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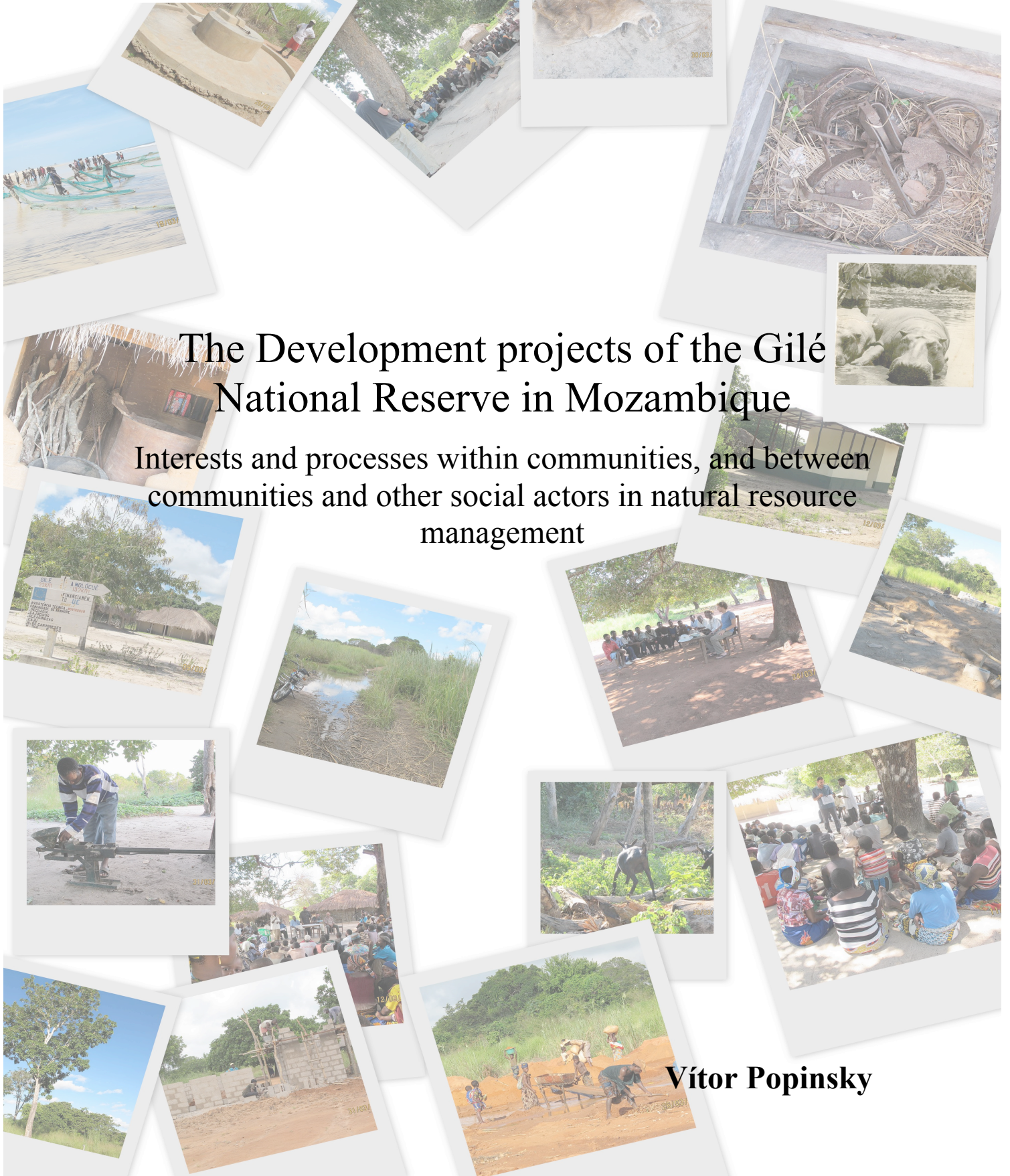
In Development Studies

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The Development projects of the Gilé National Reserve in Mozambique

Interests and processes within communities, and between communities and other social actors in natural resource management



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Abstract

Since the 1980s community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) approaches have been adopted by a variety of development projects in developing countries. Notwithstanding in the last few years critics have emerged, either on the lack of local participation or of ecological results. Literature related to CBNRM shows that different authors have different views about the successes and failures of this approach.

The present thesis does not seek to take sides, instead it aims to look constructively at the complex interactions involved in CBNRM projects by examining how different people and groups are constrained by, yet able to subvert, the objectives of others – and why they are motivated to do so.

Based on a minor fieldwork (from February to April 2010) conducted in the Gilé National Reserve (GNR) in Mozambique, using qualitative methods (participate observation, unstructured and semi-structured interviews and semi-structured focus group), this project attempts to describe how interests and processes of natural resource management are established within communities, and between communities and other social actors (NGOs and government institutions) in the GNR as well as the sustainability and participation discourses that characterise CBNRM projects.

Keywords: CBNRM, sustainable development, participatory development, anthropology of development, protected areas

[Cover page: collage of photographs taken during the fieldwork, representing the complexity of the CBNRM projects in the GNR]

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AFD	Agence Française de Développement/French Development Agency
COSV	Comitato di Coordinamento delle Organizzazioni per il Servizio Volontario/Italian Solidarity in the World
DNAC	Direcção Nacional de Áreas de Conservação/National direction of Conservation Areas
EU	European Union
FFEM	Fonds Français pour l'Environnement Mondial/French Global Environmental Facility
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique/Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
GNR	Gilé National Reserve
IGF	Fondation Internationale pour la sauvegarde de la Faune/International Foundation for Fauna Management
MITUR	Ministério do Turismo/Ministry of Tourism
ORAM	Organização Rural de Ajuda Mutua/Rural Association for Mutual Help
PARPA	Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta/Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty
PRGRG	Project of Rehabilitation of the Partial Game Reserve of Gilé
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana/Mozambican National Resistance
TFCADT	Trans Frontier Conservation Area Tourism Development Project
WWF	World Wide Fund for conservation of Nature

1. Introduction

1.1. The subject of the thesis

Protected areas (territory demarcated by states for conservation) represent more than 12% of the Earth's land surface¹ (Chape & Blyth, 2003: 21). The impacts of this extensive network of protected areas are far from uniform, as they are extraordinarily diverse and involve different social actors, with different interests and goals.

Historically the modern protected areas appeared in 1872 with the establishment of the Yellowstone National Park in North America, which basically consisted of the displacement of different ethnic groups (Shoshone, Crow and Blackfoot Indians) that had occupied this area for thousands of years by the European immigrants that pretended to conserve that pristine wilderness (McNeely, 1994). In the late 1960s many countries around the world adopted this model and one of the main goals was that people could not live permanently in these reserves, except for the park staff.

This first model of protected areas was later criticised in the sense that the people who already lived in these protected areas could not be excluded from the conservation of the areas, since experience showed they are a key element, which led to many governments and NGOs working in the field of conservation to change their policies:

“This new perspective was first given full legitimacy in the World Conservation Strategy (IUCN, 1980) and was converted into practical advice at the IIIrd World National Parks Congress, held in Bali, Indonesia, in October 1982. The title of the congress proceedings, *National parks, conservation and development: the role of protected areas in sustaining society*“ (idem, 1994)

The shift from the exclusion of the people to their inclusion in the conservation of protected areas can be seen as part of two approaches in the field of development, which are, participatory development and sustainable development.

¹ The 2003 UN List contains 102,102 protected areas covering more than 18.8 million km². This figure is equivalent to 12.65% of the Earth's land surface, or an area greater than the combined land area of China, South Asia and Southeast Asia.

Firstly, the participatory development approach appeared in the mid- 1970s when several organisations started to integrate local people in their own development. The shift was due to the negative results of the previous model that was “characterised by biases – Eurocentrism, positivism and top-downism – which are disempowering” (Mohan, 2008: 46). The intention of participatory development was to empower the people, so they could decide what was best for them.

Secondly, there was the sustainable development approach; the term appeared in the end of the 1980s with the Brundtland Commission and was defined as the “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Redclift, 2008: 279). The innovation of this concept was that development should no longer consist just on economic growth but should also focus on environmental issues.

Both these concepts were widely adopted by governments, international institutions and NGOs working in the field of conservation of protected areas and in other development policies, even though there has been some criticism of these concepts, mainly due to the vagueness of their definition which gives multiple meanings and allows for a variety of interpretations by the social actors involved in development issues.

1.2. The Purpose of the thesis

The present thesis is based on the different interpretations of the sustainability and participatory development concepts explained above, and analyses the discourses and practices that these interpretations produce at a local level. Therefore the research consisted of a minor fieldwork in the Gilé National Reserve (GNR) situated in the Zambézia region in Mozambique². This protected area was established as a partial game reserve in 1932 and like the first protected areas around the world adopted the American model where people that lived in the reserve were displaced, becoming “the only protected area of the Zambézia Province and the only protected area of Mozambique without human settlement within its boundaries” (Baudron, 2009: 4). Notwithstanding the delimitation of the reserve changed over time and since 2000 the model of conservation has been changing too, with the introduction of new social actors, mainly external agencies that are trying to include the people who live in the surroundings of the reserve in the development of the area.

² See appendix III: Map 2

The research has focussed on the field of development studies, using an anthropologic perspective to study the sustainable and participatory development discourses that characterise CBNRM projects.

The fieldwork was conducted in the periphery of the reserve denominated the buffer zone and the main research question consisted of:

How interests and processes of natural resource management are made within communities, and between communities and other social actors in the Gilé National Reserve?

The main purpose of this thesis is not to give a broader generalisation or establish predictable patterns, instead it aims to study in depth the disordered nature of development theory concepts such as sustainable and participatory development, which characterise the development projects of the GNR in all its complexity. To achieve this, a qualitative research was conducted to understand the perceptions, which emerge from all the social actors involved in the development of these protected areas.

1.3. The organisation of the thesis

The thesis is divided in six main chapters, with each chapter having a brief introduction describing the purpose of the chapter³.

The second chapter focuses on the theoretical framework of the research, describing firstly the ontological and epistemological perspective of the research, and secondly the CBNRM approach in relation to the sustainable and participatory concepts.

Chapter three concentrates on the methodology used in the research, which was based on the qualitative approach of ethnographic methodology, using participate observation, unstructured and semi-structured interviews and semi-structured focus group. Furthermore, the second part of the chapter analyses the limitations of the methods used and the obstacles faced in the fieldwork.

The fourth chapter is divided in three sub-sections that deal with the context of the research from the national to the local level. Firstly there is a brief description of the history of the development assistance in Mozambique, focusing on the field of protected areas, followed by the context of the fieldwork and finally an overview of the GNR projects between 2000 and 2010 and the relation to the

³ Chapter 1-*introduction* and Chapter 6- *conclusions* do not have a summary.

development of the communities living in the buffer zone.

The fifth chapter consists of the analysis of the data collect in the fieldwork and focuses on the perceptions produced by the CBNRM projects implemented in the GNR. The first part covers the legacy left by the Movimondo project and questions the sustainability of the project itself. The second part is sub-divided in two parts, analysing the perceptions of the participatory activities implemented by the COSV and IGF foundation projects in the GNR. Finally, the third part describes the role of the state in the CBNRM projects in the GNR.

The last chapter deals with the conclusions of the fieldwork as well as recommendations for further research in the area.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter is divided in two parts. The first part consists of the epistemological and ontological perspectives of the research, which are related to the anthropological discipline in relation to development issues. The second part deals with the sustainability and participatory concepts inherent to the CBNRM approaches.

2.1 Anthropology and development

Development studies consist of a cross-disciplinary field of inquiry, where “different disciplines have different basic assumptions about the nature of ‘reality’ and about what we can ‘know’” (Summer and Tribe, 2008: 54). The epistemological assumptions underlying the research were based in the anthropological discipline in relation to development issues.

