

SETTING THE STAKE: Common and Private Interests in the Redefinition of Resources and their Access in the Machangulo Peninsula, Mozambique

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"The phenomenon of globalisation, whose mechanisms of functioning and control escape our control, has raised legitimate questions among peoples, whose answers have not been really satisfactory. We assist, with apprehension and without power, the incapacity of developed countries to resist the temptation to be able to determine unilaterally the international political and economic order" (President Joaquim Chissano at his State of Nation, 1998; cited in *Tempo* 19-4-1998).

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I. Introduction

Access to resources constitutes the basis of human survival. Access to agrarian resources, such as land, water and forests, are the basis of survival in any agrarian society. The way, in which access is structured in cultural norms and rules, is essential to the way in which such a society is organised and will reflect the different normative repertoires and economic possibilities that exist within a certain society.

As part of the globalisation process that has continuously intensified since the early days of European colonialism, even in the most remote corners of the world tenure systems have been influenced by the demands of world-wide capitalism. In Africa, more particularly in southern Africa, a racist model that lasted well into the late twentieth century basically defined that modification.

Due to their specific colonial experience, Southern African countries are politically, economically and socially divided. Racial divides produced a dual society ruled by separate economic, cultural, administrative and legal principles. The colonial authorities created a dual legal system by codifying what they saw as a traditional legal system (Chanock, 1982; **Mamdani, 1995; references**). Racial segregation would separate the black population and its traditions from the "civilised" white. In Mozambican cities this division is epitomised in the names "cement" and "straw" (for example: the Polana Cimento and Polana Caniço (straw) neighbourhoods in the city of Maputo). Within these spatially differentiated domains, resources would have different meanings and be allocated in different manners.

Post-colonial states have found it difficult to transcend those divides, basically by failing to democratize the local state apparatuses. Democratization, deracialization and restructuring external relations were the three-fold challenge sub-Saharan African countries faced after independence (Mamdani, 1995). The current state of affairs shows that in many cases the challenge was not met. As the ongoing massacres in the Great Lakes Region and also within South Africa indicate, in many cases, an urban elite opposing rural dwellers reproduces exactly the division lines created or sustained by the colonial dual system, ethnicity or regionalism and even exacerbated them in an attempt to divide and rule. Similarly, dependence on aid and unfavourable market conditions remain a major concern for most African countries. Globalisation is apparently not very helpful either, as African countries and peoples feel themselves rendered powerless in relation to the political and economic orders imposed on them by the industrialised world.

This paper intends to illustrate the profound influence of globalisation in Southern Africa. For that aim it will refer to a small region in Mozambique, the Machangulo Peninsula. This Peninsula with an area of 160 km² lies in the South of the country, close to the capital city Maputo (map 1). Yet, for some reason, it remained largely outside the focus of the profound economic and political changes induced by European presence in the area, at least as to tenure. Actually, one might say it only entered into the spotlight of public attention in 1995. Then, an American tourism developer laid his eyes on the Peninsula's magnificent landscape and was able to make the Mozambican government lease it together with another 2,200 km² for large-scale eco-tourism development (Republica de Mozambique, 1996). In and outside Mozambique, this project has given rise to many discussions (see for instance: **Massinga, 1996; Anonymous, 1997b; Groenenwege and Van den Heuvel, 1997....**).

The paper has the following structure. It starts with a description of the area's most important geographic and ecological characteristics. It continues with a summary of its history, emphasising the various political, economic and cultural linkages that developed between the Peninsula and the larger political and economic entities in its surroundings. In addition to illuminating the incorporation process the Peninsula passed through, this part sheds light on an element in African and Mozambican history that has received relatively little attention, even in comprehensive studies such as Newitt (19...) and **Pakanham (1991)** or more detailed reports such as Liesegang (1987).

The third part deals more specifically with the issue of resource tenure. This part contains a summary of colonial and post-independence legislation to permit comparison with the neighbouring countries that passed through a period of British dominance, and to grasp the general framework in which the particular problematic of the Peninsula should be understood. This section describes the various mixtures of public, communal and private entitlements and rights as to control over and access to a broad spectre of resources, reaching from fish to wild fruits. It shows that at the moment state law seems to have relatively little impact and that locally established mechanisms of control are more relevant to the understanding of resource use in the area.

The fourth part deals with recent developments related to the development of tourism in the area. The most important one is the arrival of the American investor mentioned above. His plans, if realised, are bound to have a profound impact on local society, overruling the existing configuration of use and ownership rights, changing the current structure of the local economy, and altering the meaning attributed to the resources of the Peninsula in such a way that local worldviews, lifestyles and rights will be made subject to those of urban and foreign elites. The arrival of the foreign investor has turned the Peninsula into the stage of a conflict between different and competing systems for the allocation of ownership and usufruct rights and an urban and rural perspective on development. The investor has claimed and received a concession with sweeping powers over the entire Peninsula, turning the original habitants into tenants. In addition, land that was exclusively an agricultural resource or a dwelling of ancestral spirits has acquired new meanings. It has become landscape, an opportunity for tourism development, or, on its worst, an object of speculation. The fate of Machangulo, once only on the fringe of political and economic developments, has become tied to a globalisation process around new commodities, confirming the failure of African state to overcome the colonial legacy of autocratic rule, segregation, and unequal external relations.

II. GENERAL

Machangulo: The geographical setting

Machangulo Peninsula (26.10'S/32.50'E) lies in the south-east of Mozambique at a distance of approximately 50 km of the capital city Maputo by boat and 120 km by road. Together with Inhaca Island, it divides the Bay of Maputo from the Indian Ocean (see map 1). In the south, the Peninsula is linked to the continent. Here it borders on a major conservation area, the Maputo Elephant Reserve. Its climate is slightly more humid than the adjacent interior, with an annual precipitation of circa 900 mm. Rainfall is concentrated in summer, which is also the most important agricultural season.

Geologically, the Peninsula with the Inhaca and Portuguese Islands and sandbanks is a spit comparable with other north-pointing spits on the African East Coast. These spits are the result of a conjuncture of south-easterly trades and an in-shore north flowing sea current (Macnae, 1969). The Peninsula's geomorphology is characterised by dunes reaching up to about 90 m.a.s.l. The west and the east shores are markedly different. On the west, muddy tidal plains partially covered by mangrove forests fall dry at low tide. In the east, the shore is much steeper with sandy beaches and high dunes covered by woodland.

