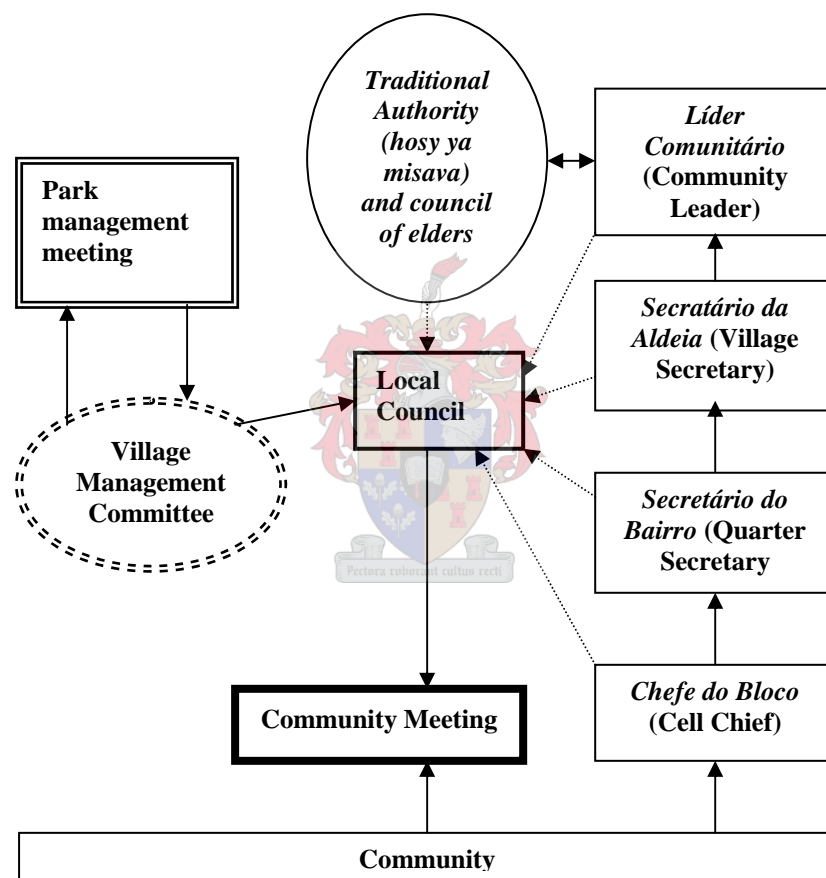
Figure 11: Institutional organization at the grassroots and participation in the governance of natural resources in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*.

4.3.3 Local Leadership Conflicts

There are localised cases of conflicts between the newly elected community leader and the traditional land chief. In Massingir-velho Village, the community leader is a religious leader, who was elected due to his influence in the community as a spiritual leader. However, the traditional land chief believes that he should be the community

leader as he is the 'owner' of the land. For the traditional leader, the local leadership should obey the customary order of succession, which is through lineage. In practice, in Massingir-velho Village, there is no 'grassroots government' due to the ongoing conflict between the community leader and the traditional land chief. This negatively influences community self-mobilization, organization and cohesion in the decision-making process regarding their involvement in the management of the park.

The community is divided: one group supports the elected community leader and another supports the traditional land chief. For instance, in our first visit to the village for the preliminary fieldwork we were indicated to the traditional land chief. In the second visit, we were indicated to the elected community leader. In fact, the data collection process was nearly jeopardised by a group of local youth who did not welcome our team to the area because the community leader introduced us. They seemed to be the supporters of the traditional land chief. We had to present the credential issued by the district headquarters stating the objective of our mission. A local primary school teacher was asked to read and translate the document to local language. We were permitted to proceed with our surveys only after this exercise. Without the credential, we would not have been allowed to conduct the survey, as they did not respect the elected community leader command. This showed that the community leader at Massingir-velho Village does not have power to rule his community.
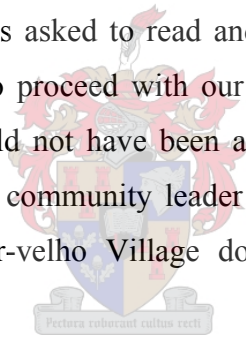
However, even with the mixed leadership at the grassroots in most villages, local leaders had found a harmonious relationship through local arrangements for participatory governance. The traditional land chief and his council of elders, the *secretários da aldeia* and the *secretários dos bairros*, form the local 'government' council. The elected community leader does not make any decision regarding community affairs without prior consultation with the council. The village management committees report first to the local council before calling community meetings to report on the park management.

4.4 DISCUSSION

4.1. Traditional Authority and Institutional Organisation at the Grassroots

The empowerment and disempowerment of traditional institutions by colonial and postcolonial governments have gradually weakened traditional institutions and undermined traditional values and rights (Katerere, 2002). In Mozambique, the abolition of traditional authorities after the independence and the imposition of FRELIMO government's secretaries and the *grupos dinamizadores* (dynamising groups) in rural Mozambique have negatively influenced traditional authority, local community organisation, integration, cohesion and self-mobilisation. Disintegration seems to have occurred where non-legitimised (by local communities) chiefs were imposed or where traditional leaders were intimidated after the independence (Lundi, 1998). FRELIMO's post-independence government considered customary practices as obscurantist, feudal, tribalist and detrimental to the modernisation of society and the conception of national unity (Buur & Kyed, 2005). This seems to have led to the disruption of traditional practices over access and control to land and forest resources.

Another factor that might have contributed to the disruption of traditional authority was the civil war. The war displaced rural communities to urban areas and neighbouring countries. After the war, they returned with other cultural values and in some cases, there were new settlers. These appear to have influenced (or even destroyed) the social system of management of natural resources (Cuambe, 2004; Katerere, 2002). It is worth noting that in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo,* most of the locals had fled to urban areas and to neighbouring South Africa during the civil war. This might have changed social networks, which in turn might have influenced traditional practices of natural resources management. However, these findings revealed that the daily life of the locals continued to be based on customary law. Traditional authority continued to exist within the socio-cultural relationships and organisation as a symbol of linkage between the living and the ancestors (Lundi, 1998). Indeed, individuals voluntarily organise themselves to provide communal mechanisms against risk and to create and implement systems that protect natural resources (Peters, 2002). It is worth noting that local people are aware of the benefits of joining hands to overcome intrinsic political and socio-economic problems.

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4.4.2 Policy Framework and Traditional Authority

There is an ongoing debate regarding the legislation on community authority in Mozambique. The recent international seminar (in 2005) hosted by *Centro de Formação Juridica e Judiciária* (CFJJ) and the Danish Institute for Development is an evidence of this debate. Some authors have criticised the legislation because it includes traditional chiefs, the FRELIMO government's *secretários dos grupos dinamizadores* and other leaders recognised by local communities as community authority. Some authors argue that it was a state attempt to homogenise structures coming from different historical contexts and backgrounds (Fumo, 2005; Jossias, 2005), or it is an attempt to unify the different ideologies behind these institutions (Jossias, 2005). Others argue that it is the state's attempt to standardise and simplify the local authority in order to establish its presence, rule and to occupy territories that were out of its control (Galli 2005). This suggests that the aim of the state is not to decentralise and to devolve power to the local level, but to be able to expand its presence and rule into rural areas. The recognition of chiefs by the state came to be seen as a solution to the problem of inadequate state presence and contested legitimacy (Buur & Kyed, 2005). In other cases, traditional authority has become subordinated and elected officials of local authorities are assuming greater power than traditional leaders (Katerere, 2002).

The legislation awards dual role to the local community authority: as a representative of rural communities and as an assistant of the state administration. However, one could argue that it cannot be perceived as incompatible since the two tasks cohabit without negatively affecting the community organisation. This study reveals that the local leadership (community leader, traditional land chief, *secretário da aldeia,* etc) in most villages coexist peacefully and harmoniously except in Massingir-Velho village where a conflict arose between the community leader and the traditional land chief. Nevertheless, the study suggests that a deep research in this domain should be carried out in order to provide more insight on the issue. The traditional land chief performs traditional ceremonies and allocates the land, while the community leader fulfils administrative tasks. Similarly, many authors from the southern African region have reported that traditional authorities are still respected in many rural areas and they still play a strong role in land allocation and dispute resolution in many parts of the region (Jones and Murphree, 2004; Pijnenburgs, 2004; Cônsul, 2002; Simbine, 2002; Bob & Banoo, 2002; Anstey & De Sousa, 2001). There

are cases where the traditional land chief was elected as community leader and thus fulfils both tasks. Pijnenburg (2004:66) asserts that "it is not surprising to have leaders fulfilling both functions because the colonial government had appointed *regulos* from the 'royal blood', and FRELIMO appointed *secretarios* that were members of influential families in the area". As a result, they were elected as community leaders.

4.4.2.1 Implications of the Policy Framework for Conservation

The legal framework for natural resources and biodiversity conservation and that for traditional authority in Mozambique, do not define how traditional authority should participate in the management of natural resources. For example, Negrão (2002) has questioned the role of communities who are represented by traditional authority in the management of natural resources. The legislation limits local authorities to participate in consultation process on land demarcation, but without references to the power for decision-making (Mushove, 2002). In this case, duties, but not powers are decentralised (Peters, 2002). In addition, it is difficult to find synergy between the Decree no. 15/2000 and the legislation regarding natural resources management, such as Forest and Wildlife Law and the Land Law. Thus, there is a lack of institutional synergy between the community authority stated in the Decree no. 15/2000 and the local community representation stated in the Land Law regulation (Negrão, 2002). Furthermore, it is difficult to assess whether there is institutional synergy between the villages management committees, district management committees, park management committee and the local councils (COGEP) provided by the Forest and Wildlife Law for management of natural resources. Decree no. 15/2000 provides for education of local communities in sustainable use, management and preservation of natural resources as one of the community leader task (Government of Mozambique, 2000b; Negrão, 2002). However, it ignores the use of traditional knowledge for conservation and preservation of natural resources as stipulated by the Environmental Law (Negrão, 2002).

In the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), in Zimbabwe, for instance, the successful examples of the program were observed when there was co-operation between the traditional authorities and the village management committees (Murphree, 1998). The study findings revealed that, in practice, traditional authority has influence over the access to land and natural resources through customary laws and practices in rural Mozambique. However,

many institutions in community based natural resources management (CBNRM) programs have emerged, such as village committees, natural resources commission, and local councils for resources management (Mushove, 2002) out of the pre-existing traditional authorities. This trend also occurs in the fishery sector in Malawi, where new beach village committees were created (Hara *et al*. 2002). Magome & Murombedzi (2003) and Jones & Murphree (2004) assert that this has been a problem where the pre-existing traditional institutions tended to be ignored by the creation of new institutions. This results in alienation of communities from CBNRM programs. In addition, the legislation provides a form of external legitimacy. However, if these institutions are to function effectively, they need internal legitimisation (Jones & Murphree, 2004). For example, the solution found to resolve the conflict between traditional authority and the new institutions in Cwebe Forest in South Africa was to integrate the traditional leadership into the new institution (Grundy *et al.* 2004). Therefore, one wonders why the state failed to identify and recognise the pre-existing local institutions for the management of natural resources (Cuambe, 2004), instead of creating other institutions that overlap with the existing local institutions.

Participants at the second national conference on community based natural resources management programs held in 2001 in Maputo suggested that village council or management committees be established where there is absence of local authority that performs tasks (Filimão & Massango, 2002). The new institutions require time and a consistent level of support from NGOs and other service providers. In addition, time is required for these institutions to gain internal legitimacy, which can be built through direct participation by local communities in decision-making (Jones & Murphree, 2004). The research findings revealed that in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, there is a co-ordination between the grassroots governance institutions and the village committees, although the committees are not legitimised internally or endogenously. However, the new institutions do not operate in a vacuum; they interact and develop relationships with pre-existing institutions. Traditional authorities are important in this regard, because they are owners of the land in the minds of local communities (Jones & Murphree, 2004).

It is recommended the simplification of the new institutions could be the best option where pre-existing institutions are active. Flexible guidelines for their articulation with traditional authority should be put in place. Where traditional authority is well implanted and fulfils the task of resource management, it should

remain in place. Where local institutions are weak, or where they are corrupted, absent or there is a conflict between local authority, new structures for natural resources management could be created and strengthened. However, the pre-existing institutions should not be completely excluded from the community based management (Hara *et al*. 2002). In Botswana, for instance, new local institutions have enabled the community to dismiss unwanted joint venture partners, expel corrupt members and negotiate with the government for beneficial joint ventures (Fabricius *et al*. 2004). This means that there are cases where the new institutions function better than the pre-existing ones, because those could lack capacity or be corrupted. Thus, the legislation should be open enough to accommodate different situations in community organisation to allow strong cohesion to develop among the community for optimal management of natural resources.

4.4.3 Local Leadership Conflicts

A conflict has emerged between the traditional land chief and the community leader in the Massingir-velho Village. The traditional chief (*hosy ya misava*) does not recognise the community leader. He believes that the current community leader should not be a leader because he is not a member of the 'royal blood' lineage. The community leader was elected on account of his religious leadership style and influence in the village. In fact, the majority of the villagers worship at his church. This leadership conflict has led to the disruption of the grassroots governance structures, impacting on community integration and cohesion needed for natural resources management. Attempts by a local youth group who supports the traditional land chief to harass visitors to the village who come through the elected community leader, could be seen as an evidence of the disruption of the community leadership in the Massingir-velho Village.

It is worth noting that 68% of respondents in Massingir-velho pointed out the land chief as the supreme authority, while in other villages they stressed that it was the community leader. It seems that the community is not aware that the legislation awards the supreme administrative leadership to the community leader and not to the traditional land chief. Buur & Kyed's (2005) findings in Sussundenga and Dombe in the central province of Manica in Mozambique revealed that the implementation of Decree no. 15/2000 has in some cases, impacted on the traditional leadership. Similarly, Nhalidede & Dimande (2004) found that the implementation of this decree

in some villages in the buffer zone of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* has brought confusion in decision-making process, where the elected leader is not the traditional land chief. Accordingly, conflicts either emerged or escalated between traditional authorities and individuals claiming the position. Such conflicts could threaten the legitimacy of the elected community leader and raises serious questions about the ability of these elected leaders to represent their communities (Buur & Kyed, 2005).