The concept of development raises contradictions, starting from the own definition of the concept to the theories⁴, in which the idea of development is deemed to be something good, but allows for critics (Crush, 1995; Ferguson 1990; Sachs, 1992) stating that development has raised more disparities between developed and developing countries, as Rist pronounces: “How dare one think, at the same time, that the cure might worsen the ill which one wishes to combat?” (Rist, 2008: 1).

The question is a critic to development, in which the origin of the modern concept of development is remounted to the discourse pronounced by the North-American president Harry Truman in 1949, who established that the benefits of the technological and industrial advances of developed societies should be used for the improvement and developing of the underdeveloped societies. In this first phase the concept of development was strictly connected to the economic growth and to the modernisation theory, in which countries “are envisaged as being at different stages of a linear path which leads ultimately to an industrialised, urban an ordered society” (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 12). This grand narrative theory continues to dominate development practice today.

This approach started to be questioned by some intellectual groups deeply

⁴ The aim is not to give an in-depth description of development theories, instead the purpose is to present an overview of the main theories and the complexities of the discipline.

influenced by the Marxism theory⁵ (Amin, 1976; Frank, 1967; Cardoso, 1973; Conway and Heynem, 2008) which argued that development was an exploitative system, with the purpose of enabling rich countries to become richer and making poor countries poorer, in what came to be known as the dependency theory. In this approach development was perceived in terms of political and historical structures in which the “South” is inherently dependent on the “North”:

“Dependency is a continuing situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of interdependence between two or more economies or between such economies and the world trading system becomes a dependent relationship“ (Santos, 1973: 60)

Strongly related to this approach is the Wallerstein’s (1974) World System theory, which perceives the globe as a single interrelated system, where the North is considered the centre that exercises power over the South, regarded as the periphery. Even though the dependency theory was also criticised, similarly to the modernisation theory, the former was too evolutionary, in the sense that:

“[...] countries progress in a linear fashion and that it is capitalism which propels them from one stage to the next. Both [Modernization and Dependency theories] assume that change comes ‘top-down’ from the state; they ignore the ways in which people negotiate these changes and, indeed, initiate their own. Both are fundamentally deterministic and are based upon the same fundamental rationalist epistemology” (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 19)

In the 1990s a more radical theory emerged in debates about development; denominated as the post-development approach, within it development was considered as a dominant discourse of western modernity. Anthropologist Artur Escobar (2008) is one of the most famous proponents of this approach, using the Foucault’s notions of discourse and power to study international development. He argues that development is socially constructed and was created through the post Second War in the west as a set of ideas and practices used as a mechanism by the colonial and neo-colonialism countries to dominate and exploit the so called ‘underdeveloped’. For these theorists the promises of wealth proclaimed by the development were not achieved, instead they produced the opposite, which subsequently enabled the supporters of this approach to question the whole development ‘industry’ and even more radically to reject it.

Despite this impasse in development, one cannot close the eyes and say that development does not exist or reject it. In the so called developing countries one can see the proliferation of international organisations that are working in the name of development, affecting the lives of the citizens for better or for worst.

⁵ The initial supporters of these theory were economists associated with the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)

Within the discipline of anthropology the term “development” also provoked intense debate yet to be finished. On one side sit the ones who defend that anthropology should not intervene in the lives of the people it studies (Asad 1973; Hobart 1993; Gimeno e Monreal 1999). On the other hand there are those who use the anthropological knowledge to change the life of the subject of the study, the so-called sub-discipline of applied anthropology or development anthropology (Foster 1969; Bastide 1979; Weaver 2002; Gondar 2003). One thing is certain though, the field of development projects is an open market to anthropologists:

“The anthropologist is trapped in this historical chain. He/She is increasingly called to meet in so called developing countries a practical task to replace the weight of tradition by the planned action, the triumph of rationalism in continents that hitherto had other forms of knowledge [...]”⁶ (Bastide, 1979: 3).

Although the present thesis focuses on development issues, it is not its intention to be applied, instead the framework of the research draws on the approach sustained by Gardner and Lewis (1996) that state that:

“we [anthropologists] need to reassess endlessly how particular concepts are used, especially perhaps those which seem on the surface to be anthropologically friendly – whether social or community development, WID/GAD, participation, or whatever. This involves research not only into their meanings at managerial or institutional level, but also into how they are transformed at different stages in the project chain. How do local government workers who have received gender training carry those concepts into their work? What does community development mean to the community development workers employed in projects? How do those participating in projects view things?” (Gardner and Lewis, 1996:164).

In the case of the research for this thesis the aim was to scrutinise the sustainability and participatory concepts used in the CBNRM in the GNR and understand how the social actors involved in the projects perceived these concepts.

⁶ Translated by the author

2.2. Community-based natural resource management

The poor outcomes of the top-down approaches in which state-centred strategies of natural resources management and externally planned development interventions were perceived as the best way to protect natural resources led many policymakers and practitioners in the 1980s to turn to local communities for a better management of the environment, mainly because they were considered as having a greater interest in the sustainable use of resources, when compared to the state and other stakeholders (Infield, 2001: 800; Blaikie, 2006: 1942; Brosius et al., 1998: 158).

This new approach denominated community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) has been implemented by a variety of development agencies and projects in developing countries, from sectoral programmes such as forestry, irrigation or wildlife management to multi-sectoral programmes such as watershed development or rural livelihoods development (Berkes 1989; Korten 1986; Poffenberger 1990; Murphree, 2009; Western and Wright 1994).

The emergence of CBNRM can be situated in a broader context of development issues, such as the participatory and sustainable development approaches.

Firstly, there was the increased awareness that many in the development projects did not consider the interests of the communities, which led to the failure of many projects. This situation is well described in the works of Chambers (1983) as well as Freire (1970), which considered that the development projects had previously privileged the voice of the development planner and marginalised the voice and knowledge of local communities, so they advocated a bottom-up approach, consisting of participatory action research that has been widespread in development policies and practices, such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) as a means by which the local's voice can be articulated (Chambers, 1992: 5).

Although participatory development is represented as an alternative to the eurocentric, positivist, top-downism development approaches, critiques have emerged because it is considered that "participation is a plastic concept, which is generally deemed as a 'good thing', but has multiple meanings" (Mohan, 2008: 46). The variety of meanings can be divided in two main spaces of participation, as Cornwall (2002, 6-7) points out; participation can be distinguished as an "invited" space, that is, formal events, such as reunions or workshops, where the stakeholders involved in the development project can contribute to the design and implementation of the development programmes; or participation can be a "claimed" space, which is commonly characterised as grass-roots movements or social movements where spaces of participation are more organic. Nevertheless, these spaces of participation are related to power relations (Nelson and Wright, 1995: 2; Oakley and Marsden, 1984: 88) in which the participation consists in

giving power to the less endowed, in the sense that they can decide what is best for them. Despite this aim, participation has been perceived and used in many different ways by different social actors involved in decision-making. This research attempts to understand how participation is constructed between the social actors involved in the development projects of the GNR.

The second concept that CBNRM integrates in its framework is sustainability, which is inherent in its definition: “The CBNRM strategy defines the involvement of communities as a means for promoting the sustainable use of resources while allowing communities dependant on these resources to obtain benefits” (Nhantumbo et al, 2003: 7). Since its definition in the Brundtland Commission’s report in 1987, the sustainable development concept became part of the mainstream development and consequently used in many development policies (Redclift, 2005: 212), such as the CBNRM strategy as well as everyday language. Nevertheless, such as participatory development, the sustainable development concept aspires to something good that everybody thinks is desirable, as its definition exposes: “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland Commission, 1987).

Notwithstanding, this definition is considered vague, in the sense that enables the creation of different discourses around the concept that sometimes can be complementary or mutually exclusive. First there is the problem of defining the needs, because these can change over time and have different meanings between individuals as well as cultures, as Redclift points out, “if in one society it is agreed that fresh air and open spaces are necessary before development can be sustainable, it will be increasingly difficult to marry this definition of the ‘needs’ with those of other societies seeking more material wealth, even at the cost of increased pollution” (Redclift, 2005: 213). These different discourses can be found in CBNRM projects where different social actors can have different goals in achieving sustainable use of natural resources as well as different perceptions about the sustainability of the projects.

The sustainable development rhetoric in the conservation of protected areas has been used in a variety of levels, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), where the seventh goal consists of: “ensure environmental sustainability” by “integrating the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes; reverse loss of environmental resources”, and the indicator, “ration of area protected to maintain biological diversity to surface area” (Rigg, 2008: 31). In the context of the research, the same rhetoric can be found in the governmental policies that have been undertaken since Mozambique’s independence; this approach moved from state centred initiatives in which the state provided all goods and services towards more decentralised policies, where the role of private sector and communities was recognised, shifting towards a more sustainable use of natural resources, such as the Environmental law (20/1997), Policy and Strategy for Development of Forestry and Wildlife (8/1997), Forestry and wildlife law (10/1999) Forestry and wildlife

regulations (2002), Land Policy (1995). The main discourse in all these legal instruments consist in:

“Devolving control over the resources to users and ensuring their participation in the design and implementation of policies and development initiatives, it is held, should lead to the adoption of sustainable use practices and control by those who use the resources. The major thrust is also that communities living in and around natural resource sources should be the primary beneficiaries of exploitation activities, and will invest in law enforcement themselves.” (Nhantumbo et al, 2003: 2)

The same discourses appeared in the development projects in the GNR, more precisely the fourth goal on “Community development and governance structure”, with the aim of enhancing the involvement of local communities: “Local communities manage natural resources of the reserve and its periphery in a sustainable way and they are involved in decision-making processes” (FFEM, 2008: 4)

Although the rhetoric is the same in the government policies and in the NGO’s working in the GNR, it seems relevant to analyse how the participation is made or what is considered sustainable between the different social actors involved. In general, the research focuses on a broader question about the processes through which the idea of CBNRM is constructed and conducted in the GNR.

Overall, the co-management project of the GNR is based on this theoretical framework of the CBNRM, where different actors have different interests and conceptions about conservation and development. It seems relevant to study the rhetorical discourse and the practices between the different social actors involved in the implementation of the development projects in the GNR. Even more protected areas consist of a field of anthropological interest, in the sense that they affect not only the rural livelihood, but also government policies and society, in three interrelated areas, as Igoe and Brockington (2007) state:

“1) Displacement, exclusion and restrictions on resource use; 2) the emerging paradigms and policies of collaborative conservation, and 3) the politics of resistance to and cooperation with protected areas, and the politics of conservation, and environmentalism of which they are part” (Igoe and Brockington, 2007: 434)

Furthermore, the analysis of the social impacts of protected areas focused on the communities has to be analysed in a broader context (Agrawal and Gibson, 2001: 12-13), in the sense that the concept of community in the present research will take in consideration three critical aspects, which are: the multiple actors with different interests that constitute the communities, the process of how these actors interrelate, and the institutional structure in which their interactions occur.

3. Methodology

The selection of the right methodology is crucial to a successful research; this chapter outlines the reasons why the ethnographic method was chosen, explains the data collection process, and discusses the pros and cons of the qualitative methods used.

3.1. The ethnographic methodology

The aim of this research is the analysis of the sustainable and participatory development discourses produced by the development projects that were and are being implemented in the GNR and the way the social actors involved perceived these projects. Therefore the methodology used in the research draws on the ethnographic methodology (O'Reilly, 2009; Becker, 2001), which is concerned with the analysis of the point of views of the actors involved in the development project of the GNR (Italian NGO COSV, IGF foundation, district authorities and three communities located in the "buffer zone"), mainly because "viewing the social phenomena through the eyes of their subjects has led to a wariness regarding the imposition of the prior and possibly inappropriate frames of reference on the people they [qualitative researchers] study" (Silverman, 1993: 31).

