

Tchuma Tchato: an evolving experience of community-based natural resource management in Mozambique

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SUMMARY

Tchuma Tchato is one of the first community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) programmes established in Mozambique. It started in 1994 in a remote area of about 200 000 ha on the right-hand side of the Zambeze River in Tete Province, close to the borders of Zimbabwe and Zambia. This typical mopane (*Colophospermum mopane*) forest ecosystem has been a concession area for safari operations since 1993. Because of conflicts between local communities, the private operator and the local government, intervention was required to promote collaborative management of the resources, with stakeholders' benefits and obligations clearly defined.

The central government played a role in promoting CBNRM by establishing a mechanism for direct tax revenue sharing between the parties. An Interministerial Diploma was signed in May 1995, allowing tax revenues to be directly collected and shared in the following proportions: 33 percent for local communities, 32 percent for local governments, and the remaining 35 percent for the national tax system. The experiment proved to be successful. In Bawa, Tchuma Tchato evolved to become a participatory natural resource management area, and in a second zone (Daque, 650 000 ha) further south on the Zambeze Basin, promotion of collaborative management of the water resources of Cahora Basa Dam, as well as of the forests and wildlife resources in the area, began in 1997. A similar benefit-sharing mechanism is already being established to promote the sustainable fishing of kapenta.

The role of the Provincial Forests and Wildlife Services evolved from pure law enforcement before Tchuma Tchato to one of facilitator, conflict manager and promoter of partnerships. A Provincial Unit

for CBNRM was established in 1998 and is now being strengthened. Community committees for natural resource management were established by interested farmers, using a gender-sensitive approach, and are turning into legally recognized community-based organizations to represent their interests on natural resource issues. Steps still have to be taken to empower the community further regarding the management and ownership of the resources, but the track now being followed seems clearly to be the right one.

Background

1992 marked the end of a 12-year civil war in Mozambique, and the start of a long and complex rebuilding process in the country. In the remote area of Bawa (around 200 000 ha on the right hand side of the Zambeze River, close to the borders of Zambia and Zimbabwe), six local communities with about 1 375 members gradually returned to their normal life, using for their subsistence the vast resources of the mopane forests and the fertile soils in the valleys of this dry zone. Poor seasonal roads connect Bawa to the capital city of Tete, about 800 km away. In this remote and thinly populated area conditions are favourable for the sustainable management of one of Africa's most valuable natural resources: wildlife, especially buffalo and antelope.

A safari operator from Zimbabwe gained a concession in the area, but conflicts over the use of the resources between hunters, poachers, elephants and community members grew to an unprecedented scale, requiring strong government intervention. With some funds provided by the Ford Foundation and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), and with assistance from the World Conservation Union (IUCN), the Provincial Services of Forests and Wildlife of Tete Province launched the Tchuma Tchato Programme in 1994, baptized by the local community in the Cinyungwe language. Tchuma Tchato means "our wealth".

One of the programme's main achievements has been to highlight the role that the government can play in promoting CBNRM. Government authorities at various levels were persuaded that local sharing of the income taxes raised from the safari operation would help establish collaborative management of the natural resources – the concrete benefits for local communities and local

governments would motivate them to participate in the conservation and sustainable use of the area.

In 1995, an Interministerial Diploma was signed by the Ministry of Planning and Finance, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Ministry of Justice, allowing this benefit sharing to come into practice. At present, an average of 33 percent of collected taxes goes directly to the CBNRM committees, 32 percent goes to the local district governments, while central government collects the remaining 35 percent. (A detailed table of percentage sharing and tax values is presented in the Appendix to this case study.) Table 1 shows how benefits have been shared in the last few years.