Another characteristic feature of the Peninsula's landscape is its lake system. As they often contain estuarine fish species, these lakes are probably remnants of lagoons that were closed from the sea by dune formation or the result of ground water coming to surface in depressions or on an impermeable layer (**fonte**).

The Peninsula's sandy soils are covered by (secondary) woodland, agricultural vegetation, mangrove and grassland. Important shrub and tree species are *Albizia adianthifolia*, *A. versicolor*, *Diospyrus obovatum*, *Mimusops caffra*, *M. zeyheri*, *Sclerocarya birrea* subsp. *caffra*, *Strychnos spinosa*, *S. madagascariensis*, *Syzigium cordatum*, and *Trichilea emetica*. All, except for *Albizia* spp., produce edible fruits. Their dominance is probably caused by selective felling and seed dispersal by the population. People claim that they refrain from cutting trees that bear edible fruit if it can be avoided (Impacto, n.d., give similar information on Inhaca Island). In addition to native tree species, cashew (*Anacardium occidentale*) may be found in the area, as well other imported fruit trees such as mango (*Magnifera indica*), citrus, and, although relatively rare, coconut (*Cocos nucifera*). Exotic trees occurring in secondary forest vegetation - quite common on the case of cashew - are generally remnants of abandoned farms¹.

Selective felling and forest regeneration on abandoned farms determine largely species composition of the Peninsula's woodland cover. Local vegetation is clearly shaped by human influence. For that reason, in their account of Southern African vegetation, the biologists Wild and Barbosa (1967:33) classify these apparently wild landscapes "indigenous orchards".

The historical setting: The global dimension of local political change

Globalisation, if understood as a process of social, economic and cultural integration of local social units in a world-wide order is an old process. Areas such as Mozambique were already part of a wider economy as early as the sixth century, when Arabs maintained a trade post in Sofala (Serra, 1988:13). The discovery of a sea route to India by the Portuguese sailor Vasco da Gama in 1498 heralded incorporation of the region into a European dominated political and economic system which in the end resulted in its integration in a colonial world order (Abrahamsson and Nilsson, 1995:19). Colonialism has had a profound influence on countries such as Mozambique. Although brief and fleeting - effective occupation, an ambition incited by the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, lasted but half a century, as only in the 1920s African sovereignty was fully quenched (Davidson, 1994:186) -, Portuguese rule implied a specific process of incorporating the different segments of Mozambican society in the global political, economic and cultural system.

Initially, the Portuguese concentrated their attention on the coast in the Centre and North of the

country, where they established permanent trade posts in Sofala (1505) and Ilha de Moçambique (1507) (Serra, 1988:79). White colonies in the South of Mozambique dates back to eighteenth century. Maputo Bay appears for the first time on a map in 1502, but is mentioned by European sources only in 1504. In 1545 another Portuguese sailor, Lourenço Marques, stayed in the area. His arrival meant the start of intensive ivory trade (Spence, 1969; Lemos, 1987; Liesegang, 1987). The Portuguese established contacts with the kings of Inhaca Island, who granted them a separate isle where they could stay². Today uninhabited, it still is called Portuguese Island. Later, the Portuguese established themselves on the mainland. In 1782 they built a fortress, which became the nucleus of a white settlement named after Lourenço Marques. In the late nineteenth century this settlement expanded as a result of economic development in Transvaal, and in 1898, it substituted Ilha de Moçambique as the colony's capital (Lemos, 1987; Covane, 1989; Abrahamsson and Nilsson, 1995). After independence, the new government renamed the city Maputo, after a king that had ruled the south of the country in the eighteenth century (Lemos, 1987).

Notwithstanding the relevance of colonial occupation to the actual cultural, socio-economic and political conditions in southern Mozambique, until the late nineteenth century local imperialist ambitions were more important as to defining the destiny of political entities in the region (see also Taylor, 1995:56-7). The [I]Nhaca Kingdom is a case in point. When the Portuguese arrived, Nhaca ruled over a large area around Maputo Bay. Nhaca's main settlement was west of Maputo, on the River Umbeluzi (Cabral, 1975:66). In the eighteenth century, the Nhaca lost their influence due to the encroachment of various other local rulers and were forced to retreat to Machangulo Peninsula and the island that today still bears their name. Later, even here the Nhaca were defeated by the Tembe who conquered the entire region south of Maputo between the Limbombo mountains and the Ocean (Liesegang, 1987). At the height of its power, in mid-eighteenth century, the Tembe kingdom became divided into two parts. One part covered the area between the Libombo Mountains and Maputo river and was ruled from Catembe (literally: "Chéz Tembe"), just across the Bay in front of what today is Maputo City. The other part covered the area east of the Maputo River and extended from Inhaca Island in the north to the lands of Sangandabe and Mepelelda in the south. Its ruler was King Maputo, who had headed the conquest of this area on behalf of his father. Maputo resided at a place called Macassane, about 20 km south of Salamanga. He died between 1790 and 1795 (Cabral, 1975:91).

On Inhaca, the Nhaca were turned into vassals of Maputo but remained the island's nominal rulers until the late nineteenth century. In a report to the District's Governor dated 9/6/1884, Lieutenant Vincente de Miranda, commander of the military garrison at Inhaca, refers to "Nango, Secretary of the Queen of Inhaca, who is subordinated to the *régulo* [chief] of Maputo". In another missive dated 23/4/1885, he mentions only the Secretary of the *Régulo* of Maputo. In subsequent reports, no further reference is made to a Queen of Inhaca, either (AHM, 8/102). According to Alberto (1958) the Nhaca's lost their power as a result of a conflict between Inhaca and Unguanaze, the King of Maputo. Unguanaze ordered his *induna* (plural *tinduna*: "captain"; or "councillor") Panguissa to occupy the island and take over control. In the early 1990s, the last Panguissa died and the Nhaca claimed back their position as the Island's traditional rulers (Impacto, n.d., p.8).

Although the struggle between local rulers such as Nhaca and Tembe/Maputo should be understood from local rather than global dynamics, it is also true that alliances and commerce with European traders heavily influenced the outcome of that struggle. According to Stephen Taylor (1995:35-7), Mabhudu's [Maputo's] raise to what he qualifies as "south-east Africa's first great ruler" was largely

due to "a network of patronage and coercion" based on ivory trade with Europeans. His power followed the exchange rate of beads, brass and cloth for ivory, which doubled between 1770 and 1780.