However, conflicts and power struggles between traditional leaders and individuals within their families and between traditional and new leaders, generations and ethnic groups are not a new phenomenon (Buur & Kyed, 2005; Fabricius, *et al.* 2004; Nhantumbo *et al.* 2003). For instance, in Botswana, there is a power struggle between traditional leaders and new leaders in the Okavango Delta joint venture partnership project (Fabricius *et al*. 2004), between the leadership within the community in CBNRM in Sankuyo Village (Boggs, 2004) and between the modern institutions and traditional institutions in Xaxaba (Madzwamuse & Fabricius, 2004). There are also conflicts between tribal authorities and legal entities on land allocation in Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa (Bob & Banoo, 2003); conflicts between traditional authority and new institutions (Koch, 2004; Nhantumbo *et al*. 2003) for natural resources management in Derre Forest in Zambezia Province, in Mozambique (Nhantumbo *et al*. 2003). Similarly, power struggles exist between traditional authority and the local land committee elected in compliance with the Land Law in Bajone, Zambézia Province, in Mozambique (SLSA, 2003). Conflicts also abound between traditional authority and new management institutions denominated by Beach Village Committees in Lakes Malombe, Chiuta and Upper Shire River fishery co-management in Malawi (Hara, 2004; Hara *et al*. 2002; Mahomed, 2002). In all the above examples, conflicts arose due to unclear policies regulating their roles, responsibilities and authority.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

The history of empowerment and disempowerment of traditional authority over time by colonial administration and post-independence government, have undermined traditional authorities within communities. This has in turn, negatively influenced local communities' socio-cultural organisation and cohesion for sustainable natural resources management. The destabilisation war is seen also as another factor that disrupted local social-networks. Many rural communities fled to urban centres and

neighbouring countries, which influenced the *modus vivends* of the locals and consequently the traditional social system of governance of natural resources.

Despite successive disempowerment of traditional authority in Mozambique, local communities in rural areas continued to rely on customary practices. In part, it can be attributed to strong cultural beliefs supported by their traditional chiefs or presumably by the meagre state presence in rural areas. This leaves the command in the hands of traditional authorities. Traditional authorities continued to exist and play significant roles in rural communities. They are seen as the link between the ancestors and the living, as they perform traditional ceremonies and allocate land as 'owners' of the land.

The current shift to decentralisation and community based natural resources management and biodiversity conservation approach has been characterised by the establishment and proliferation of new institutions at the grassroots. These institutions are created according to different legislation dealing with natural resources management, such as the Land Law, the Forest and Wildlife Law and the Decree no. 15/200. The newly established institutions overlap in their tasks and roles with the pre-existing traditional institutions. This has led to confusion and conflicts in some cases. The current legal framework on traditional authority has also created confusion for local authorities, as it does not distinguish between traditional chiefs and other local authorities. The responsibilities of both new institutions and the new community leaders and the traditional authority overlap. Their relationships in the management of natural resources are not well defined. The institutions created at the local level fulfil the same tasks. As a result, conflicts have emerged in some villages within the park. For instance, the conflict in Massingir-velho Village represents an interesting case for further research to evaluate the impact of the new policy on traditional authority. However, local governing institutions have made local arrangements for participatory governance through local village councils, where local leaderships meet to make collective decisions on matters that concern their communities.

It is, however, necessary to review the legislation, to clarify and integrate the tasks, authority, responsibilities and relationships of the different local institutions. It is suggested that the simplification of such institutions, empowering the pre-existing ones in order to better perform the tasks as they have local legitimacy. The legislation should be flexible enough to accommodate local peculiarities. For example, where traditional institutions exist and perform well they should be strengthened and where

there is a lack of such institutions new institutions should be elected democratically (in the local context) and empowered to represent local community interests.
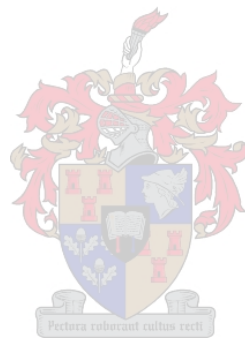
Chapter 5: Land Tenure, Resources use Practices and Local Communities' Livelihood Strategies

SUMMARY

The security of rights to land and natural resources use by local communities are fundamental to sustainable management of these natural resources as well to the sustainability of rural livelihoods. This is because rural communities depend on land and intrinsic natural resources for their survival. Their ability to prudently manage land resources depends on the security of their rights to access and use of natural resources. Consequently, local communities' perceptions on land and natural resources tenure were surveyed to determine the effects of existing resources ownership and use types on the sustainability of natural resources and livelihood strategies in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*. The majority of the households surveyed considered that land belongs to the local traditional land chief or it belongs to the family that uses it. Few people indicated that land belongs to the Mozambican Government. It was also found that local communities in the park have diverse livelihood strategies. However, land and forest resources use constitutes the foundation of their current livelihood strategies. Subsistence agriculture, livestock herding and forest products harvesting are the main subsistence activities followed by running of small businesses like handicrafts and cash remittances by migrant labourers. It was recommended that land resources tenure and the livelihood strategies of the local communities that live within the park and its margins should be considered in the planning of the park and the resettlement process being considered. The study argues for voluntary resettlement that should occur in a manner that secures local people's livelihood strategies and improves their socio-economic conditions in the newly resettled areas.

Keywords: Land tenure, livelihoods, forest, local communities, livestock, resource use.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Secure rights of access to land and natural resources are the foundations of rural livelihoods. Land is the basis of subsistence, farm incomes, a source of employment

for family, community labour and resource use for the rural community (Quan, 1998). Land tenure is necessary for rural families as the unit of production to contribute to poverty reduction (Negrão, 2002). Local land tenure institutions determine the rights to land and access to natural resources. Thus, they are central in determining the livelihood strategies of rural communities (Quan, 1998). "A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living" (Carney, 1998:4). It is a means of supporting life and meeting individual and community needs (Dovie *et al.* 2002). Shackleton *et al.* (2000) assert that sustainable rural livelihoods are confined to production, employment, income, economic development, reduction of vulnerability and environmental sustainability, whilst building on the strength of the rural poor. Sustainable livelihoods are defined as peoples' capacities to generate and maintain their means of living, enhance their well-being and that of the future generations. These capacities are contingent upon the availability and accessibility to ecological, economic and political options, which are predicated on equity, ownership of resources and participatory decision-making (Shackleton *et al.* 2000).

In some circumstances, activities designed to maintain biodiversity have impacted negatively upon rural livelihoods. The major determinants of sustainable livelihoods are social equity, benefit sharing, environmental stability, a resilient response to poverty and economic efficiency (Dove *et al.* 2002). The establishment of protected areas has been associated with human displacement and resettlement, leading to restrictions on access to local resources (Koziell, 1998) and undermining of rural livelihood strategies. However, biodiversity conservation should be seen as a means of contributing to sustainable rural livelihoods, rather than an end in itself (Koziell, 1998) and should begin with the view that biodiversity-rich areas are social spaces, where culture and nature are renewed with, by and for local people (Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000). According to Goldman (1998) there is evidence that under decentralised systems, local people's ownership and role in the development of communal assets, such as nature reserves and parks increase. Local community will share the responsibility and action for biodiversity conservation if the time, land and property that they required to sacrifice match the role of wild resources in their livelihoods; and the direct benefits are high enough to exceed the costs (Magome & Fabricius, 2004). Local people are less likely to accept the process of conserving

biodiversity if the role of biodiversity in peoples' lives is small relative to other livelihood strategies (Magome & Fabricius, 2004).

Rural communities have diverse livelihood strategies within which crop and livestock production, remittance, rural employment, trade, migration and other activities occur (Shackleton *et al.* 2000; Ellis, 1998). Rural livelihoods, principally those of the poor, are complex and dynamic, based on an ample range of activities and strategies that improve not only household income, but also food security, social networks and mutual relationships with the kin (Grundy *et al.* 2004; Shackleton *et al*. 2000). Understanding local land tenure and livelihood strategies of communities living within and surrounding protected areas could be useful for development of the management planning. This should include analyses of local strengths and vulnerabilities for appropriate development strategies (Goldman, 1998). It is important not only to document community use of natural resources, but also to understand the complexities of local institutional governance in order to meet community needs (Grundy *et al*. 2004). In the context of protected area establishment, customary institutions that control access to land and natural resources should be respected. However, there has been a lack of a holistic approach that recognises and embraces the full diversity, complexity and multidimensional nature of rural livelihoods (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004). This study assessed the perceptions of local communities on land tenure and ownership within *Parque Nacional do Limpopo.* It also assessed the people's resources use practices and their livelihood strategies to better understand the dynamics of their livelihood strategies for sustainable development and management of the park.

5.2 METHODS

Semi-structured questionnaires were administered to households in the eight villages within *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* along the Shingwedzi River Basin and in the two villages in the buffer or multiple use zone. Discussion sessions were also held with certain groups. Local communities were asked about the ownership of the land and how they came to possess the land that they occupied to gather information on land tenure. They were asked whether they would be willing to voluntarily leave their ancestral grounds along the Shingwedzi River Basin to be resettled elsewhere. They were asked about their means of living to determine their livelihood strategies. Furthermore, they were asked whether they had livestock and also to specify the

numbers and types of the animals that they kept. They were asked where their animals grazed and whether they had sufficient land for grazing. Additionally, they were asked about the sources of their energy that they use for cooking, heating space and lighting. Further they were asked to point out where they collected their firewood. Finally, they were asked who the responsible persons for firewood collection, were and the time they spend in collecting firewood.

In the focus group discussions, the participants were asked whether they are permitted to use the resources in the forest. They were asked to identify the resources that they were permitted to use and the resources harvesting techniques within the community. They were also asked to hierarchically list the resources most used, from the most important to the least important. They were further requested to list the resources in two categories: the ones for building and artisan purposes and the ones used for food and medicine. The surveyed groups were requested to list the scarce resources and those that went extinct. Accordingly, they supplied the respective reasons for scarcity and extinction. Scientific identification of the plants was done at the park headquarters in Massingir, with the assistance of a native park official to help on local names and the book by Grant & Thomas (2001). The data were coded using SPSS. Similarly, the descriptive analysis was done using the same software, while Statistica was used to analyse the statistical differences between factors given by respondents within villages and between villages. Chi-square test was used to detect the statistical differences of factors of respondents within and between villages with a confidence interval of 95%.

5.3 RESULTS

5.3.1 Land Tenure

All the interviewed households had land for habitation and a plot of land for subsistence farming. Forty-five percent (n=135) of the respondents noted that the land belongs to the traditional land chief, another 45% (n=133) noted that the land belongs to the family that occupies it, five percent (n=15) stated that it belongs to the government, four percent (n=11) indicated that the land belongs to God and one percent (n=2) did not know the ownership of the land. There was statistically a significant difference in respect to land tenure between respondents within and between villages (x^2=85.59, df=36, p<0.001). When asked how they had acquired the

land that they occupy, 82% (n=242) responded that they inherited the land, 15% (n=41) noted that the traditional land chief gave it to them, and two percent (n=8) stated that the government gave it to them. Those who reported that they simply occupied it, or obtained it through other sources (e.g., given by a religious leader, friend or an uncle) represented 0.5% (n=2) of the respondents. There was statistically a significant difference in responses with respect to the form how they had obtained the land they occupied, within respondents within and between the villages (x^2=53.24, df=36, p=0.032).

Seventy-nine percent of the respondents (n=233) were aware of the impending possibility for resettlement elsewhere, while 21% (n=62) were not aware. There was statistically a significant difference among respondents (x^2=245.79, df=9, p<0.001) within and between the villages. It is worth noting that 89% (n=210) of those who were aware of the possibility for resettlement noted that they would leave their land only under compulsion; 11% (n=26) indicated that they would voluntarily leave their land and hence the park. There was statistically a significant difference among respondents (x^2=31.08, df=9, p<0.001) within and between the villages. When asked about whether they would be willing to leave immediately, 38% (n=91) strongly felt that they would not leave, 37% (n=89) rejected the idea, 23% (n=49) felt willing, and two percent (n=6) were unwilling to leave the land. There was statistically a significant difference among respondents within and between the villages (x^2=107.22, df=45, p<0.001). Seventy-four percent (n=133) of those who reacted negatively to the idea of immediate departure stressed that it was because they owned the land, 15% (n=27) noted that they had cultural attachments to the land, six percent (n=11) noted that they are more important than wildlife, and five percent (n=8) stressed that they have no place to go to. All those who felt willing to leave noted that they would like to give space to wildlife and the park. There was statistically a significant difference among respondents (x^2=119.42, df=54, p<0.001) within and between the villages.

5.3.2 Resources Use Practices

Local communities depend entirely on land and forest resources for their subsistence. They are permitted to use forest resources within the park, but not hunting which is the only forbidden activity. However, there still persist some forms of secret hunting within the communities. Local communities must use the resources strictly for subsistence purposes and not for sale or 'exchange' with other villages outside the

park. However, in Massingir-velho Village (bounded by the wildlife sanctuary) resources for building purposes are scarce because the forest that the villagers depended on was demarcated as a wildlife sanctuary. To enter into the wildlife sanctuary to harvest the resources needed by the villagers requires them to have a formal permission and to declare to the game rangers what they have harvested.

According to the respondents in the focus groups, there were customary forms of management and control over the access and use of forest resources long time ago. The traditional land chief (*hosy ya misava*) controlled the access and use of forest resources. Currently, the park authorities control access to and use of forest resources, although traditional rituals are still being performed by the traditional land chief, especially at the beginning of harvesting season. For example, the ceremony of the marula (*Sclerocarya birrea*) juice, the beginning of crop harvesting season and the forest fruit-harvesting season are presided over by traditional land chiefs. In fact, the marula juice traditional ceremony is conducted in almost all the villages. It is noteworthy that there is no one who regulates the access and use of the resources in some villages because the traditional authority in such cases has been undermined and weakened. Furthermore, park game rangers do not have capacity to control the entire park and impose the park's resource use system. Thus, there are some areas in the park without any form of authority to control the access and use of forest resources.

Local communities use many forest products for their livelihoods. The use of wild resources as food depends on the availability of the concerned resources and the seasonality. Forest resources play a crucial role in the livelihoods of rural communities. Poles are used in the construction of walls and roofs of houses, construction of granaries and livestock enclosures (kraals). They are also used in the construction of artisan materials, including *Xileis* (a wooden trolley). They rely on wild resources as alternatives to agricultural crops during droughts to increase their food security. For example, cattle herding boys rely on wild resources when they herd cattle far from home. Tables 6 and 7 show the most important forest plants listed during discussions with focus group participants. The resources are listed from the most important to the least important. Fruit trees and plants ranked as the most important are generally used during the dry season or famine as food or to complement the meagre nutritional foods.

Table 7:   List of forest resources used for building and artisan purposes.