The intent was not to give a "thick" description (Geertz, 1973: 6-8) of the subject study, instead the objective was to provide a "breadth" description, that is, "trying to find something about every topic the research touches on, even tangentially" (Becker, 2001: 327).

The fieldwork was conducted in 2010 during three months (from February to April) and was accomplished mainly in three communities of the buffer zone of GNR, using participate observation, unstructured and semi-structured interviews and semi-structured focus group (Punch, 2005: 169-184). Moreover, the data was collected in an interactive-deductive, reflexive process, that is:

"The ideal initial idea will inform data collection, the collected data will raise questions about theory, which in turn leads to more data collection, analysis, writing, and ongoing development of ideas" (O'Reilly, 2009: 15).

This strategy was very useful in the research process, mainly because of the lack of information found on the Internet about the GNR, which was the main source of information for the research design. The data collected in the first days on the field contributed to a shift of the research focus. Previously the research intended

to analyse just the IGF and COSV projects, but with the first contacts on the field it seemed pertinent to also study the perceptions left from Movimondo project (2000-2003), mainly because the IGF and COSV projects just had one year of implementation, and so the Movimondo project gave an in-depth knowledge of the perceptions both of the communities and the local authorities, in relation to the contributions of the project on the sustainable development of the communities and the conservation of the GNR.

The first phase of the fieldwork was conducted in Maputo where the head-offices of the organisations involved in the management of the GNR are located. Semi-structured interviews were recorded with Hubert Boulet, the IGF deputy-director; Karen Colin de Verdiere, from AFD⁷; and an informal conversation with Flavia Milano, the COSV coordinator. The objective was to know the role and objectives of each organisation involved in the management of the reserve and also to gain authorisation to establish contact with the representatives of the organisations working on the reserve. Furthermore, contact was established with MITUR where a permit to conduct the research inside the GNR was obtained.

The second phase consisted of the main part of the fieldwork, which was mainly developed in three communities (Malema Serra, Etaga and Malema) situated in the buffer zone of the GNR, in which participate observation, semi-structured focus group and semi and unstructured interviews with the social actors involved in the GNR development projects were used.

The reason for the selection of a multi-sited ethnography was due to the research question that focused on the differences between communities. Moreover the data collection was not linear, instead as the information was gathered the research moved within the different social actors, that is, between the three communities, the staff working on the reserve, local authorities, IGF and COSV workers and so on.

In relation to the techniques used in the data collection it is important to refer one major aspect with the members of the communities. None of the interviews were registered in audio-recorder; instead the interviews were registered on a field notebook. The reason for this was due to the constraints that the recorder could pose, mainly because the people were not familiar with interviews, and so the data was collected in conversations. The situation was different with the staff of the organisations and the government officials involved in the management of the GNR, because in the first place the interviews were unstructured and registered in the field notebook and after semi-structured interviews were conducted which were audio-recorded⁸.

The semi-structured focus group interviews were mainly used with the

⁷ See Appendix 1: interview 1 and 2

⁸ See Appendix I

community leaders⁹ during the fieldwork, but also with the community guards and rangers of the reserve. Normally the best way to enter the communities is to formally introduce oneself to the local authorities, so in each community that I went to I talked first to the local authorities. Normally I introduced myself and explained the reasons why I was there. It also became an opportunity to ask questions about the topics of the research and most importantly, to get to know the perceptions of the local authorities. Whenever I gathered more information related to the local authorities I conducted a focus group discussion so I could observe the existing interaction in the group but also to carry out face-to-face interviews with these members to analyse their individual perspective about the projects in the reserve. This method was also used with the community guards and the rangers of the reserve.

Participant observation, which is “the main method of ethnography and involves taking part as a member of a community while making mental and written, theoretically informed observations” (O’Reilly, 2009: 69), was the main method of the research.

Notwithstanding it is relevant to explain how the participant observation was conducted in the fieldwork. The participant observation took place mainly in three communities situated in the buffer zone of the GNR, but was not equal. In Etaga the participation was more intense, mainly because I was living in the locality and could observe and participate in the activities of the community. In Malema Serra the participation was less deep than in Etaga, because I was living in the Gilé village and was going everyday there by motorcycle. In Malema the participant observation was almost insignificant. Although I had planned to stay in this locality that was not possible because I was ill and needed to return to the Gilé village for health assistance and because of the distance and the time of the research I could not return to further the investigation.

The last part of the research consisted of semi-structured interviews that were audio-recorded with Teresa Boaventura, the Administrator of the Gilé district; António Santarém, the Administrator of Pebane district; Maria de Fátima Romero, the Provincial Director of Tourism; and Amândio Nkavandu, the Administrator of the GNR¹⁰. During the fieldwork I maintained conversations with these social actors, but as the data was being collected and I got to know the situation and the interactions between the social actors better, it seemed pertinent to conduct the interviews with them in the last part of the research, because I was better prepared to make pertinent questions focusing on their role in the development of the reserve.

⁹ See Appendix II: Image 1

¹⁰ See Appendix I

3.2. Limitations of the methodology used in the fieldwork

The fieldwork in the anthropological tradition is normally conducted in a small scale and lasts more than one year (Clifford, 1998: 476). However, nowadays the situation has changed and as mentioned before this research lasted for only three months and occurred in three different communities. The main reason for choosing three different sites was due to the research question, which aims to analyse the differences between communities. The aspect of time was taken into consideration because one of the disadvantages of qualitative methods is that the collection of the data takes time and in ethnography it is crucial because:

“Time is an essential component in the building of rapport. Participants in a research project need time to learn they can trust you, time to understand your methodology and to empathise with your goals sufficiently to want to share their lives, thoughts and experiences with you” (O’Reilly, 2009: 211).

The time of the research was in part a limitation to build rapport, because, as one can deduce, it is extremely difficult to gain trust from the subject of the study in just three months. Nevertheless I was not so unfamiliar to the members of the communities. Not only had I been there in 2006 for holidays but also my grandfather lived there and my father stills lives there, so people partially knew me.

My position as a researcher and as someone that is partly related to the subject study became one of the major constrains in the fieldwork. My personal life was always coming to the fieldwork and I was constantly remembering the vulnerable observer approach that Behar (1996) defends as a new genre in writing anthropology. The thesis was not written in this genre; even though I think that it is important to talk about this fact, because “the beliefs and behaviours of the researcher are part of the empirical evidence for (or against) the claims advanced in the results of the research” (idem, 1996: 29). My personal life was intimately related to the subject study; one of the main concerns of the organisations working in the area was to reduce the poaching activity of the communities, by giving them information about the importance of conservation as well as the creation of sustainable activities; my grandfather¹¹ and my father were hunters and people were always commenting on this fact in the fieldwork. Furthermore, my father is not a hunter anymore but has an important status in the region, mainly because he buys crops from the communities, that consist in many cases on the main income of the households of the people living in the buffer zone and also has four stores in the communities.

The language was another obstacle, for the reason that the mother tongue of the

¹¹ See Appendix II: Image 2

populations living in the buffer zone is Lomu . Although the official language in the country is Portuguese, daily life conversations with the members of the communities are in Lomu . The solution to this was to use a translator that was also a key informant. His name is Encarivu and even though he was living in the Gil  village he was born in Etaga and also had family in Malema Serra, which became very important for facilitating my entrance in the fieldwork.

Gender issues constituted another constrain in the fieldwork (McKeganey and Bloor, 1991; Warren, 1988). As the aim of the research consisted on analysing the perceptions of all social actors involved in the developments projects of the GNR, the perception of the women were taken into account, but during the fieldwork contact with women was difficult; although there was some communication, I can say a deep connection was not established as compared with the men.

4. The context of the fieldwork: From the National to the local level

Protected areas around the world have different policies from country to country. Therefore this chapter aims to describe the National and local contexts of the GNR and the origin of development assistance in the country as well as an overview of the development projects that have been occurring since 2000 until the present time.

4.1. The History of development assistance in Mozambique and the role of protected areas in the development of the country

Mozambique is a southern African country that was colonised by the Portuguese for 500 years. In 25th June of 1975 the country became independent by the Marxist-Leninist oriented party, FRELIMO that lead the country to freedom and promoted “development by the scientific socialism” (Matsinhe 2006: 29). This ‘choice’ played an important role in the way aid assistance appeared in the country.

For the first years of independence, Mozambique achieved amazing gains for its citizens, such as women rights, extension of the health and education systems, and economic growth. For Hanlon (1991: 3-4) these achievements represented a threat to different parts, such as apartheid government in South Africa and the right-wing leaders in the west, that were against Marxist states and perceived the success of the new independent African neighbour country as a potential model for other countries and consequently provoke instability in the apartheid system.

Development assistance has been part of Mozambique since independence, but the rules changed over time. For the first decade, the government had the power to decide what kind of aid they wanted, and not belonging to the IMF gave the country some power to decide what should be the participation of the donors, but that changed mainly because of the “drought, destabilisation, and the world economic recession [which] came just at a time when Frelimo began to face some of the consequences of its own errors” (idem, 1991: 22).

For the mistakes of FRELIMO one can refer to its own policy in trying to

persecute the traditional authorities, such as the *Régulos*¹² and Traditional Healers. The marginalisation of these groups contributed to the strength of the opposition party RENAMO (formerly MNR or MRN) that had a strong support from these groups (Matsinhe 2006: 32-33). Moreover, the success of the Mozambican socialist dream was being undermined by the external support to the opposite party because “the United States long backed the South African apartheid regime, and gave tacit support as that regime armed the violent RENAMO insurrectionists in neighbouring Mozambique.” (Sachs 2005: 189-190).

The severe droughts and the continuing civil war forced the Mozambican government to make its first appeal for food aid in January 1983, but it was in vain because the country could not fulfil the conditionality of the donors, with the consequence being that 100.000 people died, and as justification:

“Several years later, a US State Department official in Washington explained to me: “We made it clear to the government of Mozambique that our food aid is political. There are always conditions on aid, although they are often explicit...” (Hanlon, 1991: 43)

The pieces on the table turned upside down and in 1984 Mozambique became a member of the IMF and consequently, for being part of the group was able to receive aid, but had to open its doors to foreign agencies.

As many other countries of the south that purchased loans, Mozambique could not pay its debt so in the 1980s the aid assistance was made with conditions that were commonly denominated as the structural adjustment programmes, which “were designed to cut government expenditure, reduce the extent of state intervention in the economy, and promote liberalisation and international trade” (Simon, 2008: 87). This policy raised more disparities between developed and developing countries, instead of creating wealth, and so at the end of the 1990s the IMF and the World Bank adopted a new vocabulary to development assistance called Poverty Reduction Strategies (Gould, 2005; Booth, 2005, Driscoll and Evans, 2005).

This new policy was disseminated in many developing countries and in Mozambique was translated in the main policy that the government engaged with in the last decade. First there was the PARPA I which was implemented between 2001 and 2005. This strategy consisted of the achievement of development human capital in the areas of education, health, good governance, development of basic infrastructures, rural development and management of macro economies (República de Moçambique, 2006: 1). Secondly there was PARPA II, which continues the same policy of reducing the absolute poverty and promoting a fast and sustainable economic growth. At the present time the government is

¹² Traditional” clan chief or headman normally appointed by the Portuguese in the colonial era.

planning the PARPA III.

One of the strategies of the government to reduce poverty relates to environmental issues, where protected areas have an important role and which highlights the importance of community participation and a sustainable development.

Mozambique has twelve protected areas (six national parks and six national reserves) and while MITUR is in charge of the supervision of these areas, most of them are financially and technically supported by external partners, with just one exception, the Pomene National Reserve (FFEM, 2008:13).

Although the external partners develop different projects with a variety of goals in the protected areas of the country, all of them are made in accordance with the poverty reduction programme of the government. Therefore the state created three main institutional bodies that intervene in the biodiversity management and conservation in Mozambique.