The destitution of the Nhaca coincided with the establishment of Portuguese colonial rule. The Maputo kingdom, at that time governed by a queen called Zambi, became tributary to the Portuguese Crown as from 10 February 1888. (Before that, it had been tributary of Zulu King Dingane.) Since then, there was a Portuguese resident at the royal court (Lapa and Ferreira, 1889; Liesegang, 1987; AHM, 8-107, in a letter of 4/3/1893). In January 1896, Zambi's son, King Unguanazi, tried to liberate himself from Portuguese rule but was defeated. The Portuguese ordered his destitution and detention, and Unguanazi and most of the population fled to his territories across the colonial border in what today is Kwazulu-Natal, where he died (AHM, 11/89, 24-1-1896; Alberto, 1958; Liesegang, 1987)³.

The military occupation of Maputo was most certainly only partially related to bilateral tensions between King Unguanazi and the Governors of Lourenço Marques. It had a clear global dimension. In the Scramble for Africa, Britain and Portugal disputed control over the Maputo area and more in particular the Bay. This Bay was a natural harbour to Transvaal and for Britain its control was essential to the domination of the Boer Republics. As a matter of consequence of this power struggle, the Maputo kingdom became the apple of discontent between Portuguese and British colonial interests. In 1875, their conflict was officially settled by international arbitration. The French (*sic!*) president Mac-Mahon ruled that the Portuguese and British colonial dominions should be divided according to the line that today constitutes the border between Kwazulu-Natal and Mozambique but at that time cut straight through the Maputo kingdom. However, reports by the Portuguese Resident at the Maputo Court show that the Portuguese were afraid that, despite this settlement, the British would try to expand their control to the North by "courting" the rulers of Maputo, whose kingdom happened to be on either side of the line drawn by Mac-Mahon⁴. In the light of British pretensions, military occupation was a better guarantee to effectuate Portuguese control in the contested area than the maintenance of a weak independent Kingdom.

After Unguanazi's defeat, the Portuguese reorganised the former kingdom's administration. Machangulo became a chiefdom or "*regulado*" administered from the Administrative Post on Inhaca Island within the district of Maputo (Rosinha, 1958; Cabral, 1975; Liesegang, 1987) **Boletim Oficial?** The Portuguese replaced the chiefs who accompanied their king in exile by individuals they thought they could trust. In July 1896, the Secretary of the Colonial Government asked "for a list of all (...) areas that belonged to *régulos* [chiefs] that were discharged and to whom the vacated offices should be redistributed" (AHM - 11/89, 31-7-1896). Fortunately, the Tembe family had numerous ambitious members and the Portuguese did not have many problems finding suitable substitutes. Thus, the *régulo* of Machangulo, who had been among Unguanazi's captains and accompanied his king into exile, was replaced by Himbine Tembe⁵.

Within the Portuguese colonial system, African chiefs would be largely autonomous as to "indigenous" affairs. Their sole obligations to the colonial authorities were tax collection and the recruitment of the migrant labourers that constituted the region's most important export commodity (see Covane, 1989). In addition, they were responsible for the recruitment of labourers for certain jobs the Portuguese would deem essential (forced labour - *chibalo*). Portuguese administrators dealt with affairs that exceeded the chief's management capacities or involved non indigenous. These administrators were based at the capital of each district and within the district at the "administrative post".

With the end of colonial rule in 1975, the system of indirect rule was abolished as well. The chiefs lost their powers to the administrative authorities that substituted the Portuguese, and to grassroots ramifications of the liberation front, Frelimo. The secretaries of "dynamizing groups" ("*grupos dinamizadores*") aggregated in "circles" and "cells" would execute many of the tasks that had been the chiefs' and their *tinduna*'s privileges. The new order did not imply a complete rupture with the past. It is striking that in Machangulo the subdivision in cells follows the colonial division in *induna* territories. Moreover, in many cases, the cells' secretary is a close relative of the late *induna*; in two areas he is even one of his sons. One exception on this rule is the former *régulo*'s resident area, where he himself acted as the *induna*. Here, a competing family occupies the position of secretary⁶.

Independence was almost immediately followed by the outbreak of a civil war. Although it was a *Mozambican* guerrilla movement called National Resistance in Mozambique (Renamo) that challenged the authority of the Frelimo government, it was clear right from the beginning that in many respects this civil war was little else than a continuation of the late nineteenth century's Scramble for Africa. Civil war in Mozambique was the result of global rather than local conflicts. Frelimo sided with the Soviet Union and took a harsh stand against minority rule in Rhodesia and South-Africa. Renamo was first trained and financed by Ian Smith's minority regime in Rhodesia. It also received support from conservative US and Portuguese circles. After Smith's defeat in 1979, South-Africa took it upon itself to support guerrilla warfare in Mozambique (Abrahamsson and Nilsson, 1995; Hanlon, 1996). The geography of the Renamo raids confirms changing patronage: up to 1980 war was fought primarily in the centre of the country, where the movement could easily be supplied from Rhodesia. After Smith's defeat, from 1984 onward, war intensified in the South, especially near the South African border (Hanlon, 1991:32)⁷.

War affected mainly rural areas, from where many were forced to flee. In 1986, as Renamo raids intensified, it was the turn of the inhabitants of Machangulo to seek refuge. Almost all inhabitants abandoned the area in 1987, mostly for Inhaca, Maputo and South Africa. They started to return only after the Government and Renamo signed a peace treaty in 1992⁸.

III. Local resource use in a global context

The Peninsula's resources

The above outline of the Peninsula's history indicates how the political development of Machangulo was shaped by regional political and economic interests and by imperialist aspirations of colonial and post-colonial (super-)powers at a global level. Ivory trade, taxation, and control over (migrant) labour formed the most important economic drives behind geo-political changes in the area.

Despite the role of these regional and global forces, in any respects Machangulo seemed to remain at the margin of political and economic development. Contrary to Inhaca, which apart from a hotel hosts a biological research station and hence was intensively investigated, it received also little attention from academics.

The weakness of the ties with the national political and economic systems appears for example from

the relative underdevelopment of a settler economy in the area. Until 1987, when the population fled for intensified warfare, few non-black (Portuguese/Indian) economic interests existed on the Peninsula. The most important ones were four shops (*cantinas*) and three commercial fishing enterprises. At the shops, locals could obtain goods from Lourenço Marques or abroad. Two of these shops had been established by Indian migrants (Mangalal and Gomes) in 1901, the other two by a Portuguese (Pinto) between 1960 and 1967. The shops were located in the North (Nhonguane/Santa Maria) and the Centre (Ndelane/Himbine) of the Peninsula (Rodrigues, 1917; Gil, 1960; Mendes, 1967; Venâncio Fernandes, 27/3/1998).