Scientific name	Local name	Use
Colophospermum mopane	Nxanatsi/Ngungu	Poles, medicinal, and artisan to make *Xileis*
Androstachys Johnsonii	Tsimbise/Nsimbisi	Poles, timber; *lacalacas*, for roofs
Combretum imberbe	Mondzo	Poles, timber, artisan utensils, granary/kitchen, kraals
Spirostachys africana	Ndzofori	Timber for doors, windows, roofs, and boats.
Acacia nigregceus/knobthoru	N' kaya	Timber, and artisan utensils
Not identified	N' semani	Wires, mats
Acacia xanthopholoea	Nkelenga	Artisan to make *Xileis*
Not identified	N'xenga	Thatching/roof grass

Table 8:   List of forest resources used as food or complementary diet.

Scientific name	Local name	Use
Strychnos madacasrienses	Nkwakwa	Fruit and butter meal
Ficus sycomorus	N'kua	Fruit
Xantoceris zambesiaca	N'tlharu	Pap with a cattle skin[12]
Diospyros mespiliformis	N'toma	Fruit
Boscia albitruca	Xitcutso	Tuber/rhizome, food, tea and water
Mimosops obtusifolia	N'lhanpswa	Fruit
Euclea divinorum	N'lhangulo	Fruit
Sclerocary birrea	N'canhi	Fruit, juice, pups, and nuts
Dovialis sp.	Nwamba	Fruit
Grewia occidentalis	N'xolua	Fruit
Berchemia discolor	Nhyia	Fruit and pups
Not identified	Xakwari	Fruit

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[12] It was mentioned as a very important source of hunger relief during droughts when crop production is marginal or nonexistent.

Strychnos spinosa	Massala	Fruit and alcohol drink
Bridelia mollis	Nhyri	Fruit
Grewia lasiocarpa	Ndzua	Fruit
Grewia monticola	N'sihane	Pups
Trichilia emetica	N'kutlho	Fruit, oil, and food
Andasonia digitata	Ximuho	Pups
Not identified	Dnokomelua	Fruit
Not identified	N'tonwa	Tuber/rhizome
Not identified	N' Konpfu	Fruit

In some villages, some trees are becoming scarce. For example, in the Chibotane Village, Tsimbise (*Androstachys Johnsonii)*, Nkwakwa (*Strychnos madacasrienses*), Nwambu (*Dovialis sp.)* were mentioned as scarce. In the Mandigane Village, Tsimbise (*Androstachys Johnsonii)* and N'tlanpswa (*Mimosops obtusifolia)* were mentioned as scarce trees. It is worth noting that these two villages are located in the buffer zone. Some trees are not scarce due to overexploitation, but as a result of their geographical distribution. In the villages within the park (Mavodze and Macavene Villages), Tsimbise (*Androstachys Johnsonii)* was mentioned as a scarce tree. N'tlampswa (*Mimosops obtusifolia)* was also mentioned as a scarce tree in Macavene Village. Mavodze Village is the most populated village and it is the administrative headquarters. It is one of the most 'developed' villages with relatively better infrastructure. Macavene is a small village, but it is located near the district town of Massingir, thereby increasing the demand for natural resources. This explains the relative scarcity of natural resources in the village. It is noteworthy that local communities did not point out any scarce trees or forest resources in other villages.

5.3.3 Local Communities' Livelihood Strategies

Sixty-eight percent (n=201) of households had crop production and livestock herding or simply agriculture as the main livelihood strategy. The crops produced included maize, sweet potatoes, beans, cassava, vegetables, peanuts, and so on. A significant number of households had diverse household strategies besides agriculture. For example, 11% (n=33) of the households received remittances from relatives working elsewhere. Eight percent (n=23) made mats, X*ileis, Txuris*, baskets to sell, 5% (n=14) had small businesses; and another 5% (n=14) had relatives working as game rangers

in the park. Furthermore, 2% (n=7) of the households have someone employed as a teacher and another 2% (n=5) practice fishing. There was statistically a significant difference with respect to the livelihood strategies between villages' respondents (x^2=79.16, df=54, p=0.01). There are reports of wildlife raids on farms damaging crops as well as preying on livestock, thereby posing serious risks to the livelihood strategies of local communities.

Ninety percent of the households (n=266) owned livestock that comprise cattle, goats and poultry; and 9% (n=31) did not own livestock. There was no statistically significant difference (x^2=13.19, df=9, p=0.154) within and between villages on livestock ownership. Cattle constitute an important source of income, while goats and poultry supply protein. Owning cattle is very important for families because cattle represent wealth. They are an important source of cash income through sales or hire for transport, farming and for paying bride price (*lobolo*). When asked where their animals graze, 78% (n=208) responded that their animals graze in a community forest; 14% (n=36) noted that they graze within the park; and 5% (n=12) responded that grazing occurs in family forests. There was statistically a significant difference in respect to the place they grazed their animals between villages (x^2=49.32, df=18, p<0.001). Eighty-eight percent (n=226) of the respondents stressed that there is sufficient land for grazing, while 12% (n=30) responded that there was no sufficient land for grazing. There was statistically a significant difference regarding the space for animal grazing between villages (x^2=98.86, df=9, p<0.001).

Firewood was mentioned as the only source of energy for cooking by all the respondents. Eighty-one percent (n=239) of the respondents stressed that collected their firewood from the community forest and 17% (n=49) collected it from the forests within the park. Those who stated that they collected firewood from the buffer zone and family forests represented only 1% (n=4), respectively. There was statistically a significant difference with respect to the place for firewood collection between villages' respondents (x^2=57.31, df=36, p=0.01). Seventy-five percent (n=220) noted that it was easy to collect firewood, while 25% (n=74) noted that it was not easy. Sixty-one percent (n=40) of those who maintained that it was not easy to collect firewood, attributed it to the scarcity of preferred wood in the forest; while 36% (n=24) stressed that the forest was far from the village; 3% (n=2) stated that dry wood for firewood was scarce in the forest.

In terms of the time spent to collect firewood, 68% (n=220) of the respondents noted that it took less than an hour; 14% (n=40) asserted that it ranged from half an hour to an hour; and 18% (n=54) indicated that it took more than an hour. There was statistically a significant difference with respect to the time spent for firewood collection between villages (x^2=78.36, df=18, p<0.001). When asked about the responsibility for collecting firewood, 50% (n=147) noted that it was the women responsibility; 42% (n=127) maintained that it was the women and children responsibility; 2% (n=7) responded that it was the men responsibility; and 3% (n=9) stated that collecting firewood was everybody's responsibility. There was no statistically significant difference regarding the firewood collection responsibility (x^2=51.99, df=45, p=0.2203) between villages. When asked about the source of illumination at night, 67% (n=198) responded that they used oil lamps; 12% (n=34) used the combination of oil lamps and candles; 11% (n=33) used candles; and 6% (n=17) used firewood. Furthermore, 3% (n=8) of the respondents used a combination of firewood, oil lamps and candles; and 1% (n=3) noted the used lamparines. There was statistically a significant difference in respect to the source of illumination at night (x^2=177.50, df=72, p<0.001) between villages' respondents.

5.4 DISCUSSION

5.4.1 Land Tenure

Communities in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* consider land to belong either to the family or to the traditional land chief. There is a sense of security of land tenure within local communities. Rights of local communities to access and use land resources are recognised by the Mozambican Land Law which states that land belongs to the state (Government of Mozambique, 2004a; 2004b; 1999). In fact, the security of access to land derives from the Mozambican Republic's Constitution that confers such rights (Negrão, 2002). The recognition of resources use rights of indigenous people has led many countries to pass laws, which provide for recognition of traditional lands (Quan, 1998). Indeed, in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, local communities have access to land through customary practices, which include inheritance and allocation by traditional land chiefs (*hosy ya misava*). Land allocation in sub-Saharan Africa tends to be reasonably equitable in many rural areas and remain dominated by customary tenure systems, which are often strong and able to

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accommodate population growth and market development (Quan, 1998). The benefits that local communities derive from protected areas are inextricably related to their land rights and ownership (Ramutsindela, 2004) and can thus be an incentive for promoting the conservation of natural resources (Dovie *et al*. 2002). Legislation and community based natural resources management (CBNRM) policy in most of the southern Africa region provide resources use rights to local communities, but has not dealt with the critical matter of land rights (Jones & Murphree, 2004). However, land ownership is only one of many aspects inducing community involvement in resource conservation (Grundy *et al*. 2004). For example, aspects such as community organisation and cohesion for collective action, resources use practices, and strong local institutions for negotiation, are important for effective community involvement in resource conservation.

The strong negative feeling that local communities expressed towards their resettlement outside *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* could be attributed to the strong attachment that they have to the land inside the park. The absence of government intervention in the rural sector partly due to the long civil war in rural Mozambique have caused rural communities to identify more closely with customary land allocation and use practices. In fact, traditional authorities dominate institutions that deal with land resources governance in rural areas. This might have influenced the manner in which local communities feel towards the park and the government on land matters. Some areas had minimal contacts with the government administration during the civil war; this continues to be the case in some places right now. The lack of government influence in rural areas facilitated the recognition of pre-existing social institutions in rural areas as legitimate authorities (Anstey & De Sousa, 2001).

Communities that live along the Shingwedzi River Basin are to be resettled (PNL Tourism Planning, 2004; Grossman & Holden, 2003; Vicente *et al.* 2003). The resettlement has to be according to the World Bank resettlement principles of voluntary resettlement[13]. However, communities opting to remain will be incorporated into the park as enclave communities (Vicente *et al.* 2003). It suffices to mention that incorporating communities into enclaves should be managed carefully,

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[13] Boletim Informativo do Parque Nacional do Limpopo – Moçambique/ N° 1 – Agosto de 2004. Principios Directivos para Reassentamento da população. 'The resettlement must be voluntary and avoided if possible. Consultation and genuine participation of people to be resettled must be undertaken' – author's translation.

especially as their livelihood strategies and social networks are concerned. Living in an enclave would hamper the socio-economic development of communities. The land available for farming and grazing would be limited and movements on foot to areas outside the enclave would become difficult due to wildlife threats to human lives (Weissleder & Sparla, 2002). It is argued that the Mozambican Government, donors and local leadership accept that communities that live in the Shingwendzi Basin cannot be accommodated in the area (PNL Tourism Planning, 2004). Accommodating local communities in these enclaves means that their user rights over land resources would be denied in the park. Implicitly, the resettlement of people to areas outside the park cannot be on voluntary basis as stated in the management plan and in the resettlement guidelines. This is particularly valid because nothing was revealed or stated as to guarantee their land and natural resources rights, once they are displaced elsewhere. There is also lack of clarity on the rights of those who would choose to remain in the park: would they retain their traditional rights to land resources within the park? There is concern that policies, which limit property rights in wildlife and natural resources, can harshly be used to limit people's rights of access and use of natural resources (Emerton, 2001). The legal framework recognises local communities' rights to land and natural resources use. However, it is difficult to assess whether they have rights to lease natural resources they have rights of use over or enter into contractual arrangements with the government or investors as legitimate landholders. There is thus need to explicitly define the extent of local people's rights over land resources with respect to outsiders. Private operators tend to impose restrictions upon local activities (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003).

Contractual national parks like in the neighbouring South Africa could be an alternative to *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*. In contractual national parks, communities are the landowners with rights to generate income through eco-tourism and with rights to harvest surplus resources. Conversely, the state gains land for biodiversity conservation as the land use practices in the area are sensitised to conservation objectives (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003). This is a proactive and win-win solution for the development of a park. This means that appropriate mechanisms and policies to achieve the desired win-win solution should be adopted to accommodate peculiarities on the ground. It is acknowledged that local communities lack capacity for equal dialogue with other stakeholders (government or private). In negotiation with government and the private sector, there is often imbalance of power

and communities often do not understand the value of their resources (Jones & Murphree, 2004). In this case, the NGO forum for the park could play an important role in supporting and empowering local communities. In countries where community integration into planning for forest management has revealed some success, NGOs have been playing important roles as facilitators, skilled trainers and conflict managers (Grundy *et al.* 2004).

5.4.1.1 Local Communities' Benefits

The legal framework in Mozambique grants 20% of revenues from wildlife and forest resources to local communities (Government of Mozambique, 2004b). However, the criterion that was used to arrive at this decision, and the role played by local communities in setting this percentage are questionable (Salomão, 2004). It is stated that the funds should be used to promote local development. However, it is difficult to say whether the 20% earmarked for local communities is sufficient enough to promote local development in rural Mozambique where poverty is deeply rooted. Local communities often bear the costs of the establishment of parks through restrictions on resources use and dispossession. For *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, this is evident in the impending displacement and resettlement of rural communities to areas outside the park. The other concern relates to the origin of this 20%. It is difficult to determine whether it comes from the lease of the land, gate fees or from tourism profits. It is also difficult to state whether this proportion is sufficient enough to compensate the people who declined their rights over land and natural resources by accepting resettlement. The lack of transparency and clarity on compensation of the people to be resettled raises the concern that we are embarking on the old fines and fences approach while advocating participatory governance for biodiversity conservation. Ironically, it should be the local communities' rights to land and intrinsic natural resources that should determine the establishment and conservation in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo.* Clarity and sensitivity on this matter should be the basis for mutual and beneficial relationships between the park and local communities. A "fences-and-friends" (Magome & Murrombedzi, 2003:119) approach should be the remedy to avoid tensions between communities and the park, rather than resettlement clouded by lack of transparency and uncertainties.

5.4.1.2 Resettlement

A preliminary survey for the identification of possible areas for resettlement was conducted. The survey concluded that all areas around the park have less potential for resettlement as far as rain-fed agriculture and the availability of water to support humans and livestock are concerned. There are also concessionaire land titles, which additionally decrease the area available for resettlement (Impacto, 2005). Nonetheless, Massango & Chaúque (2005) identified two areas for possible resettlement based on soil, water and cultural similarities; the two areas are also close to a paved road. The study argues that one of the areas is moderately suitable and another is less suitable. However, the study did not provide technical data to support the arguments for such possible areas for resettlement as the study by Impacto (2005) did to support its argument to conclude that the areas around the park are less potential for resettlement. Furthermore, the study by Massango & Chaúque (2005) concluded that there is also a risk of overpopulation and consequent overexploitation and degradation of environmental resources. Displacement of local communities has lead to undermining of their livelihood systems, social structures, and often results in human and environmental insecurity (Katerere, 2002, May, 2000). For example, traditional authorities fear losing power in the newly settled areas. Nevertheless, the potential host traditional leaders have stated that the guest traditional leaders of the communities to be resettled can continue to be leaders of their communities in the newly resettled areas, but not land chiefs in the new areas (Massango & Chaúque, 2005). This accords with this research findings that traditional land chiefs in the villages to be resettled fear losing leadership roles as landowners in the newly resettled areas.