For instance, in 1997 the local community's share of this tax benefit added up to the equivalent of US\$16 000, which was used in accordance with decisions made by the community committees for natural resource management. These are gender-balanced groups established in each of the six communities of the area, based on participatory criteria developed by the programme. The farmers decided to acquire mills for local flour produc-



TABLE 1 • Tax benefits distributed in Tchuma Tchato

BENEFICIARY	1996	1997	1998
Local communities	11 500	16 000	11 650
Local government, Mágoè District	7 650	10 700	7 750
Local government, Zumbo District	3 300	4 600	3 300
State finance	12 800	15 600	11 800

US\$ equivalent estimated at 11 000 meticaïs to the dollar

tion, to improve some community facilities and to organize a local system of community scouts to support forest and wildlife control.

Values vary according to the safari activities in a given year. So far, there has been no lack of tourists interested in sports hunting in the area, but logistical and marketing difficulties have prevented the safari operator from making full use of the hunting quotas, which are established by a technical team based on the sustainable harvest.

In 1997, Tchuma Tchato evolved to a new area (Daque) of 650 000 ha, targeting mainly community-based ecotourism along the Zambeze River, in the Cahora Basa Dam zone. The waters of the dam are also fished, and a similar partnership and tax benefit-sharing arrangement with the private fishing companies, local communities and the provincial government is being established.

The community committees now established are probably the main outcome of this process. They allow for a horizontal dialogue between the three interested parties: the private operator, the government and community members. These community-based organizations are growing into bodies that will guarantee an equitable and sustainable use of their natural resources.

In institutional terms, the recent creation of a Provincial Unit for CBNRM at Tete's Forests and Wildlife Services is a promising initiative that shows the government is definitely shifting away from (weak) policing of these resources to a more participatory and people-oriented policy of benefit sharing for conservation and sustainable use.

Donor contributions to the programme so far add up to about US\$400 000, to assist both areas (Bawa and Daque) and to support the Provincial Unit for CBNRM. Most of the funds are used for training, equipment, premises upkeep, communications and technical assistance.

Inspired by the rich CAMPFIRE experience from Zimbabwe, Tchuma Tchato became a source of creative adaptations of tools and methods for CBNRM in a country where such experiences had not yet been explored. The CBNRM Unit of the National Directorate of Forests and Wildlife (DNFFB) has recently systematized the Tchuma Tchato experience (Filimão, Mangue and Magane, 1999), with the aim of disseminating Tchuma Tchato methods and tools to other parts of Mozambique.

The evolution of Tchuma Tchato

Table 2 summarizes the evolution of Tchuma Tchato in Tete Province.

TABLE 2 • Evolution and key historical landmarks of Tchuma Tchato

Year	BAWA	DAQUE	Provincial Forests and Wildlife Services	Other relevant areas in Tete Province
1992	Intensive poaching and strong conflicts between private operator and local communities	Still an unsafe area, little use of resources	Small number of qualified rangers, poorly equipped, inadequately trained, raising little interest elsewhere for forest and wildlife resource conservation	Chifunde, Matenge, Tchiputo, Chioco, Zumbu: areas rich in fauna but with intensive poaching Chiuta, Moatize, Changara, Macanga, Chifunde: areas with intensive logging (<i>chanfuta</i> , <i>umbila</i> , <i>ntondo</i>) Changara, Moatize, Cabora Bassa, Tete: areas with intensive fuelwood and charcoal production Little is known about the present quantification of resources and the sustainable harvest in these areas
1993	Conflicts and poaching increase to an unprecedented level; lack of control over firearms	Increased poaching; conflicts between hunters and communities; lack of control over firearms; uncontrolled fishing; illegal logging of <i>chanfuta</i> (<i>Azelia quanzen-sis</i>)	Same as in 1992	Same as in 1992
1994	Provincial and central government (National Directorate of Forests and Wildlife) intervention; launching CBNRM programme with Ford Foundation, IUCN and IDRC support; building of campsites; programme facilitates conflict management between tourist operator and communities; conflicts between the programme and local government authorities increase.	Same as above	Same	Same