In the colonial economic system, these shops would mainly barter agricultural products of "native" farmers against imported and manufactured goods such as salt, sugar and cloth. In Machangulo, the poor sandy soil, the dry climate, and the absence of a river that might feed irrigated farming allow only for low agricultural output. Contrary to other parts of the Maputo Kingdom, no white settler tried to occupy land for farming in the territory (McGregor, 1995; Negrão, 1996). As a result, farming remained a subsistence oriented dry-land fallow system, with only two tree crops, cashew (*Anacardium occidentale*) and *mafurra* (*Trichilia emetica*), playing a minor commercial role. One shop owner used to trade cashew and *mafurra* seeds⁹. Commercially more important than these tree products were the gold and money earned by migrants in South African mines and sugar plantations. According to one of the former shopkeepers, migrant labourers sent their remittances directly to the shops to be converted into consumables on behalf of their relatives at home (Venâncio Fernandes, 27/3/1998).

In terms of revenue, fishing was far more important than farming and trading. Both shop-owners and a entrepreneur from Greek origins established companies that exploited permanent nets extended between palisades with a length of one kilometre or more and covering triangles with areas between 2000 to 4000 m² called *gamboas*. With these nets they would catch prawns in the southern half of the Peninsula during winter (March-October) and fish in the north of the Peninsula during summer (November-February)¹⁰. Each company would employ about 25 persons, who lived with their families in semi-permanent camps close to the nets. To local labour, these fishing enterprises had little significance, as almost all workers were recruited outside Machangulo. Some would be forced labourers, whose wages served to pay tax debts (Venâncio Fernandes, 27/3/1998).

Prawn fishing entered into decline in the 1960s, when the authorities allowed fishing in the utmost south of Maputo Bay. As this is the prawn's main reproduction area, catches declined in Machangulo. The fishing companies except for one closed down. The surviving company still occupies twelve sites along the Peninsula's west coast, and employs two persons to look after them. It also maintains its camps. Each year it renews its fishing licences in the area, but neither the camps nor the nets are actually being exploited and inhabited. The same accounts for its shops, which it did not reopen since the end of the war.

Whereas commercial fisheries declined, for the local population, fishing continues important. Four basic methods are used: nets that are drawn along the beach by people (often women) wading in the water ("beach trawling"), nets fixed on palisades in the tidal zone, and line fishing and the use of gill nets from boats on the sea itself. In 1995, half of the households participated in beach trawling and a quarter practised line and gill net fishing from boats. Very few are using palisades (two in Himbine/Ndelane). About one-third of the population does not participate in any form of commercial fisheries (Austral, 1996)¹¹.

Fishing constitutes today, apart from remittances, the population's main source of cash. It is also an important source of animal protein. In the past, animal husbandry had been quite important in this region. In the early 16th century, Inhaca was named "Cattle Island" "because the sailors saw cattle here" (Spence, 1969). In their late 19th century's encyclopedia of Mozambique, Lapa and Ferreira (1889:47) still refer to Inhaca as "abundant in domestic animals". In the 1950's, however, Rosinha (1958) complained that cattle and pastures were in bad conditions. According to him there were but 30 cows, 199 sheep and 220 goats on the Island. Whether Machangulo has such a long history of cattle holding is unknown, but colonial records indicate that it was important during the 1950's and 1960's. In 1959, the Administrative Post of Inhaca (Island and Peninsula together) counted 2,182 bovines (Gil, 1960). If Rosinha was correct, most of these animals were on the Peninsula. Here they were concentrated in the southern half, where a dip tank was installed. The chief requested also the installation of a balance in this area to weigh the animals when they were traded¹². During the second half of the 1970s the government reduced support to animal husbandry in the area. When the responsible of the dip tank of Machangulo fell ill, he was not substituted and the tank was closed. From then on, the number of cattle declined. The population lost what remained of its stock during the civil war. On its flight in 1987 across the sea, it had to leave behind the cattle that had survived earlier raids. Since then, none has been able to rebuild his stock¹³.

Resource tenure: The Land Question

Changes in resource use and in political rule are related to changes in the organisation of control over economic resources such as pasture, farmland, and fishing grounds. In Southern Africa, one of today's most important issues is the land question. In almost all countries of the region, governments, NGO's and farmers' organisations are discussing possibilities to review and modify existing legislation as to the organisation of access to and use of land. In addition to national agencies, international organisations such as FAO and the World Bank as well as internationally renowned scientific institutions like the Michigan State University's Land Tenure Centre (LTC) are involved in the development of new legal formulae. (For an impression of the LTC's influence on Mozambique see Myers, Eliseu and Nhachungue, 1993; Weiss and Myers, 1994; Kloeck-Jenson, 1997).

All over the region land tenure is influenced by a dual system that evolved during the colonial period. British colonial authorities created a situation in which a Western European concept of property coexisted with forms of ownership as defined by local "tradition". The first group of rules was destined for land attributed to a white settler sector, whereas the remainder would be valid in so-called tribal or communal areas (Migot-Adholla and Bruce, 1994; Mamdani, 1995; Juma and Ojwang, 1996; Scoones *et al*, 1996). In Mozambique, the Portuguese did more or less the same. They divided the land in areas dedicated to modern farming where land tenure was organised according to an adapted version of Portuguese law, and in areas where the "natives" were allowed to settle. The 1944 land law, for instance, distinguished three classes of land. Classes one and two were destined for white settlement or for people who had acquired the same legal statute (the "civilised" or "assimilated"); class three was for black settlement (Decree 33.727 of 22 June 1944, art. 3 and 4). In the indirectly ruled "black" areas the colonial authorities would leave tenure to tradition and local chiefs, excluding the "natives" from a property title under colonial law:

"In the land reserved for the indigenous population, the natives can occupy any parcel

of land. But that occupation will never confer them property rights and will be arranged amongst them according to their usages and customs" (Decree 33.727 of 22 June 1944, art. 32)¹⁴.

Such a clause is typical for the indirectly ruled colonial states, where native "land remained a communal - 'customary' - possession" and "the market was restricted to products of labour, only marginally incorporating land or labour itself" (Mamdani, 1995).

In countries such as Swaziland, Zimbabwe and South-Africa, the dual system survived independence (**Juma and Ojwang, 1996; Scoones et al, 1996; fontes**). In Mozambique it continued on a new fundament. In 1979, all land was declared state property. The state would allocate land on a leasehold basis through a "use and exploitation title" ("*Titulo de uso e aproveitamento*"). Family smallholders would automatically acquire a title, the so-called "family occupation title" ("*Titulo de ocupação familiar*"). They were not required to register their right or to pay a land tax (Law n° 6/79 of 3 July ("*Lei de Terras*"), art. 8, 9; Decree 16/87, art. 47, 57).