Resettlement should be developed in a manner that secures the livelihoods (Kangwana & Mako, 2001) and socio-cultural relationships of the resettled communities. Thus, the challenge is to combine conservation, human livelihoods, (Kangwana & Mako, 2001) socio-cultural and customary practices over access to land and natural resources. The livelihood desires of communities displaced by conservation activities have been reported to be poorly met, jeopardising their very existence (Dovie *et al*. 2002). Security of land tenure for local communities is an important precursor for sustainable management of natural resources: wildlife, grazing or forest resources (Jones & Murphree, 2001). However, areas suitable for crop production and grazing are along the Shingwedzi River Basin within the park,

while the surrounding areas are not suitable. This is the challenge for the proponents of resettlement. It would be interesting to investigate whether this crucial information has been supplied to local communities for them to make informed decisions about the impending resettlement. Too often local people are not empowered to make appropriate decisions, but are left to experience the hardships of such development projects. In addition, a voluntary resettlement process due to the establishment of a protected area should be coupled to an attractive set of incentives that makes rural people better off in their new sites.

5.4.2 Livelihood Strategies, Resources Use Practices and Sustainable Development of the Park

Communities that live in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* have diverse livelihood strategies, comprising subsistence agriculture, cattle grazing, wages and remittances and harvesting of forest resources for a variety of uses (e.g., firewood, medicine, food, construction, socio-cultural ceremonies, etc). Livelihood strategies of local communities in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* are similar to many others found in rural communities as well as of those living in or around protected areas in Africa (Coupe *et al.* 2002; Crookes, 2002; Letsela *et al.* 2002; Kangwana & Mako, 2001; Hulme & Infield, 2001; Adams & Infield, 2001; May, 2000). They are not different from other areas of the developing world (Shackleton *et al.* 2000). Diversified livelihoods are found in all locations and include wage work in non-farming activities, self-employment (e.g. trading) and remittance from urban areas or from abroad (Ellis, 1998). In *Parque Nacional do Limpopo,* trading includes the sale of surplus from crop and livestock production. For instance, the study found that maize had been produced in surplus and it was being traded by retailers locally known as *Maguevas* who came from Maputo and Xai-Xai cities. Few community members are employed as park game rangers and some small groups of local men trade cattle. They buy cattle from locals and vend it in Maputo. Young men migrate seasonally to the neighbouring South Africa to seek employment, contributing to the diversity of local livelihood strategies. However, there is a high level of unemployment in the area, partly due to the closure of many mines in South Africa, where many rural Mozambican men, especially those living within the park relied on. Migrant jobs are the most important means for diversifying rural livelihoods. One or more family members migrate for varying periods of time and in the process contribute to the diversification of their

families' livelihood strategies (Ellis, 1998). However, no matter how diverse the livelihoods of rural families are, crop and livestock production continue to constitute a predominant component of their incomes (Ellis, 1998). Diversification of livelihoods can have positive impact on rural households, especially in making them more secure, thereby reducing the adverse impacts of seasonality and helps to lift poor rural households out of the poverty trap (Ellis, 1998).

Nowadays, there is consensus on consumptive use of natural resources in national parks (Adams & Infield, 2001) by local communities who depend on these resources for their livelihoods. Therefore, it is very important that greater attention be paid to the management of natural resources upon which people's livelihoods depend (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004). The forest provides poles for building, grass for thatching, wood for artisan purposes, medicinal plants, wild fruits, honey, firewood and food; it is used for traditional ceremonies. Forest products can be very important — they can help to obtain income where few other options exist (Arnold, 1998). This is not the case in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, because the use of natural resources for commercial purposes is not permitted. Exceptions are for artisan products locally traded between villagers.

The Shingwedzi River is the most contested resource in the area; it determines human population and wildlife distribution (Grossman and Holden, 2003) and it is very crucial to local livelihoods. Water resources play a critical role in the viability of many rural livelihoods by sustaining and improving yields (Soussan, 1998). Crop production and livestock grazing are practised on the margins of the Shingwedzi River Basin. However, communities are increasingly bearing the costs of the recently reintroduced wildlife from the Kruger National Park. Wildlife raids on villages and crop damages as well as livestock predation without compensation impinge on local livelihood strategies, heightening tensions between people and wildlife. According to local communities, when the area was *coutada 16* the community could hunt wildlife that damage crops or raid villages. This kept the population of problem animals to desirable levels for co-existence with people. However, current restrictions on wildlife resources exploitation has increased the number of wildlife, leading to increased conflicts between villagers and wildlife species and hence the park authorities. In fact, wildlife raids, crop damage, livestock predation and injury to people or even death are reported in and around parks in Africa (Magome & Fabricius, 2004; Bauer, 2003; Coupe *et al.* 2002; Kangwana & Mako, 2001; Hulme & Infield, 2001; Adams &

Infield, 2001; McIvor, 2000; Gillingham & Lee, 1999; Reid *et al*.1999; De Boer & Baquete, 1998; Hill, 1998).

There is also the danger of wildlife disease transmission to livestock and humans (e.g., sleeping sickness). *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* is inhabited by the vector of *trypanosomiasis*. Generally, living with wildlife can have a number of negative effects on food security, income and livelihoods (Coupe *et al*. 2002; Emerton, 2001). Local people have to guard their fields or harvest as soon as possible to avoid crop damage. For instance, in the Amboseli National Park in Kenya, children go late to school because they spend a considerable time in guarding property, particularly food from wildlife. Limiting the exploitation of wildlife resources by local communities leads to limited livelihood outcomes (Coupe *et al*. 2002). Notwithstanding, living with wildlife can generate positive effects through income generation. One of the goals of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* is to use wildlife for economic development of the region and for the benefit of local communities living within and around the park (PNL Business Plan 2004). However, the argument that wildlife should pay its way by providing economic benefits should be treated cautiously. For example, wildlife economic benefits are unequally distributed or have rarely reached households in significant amounts (Jones & Murphree, 2004; Magome & Fabricius, 2004; Turner, 2004; Walpole & Goodwin, 2001). Generally, local community, as a collective entity, accounts for a small proportion of the total revenue (Emerton, 2001), for example, 20% in Mozambique. Similarly, Uganda disburses 20%, while Kenya and Tanzania grant 10% each to local communities (Archabald & Naughton-Treves, 2001); Zambia grants 35% (Emerton, 2001; Johnson, 2004); and CAMPFIRE realises less than 50% for participating communities in Zimbabwe (Johnson, 2004). The Massai community in Kenya receives the least (one percent), while the communities that border wildlife reserves in Namibia receive three percent of wildlife revenues (Emerton, 2001).

Financial benefits from wildlife that are distributed to rural households are often low (Jones & Murphree, 2004; Magome & Fabricius, 2004), especially where the population number is high relative to wildlife numbers. This is particularly valid when wildlife benefits are not significant when compared with the contribution of other livelihood activities (Jones & Murphree, 2004). For example, in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo,* more than 6,000 people live within the park, while there are

22,000 living around the park. Wildlife estimates in the park are lower relative to the demands expressed by this number of people.

The inequalities in revenue distribution need to be addressed if conservation is to play a significant part in the sustainable development of local communities. Deciding unilaterally on the proportion of forest and wildlife revenues for disbursement to the communities, without their involvement may discourage their active participation in the conservation of these resources. In fact, local communities might not see their economic interests reflected in such bureaucratically synthesised decisions whose underlying premises may not be justified. Furthermore, these community benefits are mostly in the form of provision of social infrastructures and rarely provide subsistence or secure the livelihoods of the community. Paradoxically, in Mozambique the infrastructures to be provided by such dividends are not community property, but remains state property (Salomão, 2004; Government of Mozambique, 2004b). Benefits should be felt at the household level instead of only at the community level (Madzwamuse & Fabricius, 2004). For example, in Xaxabe, Ngamiland District, Botswana, local people questioned the rationale of having large sums of community money in the bank, while community members suffer the hardships of poverty (Madzwamuse & Fabricius, 2004). It appears that the development of the park depends on a complex and dynamic interaction between livelihoods issues, human relationships and economic benefits (Kangwana & Mako, 2001). Local communities are more willing to tolerate wildlife damages if they benefit from wildlife or perceive the potential for gaining benefit, which can be through financial, empowerment with new skills, improvement in community institutions, or job creation (Jones & Murphree, 2004). It is crucial to grant tangible benefits, including power sharing for local communities' commitment to sustainable management and development of the park (Grundy *et al.* 2004).

It is assumed that the potential for *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* to realise socio-economic development lies in eco-tourism (PPF, 2003), which will be via concessions, where communities will benefit through job creation (PNLTourism Plan, 2004). However, some authors (Walpole & Goodwin, 2001; McIvor, 2000; Sindinga, 1999) have argued that eco-tourism cannot be viewed as a remedy to rural poverty in conservation areas for many reasons. For example, it employs limited number of people, it is seasonal and it provides local people with unspecialised or non-technical jobs because they lack skills. In fact, local people earn low wages, while expatriates

hold supervisory and managerial positions. It is worth noting that local communities would not be motivated to support the park if eco-tourism remains as the main attraction for the park. It contributes marginally to the local economy and households. The Government of Mozambique retains significant proportions of revenue obtained from wildlife resources, including licences for hunting trophies, hunting concessions (Johnson, 2004) and tourism. Local people actually derive low financial benefits (20%) from protected area management under the recently approved Forest and Wildlife Legislation regulation.

The biggest challenge for the development of the park is twofold: first, how to harmonise the prevailing tumultuous relationship between the park and people; and second, how to resolve the changing balance between the benefits and costs, and changing cultures and changing land use patterns (Kangwana & Mako, 2002). In other words, the challenge is how to develop a management system that delivers environmental sustainability and secures long-term tangible benefits (Grundy *et al*. 2004) that make local communities better off than before. This should be addressed from the perspective that development is about change: behavioural, attitudinal, social, cultural, economical and political (Sindinga, 1999). The intervention requires focusing on the role of all natural resources in local livelihoods, not only the high-valued (wildlife) or flagship resources (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004). One could suggest that local communities should benefit from eco-tourism not merely through job opportunities. They should benefit as partners either with the state, or through lease agreement between the community and the private sector or a joint venture between community and the private sector (Naguran, 1999). Income from small-scale projects at community level combined with the large-scale tourism concessions could improve local livelihoods. Synergies between conservation, agriculture and rural development sectors are necessary to support diverse and complementary livelihood activities and sustainable development (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004). This, in turn, would lead local communities to develop proactive attitude towards the park. However, capacity at the local level needs to be developed to allow local communities equal negotiations in forming joint ventures in the future.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

Local communities maintained that the land belongs to traditional authorities, contrary to the Mozambican legal framework which states that the land belongs to the

state. It is not surprising in rural areas where traditional authorities play important roles in land allocation. Thus, the strong sense of land tenure within local communities derives from the fact that most of them acquired their parcels of land through inheritance or by the order of traditional institutions. Local communities' rights to access and use land resources are one of the most important issues that should determine the establishment and conservation of the park. The rights that they have to the land and intrinsic natural resources in the park should inform the park authorities that they are key stakeholders in the establishment and sustainable management of the park. This should be the basis for mutual beneficial relationships between the communities that live within and around *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* and the park management authority. After all, the legal framework recognises user rights — rights to use and benefit from natural resources and the underlying land. The fact that the Mozambican Constitution and the Land Law do not confer ownership of the land upon local communities should not be used to weaken the sense of stakeholders in local communities. Doing so would disenfranchise them and set them against the objectives of conservation. It is noteworthy that the concerned villagers are unaware of the fact that they are not the owners of the land as evidenced by the answers to the question "who owns the land?" Their answers suggest that rural Mozambicans were not extensively involved in debates that led to the formulation of Land Policy and Legislation.
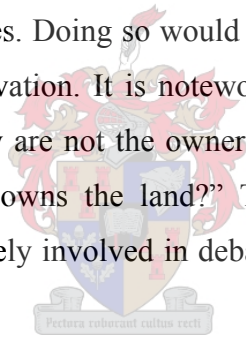
Whether resettled or not, local communities stand to lose their rights of access to the land and the embedded natural resources for the sake of conservation, without commensurate alternatives. Thus, it is recommended that the Mozambican Land Law and the framework law of the country should be revisited with the purpose of recognising local communities as legitimate land and natural resources owners. This would allow them to enter contractual arrangements with government agencies or the private sector to derive market related prices for their natural resources. In so doing, the government gains land for conservation and the private sector has an investment opportunity in eco-tourism. Communities could benefit from land and natural resources lease fees that could be channelled to local economic development projects. Similarly, job created by the park would benefit local communities, thereby diversifying rural livelihood strategies.

The portion (20%) of the forest and wildlife revenues entitled to local communities should be revised if the park is to bring about local development. It

should be recognised that the percentage granted to local communities by the current Forest and Wildlife Policy and Law is very low to induce sustainable rural development. It is insufficient to fuel local development; it could discourage local communities from participating in conservation related activities.

Resettlement of communities living along the Shingwedzi River Basin is the biggest challenge to the development of the park. Many areas around the park are less suitable for resettlement. The areas around the park lack suitable conditions for rain-feed agriculture and water to support human and livestock populations. The concessionaire land titles also decrease the suitable area for the resettlement. Resettlement has to be carried out within the context of social-cultural, economic and environmental context. Resettlement can disrupt traditional systems of resources management and control. Thus, resettlement needs to be developed with the aim of securing the complex rural livelihoods, social networks and the improvement of economic situation. Although some longitudinal surveys on socio-economic status of local communities have been carried out, it is necessary that more detailed studies be conducted on livelihood strategies, social networks, economic development opportunities and environmental sustainability. This would help the planning of the resettlement process. However, resettlement should only be carried out where it is unavoidable and it should be based on local ecological reports and evidences in the receiving areas.
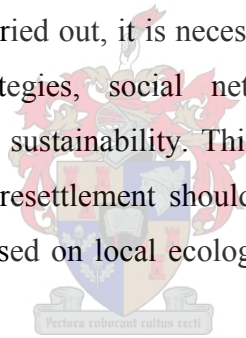
The current raids of wildlife on villages and the destruction of peasants' crops have created tensions between local communities and the park. However, this could be the sign of conflicts that will become frequent with the increase of wildlife numbers. It could also be the basis for relocating local communities from the park, considering future wildlife attacks. Such a resettlement is likely to occur if the pilot resettlement project succeeds and there is evidence that resettled villages outside the park are well off than when they were within the park.

