

From Farmland to Wilderness – The Redefinition of Resources and their Access in the Machangulo Peninsula, Mozambique¹

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1 Introduction

Globalisation, the integration of local communities in a global network of political, economic and cultural relations is a process that seems to gain more and more momentum. After mercantilism and colonialism, technical revolutions regarding the transport of commodities, persons and information have the effect of shrinking the Earth. Economic externalities that once were dumped on remote ecosystems and societies bounce back in the shape of refugees and economic and environmental crises. Rural communities face new forms of incorporation through a recent tendency of the marriage between globalising capitalism and environmentalism: ecotourism. While on the one hand these areas are declared world heritage, on the other hand, they find their domain and sometimes themselves appropriated by clever entrepreneurs who promise to develop their land and landscape by bringing to them thousands of foreigners. Agriculture becomes a tourism service industry; farmland is reshaped into wilderness.

Tourism is a booming business. 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 cent 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 too, tourism

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booms. 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) estimates a potential tourism income of US\$ 80 million per year for Mozambique.

This paper intends to analyse one specific form that globalisation takes in southern Mozambique. Central in the article stands the development of so-called "ecotourism" in a small region 50 km from the capital city of Mozambique, Maputo. An American investor has promised a US\$ 800 million investment in ecotourism, which will change most of the area south of Maputo, between the Indian Ocean and the South African border. The project includes, among other things, the construction of marinas, hotels, holiday bungalows, the rehabilitation of an existing 70,000 ha conservation area, and the creation of a new game reserve in another 15,000 ha.

The paper consists of four parts.

First, I analyse, admittedly briefly, the concept of globalisation. From that analysis I conclude that globalisation is a shift of control over resources from the local to the global level in three dimensions: commoditisation within the economic dimension; appropriation within the political one; and standardisation in the cultural dimension.

The second part concerns the local setting. From a description of local resource use, three main lessons can be learned: the local population bases resource use on use values rather than exchange values; people have created local mechanisms for the regulation of access to and use of natural resources; and people have reshaped their biological environment and adapted it to their needs for food security.

The third part consists of a review of the tourism project. It argues that this project implies a revolution of the basis of resource use in the area: exchange values replace use values; local management by top-down development; and farm land turned into wilderness along a standardised image of what a wilderness should look like. It also points at the important role of the State. Starved of resources and severely disempowered by the presence of many "global players", it seems to use the project as a vehicle for the expansion of its powers into an until recently discarded area.

Finally, the paper addresses the issue of valuing globalisation. Whereas critical academics are generally concerned with the loss of local diversity and control as a consequence of increasing outside interference, the local population welcomes, at least at this moment, the changes that the project promises to bring about in their area of residence.

2 Globalisation: Struggle for Control over Resources

The phenomenon described in this paper can be approached from the perspective of globalisation: the process of economic, politico-administrative and cultural integration of *locales* in a world-wide system. Most authors seem to agree that this integration or "time-space compression" (Urry 1990) is actually taking place. They may differ about the exact interpretation, for instance as to its beginnings. Frank and Gills (1993) argue that the world system is five thousand years old. Wallerstein (1985, 1993) maintains that the world-system exists for 500 years. Authors such as Benton and Redclift (1994), Sklair (1991) and Yearly (1996) date the rise of globalisation in the 1980s. The difference between these authors lies in their interpretation of the key characteristic defining the global system: long-distance trade between functionally differentiated partners (Frank and Gills); a capitalist mode of production integrating the Old and the New World and transforming production relations in all continents (Wallerstein); or the emergence of a global identity due to a globalised consumer market (Sklair); or the globalisation of environmental problems such as the Greenhouse Effect and the destruction of the ozone shield (Yearly, Benton and Redclift).

Between these three opinions regarding the age of the globalisation process the difference between Frank and Gills on the one hand, and Wallerstein, Sklair, Yearly and Benton and Redclift is the most important. The second group of authors agrees on one basic point: the usefulness of the concept of capitalism. Frank and Gills (1993: 47), in a rather abrupt rupture with earlier work by Frank on underdevelopment in the Third World, argue that this concept has lost its analytic value. To them, its value was mainly connected to the idea of a socialist transition, which has become obsolete with the evaporation of the socialist alternative. To me, the ideological value of the concept of capitalism should be separated from its analytical usefulness. For that reason, I tend to agree with Wallerstein (1993: 294-5) who maintains that denying that the fifteenth century produced an "aberrant", "aggressive, expansive and efficacious" economic system conflates plurality and historical change into one, analytically unclear perspective on processes of integration and disintegration of different human communities and *locales* without possibilities for periodisation or distinction.

Independent of their respective positions as to the moment of the start of the process, none of the authors cited above denies that the global integration process has gained a unique momentum since the Second World War. International trade has reached levels that were never attained before (Goldblatt *et al.* 1997). The rapid expansion of international trade is partially technology-driven. New technologies permit the transfer of commodities,

persons (labourers and consumers), and information with tremendous speed from one corner of the world to another. Telecommunication (MacLuhan) and the “travel revolution” (Wanhill 1997) have shrunk the world to a “global village” wherein distances between *locales* have become virtually meaningless².

In the economy, the new technologies permit the reorganisation of production. Enterprises can distribute their tasks by allocating different components of their production processes where it is most profitable because of specific comparative advantages. In a world that never sleeps, enterprises can work around the clock simply by employing people in different time zones as did an insurance company cited by Yearly (1996).