The 1979 Land Law was modified in October 1997. The new law, although inspired by LTC and FAO experts, maintains the principles of state property and the non-commodity nature of land. The most important innovation is the official recognition of the dual system that had persisted underneath the 1979 legislation. The 1997 law allows for the demarcation of communal lands, wherein land will be allocated to individual households according to traditional customs and rules (art. 9a of Law 17/97). Thus, the dual system dividing "private leasehold land" from "tribal areas" has been officially (re-)established in Mozambique.

The new land law officializes a dual system for land tenure. Yet, it is probably too early to conclude from this fact that at the same moment legal pluralism has become official as well. Up to now, no systematic inventory of "traditional rules" as to land allocation has taken place with the objective to codify them as a parallel body to current state legislation. This does not mean that access to land - and to other resources - is not regulated by more than one set of rules. As will become clear from the next section that deals with the situation in Machangulo, in practice pluralism does exist.

Resource tenure in Machangulo

Resources in Machangulo can roughly be classified in three major groups: the sea and adjacent floodplains and mangroves; forest and farm land; lakes. Each area is subject to different laws and to different traditional arrangements (see figure 1). In this section, I summarize the set of rules that regulates access to each of these broad resource types.

The sea and the adjacent floodplains and mangrove forests are public domain by law. They are protected by specific laws (maritime and fisheries law - Law 3/90; Decree 37/90) or specific sections in the land and forest legislation (art. 7 and 8 of law 17/97; Diploma Legislativo 2642) and **environmental legislation**.

Access to fish is regulated by a licence system under the responsibility of maritime authorities (Law 3/90, art. 16-21; Decree 37/90, art. 5, 8, 9). This system concerns maritime fishing (with rods) and fishing on the tidal planes (with standing nets).

The use of the tidal plains for fishing with standing nets (*gamboas*) is subject to licensing. Similar to all fishing licenses, a *gamboa* license is valid for one year and covers a strip running from high tide to the low tide lines, which includes the net and a 300 meter buffer zone on each side. Thus, it is officially impossible to have nets at a distance of less than 300 m or behind each other (Venâncio Fernandes, 27/03/98).

Forest law classifies the four mangrove species occurring in the area as third-class timber species, meaning that they may not be used for firewood or charcoal (Diploma Legislativo 2642; Republic of Mozambique - Ministry of Agriculture, 1992). Felling for commercial aims is dependent on licensing by the Provincial Forest and Wildlife Services. In practice, mangrove stakes are taken without any licensing. They are particularly popular for the construction of *gamboas*. In one *gamboa* approximately 10% of the stakes were taken from mangroves, but allegedly other *gamboas* are made completely with mangrove sticks (Pechisso, 1998). People claim that mangroves are the best type of wood for this kind of constructions (Venâncio Fernandes, 27/03/98).

Access to land is officially regulated by the Land Law as discussed above. In Machangulo, according to the national land register DINAGECA, during the colonial period only six concessions totalling circa 363 ha were handed out. All six concessions were in the northern-most tip of the Peninsula (Cape Santa Maria). These concessions seem to have little impact on actual land use. Apparently, after Independence, they were cancelled, as the titleholders left the country (**verify - falar com Banze**).

Since Independence, several new claims have been made, but none has (yet) resulted into an official title. One claim concerns a South African tourism enterprise. This enterprise requested an area of almost 10,000 ha for a nature reserve. It built already two guest houses on the east shore of the Peninsula on "vacant" sites, although apparently it does not have an official title or license. As to now, the presence of this enterprise has had little impact on the population.

The last claim has been made by the American investor mentioned before. This claim crossed with the South African one and was probably the main reason why that was never honoured. It will be discussed more extensively in a separate section.

The population seems hardly aware of the existence of these titles and requests. It follows its own set of rules, according to which resource use rights on the mainland depend on the spot and on the type of resource.

On the tidal plains, underneath or parallel to official law, a local system exists. In Ndelane, behind the four nets belonging to the only commercial enterprise that has survived the general crises, locals have mounted smaller *gamboas*, sometimes made only of straw and stakes (in figure 1 symbolised by P1 to P4). Allegedly, the enterprise's local representative allows this illegal occupation against the payment of a certain fee. The company does not use its sites. One of the enterprise's sites in the area of Himbine/Ndelane is occupied by a local fisherman. The man in question knows that he is acting illegally but claims that he occupied that area immediately after returning from the war and therefore refuses to abandon it. In addition to these four sites, only one other site has an official license. This site is exploited by the former chief.

This description shows that although as to the *gamboas* an official licensing system exists which creates (temporary) private ownership rights, these rights are constantly bent, manipulated and infringed upon by the different parties involved. The mangroves are formally protected areas but the local population hardly maintains any restrictions as to their use. The only restriction that actually seems to be in force is that of the user group: apparently, only members of the local community are entitled to collect stakes and firewood from these mangroves.

On the continent, land tenure is largely organised on locally defined principles rather than statutory law. Basically, all physical space on the Peninsula has an owner. It belongs to the family as embodied in the family head (*munumuzana* in Ronga; compare Junod, 1996:15-18)¹⁵. The size of that family can vary considerably: it can be a single person (for example, a widow), or a large extended family consisting of many multi-marriage generations. This does not necessarily mean that only the owner is entitled to use the resources in that space. The mix of entitlements varies with the nature of the space and the resource.

Four types of spaces may be distinguished: "*muthswini*" (woodland), "*massimu*" (farm land), "*timunti*" (houses and gardens), and sacred grooves (see figure 1). Whereas use rights are exclusive in the *timunti* areas, they are already less exclusive in the currently farmed *massimu*, whereas in abandoned fields and in woodlands other people may for example collect fuel wood or wild fruits even without explicit approval of the owner. The only use that is dependent on active consent is opening areas for cultivation. In sacred grooves no use is allowed and access to these areas is restricted to specific individuals (the chief, lineage head) on ceremonial occasions.