CHAPTER 6: Attitudes and Perceptions of Local Communities Towards the Establishment and Management of the Park

SUMMARY

The attitudes and perceptions of stakeholders towards conservation policies and protected areas underlie the sustainable management of protected natural resources. Thus, the understanding of stakeholders' attitudes towards conservation and existing policy is critical in designing new policies or strategies for sustainable management. The attitudes of people towards a protected area are influenced by the benefits they acquire from it and also by the negative consequences of its conservation status. The attitudes and perceptions of local communities towards the establishment and management of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* were assessed. It was found that all the resident communities knew about the park. The establishment of the park was welcomed and at least one member of the surveyed households had participated in meetings with the park officials. However, there is no agreement on resettlement of the vast majority of the people whose villages fall within the park. The park's decision to resettle local communities outside the park has evoked a strong resistance to conservation among the local communities. Only two out of eight villages are willing to be resettled elsewhere. Furthermore, elephant raids on villages and farmlands combined with the other impacts of wildlife on human habitat as well as lack of employment for the local youth have led to increased tensions and negative attitudes towards the park.

Keywords: Attitudes, perceptions, local communities, resettlement**,** wildlife, park.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

There is an increased recognition that local communities must be actively involved in conservation, and that their needs and aspirations should be considered to encourage sustainable biodiversity conservation (Weladji *et al*. 2003; Alexander, 2000; De Boer & Baquete, 1998; Mehta & Kellert, 1998). Accordingly, this should be achieved if conservation activities are linked to development projects. The rationale is to bring

about support for conservation within local communities by involving them in decision-making and by providing benefits to balance the opportunity costs of protection (Walpole & Goodwin, 2001). A number of recent studies have examined local community perceptions and attitudes towards conservation within and around protected areas (Gadd, 2005; Bauer, 2003; Weladji *at al.* 2003; Walpole & Goodwin, 2001; Alexander; 2000; Gillingham & Lee, 1999; De Boer & Baquete, 1998; Hill, 1998; Mehta & Kellert, 1998; Sekhar, 1998; Mishra, 1997; Ite, 1996).

The attitudes and perceptions of the stakeholders towards conservation areas and the implementation of associated policy are an essential element for sustainable conservation (Weladji *et al.* 2003; Alexander, 2000). Thus, an understanding of the stakeholder attitudes towards conservation and existing policies are critical in designing new policies or sustainable conservation strategies (Weladji *et al.* 2003, Gillingham & Lee, 1999). Negative attitudes towards wildlife have potential to undermine conservation efforts. Unresolved conflicts between stakeholders represent a risk to sustainable management of wildlife resources (Weladji *et al.* 2003). These attitudes are influenced by four primary factors: (1) preservation of nature above the interests of humans; (2) authority for regulation is in the hands of the state; (3) radical approaches based on top-down processes of decision-making; and (4) lack of respect for indigenous tenures and traditions (Cuambe, 2004).

Out of the above mentioned, a number of other factors can influence local communities' perceptions towards conservation and therefore the degree of their support. For instance, poor relationship between local communities and protected area management personnel, problems with allocation of benefits, lack of local involvement in the establishment or management of protected areas (Alexander, 2000) and lack of participation in decision-making could impair community support (Gillingham & Lee, 1999). Similarly, lack of support by protected area management to communities in mitigating the costs of conservation, such as wildlife damage to crops (Gadd, 2005; Walpole & Goodwin, 2001, De Boer & Baquete, 1998), restrictions on resources use, livestock loss and threats to human lives (De Boer & Baquete, 1998) could weaken or discourage community support. These factors either single or combined lead to negative attitudes towards conservation by local communities. However, there are also factors that can lead to positive attitudes, such as the benefits from conservation such as game meat (Walpole & Godwin, 2001; Alexander, 2000; Gillingham & Lee, 1999), income allocation and involvement in

decision-making processes (Alexander, 2000). Social factors such as ethnic group, religion and education have also been shown to be important to determine peoples' attitudes to conservation (Alexander, 2000; De Boer & Baquete, 1998). Generally, the attitudes of people towards a protected area are influenced by the benefits they acquire from it and by negative consequences of its conservation status (De Boer & Baquete, 1998).

The current change from a preservation-oriented approach to a more integrated approach requires not only a better understanding of the attitudes of the main users of resources, but also a deeper understanding of the nature of relationships among users (Weladji *et al.* 2003). However, the approach has been encountering problems. In most cases, the complex set of local cultural, historical, religious, caste, wealth, economic, property, power, generational and gender realities differences (Pijnenburg, 2005; Fabricius *et al.* 2004; Jones & Murphree, 2004; Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004; Katerere, 2002; Peters, 2002; Salomão, 2002; Coupe *at al.* 2002; Turner & Meer, 2001; Naguran, 1999) have not been taken into consideration. In addition, it is difficult to change residents' perceptions about benefits of conservation and lack of capable management to effectively enforce regulations and policy (Alexander, 2000).

The aim of this study was to assess local communities' attitudes and perceptions towards the establishment and management of the park. The study sought to explore their attitudes and perceptions on integrated development and management of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* where participation, benefit sharing, respect and consideration of local communities' aspirations feature in the management of the protected area. The results should be helpful for integrative planning of the park with the understanding of local communities' perceptions and aspirations as partners of the park.

6.2 METHODS

Semi-structured questionnaires were administered to households in the eight villages within the park along the Shingwedzi River Basin and in the two villages in the buffer or multiple use zones. The target persons in the household questionnaires were the household heads. In the absence of the household head, the spouse was interviewed, and in the absence of the spouse, the elder offspring present at home was interviewed. The interview of the household heads was based on the assumption that in rural areas, the household head is the family representative and his/her point of view reflects the

overall decision of the household. Separate discussions were conducted with female and male focus groups. The separation of focus groups by gender was based on the realisation that women would be freer to express themselves better in the absence of their husbands, according to rural areas conduct. Furthermore, we interviewed key informants in the villages. Key informants consisted of local traditional leaders, teachers, nurses, businessmen and other influential persons in the community. The following are the key features of the interviews conducted with these three categories of participants: knowledge of the park; community participation in the establishment and management of the park; convenors/sponsors of meetings between communities and the park; issues discussed in meetings with the park (disagreements & consensuses); benefits derived from the park; ownership of the park; objectives of the park and respondent views of the park.

The data were coded using SPSS software and the descriptive analysis was done using the same software**.** Statistica was used to analyse statistical differences in responses to the category or treatment under analysis amongst respondents within and between villages. Chi-square tests were used to test statistically differences between respondents within and between villages. The Statistical operations were run with a confidence interval of 95%.
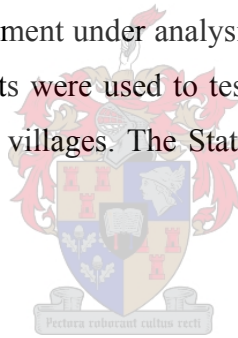
6.3   RESULTS

6.3.1   Local Communities' Attitudes and Perceptions Towards the Park

Practically, all the interviewees had heard or knew about the park (99.7 %, n=296). Seventy-three percent (n=214) had heard about it from the park authority. Fifteen percent (n=43) had heard from both the park authority and government, and 9% (n=27) heard about it from the government. Three percent (n=9) had heard of it from either a friend or a neighbour. Eighty-five percent (n=251) of the interviewees had heard or knew about the park for more than two years (counting from the year of the interviews, 2004). Thirteen percent (n=39) had heard of the park a year ago (2003) and 2% (n=5) had heard of it in the year of the interview (2004). There was statistically a significant difference on how they had heard about the park among respondents within and between villages (x^2=16.9309, df=18, p=0.5278).

With regards to their participation in the meetings concerning the park, 98% (n=289) of household members surveyed pointed out that one or more people of their

household had attended meetings regarding the park. Thirty-two percent (n=91) had a family member who not long ago attended a meeting (less than three months before the survey, August/September 2004). Thirty-five percent (n= 100) had a family member who attended a meeting during the year of the interview (2004). Eight percent (n=24) had a family member who attended a meeting in the previous year (2003) and 25% (n=71) did not remember when their family members attended park meetings. There was statistically a significant difference on responses to how long had a member of a family attended a meeting regarding the park within and between villages (x²=152.921 df=27, p<0.001).

Ninety-eight percent (n=284) noted that the meetings were held on the park's management initiative. One percent (n=4) stated that the initiative was from the government, while 0.7% (n=2) did not know who held the meetings. Those who reported that the initiative was from the community represented 0.3% (n=1). Concerning the issues discussed in the meetings: 71% (n=208) stressed that the meetings were to inform the community about resettlement; 21% (n=59) maintained that the meetings informed the community that it lives inside the park; 5% (n=14) noted that they discussed the demarcation of park boundaries; 1% (n=4) stated that the meetings discussed community grazing areas and informed the local people about prohibition of hunting; and 3% (n=10) of the respondents were unaware of the issues discussed in the meetings. There was statistically a significant difference on responses to the issues discussed in the meetings regarding the park within and between the villages (x²=178.820 df=45, p<0.001).

Sixty-one percent (n=179) of the respondents reported that they often differed with the park authority in the meetings, while 39% (n=114) stated that they often had consensus. Eighty-one percent (n=141) of the people disagreed with the park management because they would not like to leave their ancestral grounds in the park, 1% (n=1) reported disagreement on the proposed park boundaries and 18% (n=32) did not know the reasons for the lack of consensus. There was no statistically a significant difference among respondents that affirmed that there was no consensus in the meetings with the park authority (p>0.5). Conversely, 51% (n=61) of those who asserted that they had consensus indicated that they had agreed to be resettled elsewhere. Thirty percent (n=36) stated that it was agreed that the park boundaries would be as indicated by the community; 2% (n=2) asserted that it was agreed that they would not be resettled and the park boundaries would be as identified by the

community; and 8% (n=9) did not know what was agreed on. Similarly, there was no statistically a significant difference among respondents (p>0.5) who asserted that they had consensus in the meetings with the park authority.

Ninety-five percent (n=282) of the respondents maintained that they did not benefit from the park and 5% (n= 14) stated that they benefited from the park when asked about benefits. One percent (n=3) of those who stressed that did not benefit were unaware of the reasons causing their disbenefit, while 95% (n=278) responded that they had not seen any benefit from the park since it was established. One percent (n=3) affirmed that they were not aware of benefits or disbenefits. Those who said that did not benefit, were asked about the benefits they would like to derive from the park; 35% (n=98) stressed that would like employment within the park; 28% (n=80) would like to see poverty relief programs or development projects, such as road construction, schools and hospitals; and 6% (n=17) would like to benefit through employment and poverty relief programs. Three percent (n=7) would like to get economic benefits through eco-tourism and 28% (n=79) did not know the benefits that they would like to obtain from the park. Those who could not identify benefits revealed that it would depend on the park authority to define community benefits. There was statistically a significant difference on the benefits they would like to derive from the park between respondents within and between the villages (x²=124.843 df=54, p<0.001). Those who responded that they had benefited from the park, which corresponded to 5% (n=14) of the interviewed people, were asked to report their benefits. Twenty-one percent (n=3) maintained that it was through employment and 44% (n=6) stated that it was through poverty relief programs, such as the opening of boreholes in Massingir-velho Village. Seven percent (n=1) noted that the community has access to natural and forest resources within the park; 7% (n=1) reported community economic benefits; and 21% (n=3) did not know how the community benefited. There was statistically a significant difference on responses to benefits they accrued from the park among respondents within and between villages (x²=124.843 df=54, p<0.001).

When asked if the community participated in the management of the park, 82% (n=243) of the interviewees responded that the community participated while 16% (n=46) responded that the community did not participate. Two percent (n=8) did not know whether the community participated or not. There was no statistically significant difference on community participation in the management of the park

among respondents within and between the villages (x²=27.870, df=18, p=0.06). Those who noted that the community participated in the management of the park, 78% (n=187) asserted that the community participated through village management committees. Eight percent (n=19) stated that the community participated through village management committees and game rangers; 7% (n=18) reported that the community participated through attendance of park meetings; and 3% (n=8) maintained that the community participated when it showed the limits of the park for the delimitation. Three percent (n=8) noted that the community participated through employment as game rangers and 1% (n=3) had no definite answer, ranging from responses such as game rangers, resources use and "I do not know". There was statistically a significant difference on how the community participated in the management of the park among respondents within and between villages (x²=105.567, df=63, p<0.001).

Local communities and key informants generally welcomed the park. When they were asked about the ownership of the park, however, their responses varied. Some responded that the park belongs to the Mozambican Government, and some responded that it belongs to the three countries that signed the agreement to establish the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe). Others responded that it belongs to the country, and few people did not know the ownership of the park.

When asked about the park objectives, they noted that the park was established for wildlife conservation and local development. The development should be through eco-tourism, job creation and social infrastructures. Although the park is welcomed amongst local communities, there is a resistance to and disagreement on the issue of resettlement. Resettlement is the main source of disagreement between the park authority and local communities. This has resulted in negative attitudes and perceptions among local communities. The resettlement issue has led to local people viewing the establishment of the park as a burden than a benefit. It seems that there are good perceptions of the park amongst local communities, but only when the park does not displace them from "their land". The reasons for the strong resistance to the resettlement are:

(1)   the strong sense of communal land ownership. Accordingly, their ancestors chose the land; it is fertile and productive. "If we are removed from this land where will we go? This land gives us everything we need"[14].

(2)   their ancestors' graves and family cemeteries.

(3)   the sacred sites where they perform traditional ceremonies.

(4)   the fertile land along the Shingwedzi River Basin and the Massingir Dam pond, is also used for fisheries.

(5)   the uncertainty about the new area to be resettled both socially, economically and environmentally.

(6)   lack of confidence and trust in the government's willingness to compensate people for the lost land and goods. In addition, local communities believe that people are more important than wildlife. As a result, they questioned, "Who are more important, human beings or wildlife?"[14]. This was a familiar question posed to the researcher by local communities. They also complained that there was a rush to reintroduce wildlife, without taking into account the resettlement issue and local communities' concerns.

One of the factors and probably the most eminent factor for negative attitudes towards the park is the repeatedly reported meeting held at the Bingo Village between the most senior provincial government official and local community representatives. The most senior provincial government official addressed the meeting informing them that the local communities would forcibly be displaced, independently of their will or resistance[15]. Accordingly, the meeting was controversial, as the highest government official did not want to hear the communities' concerns and opinions; he informed them and immediately left the venue. The most senior government official acted in that way because local communities were demonstrating against the government (singing militant/defiance songs)[16]. This has led local communities to believe that the government had decided unilaterally, without hearing their concerns and opinions.