At the political level, the different colonial empires wherein “the sun never set” have fallen apart into a system in which global political institutions play an increasingly important role. The Bretton Woods institutions determine to an increasing extent the economic policies of Africa and Latin America. The collapse of the Soviet Empire and the 1998 Asian crisis have brought much of Asia under its sway as well. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) watches over the liberalisation of world trade. Global institutions are also becoming more important in matters of peace and war, justice and environmental policies. United Nations Peace Keeping forces are present in Cyprus, Lebanon, Bosnia, Cambodia and so forth.

United Nations institutions gradually assume prerogatives that until recently were the exclusive domain of the nation states. In July 1998, 120 nations agreed to establish an International Criminal Court that will be able to persecute individual war criminals, even if they acted under the responsibility of their respective governments³. As to environmental issues, Global Resource Managers such as the World Bank’s Global Environmental Facility (GEF), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) formulate policy plans for and interfere directly in the management of resources located within the territories of national states and local communities (Goldman 1998).

The increased importance of global frameworks does not imply that the nation states have totally lost their cultural, economic, and political roles.

2. I am aware of course that the benefits of these technological revolutions are strongly income-related and hence distributed highly unevenly between and within nations.
3. Power differences between nations also became visible during the negotiations that lead towards this treaty. The United States has refused to sign the treaty as it wanted its citizens to be exempted from this general persecution rule.

National identities, although in African contexts often extremely weak and contested (c.f. Davidson 1992; Clapham 1996), remain important social factors, as do national economies and political organisations. The insurance company cited earlier has selected the locations for its offices according to the characteristics of the local economy, the labour climate and existing statutory law. However, at the same time it is true that in many respects the role of the national states has changed. In particular those states that are relatively weak due to lack of financial means and local legitimacy increasingly become intermediaries between global and local institutions, exploiting what remains of its political control over the local in negotiations with the global. In this respect Hanlon (1997) speaks about Mozambique as a “facade state”, i.e., a state totally controlled by external actors with virtually no autonomy left.

The above analysis points at what to me is the basic issue at stake in globalisation. That issue is and remains the struggle for control over resources. Globalisation is merely a gradual change in the composition of the field and, concurrently, the rules of the game. Global players join in with the national state and (traditional) local resource users. This brings about a change in the rules of the game. The global players introduce new points of reference: the global market, global ethics, global aesthetics, or global commons.

2 Mozambique: The Role of Local Resource Users

The incorporation of Mozambique in long-distance trade can be dated back to at least the eighth century, when Arab merchants established trading posts in the North and the centre of the country, notably in Sofala (Serra 1988: 13). From the early sixteenth century onward, Portuguese sailors supplanted the Arabs. The Portuguese opened trading posts in Sofala (1505) and Ilha de Moçambique (Serra 1988: 79). In the South, where they basically engaged in bartering ivory for beads, brass and cloth with local African hunters, they did not create a permanent settlement until 1782. At that time, slaves had become the most important commodity. From the late nineteenth century onward, the Portuguese conquered the area as their contribution to the European Scramble for Africa. Mozambique became a province within the Portuguese Empire.

After the Second World War, Portugal, contrary to the other European powers, delayed decolonisation. In response, the Frelimo independence movement started an armed struggle, which was rewarded with political In-

dependence in 1975. Frelimo, once in government, tried to transcend the colonial legacy, e.g., by abolishing the system of indirect rule, expanding basic education into rural areas, and eliminating what it deemed to be parasitic trade relations. Partly forced by the sudden departure of approximately 230,000 Portuguese settlers who took with them most of the country's professional and entrepreneurial expertise, and partly because of its adherence to a socialist development model, the Frelimo Government decided to nationalise most of the country's enterprises. In the international field, the country allied itself to the Soviet Union and its satellites. Mozambique actively supported the struggle of independence and anti-apartheid movements against minority regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. These minority regimes retaliated by plunging Mozambique into a civil war of its own through the creation of the Renamo insurgency movement. Renamo received support from the Rhodesian (until 1979) and the South African Governments (until 1992), and was also sustained by conservative Portuguese and U.S. circles. In 1992, when international conditions were no longer favourable for the continuation of the fighting, a peace treaty was signed. The UN sent in an international peace-keeping force, ONUMOZ, which, among other things, supervised the organisation of elections in 1994 that resulted into a democratic legitimisation of Frelimo rule (Hall 1990; Kyle 1990; Hanlon 1991, 1996; Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995).

The colonial economy had largely been based on the production of agricultural commodities (cashew, cotton, copra) and the provision of migrant labourers to South Africa. Upon independence, Frelimo cancelled the treaties that regulated migrant labour. Bilateral commerce, including tourism, collapsed. Forced by a general breakdown of the economy, the country started structural adjustment along World Bank and IMF guidelines in 1987 (Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995; Hanlon 1996). The end of warfare has inverted the negative tendencies. In 1997, the country's economic growth was 8 per cent and inflation decreased from 70 per cent in 1994 to 5 per cent in 1997 (Arenstein 1998). In April 1998, the Bretton Woods institutions agreed on a re-scheduling of their debts (World Bank 1998)⁴.