The influence of the resource type on use and access rights can be illustrated by pointing at the different rules locally maintained regarding fruit tree species and crops. Exotic fruit trees (citrus, coco, etc.) and native, half-domesticated species such as *mafurra* (*Trichilia emetica*, Natal Mahogany) and *canhu* (*Sclerocarya birrea*, Marula) and all crops are owned by the group of persons that plant and tend them. If they grow on *massimu* and *timunti* areas, it is forbidden to collect them. If they grow in woodland (this includes secondary forest and fallow land), rules are less strictly defined, also because effective control is almost impossible. Non-domesticated fruit species (for example: *Strychnos* spp., *Mimusops* spp.) and firewood on fallow land or in secondary forest may be collected freely, as long as the landowner does not object. As people tend to collect in areas where it is abundant, these objections are never made.

Use of these "free" products seems however subject to two restrictions: it should serve the satisfaction of immediate needs (consumption) and not for instance trade; and the user should be a member of the community. However, it should be mentioned that the population was hesitant on either point "because", as they put it, "no outsider has appeared yet and no one wants to buy these products" (for more details, see Pechisso, 1998).

The local framework defines which areas and resources are private and which are freely accessible (within reasonable limits). Within this framework another type of space emerges: commons. Although in the *tinduna* areas most land would either belong to the *induna* or another individual family, certain areas were not individually allocated but preserved as communal areas.

Within the area of Himbine Tembe (the former chief), two such communal areas exist. One is a small land tongue between two lakes comprising about 100 ha. This land was never individualised,

apparently because of its humidity. As the land remains humid under dry conditions, all families want to be able to cultivate a plot on it. Thus, it is kept as a kind of security on behalf of the population¹⁶.

The second communal area is a much larger area a few kilometres to the south. This area was exclusively reserved for grazing ("*Libalene*") and in it cultivation was not admitted although it apparently did happen. Today, it is largely abandoned due to the war. When people left the Peninsula they had to leave their cattle behind. Until today, they have not been able to rebuild their stocks. As a result, the grazing is gradually being overgrown by shrubs and trees constituting a patchy, juvenile, secondary forest.

The third communal area is the mangrove forest on the west coast of the Peninsula. As was mentioned before, the local population seems to maintain no restrictions as to use except for exclusion of non-community members. The total area of this forest is about 1250 ha. All *induna* areas on the east coast control part of the mangroves. The part included in Tembe is about ... ha. The apparent absence of use restrictions does not lead to destruction of this resource. Natural regeneration and diameter distribution of the mangrove forest and its constituent species indicate that it is stable. Only one species (***Bruguiera gymnorrhiza***) seems to suffer from exploitation pressure. This species is the one people prefer most for the construction of *gamboas* (Pechisso, 1997¹⁷).

The lakes constitute the last category of resources used by the population. Beach trawling is the most important technique. The catch is used for subsistence. Access is restricted to inhabitants of the cell the lake belongs to.

The local framework of rules regarding lakes, land, mangroves and the tidal areas exists underneath and hardly affected by the state system. At the margin of political and economic development, and under a regime of indirect rule, neither the colonial nor the post-independence Frelimo regime seems to have modified very much the organisation of access to resources on the Peninsula. However, it is well possible that the next decade will witness a profound change.

IV. The Tourism Threat

The point of departure of this paper is globalisation: the increased integration of remote social, cultural, economic and political units in one system. One aspect of that globalisation is the "travel revolution". Economic prosperity of Western countries brought about paid holidays and lower international transport costs in real terms. As a result, world international tourist arrivals grew by an overall rate of 7.3% per annum, from just 25 million in 1950 to 567 million in the mid 1990s. For 2000, forecasts are predicting a world total of 660 million international tourist arrivals (Wanhill, 1997). In Southern Africa, tourism is booming business. In 1990, some three million tourists visited the region. In 1996 this number had almost tripled to 8.3 million and it is expected that in the next ten years it will grow to 22.5 millions (De Bruyne, 1997). International experts foresee that tourism will spur Mozambique's development. The Economist Intelligence Unit (1995) quoted by Massinga (1996) estimates a potential tourism income of US\$ 80 million per year.

Tourists are charmed by some special feature. In the case of so-called eco-tourism, a distinctive landscape, the presence of uncommon flora or fauna, are key attractions. Shortly after the Peace

Agreement, an American investor laid eyes on the region south of Maputo and decided that it was promising as a tourist destination. Machangulo and the adjacent Elephant Reserve will be the only place where tourists can see the "big five" of African game (lion, buffalo, leopard, rhinoceros, and elephant) *and* enjoy the beaches of the Indian Ocean. The landscape with its dune forests and lakes is an ideal setting for holiday homes and resorts. The region's tourism potential is further increased by the vicinity of Kruger Park - Southern Africa's major tourist attraction - at a distance of only about 200 km, and international flight connections less than 50 km just across the Bay.

In 1995, Blanchard Mozambique Enterprises, registered in New Orleans, Louisiana, USA, requested a concession of the area between Inhaca and the South African border for eco-tourism. In 1996, the Mozambican government granted the enterprise a "development contract" for 235,200 ha from Cape Santa Maria to the South African border and a use and exploitation title for more four areas in Maputo, on Inhaca and on Machangulo (Repubblica de Moçambique, 1996). The size of this area is comparable to a country such as Israel (Massinga, 1996).

Machangulo will be the core of Blanchard's project. Here, he received a title for an unspecified area of 800 ha for the construction of a hotel, a golf course and holiday and beach homes. On the remaining 15,200 ha, he is supposed to create a private wildlife reserve, to build wooden holiday houses and to construct infrastructures to the benefit of the population¹⁸. Finally, he is supposed to create a joint-venture in which participate Blanchard (70%), the Mozambican State (9.66%), the local communities (4.83%) and others (Repubblica de Moçambique, 1996).

The meaning of tourism

Tourism is often desired by the residents of destination areas. "They do this, because they want their lifestyles to change. They want jobs, higher incomes, increased tax revenues and better opportunities for their children" (Wall, 1997). People in Machangulo are no exception to this rule. They look forward to the promised benefits (roads, waterholes, health posts, schools, etc.) and to the jobs. (The project claims to create 12,000 direct and 8,000 indirect jobs.) With employment at home, their children no longer will be obliged to look for work abroad¹⁹. Therefore, when questioned about Blanchard's project, they are invariably concerned with the delay registered up to now and not as much with possible costs.

The costs of the project are likely to be connected to the redefinition of the relation between the population and the resources. A third party, the tourist developer and his tourist clients, appears. As a result, the Peninsula's resources will acquire a new symbolic meaning and a new material value outside the original local context.