However, two villages, namely Massingir-velho and Macavene have demonstrated their willing to be resettled as stressed in group discussion sections. Their complaint is that there is no practical action from the government to effect relocation to agreed destination. The reasons for the willingness of these villages for

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[14] Many interviewees, key informants, and focus discussion groups had referred to it.
[15] It was repeatedly and desperately stressed in many household interviews, key informants and focus discussion groups.
[16] Local government official personal communication.

resettlement are based on the lack of favourable lands for agriculture in Macavene and the daily costs of living with wildlife in Massingir-velho. There are wildlife raids on the village and farmlands, because the wildlife sanctuary is located in the vicinity of the village. However, there is an ongoing work from the park management to identify suitable areas for resettlement and to adopt a compensation model to cease tensions. According to the park administration, the Macavene Village would be used as a pilot project for resettlement. The Macavenes have chosen in a participatory manner the area where they prefer to be resettled, in the Chinyangane Village. However, the Chinyangane villagers did not agree to this arrangement. Thus, the negotiation process took long; however, the area was definitively identified. The zoning of the area for the resettlement of Macavene villagers was being carried out by the *Instituto Nacional de Investigação Agronómica* (INIA), taking into account the agro-ecological characteristics of the area. This is to facilitate zoning the areas for crop production and grazing. It was hoped that the pilot village will be resettled by mid-2006[17], however, there are still disagreements between the government and local communities in the process.

Other villages within the park have proposed to the park authority to have their villages fenced around in a 25-km radius. They believe that they would have sufficient land for farming and livestock grazing within this 25-km radius. Furthermore, they suggested that corridors should be opened between villages to permit free movements. The outlying area could be used as a park. In addition, local communities mentioned that they were not consulted before the establishment of the park; they were just told that they were living within a park after its establishment.

Confusion and negative attitudes and perceptions towards the park were created by the lack of inter-sectoral co-ordination between the park authority, local government and non-governmental organisations at the early stages of the project. The non-governmental organisations disseminated the Land Law; they mobilised (educated) local communities and informed them about their rights to land and natural resources. The Project Implementation Unit (PIU) was disseminating information about the park objectives and the possibility of displacement and resettlement in new areas. Local government officials were left out of the process. Thus, local communities questioned local government officials about the park, as they were being

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[17] Interview with Gilberto Vicente – park warden, November 2005.

approached by outsiders on park matters. Local government officials stated to local communities that the area was not a park. This encouraged them to continue with their normal activities; others even built better houses in a way, asserting claim to the area. This was to assure themselves that they would not be resettled. The contradictory information regarding the park from these three different entities has created confusion among local communities, and has led to negative perceptions and attitudes towards the park. Local communities relied more on local government officials than on outsiders. They did not know whether the park belongs to the Mozambican Government or to "some one else who bought the land from the central government". Indeed, up to date local communities perceive the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) officials and park game rangers as "those from the park", and not as their partners in the management of the park.

The current elephant raids and crop destruction in some villages have been increasing negative community perceptions and attitudes. There were also reported cases of lions preying on livestock in Massingir-velho Village. Accordingly, when there is wildlife attack there is no compensation, even if they report the matter to the Project Implementation Unit (PIU). Local communities complained that there is no rapid intervention from the game rangers when there are wildlife raids on the villages. "We report wildlife raids, crop destruction and attacks, and they answer us that we are living within the park, they can do nothing about it"[18].

Local communities were promised benefits and jobs with the development of the park during the dissemination of the park objectives. The jobs promised would include game ranging; working in the building of hotels or lodges; work in lodges and road maintenance. Indeed, the road maintenance has created temporary jobs for some villagers. These are villagers who work in the wildlife sanctuary in question. Some of the local youth had applied to game rangers positions, however, they failed. The majority of the local youth have no academic qualifications necessary for service in the public sector. The academic requirement is at least a fifth level certificate of primary school[19]. This has lead to perceptions that the job for park game rangers is set aside for outsiders coming from towns or from the provincial capital city of Xai-Xai or Maputo. According to the park administration, 80% of the park's 70 game rangers were from local communities. This could not be verified (the park administration did

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[18] Machamba village women discussion group.
[19] Interview with Abel Nhalidede – the park community liaison, September 2004.

not have processed data of place of birth of the game rangers). For the park administration, the problem is to define what constitutes "local community". About 80% of game rangers were recruited in the three districts that are part of the park. When the game rangers were recruited, there was no requirement for recruitment by village or by district. The majority of the game rangers were from the district towns within the study area. This led local communities to think that priority for recruitment was given to "outsiders". Accordingly, most of the game rangers live in the district, but they were not born in the locality. Some were soldiers who did not return to their home villages after the war. Local communities do not consider them as locals[20].

The promises made during the dissemination of park objectives have created high expectations among local communities. However, so far, after two to three years, the promises have not materialised. This has lead to negative perceptions and attitudes towards the park. The resettlement discourse and lack of benefit have aggravated the negative perceptions and have led to strong resistance to the park.

The lack of explanations to local communities about the duties of the established village management committees led to cases where the committee members inappropriately thought they were employed by the park. They did not understand that they are local community representatives in the management of the park. In addition, there is no incentive for village management committee members. The villages are very far from the main camp in the park. They have to walk long distances to report wildlife raids. They complained they should be allocated at least bicycles to facilitate their movements to the main camp of the park, which is located in the Massingir Village and near the Macavene Village.

6.4 DISCUSSION

The study findings showed that all communities had information that their land was proclaimed as a national park. Similarly, SUNI-CREATE (2002) reported that all local communities had been informed that they were living within a park. However, the Refugee Research Programme [RRP] (2002) and Nhantumbo & Massango (2001) reported that the majority of households had almost no information about the park or they had heard of it on radio. These contradicting findings might be attributed to the different times in which the surveys were conducted. This research was conducted

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[20] Interview with Gilberto Vicente – the park warden, November, 2005.

three years after the establishment of the park. In addition, the ongoing work by the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) officials and local government officials through participatory workshops and seminars, visits to the villages, and the presence of park game rangers could have influenced the current local community awareness. Nhantumbo & Massango (2001) conducted the survey just before the proclamation of the park, while SUNI-CREATE and RRP surveys were conducted just after the proclamation of the park. This means that Nhantumbo & Massango (2001) study was conducted when information was not fully disseminated to all villages. SUNI-CREATE (2002) and RRP's (2002) surveys were conducted close to each other, but their findings differed. This might be due to the fact that SUNI-CREATE conducted the survey in the Shingwedzi River Basin where local communities are expected to be resettled, while RRP surveyed other villages outside the Shingwedzi River Basin, which were not priority areas for disseminating information about the park establishment.

The majority of household members interviewed had participated or had a member of their household that participated in a park-related meeting. A significant number of researchers visiting the park seem to have raised the awareness level of local communities about the park. A female villager mentioned that she had been hearing about the park from people like us who ask questions about the park.

Resettlement is the main source of local people's negative attitudes and perceptions towards the park. It also leads to disagreement with the park authority. Resettlement is to be voluntary, and it is intended to follow the World Bank's principles on resettlement (Massango & Chaúque, 2005; [21]). However, resettlement inadequacies had risen due to the failure of state agencies to implement the principles, or from bad practice, but not from bad policy (Pearce, 1999). It is worth noting that the meeting with the most senior provincial government official at the Bingo Village acted against the principle of voluntary resettlement. Ghimire & Pimbert (2000) assert that resettlement has been a controversial component of park establishment in many parts of the world, depending on how the process is conducted, whether there was consultation and compensation. Mostly, the rights of displaced people are poorly met in the new resettled areas. This imposes major economic and social risks (Cernea,

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[21]Boletim Informativo do Parque Nacional do Limpopo – Moçambique/ N° 1 – Agosto de 2004. Principios Directivos para Reassentamento da população. 'The resettlement must be voluntary and avoided if possible. Consultation and genuine participation of people to be resettled must be undertaken' – author's translation.

1999) to the settlers. As a result, conflicts arise due to lack of suitable land, land tenure insecurity, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property, and social disarticulation (Cernea, 1999; Pearce, 1999). There is also the lack of economic and social development opportunities (Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000; Brandon *et al.* 1998) in the newly settled area. Consequently, resettlement must be dealt with from the economics of recovery and development rather than economics of compensation, because failure to improve or even restore resettled people's livelihoods is frequent (Cernea, 1999). Therefore, to improve the livelihoods of resettled communities above their previous levels requires necessary additional investments to ensure recovery and development (Cernea, 1999).

Generally, resettlement disrupts traditional balances between humans and their environment; people are confined to small and unsuitable lands. Their traditional social institutions, which used to regulate access to resources and patterns of land use and tenure, are undermined (Fabricius, 2004; Colchester, 2000; Pearce, 1999). As a result, environmental degradation in newly resettled areas is likely to occur (Colchester, 2000). The resettled community becomes worse off than before in every means possible (Fabricius, 2004). This promotes conflicts and park invasion in some cases (Fabricius, 2004; Ghimire & Pimbert, 2000). The ongoing discourse about resettlement since the park was established, however, without any concrete action up to date has also led to the lack of trust. Local communities are tired of hearing that they would be resettled, but nothing happens. There is some doubt about the government's willingness and capability to meet the conditions demanded by local communities for resettlement. Furthermore, local leadership fear losing power, as well as becoming worse off in the newly resettled areas. However, there are examples where people have been willing to be resettled from parks (Brandon *et al.* 1998). This is the case for Massingir-velho and Macavene Villages, which have agreed to be resettled, but are still waiting for the process to be initiated. A survey for identification of possible areas for resettlement has been undertaken by Massango & Chaúque (2005) and Impacto (2005). However, the two surveys contradict each other. Impacto (2005) concluded that there is no suitable land for resettlement around the park, considering the local soils and hydrology, while Massango & Chaúque (2005) identified two possible areas for resettlement based on cultural and social characteristics. However, no environmental and economic surveys were conducted to complement the two surveys. Neither the modelling of environmental carrying

capacity was taken into account nor demographic growth was carried out or existing data on it were considered. Carrying capacity in this case refers to the number of people that can be supported for an indefinite period (Fearnside, 1997), taking into account population growth levels and patterns of land and resources use for their livelihoods.

If resettlement is to occur in short and medium terms, it is necessary that the two villages be successfully resettled. This would need a multidisciplinary research team from environmentalists, economists, anthropologists, geologists, and so on, to recommend better options to make the two villages better off in the newly resettled area. It would be necessary to recognise community rights to land. They should be considered as landowners in the conservation area, and be partners in conservation and in accessing resources. This could serve as an incentive to other villages resisting the resettlement process. However, the use of resources should be regulated according to the land conservation status. If the resettlement of the two villages willing to be resettled succeeds, this would be the government's opportunity to improve trust and confidence among local communities.

Although local communities welcomed the park, resettlement and lack of developmental projects that could bring benefit and jobs as promised at the park awareness campaign, led to negative perceptions and attitudes. Elephant raids and crop damage led to perceptions that the park is more of a burden than benefit, to the extent that local communities proposed a fence to establish enclaves in order to minimise wildlife raids. They were unaware that their villages are part of the park. In fact, crop damage is reported to have influenced negative attitudes towards conservation in many African parks (Magome & Fabricius, 2004; Bauer, 2003; Coupe *et al.* 2002; Adams & Infield, 2001; Hulme & Infield, 2001; Kangwana & Mako, 2001; McIvor, 2000; Gillingham & Lee, 1999; Reid *et al.*1999; De Boer & Baquete, 1998; Hill, 1998). However, fencing the villages would have socio-economic and environmental consequences, which would hamper the sustainable development of the park. The land available for farming and grazing would be limited. Movements to areas outside the village enclave on foot would become difficult due to wildlife danger (Weissleder & Sparla, 2002), resulting in hardships, poverty and tensions with the park management.

Social factors, gender, caste, education have proven to be important in influencing attitudes (Gillingham & Lee, 1999; De Boer & Baquete, 1998). However,

these were not proven as playing a role in attitudes of local communities in this study. Negative attitudes developed in response to resettlement and crop damage are independent of the social status, gender or education of the subjects. Another factor driving negative attitudes, especially in the youth is the perception that the position of game rangers was set aside for outsiders. However, most of them had failed in the trial to become game rangers due to the lack of appropriate qualifications. Consequently, outsiders with better academic qualifications were employed due to the competitive nature of these positions/jobs. In addition, the lack of participation by local communities in decision-making process also explains the reason for the negative attitudes developed by local communities towards the park. Gillingham & Lee (1999) reported the lack of participation in decision-making as the cause of negative local community attitudes towards conservation in Tanzania.

The development of the park will depend mainly on the successful resettlement of communities along the Shingwedzi River Basin (Grossman & Holden, 2003; Vicente *et al.* 2004). It is important to note that conservation revenues only come after a medium and long-term investment, i.e., when the number of wildlife is high and infrastructures are built to attract tourism. Revenues are also defined by efficient management, law enforcement and good anti-poaching system. Ironically, local communities would like benefits from wildlife conservation to come as soon as the park was established. They need immediate benefits and not medium and long-term benefits. This is due to poverty and lack of trust in the current system and the general uncertainty concerning benefit sharing from the development of the park. Alexander (2000) stressed that it is difficult to change residents' perceptions about benefits of conservation, which is in medium and long-term period. Thus, a question remains: 'will conservation be a vehicle of local rural development in a community with immediate needs'? One can suggest that conservation should go hand in hand with developmental projects in protected areas as originally promised by the park officials. Micro-finance facilities should also be established in rural areas to diversify the local economy and relieve pressure on conservation.

6.5 CONCLUSIONS

Presently, all communities know that the land has been proclaimed as a national park. This implies changes in their previous normal activities within the park, especially hunting. However, they are still allowed to practice their subsistence activities.

Generally, the park was welcomed amongst local communities, with the hope that it would improve their standard of living, mainly through employment as game rangers and in the eco-tourism industry. Resettlement is the *sine-qua-non* condition for the development of the park according to the management, business and tourism plans. However, there is a strong resistance to resettlement amongst local communities. Resettlement has led to negative perceptions and attitudes towards the park. The park is seen and perceived as a burden because it is going to displace people from their ancestral grounds.