In 1994 MICOA was created, in which the global objective is to “promote a better coordination of all activity sectors and the right planning and sustainable use of the natural resources of the country”(idem, 2008: 10). Moreover, MITUR was created in 2000, with responsibility of the management of the majority of protected areas in the country and where one of the main objectives is related to “the development of tourism in order to contribute to the socio-economic development of the country”(FFEM, 2008:10). Lastly there is MICOA created in 2005 and in charge of the wildlife management outside the areas under the supervision of the MITUR.

All these institutions and legislations¹³ related to the conservation and development of protected areas in Mozambique referred in one way or another the promotion of a sustainable and participatory development as a means to reduce poverty in the country. However is important to mention that each protected area in the country presents different achievements in the area of conservation and development.

4.2. The fieldwork location and the GNR specifications

The GNR has the same name as one of the twelve districts of the Zambézia

¹³ Mainly the Law N° 10/99 of 7 July 1999 on Forest and Wildlife and the Decree N° 12/2002 of 6 June 2002 regulating the Forest and Wildlife Law.

province, but it is situated between two districts of this province (the Pebane and Gilé districts)¹⁴. Each of these districts has its own governmental structure¹⁵ and presents different socio-economic characteristics.

The Gilé district occupies an area of 9.526 km² with an estimate of 130.000 inhabitants. The population is mainly young, with 47% above 15 years old and the majority are women (Ministério da Administração Estatal, 2005a: 2). Agriculture is the main activity and involves all members of the family. The south is characterised by the production of cassava, corn, *nhemba* and *boere* beans and in a minor scale peanuts. In the north the main culture is cassava, but the cashew nut is the main household income, which is associated with the culture of peanuts and maize.

The Pebane district occupies a larger area (10.086 km²) and population (135.275 inhabitants). As well as in the Gilé district, the main activity of the Pebane district is agriculture, with the participation of all family and with the cassava as the main culture. As the same as the north part of the Gilé district the cashew nut represents the main household income in Pebane. On the coastal area the predominant culture is the coconut tree¹⁶ (Ministério da Administração Estatal, 2005b: 5).

One major difference between the two districts relates to the location, which historically creates different cultures. The Gilé district is situated in the countryside and the Pebane district in the coastal area. This factor creates two main differences; in the coastal area of the country the muslim religion is historically widely disseminated; also the coastal area presents another activity that is not possible in the countryside, which is fishing, consisting on another income source to the people living in this area. In the Gilé district fishing is made in rivers and is mainly for subsistence. The fish sold in the markets is dry¹⁷ and comes from the coastal area, mainly from Pebane. Nevertheless the Gilé district is rich in minerals¹⁸, which consist of another income to the population of the region.

¹⁴ See Appendix III: Map 1

¹⁵ Each district has their own administrator as well as their own departments that govern the districts, such as the department of agriculture that has an important role in the conservation areas in the country.

¹⁶ The coconut tree is used in many ways. The populations use the coconuts for selling and cooking. The lifts are used to cover the houses and the tree to construction.

¹⁷ This aspect is changing because of the village of the Gilé has electricity since 2008 that permitted local dealers to acquire freezers to conserve the fish. Notwithstanding there is no electricity in any locality of the buffer zone of the GNR

¹⁸ The main minerals of the region are: tourmaline, quartz, lepidolite, emerald, gold, marine waters, etc. The exploitation of the minerals is made in large scale by eight mineral industries and in small scale by the population.

The GNR was established as a Partial Game Reserve in 1932 with the objective of protecting black rhinoceros, which are now extinct in Mozambique and almost so in the rest of the continent. At the onset, the reserve also aimed to protect different species of zebra and the elephant. The wild dog, commonly known as *mabeco*, was also included in its objectives, without, however, meriting the care and attention that it receives these days. When the reserve was established, it covered an area of little more than 5,000 km². However, in 1960 its limits were cut back by more than half, which is to around 2,100 km², the area that is maintained until today.

The establishment of the reserve was made during the Portuguese colonisation and the strategy to conserve this protected area passed by the displacement of the people that lived there, which made the reserve to be presently the only one in the country with no human presence, but due to the civil war most of the animals were extinct.

Even though the discourse of the organisations working in the reserve refer that the people living near the reserve represent a threat to the conservation of the area and because of these there was the intention to create a buffer zone, but until the present time this area is not official, despite the local knowledge of these delimitations.

It is estimated 32.000 people belonging to the Elomué ethnic group live in the buffer zone; as for other parts of the country the area is divided on an upper level - the district; a middle level - the administrative post; and a lower level - the localities.

Due to the aim of the research question and methodology, which focused on the perceptions of the different communities in relation to the projects of the reserve, the fieldwork was conducted mainly in three communities at the lower level of representation of the State: Malema Serra which is part of the administrative post of Gilé of the Gilé District; Etaga from the administrative post of Naburi, Pebane District and Malema from the administrative post of Mulela, Pebane District. These three communities were selected as representatives of the southern, eastern and northern area of the buffer zone.

The first locality in the fieldwork was the Etaga locality, situated in the eastern part of the reserve. Despite belonging to the Pebane district, Etaga is geographically closer to the Gilé village, just 42 km from the latter and 160 km from the former. Etaga is an agrarian society; even local dealers have their own *machambas*¹⁹, which in many cases provide all the subsistence for the families. The agricultural year starts in August and its characterised by the slash and burn system. The first season happens between August and September; during this period people prepare the fields. In October with the fall of the first rains the

¹⁹ *Machamba* in Mozambique means agricultural land for familiar production; land of cultivation

maize is cultivated, followed by sorghum, peanuts and *boere* bean in November. The maize is harvested in February, the peanuts in March, sorghum in June and *boere* beans in August. In addition, the main crop for subsistence – cassava – is cultivated all year round, although the most important time for harvesting is the dry season between July and August.

The cassava is mainly for family consumption; part of the maize, peanuts, cashew nut and *boere* beans is for commercial purposes. The sorghum is the only product that is not consumed and which sold entirely for exportation to Asian countries.

Regarding the development projects, Etaga received almost all activities implemented by the Movimondo, with only the promotion of goats not having been introduced. During the fieldwork the COSV was building the community house and the IGF lead some meetings with the community; there is also a reserve checkpoint, in which four rangers live permanently.

The second locality in the fieldwork was Malema in the Pebane district and as mentioned before for this district, the population is mainly Muslim. Despite not being a coastal area, Malema is closer to the coast comparatively to the other two communities, which gives it an advantage in terms of diet; people in this community eat fresh fish, which comes from the Moebase locality situated at 30 km²⁰.

Although agriculture is the main activity in Malema and the cultures are similar to the other communities, the production of cashew nut is more significant in this area, and provides the main income for households. Sorghum is not produced in this area while the other products, such as maize and cassava, are mainly for the subsistence of the families.

From the three communities studied Malema was the only one in which the community house had already been built, but the IGF had not implemented their activities there and like in Etaga there was a checkpoint to the reserve.

The last community was the Malema Serra locality located just 8 km from the Gilé village, but with very difficult access because a bridge does not exist in the Mucunanaré river to connect the locality to the village²¹, and in the rainy season the only way to reach Malema Serra is through the Nanhopé locality which is about 30 km from the village. Regarding the research, it is important to mention that this locality is the only one to have received goats from the Movimondo project and is one of the localities where the IGF and COSV have implemented their projects. Moreover it is the only community for which a checkpoint to the reserve does not exist.

²⁰ Appendix II: Image 4

²¹ Appendix II: Image 5

Another important fact relates to the household incomes of the community. Agriculture is the main activity but in this locality the mineral resources provide an alternative income to the communities. During the fieldwork the information collected with population of this locality and with the local authorities referred that many people of this region were starving, mainly because there were no crops due to the rain scarcity; the solution found by the population to overcome this was the exploitation of minerals, mainly gold, despite this being an illegal activity²².

Although the populations of the buffer zone belong to the same ethnic group, each community has its own specifications; Agrawal and Gibson (2001: 12-13) refer that many community based management projects in protected areas implement their activities as if the communities were homogenous and do not consider their particularities.

4.3. Development projects in the GNR and its periphery

Since 1999 the GNR has been the stage for projects of development focused in CBNRM. The first project, entitled “Project of Rehabilitation of the Partial Game Reserve of Gilé (PRGRG)” (FFEM, 2008: 14) was signed between the Government of Mozambique and the European Union, and was implemented between 2000 and 2004 by the Italian NGO Movimondo²³.

The PRGRG had six objectives:

1. Conservation of the biodiversity, preservation of the fauna and flora and the rehabilitation of the ecosystems’ processes;
2. Promotion of a sustainable exploration of biological resources;
3. Involvement of local residents in the development and management of the GNR;
4. Promotion of environmental education and diffusion of information;
5. Facilitation of investigation and monitoring of the condition and use of biological resources;

²² Appendix II: Image 3

²³ Appendix II: Image 6

6. Facilitation of appropriate eco-tourism development.

In 2004 the PRGRG was completed and there was a second phase proposed which was not approved. Notwithstanding the Italian NGO COSV in 2009 continued the PRGRG with funding from the Italian Cooperation, which focuses on local development in the periphery of the reserve. This new project is being done simultaneously with another initiative, which is funded by the AFD/FFEM and implemented by the IGF foundation; both projects are coordinated by the MITUR.

The present project is entitled “The co-management of the Gilé National Reserve and its periphery” (FFEM, 2008: 3-5) and has five components:

1. Improvement of the reserve management;
2. Wildlife restoration and ecological monitoring;
3. Community development and governance structure;
4. Valorisation of the buffer zone;
5. Implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

A general overview of the objectives of the former and present projects in the GNR demonstrate that they focus almost entirely on the same activities, but with some changes, mostly related to the strategies to find revenues to the communities and the wildlife restoration.

The main similarity between the two projects is the central role of the populations living in the periphery of the GNR, in which the participation of the communities is emphasised as a crucial factor for achieving a sustainable development in the area.

Other important factor is the delimitation of the buffer zone. Although the PRGRG proposed a delimitation of this area, the present project had to establish a new buffer zone. Hubert Boulet, the deputy-director of IGF²⁴ refers that the reasons for planning another delimitation of the buffer zone is relate to some activities of the new project, such as the aim to delimitate a community-base hunting area that was not covered in the PRGRG, or the timber concession that exists in the area and needs to be integrated in the present project.

Another aspect the two projects have in common relates to the lack of staff working in the GNR and its infrastructures.

Since the establishment of the GNR in 1932, the Portuguese colonisation system built some infrastructures that were managed by an administrator with 18 rangers that were responsible for the management of the reserve, and 30 workers that

²⁴ See Appendix I: interview nr. 2

maintained the roads and the infrastructures. Due to the colonial war (1964-1974) and the civil war (1975-1992) that ensued, the infrastructures and the governance of the reserve were destroyed. The PRGRG rehabilitated these infrastructures and allowed for 12 rangers and an administrator to be hired (Fusari and Rudolfo, 2005: 48).

In addition, the present project hired and gave training to 21 rangers (10 are paid from the IGF foundation, 8 by DNAC and 3 by WWF) and COSV is giving training to 100 guards that belong to the communities as well as building 6 community meeting buildings²⁵. Other infrastructures are being constructed such as the camp in Musseia and a tourist infrastructure inside the reserve.

Since 2000 there have been different social actors working in the development of the GNR, from local to national and international agents. In the first project, Movimondo was the organisation, which implemented the project, financed by the EU and with involvement from the MITUR and the local and district authorities of Pebane and Gilé. For the current project the situation is more complex as there are two projects being implemented at the same time with different funds. On one hand there is the IGF foundation that has funds from FEEM and private funders. On the other hand there is COSV, which is working in partnership with a national NGO called ORAM, funded by the Italian cooperation. Both projects are coordinated by the MITUR and the local authorities of Pebane and Gilé, similarly to the Movimondo project

²⁵ During the fieldwork eight were built, but COSV plan to construct twelve. These buildings are built with the participation of the community.