In summary, foreign, i.e. global, actors have played an important role in Mozambique: Arab and Indian traders, the Portuguese colonial government,

foreign investors, international NGOs (CARE, World Vision, WWF), and multilateral institutions (IMF, World Bank, and different branches of the United Nations, e.g., FAO, UNDP, WFP). According to some observers, since 1994, the power of these global players has only increased (Hanlon 1996, 1997). World Bank-enforced privatisation has resulted into the sale of many nationalised enterprises to foreign companies. In the food and beverage sector, South-African Breweries and Coca-Cola have bought the most important beer and soft-drink industries. In the emergent energy sector, South African and US American companies (Gencor, IDC, ARCO, and ENRON) play a prominent part⁵. In tourism, the third important sector with 7 per cent of foreign investments in 1997, Portuguese, British, South African and American investors play a dominant role (UTRE 1998).

3 The Case of Paradise Beach: the Machangulo Peninsula

One of the global players active within re-emerging Mozambican tourism is an American investor. In this section, I will provide a description of the local setting wherein this investor intends to intervene. This local setting or "paradise beach" is a region in Southern Mozambique called Machangulo. Machangulo is a Peninsula with an area of about 160 km², bordered by the Maputo Bay in the West, the Indian Ocean in the North and East, and a 700 km² nature conservation area, the Maputo Elephant Reserve, in the South. On Machangulo live about 4,000 people. Another 2,000 do not reside in the area itself but have migrated to South Africa, where they are (temporarily) employed in the KwaZulu-Natal sugar estates, in fish trawlers and in other sectors. In the mid-1980s, the area became affected by the war. The population abandoned the Peninsula in 1987, when Renamo raids became most intensive. People returned only after the signing of the Peace Agreement in 1992.

Machangulo is an administrative post within Matutuine, the district that covers most of the area between Maputo and the border with KwaZulu-Natal. The Peninsula is subdivided into four administrative units or circles (Nhonguane, Ngomene, Ndelane and Mapuluku), each consisting of two or three

4. For a critical analysis of this debt rescheduling, see Hanlon's letter posted to the APIC website on April 9, 1998. The Heavily Indebted Countries Programme entails that Mozambique will repay 20% of its export earnings to pay principal and interest rate on the remaining debt. By 1999, exports will exceed US\$ 500 million per year, meaning that Mozambique must pay at least US\$ 100 million, which is more than the current debt service (Hanlon 1998).

5. ENRON acquired a concession for the transport of gas from the Pande gas field to Maputo against the payment of 4% to the government. Allegedly, the US government interfered to pressure the Mozambican government to accept this unfavourable deal (Hanlon 1996).

cells. The division in cells corresponds to the colonial division in the jurisdictions of the local headmen who at that time acted as the local chief's subordinates and councillors. On their turn, these jurisdictions seem to be derived from the territories of the main lineages in the area. Today, the cells are headed by a "secretary", who is normally a member of the area's leading lineage. The secretary leads so-called "dynamising groups", which originally were the grassroots structures of the Frelimo party. Currently, these groups have a purely administrative role and maintain hardly any connection with the party. They function as the most important mechanism of communication and negotiation at a local level and between the local and higher levels in state administration.

Although less than 50 km from the state capital (by sea), state administrative structures in the Peninsula are weak. It consists of a government-appointed administrator or "*chefe de posto*" (currently vacant), his secretary, and a locally recruited assistant. There is no police. The only other public representatives in the area are three schoolteachers and one nurse. As none of the officials have any means of transport, their range of action is restricted to their areas of residence.

Traditional leaders play a low-profile role in the Machangulo Peninsula. On Independence, the Government abolished the indirect rule system and took away the administrative powers that the colonial authorities had bestowed on the "traditional" chief and his councillors⁶. These authorities largely have been supplanted by the secretaries of the dynamising groups. Although there are indications that the current government would reconsider the role of traditional leaders (e.g., Alexander 1997), the traditional chief, although widely respected, continues in a politically marginal position, largely because he is unable or unwilling to raise support to change that situation.

The result of the absence of state structures is that most problems are resolved within the community itself. Exemplary is the way in which the population resolved a murder case, the first one since the population's return in 1992. In May 1998, a man killed a neighbour he had caught sleeping with his wife. After his deed, the murderer tried to hide himself but was soon traced by one of his brothers. At a meeting, the secretaries and other members of the

6. The current chief is the grandson of the chief whom the Portuguese installed in the late nineteenth century after they smashed a rebellion by the local king against the advance of colonial rule. The original headman accompanied his king in exile across the border with South Africa (Austral 1996). The areas of the cells correspond to the jurisdictions of the chief's councillors (Helvetas 1998).

public present decided to hold the man in custody until a vehicle appeared that could take him to the district capital. A few days later a car transporting medicines to the medical post took him to the administrative centre in Matutuine.

3.1 Resources in the Local Context

Despite the apparent transcendental nature of globalisation, its central issue remains control over resources. Resources that were basically used within a local economy acquire a new role when global players start to fiddle with them. It is this perspective that leads the analysis of this article. It focuses on the possible impacts on the local society of the development of a tourism project, i.e. the creation of a game reserve. For that reason, land and land-related resources play an important part in this section; other aspects that are not directly affected by this project are left out of the discussion, although these points in themselves may be interesting and relevant.

Land is the contested resource. The investor wants it for tourism; the population uses it for farming. Farming is one of the three components of the Machangulo economy. The other two are labour migration and fishing.