The promises of job creation through eco-tourism in the park have created high expectations among local communities that their conditions would improve in the near future. However, the process of park consolidation is slow, partially, due to the issue of resettlement, which is one of the key factors stressed for the sustainable development of the park. While the process builds momentum, local communities generally have low trust in the government and doubt its willingness and capacity to satisfy the conditions demanded for the successful resettlement of local people. In addition, the current elephant raids on the villages and farmlands have led to tensions between park officials and local communities.

The ongoing work to sensitise local communities to the need for resettlement has worn out local people's patience in the absence of any concrete action. In addition, certain government officials do not co-operate in initiating a collaborative dialogue or participatory planning of the park.

The two villages willing to be resettled should be resettled as soon as possible. If their resettlement is successful and they become better off in the newly resettled area, they could serve as an incentive to other villages resisting resettlement. Resettlement is a complex issue. Thus, it should be addressed carefully, with more sensitive to the social, economic and environmental contents. The resettlement should be carried out with additional development and income generation projects. This could improve the current tensions between the communities and the park. Resettlement must ensure the recovery of resettled communities and local development. Cernea (1999) considers investing in resettlement with development is fundamental to its success. Even if all materials lost were compensated at the market value, the cash equivalent generally would fall far short of the amount needed to restart the economic and productive activities in the newly resettled areas and to improve the livelihoods above the previous levels. This is the essence of resettlement

with development. Therefore, additional investments would be necessary to ensure recovery and development.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the conclusions, of the study and also offers possible recommendations for overcoming the inadequacies identified by this research. The chapter glances back to chapter two, which constitutes a review of the theoretical approaches to participatory governance of natural resources at global, regional and national levels. Furthermore, conclusions and recommendations are drawn for the empirical chapters three, four, five and six. The empirical chapters dealt with the assessment of the role of stakeholders in the establishment and management of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, traditional authorities and local arrangements for the governance of land resources and livelihood strategies. These chapters also examine the attitudes and perceptions of local communities towards the establishment of the park and how these have affected the sustainability of the protected area. Finally, key features for the study are also presented in this chapter.

7.2. Policy frameworks for participatory governance of natural resources

Participation means different things to different authors. Its meaning will depend on the context in which it is used. As a result, there are several types of participation, ranging from passive to active. It is, however, difficult to pinpoint the ideal typology of participation, especially with regard to community participation in natural resources management. In addition, the heterogeneity of local communities makes the concept difficult to be defined and implemented. On one hand, participation can ensure efficiency, effectiveness, self-reliance, coverage and ownership; while on the other hand, it can delay the process because it is costly in terms of money, time and human resources. The other challenge to the participatory process is the difficulty of the governments to relinquish power and control to local communities. There are also structural, administrative and social obstacles that hamper people's participation.

Within the context of governance of protected areas, community based natural resources management is advocated as the solution to efficiency, equitability, ownership, self-reliance and sustainability over the access and use of natural resources and biodiversity conservation. It is argued that it is necessary to decentralise and

devolve the power to grassroots institutions for decision-making. This has led to the shift of conservation policy from the traditional coercive conservation approach to the participatory governance approach and rural development, which focuses on sustainable use of natural resources. As a result, the policy framework has been reviewed to meet the goals of participatory governance of natural resources. Local communities, who bear the costs of conservation should benefit from it, as an incentive for their participation in resource conservation. However, what is difficult is the implementation process of such policies at national levels. The policies at this level seem to be unclear, especially the regulatory framework. This leads to the conclusion that governments are reluctant or unwilling to devolve powers and responsibilities over natural resources management to local communities.

7.3. Stakeholders and their Role in the Establishment and Management of the Park

Parque Nacional do Limpopo was established as part of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area Initiative. This has been driven partly by external forces, including donors, such as the World Bank and the German Bank for Development and the non-governmental organisation Peace Parks Foundation, as a facilitator. It is characterised by a top-down approach in decision-making and planning process. Local stakeholders such as local government officials and local communities were not involved in the planning and implementation process. This has led to conflicts and tensions between the Project Implementation Unit, local government officials and local communities.

There is an ongoing interaction between the Project Implementation Unit, local communities through village and district management committees, local government officials and the NGO forum. This represents a positive step towards a participatory process. Nevertheless, local community participation has largely been passive and through consultation from the onset of the park.

The policy framework for the governance of protected areas in Mozambique provides for the participation of local communities in the development of the park's management plans. However, it is ambiguous because it does not state the procedure for participation and the weight of local communities in the process. This should be clearly defined and adjusted to local peculiarities. The vagueness of the policy framework can open space for local community's exclusion in the process. In fact,

this has been the known practice in protected areas in Mozambique. Ironically, there are local communities living within almost all protected areas in the country. In many cases, as in *Parque Nacional do Limpopo,* protected areas were established with local communities living within themselves. These communities depend on natural resources for their livelihoods.

The established village management committees do not have responsibility and authority. They are limited to attending meetings held by the park administration. These committees should be vested with responsibility and authority if a proactive participation of local communities is to be met. However, the legal framework does not provide devolution of power to local communities, but delegation of power. This means that even if they are vested with power, such power can be taken back by the state. It is important to note firstly that effective participation of local communities requires capacity building, well-organised and empowered communities. This means that it is necessary to build capacity at the grassroots to achieve effective participation. Secondly, the policy framework for participation should be clear and flexible enough. Thus, it is required that flexible local arrangements between park authorities and local communities be made in order to achieve the desired participatory governance for natural resources management in the park.

7.4. Traditional Authority and Natural Resources Management

In Mozambique, traditional authority experienced empowerment and disempowerment over time by colonial administration, post-independence government and the destabilisation war. These have undermined the influence of traditional authorities. It also has led to disruption of socio-cultural organisation within rural communities and dismantling of traditional systems of natural resources governance. However, despite successive disempowerment and empowerment of traditional authorities in Mozambique, local communities in rural areas continue to depend on customary practices for natural resources management. This could have been due to the strong cultural beliefs that are supported by traditional chiefs, and due to the absence of the state in rural areas, which left the command in the hands of traditional authorities. They perform traditional ceremonies and allocate land users as "owners" of the land that they subsist on.

With the decentralisation and community based natural resources management approach, there has been proliferation and establishment of new institutions at the

grassroots. This is done in compliance with the different legislation dealing with natural resources management, such as the Land Law, Forest and Wildlife Law and the Decree no. 15/2000. However, these institutions overlap in their tasks and roles with the pre-existing traditional institutions in certain cases. This has led to conflicts at the grassroots in some cases. However, in many cases, the new institutions and the pre-existing institutions have encountered local arrangements for participatory governance. This has been done through local village councils, where they meet for collective decision-making.

It is, however, necessary within the policy framework to review, clarify and integrate the tasks, authority, responsibilities and the relationships of the new institutions with the pre-existing institutions at the grassroots. This could avoid the overlap of tasks and roles and evidently of leadership conflicts and power struggles. It is recommended the simplification of such institutions to avoid overlaps. The pre-existing institutions that are internally legitimised by local communities should be empowered to perform better. The legal framework should be flexible enough to accommodate local peculiarities. For instance, where traditional institutions exist and perform well they should be strengthened and where there is a lack of such institutions new institutions should be democratically elected (in the endogenous local context).
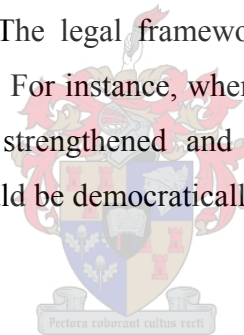
7.5. Land Tenure, Resources Use Practices and Local Communities' Livelihood Strategies

According to the Mozambican legal framework for land, it belongs to the state. However, for local communities, land belongs to the traditional authority. This is because in rural areas traditional authority plays an important role in land allocation through customary law and traditional system. Most of local community members have acquired the land they occupy and farm/cultivate through inheritance or through traditional authority. Thus, local communities' rights to land and tenure should be considered in the establishment and management of the park. Land rights should be the basis for mutual beneficial relationships between local communities and the state. Land is the only resource that local communities could use to enter into partnerships. Therefore, it is necessary that they be recognised as the legitimate owners of the land.

With the establishment of the park, whether relocated or not, local communities are likely to lose some rights over the land and forest resources for

conservation. Thus, they should be granted their rights to land and to natural resources. The government would gain land for conservation and local communities would benefit from conservation activities, through local economic development projects and jobs. This could serve as a major incentive with the 20% of revenues from the resource use to which local communities are entitled. However, this percentage could be revised to bring about rapid local development.

Communities living along the Shingwedzi River Basin are to be resettled. However, this is the big challenge for the project. According to a study carried out for identification of areas for resettlement, many areas around the park, where the communities should be resettled lack suitable conditions for rain-feed agriculture and water to support people and livestock. There are also concessionaire land titles that decrease the suitable area for resettlement. Resettlement can disrupt traditional systems of natural resources management and control. Thus, it is necessary that resettlement be developed in the context of securing the complex rural livelihoods, social networks and economic improvement. Although some longitudinal surveys of socio-economic status have been carried out in some villages, it is recommended that detailed studies on livelihood strategies, social networks, economic development opportunities and environmental sustainability be conducted. The studies could provide an understanding of local dynamics and could guide the resettlement planning process. However, resettlement should be recommended in areas where it is unavoidable, taking into account ecological features and the park management plan.

The wildlife raids on villages and on crops within the park, has created tensions between local communities and the park authorities. However, this is an indication of frequent future conflicts as wildlife numbers increase. It is acknowledged that the raids and crop damage can discourage local communities from remaining within the park and hence serve as an incentive for resettlement. Nonetheless, it can also increase existing levels of animosity and tensions between communities and the park authority. Thus, a win-win solution should be found in a participatory manner between the communities and the park authority.

7.6. Attitudes and Perceptions of Local Communities towards the Establishment and Management of the Park

All communities living within the park knew that they are living within a national park, implying that they could not hunt anymore, but could practice their basic

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livelihood activities. Local communities welcomed the park; they hoped that it would improve their standard of living according to the information supplied to them during the establishment of the park. This included job provisions in the conservation as game rangers, construction and eco-tourism sectors.

Resettlement is the *sine-qua-non* condition for the development of the park according to the management, business and tourism plans. However, there is a strong resistance from local communities. Resettlement has led to negative attitudes and perceptions towards the park. Local communities perceive the park as a burden because it is going to displace people from their ancestral lands. The process of resettlement is time consuming, and local communities do not believe that the government is willing and capable enough to satisfy the conditions demanded by them for resettlement. However, there is an opportunity for the resettlement process; two villages are willing to be resettled. If they are successfully resettled, they could serve as an incentive to other villages resisting resettlement.

The promises of jobs in the park have created high expectations in local communities; they expected to be better off in the near future. However, nothing has happened to date. Local communities have immediate needs for park-related benefits. Nevertheless, the conservation objectives are for medium and long-term benefits. This has created tensions and negative attitudes towards the park.

It is necessary to have an open dialogue and participatory planning. For instance, the popular meeting that was held at the Bingo Village with the most senior provincial government official did not show the spirit of participatory approach. The park needs to regain the support of local communities. This can only be achieved with an open dialogue with local communities; they need to understand the objectives of the park to reconcile their immediate needs for benefits with the long-term objectives of conservation. Additional investments, such as local development projects that are not only based on conservation activities should be necessary to gain the support of local communities for the park.

7.7 Final Remarks

This study has attempted to make a holistic analysis of the adequacies and inadequacies of the policy framework for participatory governance of natural resources in protected areas. The strengths of the study, firstly, is its holistic analysis of an evolving and popularised participatory approach to the governance of protected

area, as a vehicle for rural development, poverty reduction and for building a peace culture between nations in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. This is because rural communities on the Mozambican side of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, i.e., *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* depend on land and natural resources for their livelihoods. The second strength of the study is that it is an action research, with empirical findings that can be applied in decision-making by decision-makers, politicians and practitioners. It also provides useful information to researchers.

The weakness of the study is that it is an extractive research. This means that it is difficult to gather all important data because people do not always give detailed information to external researchers. In addition, the heterogeneity of local communities makes it difficult, especially in focus group discussions, when participants' opinions differ on certain matters. Generally, the weak segment of society and the poor rural inhabitants do not participate actively in information giving. Furthermore, logistical constraints, including financial and time scheduled for the completion of the study could not permit a prolonged and detailed observation of the management of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*. The scope of this study is defined by the requirements of an MSc degree. More time and financial resources are needed for follow up studies that should shed more light on issues addressed lightly in this study. Thus, it is recommended that a comparative study in this field should be carried out preferably in the same area. Notwithstanding, the study is a contribution towards a better understanding of the complexity of the implementation of the evolving participatory approach to the governance of natural resources in Mozambique and it provides recommendations for overcoming the inadequacies and inefficiencies identified by the study.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1

Semi-structured Questionnaire to Households

Participatory Governance for Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park: The Case of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, Moçambique

Date___/___/____Interview No___ District_____ Village_____

1. Personal Particulars
1. Position in the household_____
[1] Household head [2] Spouse [3] Other (specify)

1.1. Age_____

1.2. Sex
[1] Male [2] Female

1.3. Education Level
[1] No education [2] Can read [3] Primary [4] Secondary [5] High School

1.4. Occupation
[1] Peasant [2] Game ranger [3] Business men/women [4] Employee [5] Other (specify)

1.5. Number of persons at the household _____
 [1] Male ____ [2] Female_____ [3] Adults_____ [4] Children____ [5] Elders____
Elders > 60 years   Adults >18<60 Years   Children <17 years

2. Origin/migration
2. Where were you born?
[1] In this village   [2] In another place of the district   [3] In another district [4] In another province.