At the symbolic level, tourism is largely based on the references to larger, abstract themes. Mass tourism uses themes such as "sun", "sea", "sand" and "sex". Eco-tourism converts these themes into "nature", "nostalgia" and "nirvana" (Dann, 1997). A careful reading of the project document submitted by Blanchard to the Mozambican government will probably expose exactly these themes. Here, I will restrict myself to only one, "nature".

In his document, Blanchard stresses the pristine and untouched character of the area he wants to invest in. As was explained before, the biologists Wild and Barbosa (1967) classify the area's woodland as "an indigenous orchard".

The different meanings attributed to the landscape by the tourist developer and biologists matches quite well with the redefinition of rural areas by tourism promoters as "nature". Tourism discourse or "Greenspeak" hides that rural areas are used by referring to them as wilderness. Through this label, rural areas can be appropriated by urban dwellers. The definition of "rural" as "nature" is a "language of appropriation" (Tovey, 1993 cited by Dann, 1997).

Another aspect of Greenspeak is that "very rarely is *nature in the raw* offered to the client. Rather it is a *cooked version of nature* which is presented, one worked over by science and culture to yield 'the natural.'" For instance, unpleasant elements of nature such as hurricanes and poisonous snakes are omitted (Williamson, 1983 cited by Dann, 1997). In the particular case of Machangulo, this "cooking" takes place almost literally. The "nature" as presupposed by tourism does not yet exist. Of the "big five", which in combination with the big Ocean are allegedly the area's key attraction, only one currently occurs in the area. There are about 200 elephants in and around the Maputo Elephant Reserve. For some reason these animals prefer the western part of the Reserve and never appear close to the coast or on the Peninsula (Fred de Boer, pers. comm.). Rhino, leopard, lion, and buffalo will have to be imported, just as many other species such as kudu and nyala. One mammal is quite abundant in the area: man. This species will have to be moved outside the reserve and recollected in what is supposed to be "typical African settlements".

The Blanchard project redefines rural resources as nature in an act of appropriation. In that same act, it changes the principles that underlay the value of these resources. As was made clear in the section on tenure, state law and local resource tenure system converge at certain points. One point of convergence is that small-scale subsistence farming does not require registration of a title. Use accompanied by local consent is an equally valid warrant of one's rights. Another point of convergence is that land cannot be sold. There is no market for land. The land law both in its 1979 and 1997 versions explicitly excludes that possibility. Local tradition similarly does not acknowledge the sale or rental of land. Land is given by the one who has it without requiring anything in exchange. Thus, land does not have an exchange value; it only has a use value.

Blanchard's project starts from the opposite position. It requires a title granted by the government and imposed on the population's consentuary rights. It entails also the substitution of exchange for use value. First, 235,000 ha of land is freed by granting 4.83% of the shares equalling 1,000,000 US\$ to the population. This transaction runs counter to both the spirit of law and tradition, but corresponds very well with the demands of the current global economic liberalization tendencies. The second transaction concerns the sale of part of the land (disguised as "construction licenses") to wealthy foreigners for the construction of holiday or weekend homes. Both transactions refer to different levels, the local and the global, and to different values. The price of the land in the first transaction is about 4.25 US\$/ha, a value most likely based on use: it reflects an estimation of the revenues currently realized by farming. The second transaction has the global market for landed estates as point of reference. The "construction licenses" are expected to render one or two million US\$ per hectare. This profitable business will of course benefit the shareholders of the company, notably the most important

one, the American investor himself.

V. Conclusion: Restating claims in a globalising system

Human history is largely a history of occupation. Different groups invade an area and, by setting their stakes, claim its resources. Bonds all over the globe have become more and more important as to whose stakes are successfully planted and what destination the claimed resource will have. Even the emergence of an African political entity such as the Maputo Kingdom cannot be isolated from global trade in beads, cloth and ivory. For Machangulo, the emergence of such political entities and their subsequent subjection by the colonial state implied integration in and increasing submission to a global order. Yet, at least until today, local definitions as to the nature of resources and the relation between man and these resources prevail. The stakes set by outsiders remained at the margin defined by the colonial system of indirect rule, just as the palisade nets remained outside the Peninsula on the adjacent tidal plains.

On the Peninsula, in a landscape profoundly shaped by community rules as resource use, land remained outside the market, as did most of the area's agricultural produce. Cattle - in particular on the southern half of the Peninsula - and, to a lesser extent, cashew and *mafurra*, constituted the nexus between agricultural production and the market. Market connections were more important in connection to labour. Labour was commodified as the Peninsula's inhabitants increasingly exploited employment opportunities across the border with South Africa.

The arrival of the American entrepreneur Blanchard is likely to transform profoundly that situation. Bypassing local and regional informal and administrative structures, Blanchard obtained a "development contract" including a landtitle over 800 ha and the right to create a nature reserve and sell plots in another 15,200 ha in Machangulo. If his project will be implemented, land and landscape will be commodified. "Nature" and "construction licenses" will be sold at the global tourism and estate markets to foreign and national urban elites. The fate of Machangulo, once only on the fringe of political and economic developments, has become tied to a globalisation process around new commodities.

The social impacts of this transformation are difficult to foresee. Locally, benefits in the shape of employment and income might surpass the costs. On the other hand, population resettlement and the arrival of newcomers might increase social tension when their numbers surpass the accommodation capacity of traditional tenure arrangements. At a higher level, Mamdani's lucid analysis of the problems of African states cited earlier indicates that more might be at stake. The lack of local involvement in decision making, the racial dimension of tourism, and the unequal external relations of dependency inherent to the project's setup might well reinforce incipient divisions along racial and ethnic lines at the expense of democracy and development.