1995	Local communities choose programme name: Tchuma Tchato; some community expectations on fundraising are not fulfilled, leading to conflicts between local communities and the programme; conflicts between human population and elephants, and also other animal species; President of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, visits Tchuma Tchato; preparation of the Interministerial Diploma; evaluation of the programme in Bawa; start of the creation of community committees; start recruitment and training of community scouts	Increased poaching virtually eliminates rhinoceros from the area	Provincial authorities increase their interest in forests and wildlife; technical reinforcement of Provincial Forests and Wildlife Services; financial difficulties at Provincial Forests and Wildlife Services; Provincial Directorate carries out a provincial zoning for forests and wildlife management	Same
1996	Community committees and councils continue to be established; the Interministerial Diploma enters into force; tension rises between communities and the programme because of elephants; an electric fence is built in Bawa to protect houses and agriculture plots; sessions for dialogue and agreement between the programme and local communities; production of Tchuma Tchato film; decentralization of programme administration; funds are delivered to community committees in Bawa; community members visit Berkeley University in the United States and explain Tchuma Tchato	Daque is delimited as Tchuma Tchato second area; in August funds are made available to start campsite construction in Daque; inter-change visits for community members of Daque to Bawa, and vice-versa	Provincial authorities highlight the need to replicate Tchuma Tchato experiences in other parts of Tete Province; provincial authorities visit CAMPFIRE projects in Zimbabwe; survey of wildlife potential in other areas in Tete; decentralization; Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries visits Tchuma Tchato	The idea of replicating Tchuma Tchato experience in other parts of the province gains momentum
1997	Bawa consolidated as a safari area managed on a collaborative basis with local communities; local community committees gradually increase their decision-making power regarding the use of the resources and the funds generated	Daque Tchuma Tchato area gets under way; building campsite; establishing community councils and committees, and recruitment of community scouts	Increased capacity for implementation of CBNRM programmes; establishment of Tchuma Tchato as a division of the Forests and Wildlife Services in Tete Province; enlarged technical team and material resources for CBNRM	
1998	Further funds delivered to local communities, who decide how best to use them; Bawa visited by various groups of farmers, extensionists and technicians interested in learning and replicating the model applied; intensified exchange of experiences	Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries visits Daque; potential for community-based ecotourism begins to be explored; greater control of poaching and fishing in the area	The National Programme PROAGRI further supports Tchuma Tchato; technical support for monitoring and evaluation starts to be provided from central CBNRM Unit; Tchuma Tchato is presented in the first National Conference on CBNRM in Mozambique	Former Tchuma Tchato coordinator is nominated Chief of Forests and Wildlife Services in Tete Province; community control over the resources, supported by provincial authorities, gains momentum; CBNRM surpasses Provincial Forests and Wildlife Services pure controlling activities, but these are still deficient in the other areas of the province

Programme targets for the near future

The objectives of Tchuma Tchato were revisited in a monitoring and evaluation workshop carried out in August 1998, with the support of the CBNRM Unit of the DNFFB.

General objective

The general objective is to consolidate and expand in Tete Province the sustainable use and management of natural resources through equitable partnerships between the local communities, the State and the private sector.

Specific objectives for the period 1998-2000

These are that:

- institutional capacity be strengthened to implement policies, strategies and legislation targeting the promotion of CBNRM in priority zones of Tete Province;
- Tchuma Tchato activities be economically sound in a favourable environment for partnerships amongst the private sector, the State and local communities, generating benefits to be equitably distributed for poverty relief in Tchuma Tchato areas;
- the natural resources in Tchuma Tchato areas be protected and managed in a sustainable way; and
- local communities effectively participate in natural resource management, with management and decision-making capacity, in a harmonious environment with local government and other stakeholders.

Lessons learned

Some of the main lessons learned from Tchuma Tchato include the following.