5. The perceptions about sustainability and participation in the development project of the GNR

This chapter consist of the analysis of the data collected in the fieldwork. The first part describes the perceptions of the different social actors about the Movimondo project, implemented between 2000-2003 in the GNR. The second part focuses on the participation approaches of the COSV and IGF Foundation. The final part covers the perceptions of the role of the state in the projects in the GNR.

5.1. The legacy of the Movimondo project and the perceptions about its sustainability

The sustainable discourses in development projects aim to achieve equilibrium between the economic growth and environment preservation, which can be maintained for a long period of time (DeGeorges and Reilly, 2009: 757). Development projects are usually designed to accomplish a variety of goals, which have to be sustainable, in the sense that the activities implemented during the project should be maintained after the end of the project; in practice some projects fail to achieve these goals, in fact some results can be catastrophic. One thing is certain about development projects, they have some kind of impact, of which different social actors have different perceptions on.

Relatively to the analysis of the sustainable concept of the GNR projects it is important to mention that it was not possible to scrutinise the perceptions on recent projects (COSV and IGF foundation), because their activities started less than one year ago, and much of it was on the first phase of implementation, such as the building or rehabilitation of infrastructures (office and accommodations) or the recruitment and training of rangers. Still the fieldwork allowed for the analysis of the perceptions on the impacts of the Movimondo project. Seven years passed since the end of the project and a legacy has been left; we can now then examine the impacts produced in the communities living in the buffer zone of the GNR.

The objectives of the project were related to development issues and focus on the population living in the buffer zone of the reserve. Notwithstanding the

perceptions of the communities and the agents involved in the project in relation to the impacts of the project were not homogenous.

In the first community, Etaga, most of the people that I talked to said that Movimondo did not do anything, but for the people that worked with the NGO the story was different.

On the first day in Etaga I met the local leaders, Morais Xahase, the *Régulo* and Albuquerque, the First Secretary and both said that Movimondo did not do anything, but when I asked about some activities that the NGO did they confirmed that they were implemented. One of the main things that people remember about Movimondo was the change of traps for hoes and harvesters. The purpose of this activity was to reduce the poaching with traps and the majority of the people that I spoke to in Etaga told me that they participated in it.

Another activity people mentioned were the distribution of goats. The strategy was to reduce poaching by giving domestic animals to people that lived in the buffer zone. The system consisted in distributing three goats to one person. When that person had three goats more he had to give them to another person and so on. Although the strategy seemed an improvement in the life of the communities, the data collected during the fieldwork showed some negative impacts of this activity.

During the fieldwork the administration of the Gilé diffused in some communities information declaring that the owners of domestic animals such as goats or cattle needed a keeper and a cattle shed; if these were not provided the local authorities had the power to collect the animals, because they were creating conflicts between members of the community.

In Etaga people did not receive goats and they were not aware of why this had not happened. When asked how they felt about others communities that had received the goats, they just said that it was their ‘good luck’²⁶, mainly because it was something that they get for free, which could allow people to have some extra income, by selling it or just for their own consumption, as planned in the project; neither the NGO nor the communities were seeing the negative consequences that this activity produced.

Before the distribution of goats people cultivated near their homes. Although the project obligated people to construct some cattle shed to be eligible to receive goats, they did not consider that people should have someone to take care of the animals. The consequence was that the goats started to eat the neighbouring

²⁶ In this case the term ‘good luck’ as to be considered as the Mozambican writer, Mia Couto defines it: “The athletic team gained, the work of art was awarded a prize, the enterprise has profits, the official was promoted? Completely is that due to what? The first answer, my friends, all we know. The success is due to the good luck. And the word “ good luck ” means two things: the protection of the dead ancestors and protection of the lively godfathers.” (Couto, 2005)

crops²⁷ and because of that conflicts arose in the communities and in some cases people starved due to loss of crops. The contradictions of this activity are well expressed by Giussepe, the local coordinator of the COSV project:

“We have an aspect here. They [community members] received the goats, which consists of an important factor because we want to reduce in the first phase, and in long term eliminate poaching, but we cannot simply say no poaching, we have to ask: what will they eat instead? [...] I heard this thing yesterday from the Gilé administrator that said that there was a problem, being that goat breeding is not part of the culture of this region. So who received goats, just leave them freely without a keeper, so the goats went everywhere, and finally started eating the crops of the neighbours”.²⁸

Other intervention of Movimondo was to introduce new types of crops. In Etaga people participated in this initiative; they said Movimondo gave them seeds of sunflower and sesame. The contract was for the people to cultivate the crops and the NGO would find traders to buy it. Many people participated in this as an opportunity to get some revenues, but when they had the product Movimondo had finished the project and people stayed with the product in their houses without a buyer. At that time my father was cutting timber in the region but was thinking to give up the business, so he bought the product from the community. In that year he bought the sunflower and sesame, but the following year he just bought sesame. This had some consequences on the livelihood of the community in Etaga, because in the beginning the farmers just produced a small amount of sesame near their houses, but nowadays they produce more and need to find more space to cultivate, so they decided to cultivate 15 to 20 km away from their houses.

The sesame is normally exported to Asia, but is not the only crop that is sold. There are peanuts sold to the southern part of the country, maize sold in the region, and cashew exported to India. As every year people produce more there is a significant improvement in the condition of people's life, for example, they are able to build houses made of cement and zinc plate while some people can have motorcycles.

Regarding the reserve this had some negative consequences; the soil in the buffer zone seemed more adequate to cultivate sesame, therefore twelve farmers decided to cultivate in that area. At that time it was forbidden to cultivate in the area, so the rangers of the reserve arrested nine of the farmers. All of them had to pay a fee of 1.000,00 Meticaïs²⁹ and clean the road that connects the centre of Etaga to the reserve.

²⁷ See Appendix II: Image 7

²⁸ See Appendix I: Interview nr. 3. Translated by the author

²⁹ 1.000,00 Meticaïs is approximately 29 Dollars

In some communities, Movimondo left manual water bombs, which are not working³⁰ in Etaga, and press oil³¹ for people to make oil from peanuts or sunflower, which people do not use, because firstly they do not cultivate sunflower and secondly they prefer to sell the peanuts, as Encarivu told me and other informants confirmed, namely, Teresa Boaventura, the Gilé administrator stated:

“Yes, there is the production of sesame but they do not produce oil, they just sell it, the production of press oil is not happening. I do not know what failed in the middle of it, but the truth is that is not happening”³²

The perceptions about the Movimondo project in the Malema Serra community were different to those from Etaga, mainly because the project was more intensive in this area and the majority of people recognised one or more activities of the project. Nevertheless, the activities were the same (distribution of goats, introduction of sesame and sunflower, press oil, manual water bombs), and in most of the cases the perceptions were similar about some activities of the project – the manual water bomb was not working, the press oil was not in use, and the introduction of new crops had the same impact as in Etaga. The main difference was the distribution of goats that in this community was widely distributed.

The ambiguity of the distribution of goats was well examined in this community. Firstly, there was the problem of explaining my intentions and what I was doing there because everyone thought I was part of the staff of the NGOs working in the GNR. Due to this assumption, almost every member of the community asked me for goats, because the activity is perceived as something good for the communities. Secondly, the negative impacts of this activity were observed, in the sense that I was able to talk with people that received goats and document the conflicts that emerged in the community.

During the fieldwork the local authorities of this community were facing problems due to animals eating the crops of farmers; in some cases the situation was even worst because some people were starving mainly because of this and the water shortage that was felt in the area.

The local soil is rich in minerals, therefore many community members find a solution to their shortage of income by searching gold in a mine near the community, which in many cases solved the problem of hunger for a short period of time.

Another aspect related to the distribution of goats, which links both to the

³⁰ See Appendix II: Image 8

³¹ See Appendix II: image 9

³² See Appendix I: Interview nr. 5. Translated by the author

sustainability and participation of the project, is the power structures in the community. In general, for achieving “success” in a community project in Mozambique, the first step consists in establishing contact with local leaders that normally are more engaged and are more skilled in dealing with projects and can have a role as intermediaries between the communities and the project. Although this is a common practice in development projects in Mozambique, there can be some setbacks, because it can reinforce existent power hierarchies in the communities.

The distribution of goats represents a good example of the power hierarchies that projects can contribute to maintaining and reinforcing in the communities, despite their opposite intentions. The system of distribution of goats’ starts with a small group of recipients that usually receive three goats; when the first three goats are born they have to give them to another recipient and so on. In practice what happened in the case of Malema Serra is that the system worked while the project was there, but some people never gave the goats to another beneficiary. The most important thing, however, is to analyse who received the goats.

The first group to receive the goats was in some sense related to the local authorities (the *Régulo* and First Secretary), normally with some kind of kinship relationship (cousins, brothers, parents, brother-in-law, etc). As they were the first to know about the project and normally the ones to decide who should participate or not in the activity, what happened was that they gave preference to someone they knew. This practice is well known in Mozambique and on some level institutionalised, which became famous on a speech from former president, Joaquim Chissano, in which he said “the goat eats where it is tied”(Padrão, 2004: 381), each is commonly translated to a person be able to exercise corruption because of their status. In this case the local authorities decided which member of the community would participate in the activity, and so the goats stayed within the members related to the *Régulo* and the First Secretary, and only after were goats distributed to the rest of the community, maintaining and reinforcing the established power hierarchy.

In the Malema community in the Pebane district the impacts of the Movimondo project were none, because they did not implement any measures there. Even though this fact permitted to compare the impacts of the NGO with the other two communities. One of the main goals of the Movimondo project and current projects is to reduce poaching, and most importantly to eliminate the poaching with traps. During the time I spent in Etaga and Malema Serra, I tried to know if people still did poaching. Although they said they had stopped when confronted with the question, the observations carried out in the communities confirmed the opposite. When walking in the communities with Encarivu, both in Etaga and Malema Serra, we found nets that are usually used for hunting in some houses³³,

³³ See Appendix II: Image 10

and some animal skins³⁴, that Encarivu said were not more than two months old, but never found traps. The situation in Malema was different because the first person I spoke to confirmed he had traps³⁵, showing that the activity of changing traps with agricultural instruments was successful in the communities that were implemented, but does not mean they do not exist at all in the communities.

The success of this activity is not the only perceived as accomplished, because other social agents involved in the project highlighted other positive results.

Giuseppe from COSV mentioned that the information diffused by Movimondo about the reserve and the buffer zone was widely disseminated in the communities and people were aware of the restrictions of the area. The rehabilitations of the infrastructures built in the colonial era are being used by the IGF as well as the rangers Movimondo gave training to and are still working in the reserve.

In addition, the members of the community who worked directly with the NGO emphasised their activities as successful, such as Regrésio, a farmer who was from the Etaga community and who proudly showed me the list of persons in Etaga that participated in the change of traps by agricultural instruments

Furthermore I was able to talk to Alessandro, the former coordinator of the Movimondo project who was working as a consultant for the IGF foundation during the fieldwork. He explained that the purpose of the project was to be more like the groundwork to create the basis for other projects in the area, thereby it was better found in the education of the communities about the reserve, rehabilitation of the colonial infra-structures of the reserve and the conduction of studies about the wildlife and communities. Despite these positive results, Alessandro Fusari also elucidated me about the sustainability problems inherent to development projects in itself:

“I tell you one thing. For long years I worked in many projects and none of them achieved sustainability. None! For the simple reason that in three years, that is the common life of a project, at least the ones that are financed by the big donors, such as the EU, the World Bank, etc., you can not, there is no way. The reason why it continues? We can discuss that for days, but the truth is that in this terms it doesn't work. There are some cases of success but they are extremely rare”³⁶

The problem that he brings to light consists of the short lifetime that almost every development project has and the dependence they have from the donors. In the case of the Movimondo project, it was planned that the project should

³⁴ See Appendix II: Image 11

³⁵ See Appendix II: Image 12

³⁶ See Appendix I: Interview nr. 4. Translated by the author

continue but the EU did not support the second phase, which was to be more focused in the community development. This situation stagnated the development of the reserve, which stayed for seven years without any activity each became unsustainable until the implementation of the COSV and IGF; for Alessandro this influenced, in some sense, the perceptions of the communities about the project.