As mentioned above, a large part of the Machangulo population, mainly young males, does not reside in the area but stays temporarily abroad. Exact numbers regarding the size of this group and the remittances they send to their parents, wives and children, do not exist; but it is obvious that labour migration constitutes an important aspect of the local economy that, apparently, is intimately connected to the economy of KwaZulu-Natal⁷. Fishing is carried out west of the Peninsula. Men fishing are using boats and nets on the Maputo Bay and palisade nets or fish kraals on the tidal plains – a technology copied from Greek fishermen that were active in the region in the early twentieth century (Spencer 1969; Austral 1996). Prawns are caught mainly by women wading through the shallow waters. The catch is either consumed at home or sold across the Bay in Maputo.

Labour migration and fishing constitute a connection to the wider economy; these domains are commoditised through wage relations and the sale of the catch. Wage relations are not confined to migrant labour but also occur

7. In December 1995, 12% out of 65 interviewed families admitted to receiving remittances (Austral 1996). In April 1997, in the cell of Mapanga in the circle of Nhonguane, out of circa 190 families only about 8 did not have members in South Africa.

within fisheries. In Machangulo, petty commodity production with regard to the catch, drying and sale of shrimps coexists with situations of boat-owners recruiting and paying labourers for commercial fishing on the Bay.

Contrary to fishing, farming is totally subsistence-oriented. The most important crops are maize, beans, sweet potato, melon, cassava and pumpkin; none of these are sold. The only crop traded on an incidental basis is tobacco. About 60 per cent of the households grow tobacco; about half of the producing households sell part of their produce to local consumers (Austral 1996). In the past, the nuts of cashew (*Anacardium occidentale*) and mafurra (*Trichilia emetica*) trees were traded with an Indian shop-keeper, but that practice came to an end several decades ago⁸.

The list of crops indicates that local agriculture has not evolved in isolation. Most crops are not indigenous but, similar to the fishing technology, relatively recent imports. It is at the level of the economy that crop production in Machangulo remained outside the global system, not at the level of technology.

3.2 Local Norms and Rules

The use of the sea, the tidal planes and the land are regulated by different sets of rules. These rules originated in the state's legal system (e.g. land law, forest law, and fisheries legislation), as well as in local traditions. Given the absence of state control, customary rights still constitute an important factor in use regulation and allocation⁹.

The main component of the ecotourism endeavour concerns the occupation of land. According to Mozambican Law, all land is state property that cannot be sold or alienated. The state leases the land on a temporary basis to individual or collective concession holders. These concession holders can either be investors requesting vacant areas for development or the local

8. Another important commercial activity, cattle holding, came to an end with the war. In the late 1950s, the Peninsula counted about 2,000 bovines (Gil 1960). Cattle was one of the preferred targets of Renamo. Animals that had survived Renamo raids were lost on the population's flight in 1987. Since then, no one has been able to rebuild his stock.
9. The distinction between state rules and customary rules appears sometimes difficult. For example, people recall certain restrictions on the use of mangrove trees and inland fisheries but are not always unanimous as to their origin, the (colonial) government or local rulers, i.e., tradition.

population that occupies the land on the basis of tradition or good faith (art. 12 of law 17/97). Under Mozambican Law, land cannot be sold, leased or mortgaged. Buildings and other improvements belong to the concession holder and can, contrary to the land whereon it stands, be alienated (art. 3 and 16 of law 17/97).

Current legislation is built on a colonial heritage. Colonial Law drew a division between a modern (white) and a traditional (black) sector (Decree 33,727; Law 2,001). The modern sector was carved out of the traditional system by generally granting concessions to generally white farmers. Colonial Law was largely directed to the organisation of this system of concessions. Within the traditional sector, the state hardly interfered, creating the dual system that characterised many of the African colonial systems in which "modern" law co-existed with a "traditional" normative structure. As a result, in areas where land concessions were unimportant, statutory land law had hardly any significant impact. Post-independence legislation removed the racial aspect of tenure but reproduced the separation between a modern and a traditional agriculture sector (Law 6/76; Decree 16/87; Law 19/97).

In Machangulo, no significant land concessions have been granted to outsiders or local inhabitants to date. For that reason, one may conclude that colonial and post-independence statutory law have hardly affected resource allocation practices in Machangulo. These practices are based on a customary system in which private, family and community rights are mixed with different "intensities" according to the nature of the space and the resource. Table 1 gives a summary of the different categories involved.

Table 1: Schematic Overview of Space Category and Resource Type in Relation to User Group

Category	Resource	Users	Group Size
Sacred grooves	Ceremonial	Leader of the ceremony	Individual
Munti (dwellings)	Shelter	Family members	Small (nuclear or extended family)
Massimu (farm land)	Annual crops	Family members	Idem
	Domesticated tree crops (e.g., cashew, mafurra)	Family members	Idem
	Wild tree crops (e.g., <i>Strychnos</i> spp.)	Family members, lineage members and others after approval	Intermediate
	Fuel wood	Family members, lineage members and others after approval	Idem
Muthswini (woodland)	Domesticated tree crops	Family members	Small (nuclear or extended family)
	Wild tree crops	Community with preference for lineage members, also depending on abundance; tacit approval presupposed	Community
	Fuel wood	Idem	Community
	Construction material	Idem	Community

Table 1 shows that the composition and size of the user group vary with the category of land or space, and the resource or use type. Abundance, not mentioned in this table, is the third factor that influences the shaping of user groups, in particular with regard to “free” resources. Interviews with local residents indicate that, when a certain resource is abundant, the owner will have less objections to its use by others than when it has become scarce.