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1. Commercial timber species are rare in comparison with the area included in the Maputo Elephant Reserve, although the Tanga-Tanga (*Albizia versicolor*) and Pod Mahogany (*Afzelia quanzensis*) can be found on the Peninsula. Pod Mahogany and Tanga-Tanga are so-called "first class" timbers. The qualification has significance for government taxation and allowed harvests. Since 1981, the government fixes maximum quotas for the exploitation of precious species (República de Moçambique - Ministério de Agricultura, 1989, 1991, 1992).
2. The original name of Inhaca seems to have been Choambone; this name included Machangulo Peninsula (Lemos, 1987, fn.4).
3. Unguanazi (also written as Ngwanasa or Guanaze) had only ascended to the throne shortly before. When minor, regency was assumed by his mother, Queen Zambi. It was she who signed the 1888 treaty. This treaty was renewed in March 1894, shortly before Unguanazi would reach majority.
The impact of Unguanazi's defeat is reflected in a letter dated 1-7-1916 that discusses the history of the Portuguese Catholic Mission at Macassene. The mission had been created in 1895 at Unguanazi's court, but entered into decline after his rebellion, when the king and most of his dependents fled. In 1903 the priest abandoned the mission (Rodrigues, 1917).
It may be that Macassene was not reoccupied, but hut tax data suggest that many who had left with Unguanazi returned in the following years. In 1896, 5,665 huts were charged. In 1897 this number diminished to only 4,096. During the next decade the number of charged huts more than doubled (9,558 in 1907), suggesting that a large part of the population returned (Governo do Districto de Lourenço Marques, 1913).
4. See AHM 8-107, letters of 11-11-1889, 11-9-1890, 29-10-1890, 12-3-1891, 16-10-1891, 5-10-1892, 29-9-1892, 21-4-1893, 4-12-1893, 5-9-1893. Mac-Mahon earned a place in Mozambique's collective memory: one of the local beers still bears his name.
5. In the historical introduction of the 1960 inspection report a different presentation of the facts can be found based on an interview with Himbine Tembe.
According this report, Machangulo had been inhabited by the Ticalala, who inhabited the area from Inhaca to Zitundo (close to the border with South-Africa). In the beginning, the Ticalala had been allies of the Nhaca, but at a certain moment this alliance deteriorated. The Ticalala asked Maputo to come and help them. Maputo came and defeated the Nhaca. He appointed one of his brothers, Mahaha, as the area's chief. Mahaha died in one of the Tembe's internal strifes. His successor was Machangulo, who fled to Transvaal where he died. Another relative,

Himbine, took over his place (Gil, 1960).

When interviewed by Austral (1995), Himbine's grandson João, the *ex-régulo*, claimed to be a direct descendant of Machangulo. One of João's brothers, however, confirmed the role of the Portuguese in the appointment of their grandfather.

6. In addition to these secretaries, the Frelimo party has its own representatives in the area. Frelimo maintains the same geographical organisation as the state.
7. In 1981 and 1983, South Africa intervened also directly in Mozambique. In 1981, 10,000 troops raided Matola, on the outskirts of Maputo. In 1983, South African aircrafts strafed several suburbs with special fragmentation rockets (Hanlon, 1991: 19, 32). Joseph Hanlon (1991) suspects a direct link between the 1981 invasion and Ronald Reagan being elected US president a few days earlier.
8. The process that led to peace mirrors the global dimension of the conflict it settled. Peace talks took place between 1990 and 1992 in Rome, Italy, under the auspice of the Catholic Church. The implementation of the Peace Treaty and the multi-party elections of 1994 were supervised by almost 8,000 UN military and police and over 1,000 civilian staff (Hanlon, 1997:18). In 1998, the political transformation of the single-party socialist system into a multi-party democracy is to be furthered by the creation of elected councils in 33 cities and municipalities. In places such as Machangulo, however, today, the *grupo dinamizadores* and their secretaries will persist.
9. These seeds of this semi-domesticated tree species are venomous but contain fats that can be used for the fabrication of soap.
The Mozambican Portuguese name "mafurra" is derived from a XiChangana word meaning oil. The local name in XiRonga is "kuhlu".
For a description of the Mozambican fallow system, see **Van Leeuwen (19.) and Ruthenberg (19.)**.
Noteworthy is the way in which the farmers exploit variation in soil, altitude and distance to the sea. Farmers tend to plant crops along hills, using the drier, higher parts during the wet season and the lower and more humid valleys during the dry season. They seed earlier in the area close to the Bay, and later in the seaward regions. It should be noted that only the largest families who have land in all zones between the Bay and Ocean (for example: Chivambo, Mhala), are capable of exploiting this variation (Helvetas, 1998; compare Scoones *et al*, 1996 on the exploitation of variation and risk in Zimbabwean farming systems).
10. This technology seems to have Greek origins. In 1915 25 Greek arrived on Inhaca. Their netting methods are still practised by the fishermen on the Island and have spread to Machangulo as well (Spence, 1969; Impacto, n.d.; Austral, 1996).
11. In addition to sea fisheries, people use small nets to fish on the lakes to catch small fish. Contrary to sea fisheries, this activity is almost completely subsistence-oriented. Gender structures the division of labour and the applied technology. Wading and pulling gill nets is predominantly a female activity, whereas *gamboas* and line and gill net fishing from

boats are typically male. At *gamboas*, women participate in the after-catch of leftovers. The catch is transported by boat to Maputo, where it is sold on the local fish markets.

Next to the decline in prawn the fact that fishers have to go to Maputo to buy ice before they can start their catch hampers development of commercial fisheries on the Peninsula. Travel time to Maputo reduces the time available for fishing and the fuel spent on this trip represents additional costs. The Peninsula had its own refrigerator cum ice plant, but that was destroyed when Renamo occupied the area.

12. Until 1963, when a government order forbade this activity, regular fairs were organised in the district (Serra, 1967). According to local informants, these fairs had a highly exploitative character, as sale was compulsory and the local population could hardly influence the price.
13. A question to be investigated is the distribution of (horned) cattle among the households. There are indications that that distribution was rather skewed.
14. The law did not grant any security to native farmers: Black farmers could receive a title which would be registered by the Governor, "who, at any moment, will be able to annulate it" (Decree 33.727, art. 228).
15. Traditionally, all ownership would be derived and titles would be in a hierarchical order, from the chief, through the *induna*, and so forth.
16. At the moment, the land is hardly used. The people have stopped cultivating close to the lake because of hippos attacking their crops during the night.
17. It should be noted that after a period of decline, mangrove in Inhaca and Machangulo seem to flourish. The population claims that there has been an increase in area and number; aerial photographs confirm this affirmation.
18. There has been a lot of speculation about Blanchard's motives for selecting this area for his project. Some suggest that links to Buthelezi's Inkatha Movement in nearby Zululand might have inspired his choice (Eddie Koch, 1996 quoted by Massinga, 1996). He has traded arms with Renamo, although not always in the best manner. He also supported Unita in Angola. Before discovering eco-tourism he did war-tourism. His travel agency Wheeler-Blanchard Adventures advertised with "two-week trips with 50,000 heavily armed Unita fighters" military training "using life ammunition" included (Alex Heard, 1994 cited by Groenenwegen and Van den Heuvel, 1997).
19. In December 1995, 12% out of 65 interviewed families admitted to receive remittances (Austral, 1996). In April 1997, in the cell of Mapanga, out of circa 190 families only about 8 did not have members in South Africa.