5.2. Participation in the COSV and IGF foundation projects in the GNR

The design of the development projects of COSV and IGF indicate that the communities should participate in the process and decision-making of the project from the beginning as the discourse of participatory development promotes. However, in practice the information collected in the communities as well as from the staff of the NGOs states that the contacts between the groups involved were not so much during the beginning until the date of the fieldwork. The members of the communities stated that the NGOs did not work with them, normally they just came and explained briefly what they were doing, and this was confirmed by the COSV and IGF foundation.

Notwithstanding, during the fieldwork it was possible to observe and participate in some activities based in participatory approaches, which can give an idea of the type of participation and who participates and how participation is made in this context. The perception about these activities is that they consist in invited places of participation:

“The primary emphasis seems to be on relocating the poor within the prevailing order: bringing them in, finding them a place, lending opportunities, empowering them, and inviting them to participate.” (Cornwall, 2002: 3)

Although the two organisations have the same type of participations, the activities diverge between them, which consequently can have different impacts as well as different perceptions.

5.2.1. The delimitation of the Reserve and buffer zone: what you can do and you cannot do

The project conducted by the IGF foundation is developed inside the reserve and

focuses more on conservation than the COSV project. Notwithstanding one of the main participatory activities between the social actors was executed by this NGO.

Between December 2008 and February 2009 the IGF conducted a consultation with the Pebane and Gilé authorities as well as fifteen communities³⁷ of the Buffer zone of GNR. The aim was to explain the intention of creating the buffer zone around the GNR, the necessary procedures as well as some aspects related to the management of the area, challenges and opportunities for the local communities. Other aspect was the unsustainable use of natural resources by the local communities (Fusari, 2009: 12-14).

During the consultations the communities asked questions and presented problems related to the reserve and buffer zone that were synthesised below:

“Meaning of buffer zone; Possibility of continuing to live in this area and continue to cultivate and use the natural resources; The importance of Molocué River for the support, in terms of access to water, cash crops and supply of various natural resources; Use of natural resources, particularly wildlife for ceremonial and traditional treatments, and access to sacred sites; The need for support in terms of socio-economic projects (livestock development as a way to reduce poaching activities, improvement of roads access, building schools, drilling of water, employment of local labour in any works); Need to build a health centre in that area; Better cooperation with the Reserve in terms of access to natural resources, and greater involvement of women in projects and use of natural resources; Involvement of other partners; Need to ensure access to the resource "firewood"; Conflict human/wildlife; Better signalling limits of the Reserve” (idem, 2009: 15)

During the fieldwork IGF conducted other meetings in nine communities, with the aim of presenting the “management plan 2010-2020” which consisted of the delimitation of the reserve and buffer zone as well as what people can and cannot do in this area. After the meetings with the communities, the IGF presented the document in Quelimane to the provincial authorities and at the end in Maputo to be approved by the Minister of Tourism. One important fact is that there was not a law during the fieldwork regarding the reserve and the buffer zone, what existed was a norm that changed over the time. For instance, in Etaga some of the population complained that the rangers of the reserve had forbidden people to use the Molocué River. Talking with the rangers they confirmed this, although people had not been forbidden to wash and clean their clothes in the river they had forbidden to use the river because some people used that excuse for poaching. Something else that was forbidden was to make *machambas* near the river in the buffer zone. Hunting and fishing was too forbidden in the buffer zone

³⁷ Eleven communities from Pebane district: Mulela sede, Macujuca, Mutacane A and B, Sacane, Pipine, Chichipe, Nipamo, Mujaine, Namaipe, Mihecue/Etaga, Musseia; Four communities from Gilé district: Nanhope bairro, Namurrua, Naeche, Malema Serra

and the reserve.

The rights and obligations of the “management plan 2010-2020” reflected in some way the problems and concerns of the communities. I participated³⁸ in six of the nine meetings. In these meetings Alessandro, the consulter of the IGF, presented the document and explained that there were five areas in the reserve: two of restrict use (ZUR 1 and ZUR 2), two for tourism development (ZDET 1 and ZDET 2) and one for total protection, but the delimitation is more complex, because there is the buffer zone, the zone of development of hunting tourism and the wood concession zone³⁹. Alessandro explained to me that the reason for not explaining all the zones to the communities was because these zones did not directly influence the communities that I observed during the meetings, and so they did not need to know about the restrictions and rights.

In the two restricted zones it was permitted to collect mushrooms, medical plants, *Carará* (butterfly egg) and grass (normally used for covering the houses). Hunting was permitted just for *nahi* (type of gazelle) for medical use and with the consent of the reserve. Fishing was too permitted but also with an authorisation from the reserve, but doing *machambas* was forbidden.

In the tourism development zones it was permitted to collect the products described above for the restricted zones. Hunting was strictly prohibited. Alessandro said that tourists do not want to see dead animals. Fishing is too forbidden as well as *machambas*.

In the total protected area the restrictions are the same as for the tourism development zones.

In the buffer zone it was permitted to collect the products as well as to hunt but without fire guns or traps; nets can be used as well as other traditional methods. Fishing was too permitted as well as *machambas*.

At the end of each meeting all the parts involved signed a document confirming that they accepted the new management plan. These meetings represented the only contact between the IGF foundation, the local authorities and the communities during the fieldwork. Despite these formal agreements the data collected during the following days in the communities illustrates the power relations and ambiguity involved in this type of participation.

As mentioned before, all types of participation are related to power relations, and in this case it seems relevant to use the approach of Cornwall (2002) in analysing the micro-politics of participation, that is :

“on the lived spaces in which participation takes place and on the more

³⁸ See Appendix II: Image 13, 14, 15

³⁹ See Appendix III: Map 3

metaphorical qualities of the concept of space, and their relevance to challenge of making sense of the dynamics and dimension of participation in development” (Cornwall, 2002: 1).

Although the rhetoric used by IGF aims to empower the people living in the buffer zone as well giving them more power to participate in the implementation of the project, the analysis of the meetings as a space for participation demonstrates a different result in the form of the creation of more inequalities, in which the NGO imposed their rules to the communities.

Firstly, the meetings were characterised as an invite space, in which the communities were invited to participate in the meeting. The meetings took place in the communities, in an open space, where in the first part the representative from the district⁴⁰ presented the committee and after explained the reasons why they were there. The second part, consisted of Alessandro’s presentation and lastly the doubts and questions that the communities had about the new delimitations. The time for questions from the communities was really reduced, about 15 minutes; the community people present were mainly adult men, although there were some women in the audience. Although the rangers of the reserve recorded their doubts, the management plan was not going to change dramatically because the intention of the meeting was just to inform what was going to happen and not to discuss.

Secondly, the communities’ perceptions about the rights and obligations in the reserve and buffer zone elucidate how they perceived their role in the decision-making process. In the three communities where the fieldwork took place, the majority of people were not aware the meeting existed, and the ones who were aware did not participate because they had been informed one day or just a few hours before the meeting. The ones who participated or were informed by others members, normally expressed that they were unsatisfied with the results, mainly because of the permission to hunt the *nahi* and the collection of the *carará* as well as other topics.

In relation to the *nahi*, they refer it is going to be difficult to just hunt one animal as the management plan declared, mainly because the hunting involves the cooperation between different people. The *nahi* is used for the treatment of a variety of diseases, such as when a woman cannot menstruate, a wound that does not heal, hernias, or bleed from the nose, that are all denominated as “*mal de cabeça*”⁴¹. When a person has one of these symptoms the family members gather and go to a traditional healer who indicates that they should hunt for the *nahi*, because the disease is caused by spirits and cannot be healed by modern medicine. The hunting involves not just the family members but also closest

⁴⁰ The representative from Gilé administration was from the tourism department and in the Pebane District the representative was the Chief of Nabury Locality.

⁴¹ Translation to english means “head malady”

friends, and both genders participate in the hunting, that can have more than ten individuals. They use nets to catch the animal, and normally they hunt more than one animal that after are distributed between the persons involved in the hunting. For the sick person, they just need one *nahi*; the sick person needs to drink and shower with the blood of the animal mixed with the lungs and ears of the animal; the traditional healer receives one of the legs and the rest is used for the ceremony that lasts for one night, where people sing all night long. The conflict in relation to the new policy is that people cannot hunt just one animal, in the sense that if they catch more than one in the nets, which is what normally happens, they cannot send the animal free; furthermore they say that people will not help, because they will not have anything in return.

The policy in relation to the *carará* is that people can recollect *carará* but cannot cut the trees. Normally people cut the tree where the *carará* is⁴², because they say it is impossible to collect them in the trees, mainly because the branches of the tree are so thin and it can be dangerous because people can fall down from the tree and get seriously injured.

Notwithstanding, the analysis within the community members illustrates some discrepancies between the members of the community, mainly between the local authorities and the rest of the communities. The focal group discussions in the three different communities demonstrated that the local authorities perceive the new policies in the delimitation of the reserve as something good, referring that it will be good if they reintroduce animals in the reserve, because their sons will be able to see the animals; as for the present time it is too difficult. Moreover they referred that the project will provide them with work that will permit them to get some income, as Desai points out:

“Those high up in social and economic stratification hierarchies possess greater resources and motivation, and therefore are more likely to participate in and take greater advantage of the opportunities than those lower in the hierarchy of social-economic stratification” (Desai, 2008: 116)

Thirdly, the meetings introduced a new concept to the communities, tourism. When communities were asked if they knew the meaning of tourism they could not answer, so the committee used the example of the Pebane village which has some tourist infra-structures on the beach, and demonstrated that people go there to see the beach and have to spend money. Furthermore they used the example of the timber concessions to explain how they can get some revenues, because the timber concessions have to give 10% of their profit to the communities, with the same to happen for the tourism in the reserve. This strategy represents one of the main activities that the communities will get revenue from. There will be two types of tourism, which are contradictory; in the tourism zone people cannot hunt, because tourists cannot see the animals, whereas in the hunting tourism

⁴² See Appendix II: Image 16

zone, tourists will pay to kill an animal and part of the profit will go to the communities.

The meetings as an activity were also criticised by the staff of the NGOs, who said the meetings were only conducted because of the existent law stating that it is the normal procedural, but can be perceived as an obstacle, because they can create more misunderstandings in the communities.

In sum, the meetings represent a space for participation where all the social actors involved in the development of the GNR participate, but instead of representing a movement to a more equal distribution of power between the social actors, it created more disparities between the NGO and the communities, and even within the communities, where the majority of the members of the community perceived the management plan as something bad for them, in contradiction to the local authorities that are more involved and can use the projects to gain more power, as they will be engaged in the process and obtain some revenues, while the rest of the community cannot participate.

5.2.2. Participation in terms of the COSV Project

In comparison to the IGF foundation project, the COSV project focuses more on the development of the people living in the buffer zone. Even though the activities and the way they perceived participation consisted in a more practical nature, where the role of the communities was not to intervene in the process of decision making, instead they were integrated in the activities previous planned in the project design.