Use restrictions are most rigid with regard to sacred grooves. Only the ceremonial leader of the lineage or community may enter these grooves. Others will, according to popular beliefs be beguiled by the spirits that dwell in these grooves and lose their way. They will remain wandering in the grooves until the spirits decide to release the trespassers and show them to the exit. The dwelling (*munti*) and cropping areas (*massimu*) are exclusively used by the members of the homestead. Fallow and woodland (*muthswini*)

can only be reclaimed for cultivation by the owning family, i.e., the household or cluster of kin-related households that maintains locally acknowledged control over the area and its use, and holds the right to transfer it to its heirs.

In addition to space, the resource type plays an important role as to the definition of who may use it. Annual crops belong to the household who planted them. The same holds for fruits of domesticated tree species such as cashew, *mafurra* (*Trichilia emetica*, Natal Mahogany) and *canhu* (*Sclerocarya birrea*, Marula). These fruits are to be used by those who tended the trees. Fruits of other species (e.g., *Strychnos* spp. and *Mimusops* spp.), in particular those growing outside farmed areas, can be collected freely by community members without the landowner’s active consent.

As to wood and timber, a similar normative arrangement is maintained. Dead wood outside the actually farmed areas can be collected by others than the members of the land-owning household. The size of the group with explicit or tacit rights to fruits and fuelwood is largely determined by kinship, friendship and geographical proximity together with abundance. Members of the same lineage can exercise stronger rights on the estate of a related family, but if a resource is abundant, members of other lineages living in the vicinity or maintaining friendship relations with the owner of the area can go and use the resources, too.

The right to collect “free” products such as fruits of undomesticated tree species and firewood is however subject to three restrictions:

- the user should be a member of the community (lineage or wider community of cell and circle);
- resource use should serve the satisfaction of immediate needs (consumption) and not for instance trade; and
- fruit-bearing and magic species should not be used for fuel.

These restrictions are important for understanding the relation between the community and nature. The first rule establishes a connection between physical space and social universe. Apparently limits in space have their equivalents within society. The second rule points to the norm that underlies resource use. The fruits of the Peninsula can only be used for immediate consumption; they cannot be traded. The prohibition to trade extends itself to land. Land itself cannot be leased or sold. It can be lent or given but always without the payment of any compensation in terms of money or agricultural products¹⁰. The third rule points to a ranking of use values: food and magic (medicine) are more important than uses such as fuel and construction.

10. Out of the sample cited in footnote 1995, 42 households gave information about the way in which they had obtained the land they farmed.: 95% had inherited

The three rules have their bearing on the Peninsula's economy. They also help to shape the local landscape. Resources are rather abundant as the size of the user group is relatively small and no losses to the exterior occur through intrusion or trade. People normally do not need to fell living trees for fuel. Often one can observe wild fruits rotting on or under the trees, because nobody cared to harvest them. Moreover, the vegetation cover is characterised by a relative abundance of fruit-bearing tree species. At almost any place in the Peninsula, one will find edible plants. Timber species, which, as one of the inhabitants put it, "have no important use", are relatively rare.

3.3 The Foreign Investor

Mozambique's recent history was written in the blood of a civil war. That war also affected Machangulo and forced the population to flee, to return only after the signing of the Peace Agreement in 1992. Shortly afterwards, an American investor called James Blanchard III laid eyes on the region south of Maputo and decided that it was a promising one as a tourist venue. 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 its vicinity to the Krueger Park – Southern Africa's major tourist attraction – at a distance of only about 200 km, and international flight connections less than 50 km across the Bay. In 1995, Blanchard submitted a development proposal for the region to the State President and was rewarded with a development license for the 232,000 ha region between the island of Inhaca (north of Machangulo) and the South African border. Two years later, he was granted land titles for over 800 ha in Maputo, on Inhaca and Machangulo.

The 16,000 ha Machangulo Peninsula 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 population. Finally, he is supposed to create a joint-venture in which

the land; and 5% had received it through a grant from a third person who was no relative. Although the system is officially patrilinear, 5% of the land had been transmitted through a female line (Austral 1996, table 18).

will participate Blanchard (70 per cent), the Mozambican State (9.66 per cent), the local communities (4.83 per cent), and other investors (ca. 15 per cent)(República de Moçambique, 1996).

The importance of Blanchard's proposal to Mozambique can hardly be underestimated. At a national level, Blanchard's US\$ 800 million dollar project is one of the few mega-investments in the country, together with the exploitation of the Pande gas-field by ENRON (USA), the iron ore reduction and the aluminium plants by IDC (South Africa) in the Maputo area, and the Moatize Coal project by JCI (South Africa) and Austral Coal (Australia) (UTRE 1998).

Blanchard is no stranger to southern Africa or Mozambique. Allegedly he made his fortune dealing in gold, including mining in South Africa and neighbouring Botswana. In the USA, he was arranging to have a "Legalise Gold" banner flown over Richard Nixon's presidential inauguration in 1973, and he was helping Oliver North to support anti-communist rebels in Nicaragua (Reber 1997). He was one of those conservative Americans who supported Renamo. He has traded arms with Renamo, although not always in the best manner. He also supported Unita in Angola. Before discovering ecotourism he did war tourism. His travel agency Wheeler-Blanchard Adventures advertised with "two-week trips with 50,000 heavily armed Unita fighters" and military training "using live ammunition" included (Alex Heard 1994, quoted by Groenenwegen and Van den Heuvel 1997). 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).