2.1. If you were not born here, how many years have you been living here? _____

2.2. If you were not born here, why are you living here?
[1] Business opportunities [2] Educational opportunities [3] Employment [4] Following relatives [5] Married to a local resident [6] Availability of resources to make live [7] Others (specify)

3. Land tenure
3. To whom does the land belong?
[1] Government   [2] Traditional authorities   [3] Family   [4] Others (specify)

3.1 Do you have land for habitation/crop production?
[1] Yes [2] No (go to question 4.)

3.2. How did you obtain the land that you occupy?
[1] Heritage [2] Given by traditional authorities [3] Given by the government [4] Bought
[5] Rented/lent/leased   [6] Simply occupied   [7] Others (specify)

3.3. Is there a probability/possibility that you will leave the land you occupy (you live and work on) here?
[1] Yes [2] No

3.4. If yes, do you feel that the move would be entirely voluntary or compulsory?
[1] Compulsory [2] Voluntary

3.5. How do you feel about moving from the land you currently occupy?
[1] Strongly negative/oppose [2] Negative/oppose [3] Positive/accept [4] Strongly positive/accept [5] I disagree

3.6. Why do you feel like that?
[1] We own the land [2] We have nowhere else to go [3] Men is important than wildlife [4] We have an emotional and cultural attachment to the land with our ancestors gravies [5] To give space to the park [5] Others (specify)

4. Involvement in the park management
4. Have you ever heard about the park?
[1] Yes [2] No

4.1. If yes, from whom?
[1] Park administration/management/PIU [2] Government   [3] Local authority   [4] NGO   [5] Friend/Neighbour [6] I am hearing now from you [7] Others (specify)

4.2. When was the first time have you heard about the park?
[1] More than two years ago [2] Last year [3] This year [4] Few months

4.3 Have you or a member of your family participated in a meeting regarding the park?
[1] Yes [2] No [3] I do not know

4.3.1. If yes, how many times? _____When was the last time? _____

4.3.2. If no, why not?
[1] Never been invited [2] We are not interested [3] I do not know [4] The meetings are held far from here
4.4. Who held the meetings?
[1] Park management [2] The Community [3] Community leader(s) [4] NGO [5] I don't know
[6] Others (specify)

4.5. What was the theme/topic of the meeting?

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[1] Information that we are living within park [2] Park boundaries delimitation [3] Information that we will be resettled [4] Discussion about grazing areas [5] Others (specify)

4.6. Did you have a consensus? [1] Yes   [2] No

4.6.1. If yes what was the consensus?
[1] We agreed to be resettled [2] That we wont be resettled [3] The park boundaries will be as indicated by the community [4] Others (specify)

4.6.2. If no, why not?
[1] The community does not want to leave the land occupies [2] We did not agree with the proposed park limits [3] The grazing area proposed is insufficient [4] Others (specify)

4.7. Do you benefit from the park?
[1] Yes [2] No

4.7.1. If yes, in what do you benefit?
[1] Employment [2] Access to natural resources [3] Education [4]Poverty relief (water, hospital,, school, etc) [5] Economic benefits [6] Others (specify)

4.7.2. If no, why not?
[1] We have not seen any benefit [2] I do not know [3] Others (specify)

4.8.What benefits would you like to get from the park?
[1] Poverty relief (water, hospital, school) [2] Employment (game rangers) [3] Economic benefits trough ecotourism [4] I do not know

4.9.Does the community participate in the management/daily routine of the park?
[1] Yes [2] No

4.10. If yes, in what way?
[1] Patrol [2] resources use [3] owners/partners of park administration [4] limits demarcation [5] Management committees [6] Some community members are game rangers [7] I don't know [8] Others (specify)

4.11. If no, do you think the community should participate?
[1] Yes [2] No (go to question 4.16.2.) [3] I don't know

4.11.1. If yes why do you think the community should participate?
[1] Because is our land [2] We are part of the park [3] Because the park also belongs to the community [4] I do not know [5] Others (specify)

4.11.2. If no, why not?
[1] Because the park belongs to the government [2] Because the park has an owner [3] We are not interested [4] I do not know [5] Others (specify)

4.12. In which way should the community participate?

[1] Patrol [2] Resource use [3] Owner/partner of park administration/PIU [4] Boundaries delimitation [5] Management committees [6] I do not know [7] Others (specify)

4.13. If the community is involved through management committees or by representatives, how does the community participate in the committees?
[1] As individuals [2] As community leaders [3] As community representatives [4] Others (specify)

4.13.1. Who had the initiative to establish the village management committees?
[1] The community [2] Community leaders [3] The park administration [4] ONG [5] The government [6] I do not know [7] Others (specify)

4.13.2. How were the community representatives selected?
[1] Elected [2] Hand-picked by a chief [3] Hand-picked by the park administration [4] Hand-picked by the government [5] People volunteer [6] Hand-picked by an NGO [7] Others (specify)

4.13.3. Are there women representatives?
[1] Yes [2] No

4.13.4. If yes, what is the proportion of men to women? ____/____ [1] I do not know

4.13.5. In case of inequality. Why unequal representation?

4.14. Do the representatives (management committees) report back to the community?
[1] Yes [2] No

4.14.1. If yes, how do they report back?
[1] They call a community meeting [2] House by house [3] Others (Specify)

4.14.2. If no, how would you like them to report back?
[1] Yes [2] No [3] I do not know [4] Others (specify)

14.4.3. How would you like them to report?
[1] Call a community meeting [2] House by house [3] Others (specify)

4.15. What is your opinion regarding the park?
[1] Is welcome [2] It will help to get better off in our life [3] Is good for conservation [4] It will/would open job opportunities [4] I am opposing strongly to the park [5] I do not have any opinion [6] Others (specify)

5. Resources access and use
5. Is the community permitted to use forest resources inside the park?
[1] Yes   [2] No

5.1. If yes, what kind of resource and for what purpose?
[1] Hunting   [2] Medicinal plants   [3] Consumption [4] Building materials [5] Fishery [6] Firewood [7] Others (Specify)

5.2. For what purpose do you use the resources?
[1] For survival [2] For sale [3] Exchange [4] Building   [4] Others (Specify)

5.3. Some long time ago who made decisions about the control, access and use of land and forest resources in the community?
[1] Traditional leader/*régulo* [2] Management committee [3] Government [4] Game rangers
[5] Council of elders   [6] Nobody   [7] I do not know [8] Others (specify)

5.4. Nowadays who controls and decides on the access and use of the land and forest resources?
[1] Traditional leader/*régulo* [2] Management committee [3] Government [4] Game rangers
[5] Council of elders   [6] Nobody   [7] I do not know [8] Others (specify)

5.5. Are you happy with the current management and control over the access to the land and forest resources?
[1] Yes [2] No

5.5.1. If yes, why?
[1] Because the community participates, it is an open process [2]We have never had problems [3] There is no difference with long time ago [4] There is no restriction to the access to the resources [5] I do not know [6] others (specify)

5.5.2. If no, why not?
[1] Because the community does not participate openly [2} We have had conflicts with the park administration [3] There is restriction to resource use [4] We are forbidden to use certain resources [5] I do not know]6] Others (specify)

5.6. How would you like the management and access to resources to be?
[1] To continue as long time ago [2] That they do not forbid the resource use [3] The community should be part of decision-making over resource access and management [4] I do not know [5] Others (specify)

6. Livestock
6. Do you have livestock? [1] Yes   [2] No
6.1. If yes, which ones and how many?

[1] Cattle_____ [2] Goats_____ [3] Chickens_____ [4] Ducks_____ [5] Doves_____
[6] Pigs _____ [7] Others_____(specify)

6.2. Where do your animals graze?
[1] Family grazing [2] Community grazing   [3] Leased/rented land   [4] Government grazing
[5] Inside of the park [6] others (specify)

6.2.1. Is there sufficient land (space) for grazing?
[1] Yes   [2] No

6.2.2. If no, why not?
[1] The land was reduced to give space to the park [2] There is a lot of livestock and the land does not sustain the number [3] Others (specify)

7. Energy
7. What kind of energy do you use for cooking?
[1] Wood charcoal [2] Firewood   [3] Paraffin [4] Electricity   [5] Others (specify)

7.1. Where do you collect the firewood?
[1] Inside the park   [2] Buffer zone [3] Community forest [4] Family forest [5] Others (specify)

7.2. Is it easy to find and collect the firewood?
[1] Yes [2] No

7.2.1. If no, why not?
[1] The forest is far from here [2] The preferable firewood is scarce [3] There are few dry plants in the forest [4] Others (specify)

7.3. How long does it take to collect firewood?
[1] Less than ½ an hour [2] Between ½ an hour and one hour [3] More than one hour

7.4. Who is responsible to collect firewood?
[1] Men [2] Women [3] Both men and women [4] Children [5] All

7.5. What is the main source of illumination at home?
[1] Firewood [2] Lamparines [3] Candles   [4] Electricity   [5] Others (Specify)

8. Livelihood Strategies
8. What are your means of making a living? Rank them from the most important to the least important. [1] Most important [2] Very important [3] Important [4] Least important.

	Livelihood strategies	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
[1]	Agriculture				
[2]	Game ranger salary				
[3]	Pastoral				
[4]	Business (specify)				
[5]	Crafts				
[6]	Income from relatives working elsewhere				
[7]	Fishery				
[8]	Employed (teacher, nurse, etc)				
[9]	Other (specify)				

8.1. Where do you obtain the resources for your livelihood strategies specifically?
[1] In the park [2] Family forest [3] Community forest [4] Buffer zone [5] Dam/river/lake
[6] Other (Specify)

9. Market

9. Is there a market/shop or tuck shop/*barraca* in the village?

[1] Yes   [2] No (go to question 10.)

9.1. If yes how many and which type?

[1] Market_____ [2] Shop_____ [3] Tuck shop/stall/*barraca*_____

9.2. How long does it take to the nearest shop/market/tuck shop/stall?

[1] Less than ½ hour [2] From ½ to 1 hour [3] More than 1 hour [4] More than 2 hours

9.3. What is sold in the market/shop/tuck shop and what do you usually buy?

No.	Sold	Yes	Usualy buy
1	Salt		
2	Soup		
3	Sugar,		
4	Oil		
5	Parafin, candles		
6	Rice, beens, maize meal		
7	Mutches		
8	Bateries		
9	Luxury drinks (beer, wine, etc)		
10	Clothes		

10. Conflicts/Authority

10. In the case of conflicts, to whom do you go first to resolve the conflict?

Typology of the conflict	Resolution	Observation
Land (within the community)		
Social (within the family)		
Robbery		
Game rangers/Community		
Wildlife/Community		
Others (specify)		

[1] Administrative authorities [2] Traditional authorities   [3] Religious authority [4] Family

[5] Management Committee [6] I do not know [7] Others (Specify)

10.1. What kinds of conflicts does the community have frequently?

[1] Social [2] Of Land [3] Robbery [4] Wildlife/community [5] Game rangers/community [6] Others (Specify)

11. Institutional organisation

11. How is the institutional organisation in the community?

[1] Traditional authority/*régulo* [2] Village secretary [3] Council of elders [4] Administrative authority [5] Management committee   [6] Others (specify) [7] I do not know.
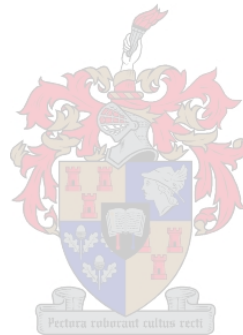
11.1. Of all who is the maximum authority in the village?
[1] *Régulo* [2] Village secretary [3] Council of elders [4] Administrative authority [5] Management committee [6] Others (specify)

12. Do you have any comment or suggestions in relation to the management of the park?

Thanks to the interviewee

Comments and observations

Annex 2

Focal Discussion Groups Questions Guide

Participatory Governance for Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, Moçambique

Date____/_____/_____ Group _____District_____ Village_____

1. Has the community participated in meetings regarding the park?

2. Who had the initiative to held the meetings?

3. What are the themes/topics that were discussed in the meetings?

4. Did you agree each to other?

5. If yes, what have you agreed? If no, why not?

6. Is there good communication between the community and the park administration? If no, why not?

7. What should be done to ameliorate the communication? (in case of not having good communication)

8. Is the community participates in the daily routine of the park? If yes, in which way? If no, why not?

9. Is the community part of decision-making regarding the management of the park? If yes, how participate? If no, why not? In what the community could help or contribute?

10. Aside of the park administration, are there other institutions/individuals that are involved in the management of the park? If yes, what are their duties/functions?

Organisation	Its duties/functions

11. Does the community have/see benefits form the park? If yes what benefits? If not what benefits the community would like to accrue?

12. Do you think that the park has helped local peasants to develop (getting better off in their life)? If yes in which way?

13. If no. How would you like the park to help community development?

14. Is the community authorized/permitted to use forest resources inside the park? If yes, list the resources used by local community, their use and rank them from the most important to the less important in the scale of 1 to 5, where [1] will be the most important and [5] the less important

Resources for consumption

Resource	Use	Importance

15. From the above listed, which ones are authorized for the use and none authorized for the use. Which are scarce or have deseapeared in the forest?

Resources for building and crafts

Resource	Use	Importance

16. Long time ago who decided over access and use of land and forest resources? Nowadays, who controls and decide?

17. Is the community happy with the current control and management and use of land and forest resources? If no, why not?

18. How would you like the management and access to resources to be?

19. How is the community organized? (diagram)

20. What is your opinion regarding the *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*?

21. Comments and observations

Annex 3

Key Informants Interview Guide

Participatory Governance for Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, Moçambique

Date___/___/_____ Interview no. _____Type of Informant _____
District_____ Village_____

1. To whom does the Parque Nacional do Limpopo belong?

2. Are you informed about the objectives and benefits that the park could bring to local communities?

3. What are the objectives of the park and what benefits is your community getting or will get from the park?

4. Are you happy by your land having being declared a national park?

5. If yes, why? If no, why not?

6. *Does the community participate in the management of Parque Nacional do Limpopo?*

7. If yes how the community participates? (go to question 9.)

8. If no, do you think community should participate? In which manner the community should participate?

9. Is there good communication between the park authorities and the community?

10. If no, what should be done to improve the communication?

11. Is the *Parque Nacional do Limpopo* important or not to the community? If yes, why? If no, why not?

12. Does the community understand or is the community happy with the park? If yes, why? If no, why not?

13. What benefits does the community have or will have by participating in the management of the park?

14. Comments and observations

Annex 4

Guide to Non-Governmental Organisations Interviews

Interviews to Non-Governmental Organisations Involved in the Establishment and/or Management of *Parque Nacional do Limpopo*, Moçambique

Data___/___/___ Interview no._____ Organisation_____

Position_____

1. When and how your organisation did became involved on the park establishment/activities?
2. Is the process inclusive?
3. In what activities is the organisation involved?
4. What motivated the organisation to become involved in the park establishment process?
5. What is the organisation role in the process?
6. Who are the organisation partners?
7. At which level is the organisation is involved with other partners? Or what relationships does the organisation have with other partners?
8. How do you link the organisation activities with the management plan of the park and with the activities of other organisations involved in the park establishment/activities?
9. Have the organisation had any conflict?

If yes, with whom and at what level? It was solved? If yes, how it was solved?

10. How does the organisation perceive the involvement or participation of local communities in the process of the establishment of the park?
11. Is it the current model of the park viable for the organisation?

If not, which model should your propose to be put in place?

If yes, state why.

12. What is your organisation perception as a partner, relatively to the process carried out up to the moment?
13. Do you have any comment or something to add?
14. Observations.