- Local community structures and community committees for natural resource management cooperate well and have demonstrated a high degree of responsibility in these four years of programme implementation.
- The local knowledge regarding natural resource management substantially improved the conservation practices in the area, as exogenous practices lacked expertise for its establishment. Clear examples are fire control and animal control (elephants and large carnivores).
- Clear definition of roles and full participation of stakeholders are key factors for successful CBNRM. This includes governments at local, provincial and central levels.
- Sharing benefits is a potential source of conflict when the sharing or the use of the funds shared is not absolutely transparent and understood by all parties.
- Monitoring and evaluation are fundamental in a process-oriented programme that learns by doing.
- Conflicts are likely to increase in number as the programme evolves, so participatory and multidisciplinary teams have to be prepared to face this problem and manage conflicts accordingly.



Challenges

Some of the current challenges for Tchuma Tchato include the following.

- How to maintain the Provincial Unit for CBNRM equipped and staffed without external support. Diverting part of the taxes now paid to the local governments directly to the programme is one possible way to deal with this question. In fact, there has been a certain lack of commitment among local governments regarding the use of these tax benefits exclusively to improve natural resource management and conservation.
- How to strengthen further community ownership of the natural resources. To achieve this, a detailed zoning of the two Tchuma Tchato areas must be carried out, as well as a set of participatory, gender-sensitive natural resource management plans. Then, land titles in the name of the local communities, probably represented by legally recognized natural resource management committees made up of farmers, will be required.
- The Interministerial Diploma that allows tax sharing is site-specific, but it is about time that this fruitful method of providing incentives for CBNRM be included in national regulations to permit its dissemination to other areas in the province and countrywide.
- How to attract more environmentally and socially sensitive private investors to the zone. There is only one private operator in Bawa at present, exclusively dedicated to safaris. A few fishing companies are being integrated in Daque, but more diversification of ecologically and economically sound activities for social benefits in the area is needed.

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Appendix

Table for taxation of wildlife hunting in Bawa area, Tchuma Tchato Programme, as established by Interministerial Diploma 92/95.

Nume de vânzare	Nume clasificat	Prețurile (R) *		Taxa (R)		
		De	Pe	0-1000	101	150
1. Mamifere:						
101 - mamiferi cu creșterea	Comarodactylus tenuirostris	30 000,00	300 000,00	300,00	30,00	30,00
102 - mamiferi cu creșterea	Syntherisma pallidus	10 000,00	712 800,00	300,00	24,00	24,00
103 - mamiferi:						
10301	Cephalophus monticola	9 000,00	57 000,00	50,00	24,00	24,00
10302	Mosonyx mosonyi	9 000,00	57 000,00	50,00	24,00	24,00
10303	Sylvicapra grisea	9 000,00	57 000,00	50,00	24,00	24,00
10304	Cephalophus natalensis	9 000,00	57 000,00	50,00	24,00	24,00
10305	Mosonyx mosonyi	9 000,00	57 000,00	50,00	24,00	24,00
10306	Euploceros mosonyi	9 000,00	57 000,00	50,00	24,00	24,00
10307 - mamiferi cu creșterea	Euploceros mosonyi	9 000,00	57 000,00	50,00	24,00	24,00
104 - mamiferi:						
10401	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10402	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10403	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10404	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10405 - mamiferi cu creșterea	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10406	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10407	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10408	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10409 - mamiferi cu creșterea	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10410	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10411	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10412	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10413 - mamiferi cu creșterea	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10414	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10415	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10416 - mamiferi cu creșterea	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10417	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10418	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10419 - mamiferi cu creșterea	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
10420	Manis tetradactyla	15 000,00	104 000,00	200,00	20,00	20,00
2. Păsări:						
201 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem excepto a			100	10,00	10,00
	Abularea grisea a Abularea de					
	Abularea grisea					
202 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
203 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
204 - mamiferi cu creșterea	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
205 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
206 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
207 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
208 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
209 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
210 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
211 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
212 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
213 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
214 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
215 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
216 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
217 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
218 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
219 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00
220 - mamiferi	Totus ad speciem			100	10,00	10,00

a) Depășirea cantitatilor maxime este permisă numai în cazurile în care
 b) Cantitățile se calculează oficial de stat.