Whatever Blanchard's specific motives for engaging in ecotourism development in this area, one thing is certain. His personal history is similar to that of the Peninsula. Both are closely connected to the Cold War and the Apartheid Regime. The end of both that war and apartheid left him little choice, at least as far as Mozambique is concerned, than opting for a more peaceful economic activity than the trade and deployment of weapons. Similarly, observers such as Hanlon (1997) interpret Frelimo's attitude towards Blanchard as an attempt to loosen his ties to Renamo.

3.4 Different Notions of Resource Use

Blanchard's arrival implies the reversal of the logic that had been regulating resource use on Machangulo. Blanchard's project redefines Machangulo's

resources by placing them into new economic and cognitive frameworks (see Table 2).

Table 2: Logics Compared: the Population's and Blanchard's Perspectives as to Machangulo's Resources

Local population	The investor
Land is a dwelling place and a source of food	Land is "nature"
Land has only use value	Land is a commodity with exchange value (tourism and speculation)
Land belongs to the one who has received it from a local predecessor	Land belongs to the one who has a lawful title under statutory law

The description of local resource use underscores that the population perceives the land as the dwelling of those who live today and lived there in the past. It is the source of food and medicine, as defined by local experiences and tastes regarding what is edible and what cures maladies. Illustrative is the reaction of a member of the local population when questioned about a *chanfuta* (*Azelia quanzensis*) tree growing in the area. *Chanfuta* is a protected timber species with an export value of 160 US\$/m³ (Soto and Siteo 1994). When questioned about possible preservation of that tree until it would have achieved a commercial diameter, he replied that it would probably be felled earlier because it had no other use value than fuel.

The valuation of food over other uses has had a significant impact on the vegetation: wild fruit trees such as *massala* and *mafurra* abound whereas slow-growing but commercially highly valued timber species such as *chanfuta* are rare. It is for that reason that the biologists Wild and Barbosa (1967) classified the area's woodland as an "indigenous orchard". It is indeed the result of long-standing use through selective felling and propagation of tree and scrub species by the local population.

Blanchard's project entails nothing less than a symbolic, political and economic revolution: a revaluation of the Peninsula according to symbolic and economic norms defined globally rather than locally.

At the symbolic level, Blanchard revolutionises the understanding of nature. In his document, Blanchard stresses the pristine and untouched character of the area in which he wants to invest (BME 1995). "Few things are normal about the Matutuine region of southern Mozambique. The scrub land is untouched. The beaches are pristine. Elephants graze in tall reeds. Shy game animals like red forest duiker and grey reedbucks bounce through the brush." (Reber 1997).

The above description is exactly the opposite of the local population's (and the biologists') interpretation. To them, the landscape is basically agricultural and has nothing to do with untouched nature.

The re-signification of the Peninsula's landscape by the tourism developer is not accidental. Tourism and travel are ways of escape from the constraints of labour and professional life. As a product of capitalism, they counter the exhaustion and alienation that are produced by the capitalist labour regime. "Wilderness" and "nature" are popular refuges, in particular because at least at the outside they contrast with the man-dominated environments in which people spend their working life (Urry 1990; Rojek 1993).

On the inside, however, the opposition between culture and nature as a tourist refuge does not exist. Most tourist venues are man-made parks and reserves. For that reason, Rojek (1993) argues that tourists meet mostly only "stage representations" of nature, which do not really contrast with the human-dominated spaces at home, but merely serve to "affirm the power of industrial civilisation to stage, situate, limit and control nature" (MacCannell 1990 quoted by Rojek 1993: 198).

The ambivalent character of nature in tourism becomes visible in the discourse on ecotourism. As Dann (1997) points out, the ecotourism discourse or "greenspeak" makes its own presentation of nature: "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'." This happens at a discursive level. In "greenspeak", unpleasant elements of nature such as hurricanes, poisonous snakes and the more profane and wide-spread malaria-carrying mosquitos are omitted (Williamson 1983 cited by Dann 1997). "Cooking" is not limited to speech alone. In the particular case of Machangulo, this "cooking" takes place almost literally. The "nature" as presupposed by tourism does not yet exist. It has to be "staged". Of the "big five", which in combination with the big Ocean are allegedly the area's key attractions, only one currently occurs in the area. There are about 150-200 elephants in and around the Maputo Elephant Reserve (Oglethorpe and Correia 1997: 1). 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, personal communication). Buffalo, rhino, leopard, and lion will have to be imported, just as many other species such as kudu and nyala. One mammal is quite abundant in the area: man. Blanchard has planned his big-five game reserve exactly in one of the parts of his concession with the highest concentration of humans. This species will have

to be moved outside the reserve and resettled in what is supposed to be "typical African settlements"¹¹.

The "nature concept" offered by Blanchard is adapted to the image that exists of African nature at a global level. It is the image of a global – standard – aesthetics as to what that wilderness should look like, an attempt to combine the global and the local in a site that stands for "Africa" (Urry 1990). In that image lion, elephant, buffalo, etc. are prominent. "Nature" without these animals is, in the eyes of the beholding ecotourist, not "real"; it is impoverished, touched upon and, as it has lost its virginity – one of the sexual connotations that according to Dann (1997) are so important to the valuation of tourist destinations – no longer attractive. For that reason, Blanchard has no other choice but stage the nature the tourist desires.

3.5 Appropriation of Resources

In the previous section, I pointed out that the project is based on two processes at the symbolic level: the cooking of nature according to the tastes of the ecotourists, and the representation of an agricultural landscape as "nature". At a material level, the first process is reflected in the staging of nature. The second process has another material impact. By the application of adjectives such as "pristine", "untouched", and "wilderness", "greenspeak" hides that rural areas are used. Through these labels, 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).