Although the project focused in a variety of participatory activities, I will just illustrate three that I observed in the fieldwork, which are interrelated: the community house, the natural resource management committee and the interest groups. As the same as the analysis of the IGF activities the COSV participation activities were based on power relation:

“Analysing participation as a spatial practice helps draw attention to the productive possibilities of power as well as its negative effects, to the ways in which the production of spaces in itself creates – as well as circumscribes – possibilities for agency” (Cornwall, 2002: 8)

The COSV project covers twelve communities living in the buffer zone of the GNR, and one of the main activities consisted of building a community house to “give a place for reunions between the natural resource management committee that we will create and coach within the reserve. How to say? The idea of the

project is to involve the community in the management of the reserve and mainly of the buffer zone”⁴³

Although the project aimed to inform the communities about the purpose of these infrastructures, the information collected in the three communities revealed that people did not know what the aim of the building was. The situation was confirmed by Giuseppe Berlingeri⁴⁴, the COSV coordinator, who explained that they had had a problem; COSV had made a partnership with the a local organisation, ORAM, which was responsible for informing the communities, but the partnership was not successful and COSV decided to finish the contract. Notwithstanding the people from the communities perceived the construction as something good, because they never had a building for the community, with the infrastructures mainly consisting of colonial buildings used for community services, such as governmental buildings or health centres.

Still there is an important question about these and others activities of the COSV that are similar to the Movimondo and IGF projects relating to the question: who participates in these activities?

Regarding the building of community houses⁴⁵, it was not possible to analyse the Malema community because the building was already done; in Etaga and Malema Serra it was possible to observe who participates because during the time of the fieldwork people were being selected to participate and the infrastructure was just starting being built. In the case of Etaga people were not aware the project was recruiting people for the building; the information was given to the local authorities that were responsible for passing on the information to the members of the community, but they just informed people they knew. Furthermore, not even the people involved in the activity were aware of the purpose of the construction. The only thing they knew is that they could earn something.

Moreover the same situation happened to the constitution of the natural resource management committee and interest groups. The COSV released information that each community should select individuals to integrate the natural resource management committee as well as persons to integrate in interest groups to participate in three activities: carpenters, farmers and honey collectors.

The lists were made by the local authorities and even in these groups they included themselves, as in Etaga the first secretary confirmed that his name was in the group of farmers. Still there were some differences between the Etaga and Malema Serra selection. In the former, the selection was more democratic, in the

⁴³ See Appendix I: interview nr. 3. Translated by the author

⁴⁴ Idem

⁴⁵ See Appendix II: Image 17, 18, 19

sense that the members of the community were informed, but in the case of Etaga people were not informed about these groups; in general people who were included in both communities were part of the local authorities kinship.

The impact of these selections is that they can reproduce the power hierarchies already existent in the communities; instead of empowering the poor it will put them outside the activities of the projects. In the case of the natural resource management committees, created to represent the communities, some people refer that they are not represented, because they did not know who was selected. The building of the community houses illustrates well the existent power structures in the communities. When I arrived in Etaga the information I collected was that COSV was going to build the community house in Exthocin, which is a community that belongs to Etaga, situated on the border of the buffer zone and the reserve, but in the end the building was made in the centre of Etaga. This situation was confirmed by Giuseppe for another community, and demonstrates that the local authorities intervene in these decisions and consequently leave other parts out of the participation:

“The crucial irony is that ‘participation by representation’ is a contradiction in terms, because the represented perceive of their representatives as unique and distinct from themselves” (Desai, 2008:118)

The observation of the communities confirmed in part the lack of participation of the majority of the members of the communities and their discontentment with the selection process of their representatives; this is contradictory to the perception of the local authorities as they actively participated in the project and engaged with the activities.

5.5. The role of state in the development of the GNR

The implementation of the projects in the GNR could not have existed if the laws and policies of the country were not in harmony with the ideology of the organisations that implement the projects, as Giuseppe Berlingeri expressed:

“How to say? I think that it is worthwhile try. It’s true that after the implementation some confusion can create, but still, it is necessary to look for solutions than just stay has the things are. If the government said: “Stop” for us its ok and we couldn’t intervene because the government is elected by the people, but whereas the cooperation is done in coordination with the

government we can intervene”⁴⁶

Although literature relating to the relationship between the state and community initiatives has been widely criticised because the “state responses to CP [community participation] in development have often been haphazard and poorly formulated” (Desai, 2008: 117) there is no doubt that the state has an important role in CBNRM programmes.

In the case of the GNR and for the purpose of this research it is important to analyse the perceptions that the different social actors have about the role of the state as well as how government officials perceive their role in the projects.

The first important fact to consider is that the reserve belongs to the state, which is officially represented by the reserve administrator nominated by the MITUR; however, his salary is paid by the IGF foundation. This creates a certain dependence on the IGF foundation, which is the organisation responsible for the payment at this point in time. This situation extends to the rangers of the reserve, for whom the salaries come from different organisations, illustrating well the complexities of the role of the state and NGOs working in the GNR.

NGOs perceive rangers as an important feature in the conservation of the reserve, as they represent one of the first activities to implement in their projects, for which twenty-one rangers were recruited and trained with the purpose of controlling the poaching and monitor the fauna and flora of the reserve. The relationship between the rangers and the communities has not been so peaceful and has been constantly reported by the organisations (Mésochina et al, 2008; Fusari and Carpaneto, 2006).

This situation was also documented during the fieldwork in the Etaga and Malema communities⁴⁷. As mentioned before, in Etaga there was a problem with a group of men who cultivated near the Molocué River but also some members of the community expressed a concern about the poaching activity, saying rangers are the ones that exercise more poaching in the reserve or that many times people have to pay a fee without conducting any illegal activity. In Malema an informant referred he was caught poaching by a ranger who told him he had to pay a fee and work on the road; when he started working, the assistant of the reserve Eric Boudin, a French national who works for the IGF foundation, appeared and the ranger did not charge him the fee. The informant perceived this as the ranger keeping money for himself. This situation exposes further the type of corruption common in the country, as the rangers exercise corruption because of their status. Notwithstanding I had the opportunity to conduct some semi-structured focus group interviews with the rangers of the Etaga community as

⁴⁶ See Appendix I: interview nr. 3. Translated by the author

⁴⁷ In the Malema Serra there were no reports of conflicts between the rangers and the community, which can be related to the fact that in this locality does not have a rangers' camp in the area.

well as in the Musseia camp focusing on the role of the rangers and their relationship with the communities. Interestingly, in Etaga, after saying I had finished the interview, one ranger asked me why I did not ask them about their situation. He explained that they were living in difficult conditions; they do not have infra-structures, just old tents; there is lack of communication systems, such as telephones, to talk to each other when they monitor the reserve; they do not have access to a vehicle for when they are sick which leads them to have to walk to the centre of the locality and then find a way to get to the Gilé village for better assistance; they are not given any food as planned in the project and they sometimes have to ask for food from the community members or even recur to poaching so they can eat or trade for food. Eric Boudin was informed about this and explained that this happened because of the lack of participation of the state that should be the one to provide food for the rangers. Alessandro Fusari also complained about the involvement of the state in the projects:

“Alessandro: Now I will tell you something that I think. What it misses too is the presence of the government. Though is true that the government have to accept [rules form the donors and NGOs]. Do you know the budget of the state for the Gilé National Reserve?

Author: Don't know. None.

Alessandro: Right! That just talk for itself (...) here practically there is no financial support.

Author: Sustainability? There will be sustainability?

Alessandro: No, because the state has to participate. If tomorrow the IGF decides to live, it is over [...] That is what I was telling, also in this type of development project there is much guilty of the NGOs and the donors, I'm the first to say, I worked a lot with them, but much of the time the state is absent.”⁴⁸

The lack of participation is also mentioned by Teresa Boaventura, the administrator of Gilé but with a different argument. She considered that the involvement of the state in the projects of the GNR are superficial and the participation is just formal, but because of the organizations:

“A lot of projects appear in the name of the communities but they don't create sustainable bases for the populations give continuity. We [government] discuss with them [NGOs] about this. I believe that for sure it will exist sustainability and that the mistakes we get from the Movimondo project will not happen here. [...] But truly it's being difficult. The projects when they gone, the part of continuity stops, because of what happens? When the projects still exist they have all the funds for the financial support and

⁴⁸ See Appendix I: interview nr. 4. Translated by the author

monitoring. When they live, many times they go with everything, vehicles, and other means and don't live anything"⁴⁹.

The coordination exists in the theory, but in the practice, in the daily life there is no technician that is involved there. It should have one technician for monitor everything that is happening day by day. What is happening is that when just there is a big event it is when they call for the government that goes there just to testify but daily life nothing happens. Is that what we discuss that have to be a full involvement of technicians for preventing the problem of the tomorrow sustainability”

Another aspect regarding the role of the state is that the reserve is situated between two districts, with both administrators intervening in the buffer zone, and the Department of Agriculture intervening outside the reserve and the buffer zone.

Although all government institutions working in the region have just one law, as Teresa Boaventura the administrator of Gilé and Maria de Fátima Romero the provincial director of tourism argue, conflicts can emerge between these governmental institutions. The different perspectives were analysed in light of one of the main problems of conservation, the human-wildlife conflict (Baudron, 2009; Hitchcock, 1997). Despite the reduced number of wildlife living in the GNR some conflicts persist. For instance, in the Mutakane locality there were some complains of the people about an elephant that was destroying their crops, so the Department of Agriculture decided to contract professional hunters to catch the animal. The staff of the reserve was informed about this and tried to find the hunters. Although the animals belonged to the reserve the administrator of the reserve did not have the power to stop the hunters, because they were contracted by the Department of Agriculture. Eric Boudin, told me they were trying to contact the hunters to reach an agreement for them not to hunt the animal, but they could not find them. Fortunately the hunters could not find the animal and gave up. Notwithstanding this situation demonstrates well the conflicts that can emerge within the different governmental institutions working in the area.

⁴⁹ See Appendix I: interview nr. 5. Translated by the author

6. Conclusions

There is no doubt that for better or for worst the projects in the GNR produce some kind of impact. Similarly to the deconstructors of the development “industry” (Crewe and Harrison, 1998: 14-19), the data collected during the fieldwork illustrates the negative impacts that a project can produce, despite the good intentions inherent to the project. The Movimondo project represents a good example of the negative consequences a project can produce, such as the distribution of goats or crops. Still the situation is more complex, because although the bad impact elicits conflicts in the communities, the recipients of goods still desire to receive these goods (e.g. goats). Giuseppe Berlinger gave a good explanation for this:

“In one hand, this subject about goats is a success, because one of the things that people are in expectation in the project is the goats. We don’t have distribution of goats in the projects, but the people always tell: “it would be good that you gave me goats”. Any person wants to receive goats. Me too, if someone comes to offer me a goat is not bad”⁵⁰.

This statement illustrates well the way the projects are perceived by the population in general, that is, the population perceived the projects or the practitioners of development as a means to obtaining something, and that they are there just to provide them with something, no matter what it is. For a while I was considered as a worker from the organisations, which lead people to always try to show me their problems so, I would help them. This situation is not new for me, because I worked and conducted research in Mozambique⁵¹ before and although the context was different, the discourse was the same; it seems that the development projects have created a “begging culture”, in which the projects exist just to give something to people, as the same happen to Crewe and Harrison in their fieldworks:

“Money has often been relevant. Most of the people with whom we spent time assumed initially that, like most white development agency staff, we would bring financial assistance. When we proved hopelessly stingy as far as money was concerned, because we had no control over funds, and it was obvious that we were not even technical experts, the difficult question of what we could offer arose.” (Crewe and Harrison, 1998: 20).

Regarding the sustainable and participatory concepts inherent to the CBNRM projects in the GNR, the data collected for this project shows the discrepancy

⁵⁰ See Appendix I: interview nr. 3. Translated by the author

⁵¹ In 2005 I conducted a research for my bachelor thesis in the area of medical anthropology and after I worked in a NGO for one year.

between the goals designed in the projects and the actual practices, as well as the different perceptions of the social actors involved in the projects of the GNR.

The perception of the Movimondo project enabled to analyse how the different actors perceived the project's sustainability, in which most of the community members considered nothing had been done nor improved. A different perception had the coordinator of the project, Alessandro Fusari, which considered that the project has achieved its goals, but also referred an important fact that can be applied to the COSV and IGF projects, which is the lifetime of the project. Although all projects describe sustainable practices which should be continued after the end of the project, the fact is most of the activities related to the communities purchased by the Movimondo were not being used or were broken, like the manual water bombs which were not working, the press oil which was not in use, or the system of the goats, in which many of the participants did not give goats to the other recipients.