This act of appropriation is legitimised not only by the promise of economic benefits, but also by referring to another element of global discourse, the global commons. Blanchard's concession is located in the Maputland Centre, one of the world's 200 special bio-diversity sites classified at

11. Ross Perrott, another Texan who worked as Blanchard's general manager in the area, proposed to import an endangered human species, Kalahari Bushmen, into the area. One of the journalists who was invited on a press presentation of the project in January 1996, quotes him saying: "Can you imagine tourists (...) see the little bastards running around with their loin clothes and poison-tipped arrows... The way I see it we'll bring them rhino here and save them from going extinct so why not bring the little guys who are also going extinct?" (Koch 1996). Blanchard fired Perrott and replaced him by Eugene Gouws, a South African architect who had acted as one of his consultants during the project's design. According to reliable sources, Perrott returned later to Mozambique to, among other things, settle some US\$ 300,000 back payments by Blanchard.

the 1992 United Nations Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (Van Wyk 1994). This aspect is extremely politically relevant. Blanchard used it to mobilise environmental movements such as the Endangered Wildlife Trust (a WWF associate active in South Africa and Mozambique) and the IUCN in his support, and against the granting of a competing license for the plantation of eucalyptus to a South African pulp company, at that time backed by the National Forestry Directorate and Wildlife Directorate DNFFB (Massinga 1996).

It also allows him to gather support from global players such as the IUCN and GEF. Global commons are typically seen as endangered by local ignorant peasants. Global Resource Managers such as the World Bank's Global Environmental Facility (GEF) and private investors are typically seen as the ones who are most capable of saving these commons (Goldman 1998; Flitner 1998)¹². Blanchard may present himself as a custodian of global commons that are endangered by an ignorant peasant population practising a destructive and unproductive farming system, an impoverished government that is incapable of sustaining the necessary management apparatus, and by eucalyptus that are widely contested for their negative environmental impacts (for a critical analysis of global commons in general, see Goldman 1998; for a comment on bio-diversity as global commons, see Flitner 1998).

The project's redefinition of rural resources as "nature" is an attempt 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 local resource use, the local tenure system and state law converge at certain points. One point of concurrence is that small-scale subsistence farming does not require registration of a land title. Lasting use accompanied by local consent is an equally valid warrant of one's rights to land (art. 12 and 13 of law 19/97). Another point of concurrence 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 possibility¹³. As explained before, local tradition does not acknowledge the sale or rental of land, either.

12. GEF is active in the area as one of the main promoters of the creation of a transfrontier conservation area (TFCA) that will connect the Maputo Elephant Reserve in Mozambique and adjacent South African and Swazi conservation areas. This TFCA will encompass most of Matutuine district. The IUCN plays an major part in the preparation of this project. It has drawn a concept management plan for the Maputo Elephant Reserve (DNFFB 1997) and initiated the preparation of a management plan for the entire Matutuine district (Boyd 1996).

13. The 1979 version published immediately after independence reflected a strong orientation towards central planning and state socialism (Law 6/79). In 1986 a

The project is based on opposite principles. First of all, it requires titling by the state. Here, the central government overruns local inhabitants who only in a relatively late stage would have the opportunity to defend their land. Second, the project entails the sale of land in the disguise of construction licenses (the land law forbids the sale of land, but not of constructions; art 16-2 of law 19/97.). Thus, through the back door of construction licenses, Blanchard introduces the market in relation to land holding, which might well prove to be the first step in the transformation of the current system that is based on local use values into a system based on exchange values.

This movement from a system based on use values to a system based on exchange values is exactly how Blanchard plans to make his initial profit. Through the grant made to Blanchard, the state frees 16,000 ha of land currently under use by the local population. In exchange, the population receives 4.83 per cent of the shares (equalling 1,000,000 US\$) of the tourism company that will manage the project¹⁴. The price of the land in the first transaction is about 62 US\$/ha, a value most likely based on use: it reflects an estimation of the revenues currently realised by farming. In a study for IUCN-Mocambique, José Negrão (1996) estimated the value at US\$ 70 per hectare¹⁵.

The second transaction concerns the sale of part of the land (concealed as "construction licenses") to wealthy foreigners for the construction of holiday or weekend homes where they can enjoy their "wilderness experience" (Eugene Gouws, in an interview with the author at 14/5/1998). This

regulation was published (Decree 16/87). In 1997, in the wake of the dismantling of the socialist state and under the auspices of international custodians such as FAO and the Land Tenure Centre, parliament approved a new version (Law 19/97) that, while maintaining some of the basics of the original law, strengthens the position of private investors and local communities in relation to the state.

14. The other shareholders are the Mozambican State (9.66%), the local communities (4.83%), Blanchard himself (70%), and other Mozambican investors (15.51%) (República de Moçambique 1996).
15. Negrão bases his calculations on an estimation of the value of annual agricultural production. If one would follow normal economic reasoning, one would have to correct this value for future incomes, thus attaining a net present value of something between 1,000 and 2,333 US\$/ha, depending on the interest rate (Michael Luetze, personal communication). Blanchard's current representative in Mozambique, Eugene Gouws, did say not to know how the US\$ 1,000,000 equity had been defined (Eugene Gouws, 14/5/98).

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.

3.6 The Local Perspective of Ecotourism

The above analysis indicates that ecotourism is going to change a lot for the people of Machangulo: they will share their land with tourists and imported wildlife; land will become a commodity; use-values will be replaced by exchange values; state land titles will replace the current informal system, etc. All these changes indicate that integration of the area and its population into the global economic, political and cultural system takes place at an unprecedented level.

Critics warn against the advance of globalisation. Loss of local control, advance of global bureaucracies, unlimited commoditisation, and spread of consumerism will deprive the population at the local level of their own cultural identity, self-esteem, and autonomy. What does the local population think about it? When questioned about the project, they show keen interest in the labour opportunities the project is going to offer. The project claims to create 12,000 direct and 8,000 indirect jobs. In their eyes, this will be the best way to stop out-migration and make sons stay at home to look after their parents.

The population's main concern is not their integration into the global system. It is the delay. In addition to the hotels, holiday homes and other tourist venues, Blanchard promised to improve local living conditions by building medical posts, schools and drilling bore holes. At a certain occasion he specifically promised to bring in a tented medical post to the area's northern part, about 15 km from the existing post (Helvetas 1998). None of the promised benefits have arrived yet. There are no signs of any construction activities. The population is getting worried. When will the jobs and amenities the project promises come? The general image is that people want the project to take-off as soon as possible. Let globalisation come, with all the opportunities it is going to offer.

The attitude of the inhabitants of Machangulo is not uncommon. 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). In short, they share the basic aspirations that underlie capitalist development.

People in Machangulo are no exception to this rule. Interviews show that all but a few exceptions look forward to the promised benefits (roads, waterholes, health posts, schools, etc.) and to the jobs. With employment at home, their children no longer will be obliged to look for work abroad. 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.

4 The State and Ecotourism

The global player is welcomed by the local population, despite the fact that his arrival is bound to overthrow much of their political and economic systems and cultural values. The Government seems quite keen on his arrival too. What are the implications of the arrival of this global player for the national state? This is not the place to provide for an extensive and profound analysis of the Mozambican State in its transition from socialist planning to a capitalist market economy (for such an analysis see Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995). However, for a good understanding of the state's part in the globalisation process one may stress three elements.

The *first* is, of course, the economic interest involved. Tourism is a booming business, the Mozambican state is starved of resources. Any investment that will increase national revenue and reduce public expenditures – Blanchard has promised to take over financing the management of the Maputo Elephant Reserve – is therefore welcomed.

The *second* concerns national politics. By granting the license, the Mozambican state confirms on the one hand that, after the civil war, it has regained, at least formally, control over the resources in its territory vis-à-vis national actors, notably the opposition and the local population. Although Machangulo was depopulated during the civil war, it was never seen as an area officially under Renamo administration. The position of Renamo was much stronger further to the south. Here, Blanchard's concession includes an area that is still contested by Renamo and the Frelimo Government. By granting the concession, the government confirms that it re-established its sovereignty over the area in relation to both local audiences, i.e., the local population and Renamo itself, and to other foreign organisations that are active in the area. Another impact of the concession is that statutory law

gains relevance at the local level. The population of Machangulo, who was first used to follow its own rules as to the use and transmission of land, is confronted with rights derived from the State's legal system and, consequently, forced to look more and more to the State system for the protection of its own rights and titles.

The *third* element in the role of the state concerns its relationship with global actors. The state acts as an intermediary between the global actors and the local resources. Global actors need the state to get access to local resources. The investor has to get a license to be able to take off. The state reaps benefits from its position, not only because it will share in the economic revenues, but also in political terms. Blanchard is supposed to abandon Renamo, the party he supported during the civil war, in favour of Frelimo (Hanlon 1996, 1997). Thus, although Hanlon (1997) is not totally wrong when pointing to the "thinning" of the Mozambican state as a result of increased control by global players, at least in this particular case, the state's participation in the game corresponds also to some of its vital interests.

5 Conclusion: An African Locale in a Globalising System

Earlier in this article I summarised globalisation as a struggle for control over resources with new players and new rules. Globalisation is the compression of time-space; global actors can act within different *locales* at the same time. Agents active at the global level join in with local resource users and use references to global values to bolster their position. As to most African communities, globalisation is not new to Machangulo. Trade relations date back centuries and predate colonial rule. During the colonial area the population adopted new technologies. Part of its labour force became involved in the capitalist labour market of South Africa.

Globalisation is not new to Machangulo, but the start of Blanchard's ecotourism project does represent a change. Blanchard is one of the global players active in the area who applies global hegemonic concepts to achieve control over local resources. These concepts are: commoditisation (of land through construction licenses), protection of global commons against marginal and ignorant peasants, and the (re-)construction of an "African" wilderness. Commoditisation is not new to Machangulo, although until now it never concerned the resource Blanchard wants to use: land. New are the claims that the Machangulo area is a "wilderness" and a "global common"

(bio-diversity). These are exactly those concepts that have proved to be powerful instruments in Blanchard's struggle for control over the area.

A final remark should be made about the role of the State. Although globalisation seems to eat away a lot of the sovereignty of national states, in particular those who, similar to Mozambique, become increasingly subject to interventions by such powerful global players as the World Bank, the IMF and internationally operating business, that same State still appears to occupy an important position in the process as an intermediary between the global and the local. The State, admittedly within a limited room for manoeuvre, controls – through its laws and its ability to refuse the concession of land use titles and development concessions – access of global players to local resources. Despite the changes in the rules resulting from the process of global integration, globalisation is not a game played by global actors alone; the state and local actors continue to be important players.

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