The participation perception was analysed in the COSV and IGF activities. Although both organisations promoted the participation of the communities since the beginning, participation was effectively not happening. The population in general was not aware of what the organisations were doing there. Despite the participation discourse promoted by both organisations focused in giving more power to the people, in practice the activities observed during the fieldwork can be characterised as top-down activities which increase the power of the local authorities in the communities, because they were the ones who participated more actively in the activities while the rest of the members of the community stayed out. Another interesting factor, which emerged from the participation activity, is that even the promoters of these activities criticised them. Alessandro Fusari, who presented the meetings in the communities explaining the delimitations of the reserve and the buffer zone, highlighted that they were just a formal procedure, which has to be done, although they could create a misunderstanding in the community. This criticism is not just made by the organisations, as Teresa Boaventura explained most of the participation of the state in the development of the reserve is a formal process, in which the normal procedure is that the state is not so involved in the projects and just participates to sign reports or something similar.

In sum, the qualitative method used in the research allowed for an in-depth analysis of the relations of the social actors involved in the development projects in the GNR and the buffer zone; it also provided a rich picture of the complexities and power relations involved in the CBNRM projects in the GNR, which can make a difference in the success or failure of the projects and are not normally taken into account.

Recommendations for further research

The reduced time in which the research was conducted and the period of the implementation of the COSV and IGF project, which had been in the area for just one year, did not make it possible to analyse other conflicts and interests which

can arise within the social actors. For this reason it would be important to analyse the activities of the projects in different periods, such as the activities promoted by the COSV project, but also other activities that are planned in the projects but were not executed during the fieldwork, such as the tourist development zones and the impacts that can create, or the sustainable agriculture promoted by the IGF

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Appendixes

Appendix I: List of Interviewees

<p>1. Name: Karen Colin de Verdiere Occupation: Management of the mission Site of interview: AGD office in Maputo Date: 08/02/2010 Duration: 12 min 59 sec</p>	<p>2. Name: Hubert Boulet Occupation: Deputy Director Site of interview: IGF foundation office in Maputo Date: 17/02/2010 Duration: 12 min 54 sec</p>
<p>3. Name: Giuseppe Berlingeri Occupation: Coordinator of the COSV project Site of interview: COSV office in Pebane Village Date: 24/02/2010 Duration: 19 min 50 sec</p>	<p>4. Name: Alessandro Fusari Occupation: IGF consultant Site of interview: Musseia camp in the Gilé National Date: 12/03/2010 Duration: 42 min 49 sec</p>
<p>5. Name: Teresa Boaventura Occupation: Administrator of Gilé district Site of interview: Administration of the Gilé district in the Gilé Village Date: 12/04/2010 Duration: 20 min 15 sec</p>	<p>6. Name: António Santarém Occupation: Administrator of Pebane district Site of interview: Administration of the Pebane district in the Pebane village Date: 13/04/2010 Duration: 22 min 32 sec</p>
<p>7. Name: Amândio Nkavandu Occupation: Administrator of the Gilé National Reserve Site of interview: Musseia camp in the Gilé National Date: 13/04/2010 Duration: 19 min 47 sec</p>	<p>8. Name: Maria de Fátima Romero Occupation: Provincial Director of Tourism in Zambézia Site of interview: Provincial direction of the Tourism Date: 16/04/2010 Duration: 27 min 14 sec</p>

Appendix II: Images



1- Semi-structured focus group with the local authorities of the Malema Serra community



2- Author's grandfather, Whillem Popinsky in the GNR with two hippopotami



3- Population of the Malema Serra locality working in the gold open pit mine



4- Fishermen in Moebase



5 – River Mucunanaré connection between Malema Serra and Gilé village in the dry season



6- Sign of the Movimondo project in the Malema Serra locality



7- Goats eating leaves of cassava in Etaga locality



8 – Encarivu showing the manual water pump build by Movimondo in Etaga locality



9- Former activist from the Movimondo project showing the press oil



10- Net in the back of a house in the Etaga locality.



11 – Skin of *nahi*



12- Traps used for hunting from a person in Malema locality



13- Meeting in the Malema Serra Locality (Gilé District)



14- Meeting in the Etaga locality (Pebane District)



15- Meeting in Nabury locality (Pebane District)



16- Tree where *carará* is normally found



17- Community house in Malema (Pebane District)

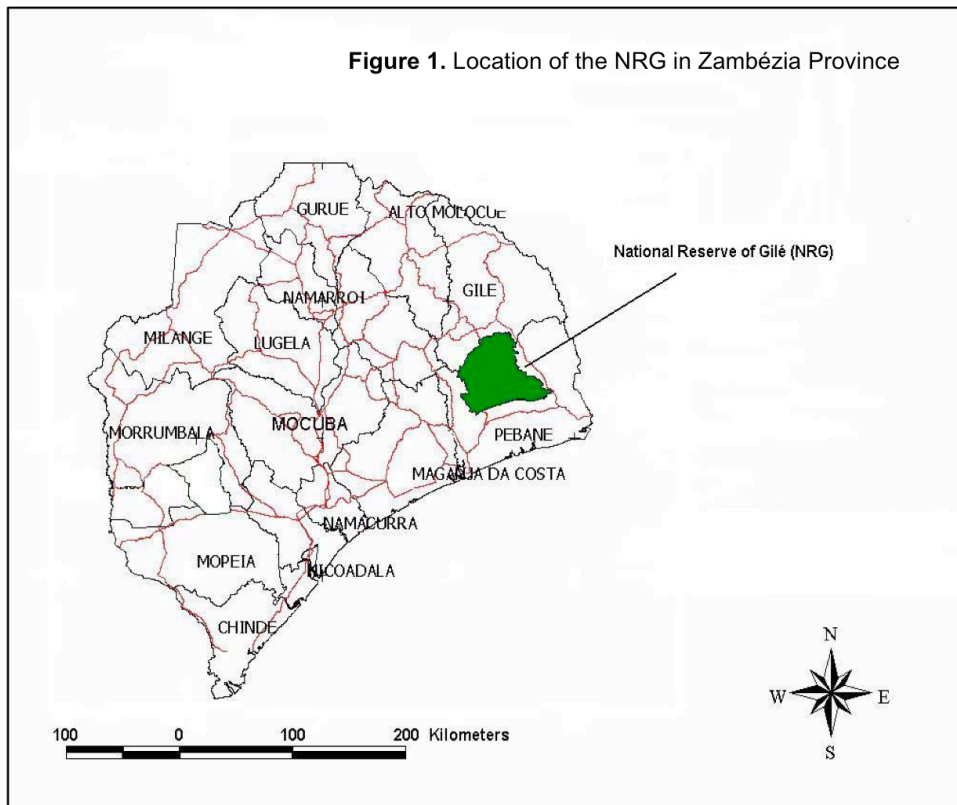


18- First day of the construction of the community house in Etaga (Pebane District)

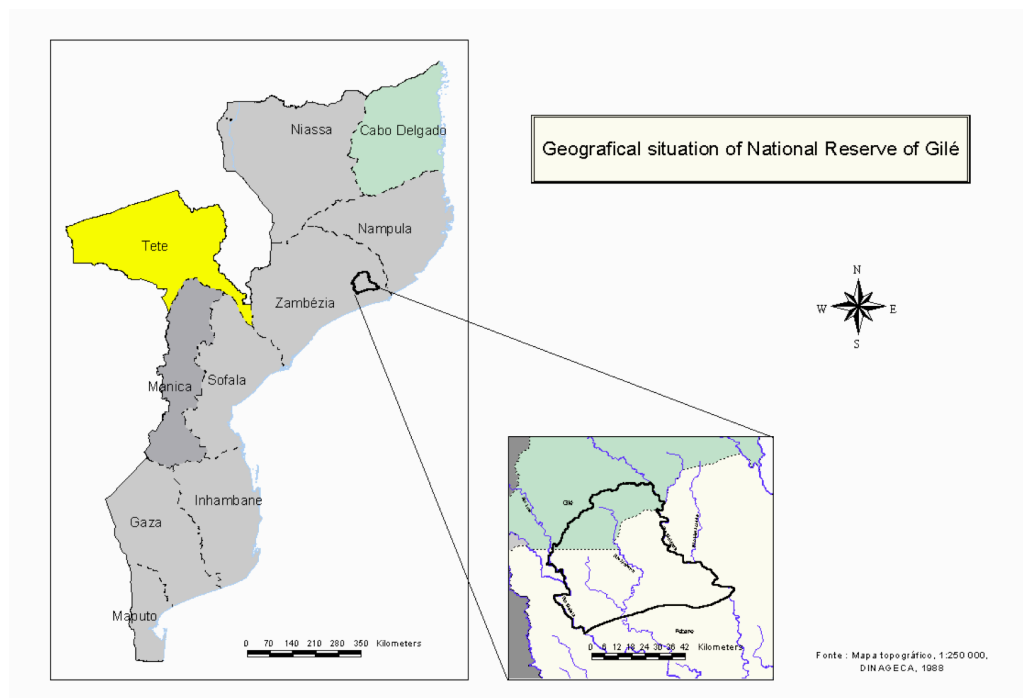


19- Second day of the construction of the community house in Etaga (Pebane District)

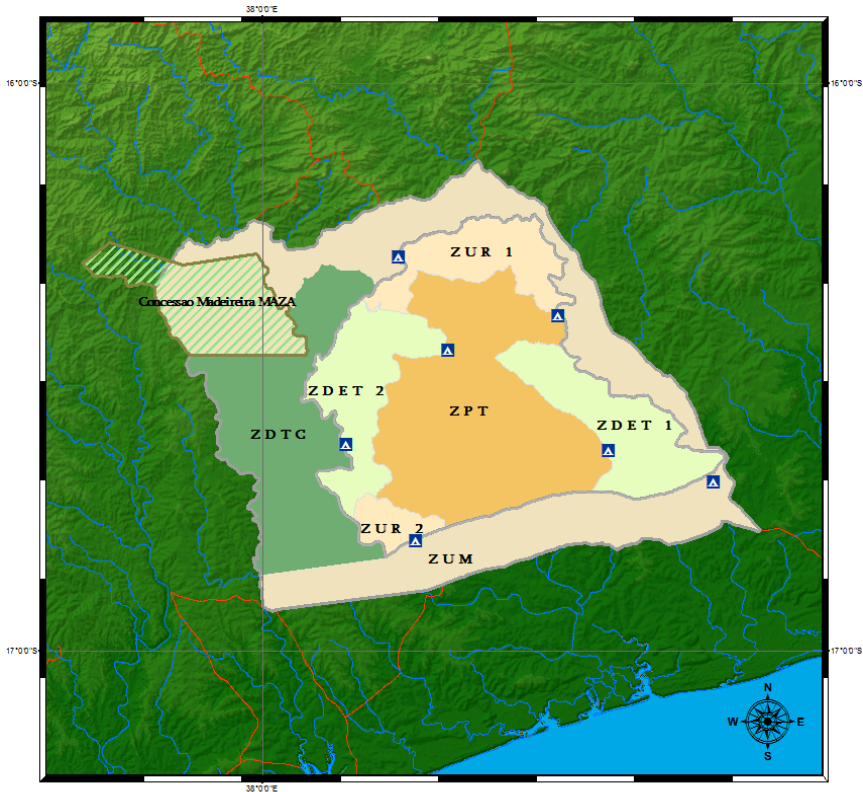
Appendix III: Maps




1- Location of the GNR in Zambézia Province.




2- Geographical location of the GNR.



 Postos de Fiscalização

0 5 10 20 30 40
Kilometers

 Estradas

 Rios

3- Delimitation of the zones in the GNR.