



RESEARCH REPORT

Great Wealth, Few Beneficiaries: Local Perceptions of Natural Resource Management in Mozambique¹

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SUMMARY

Mozambique has great wealth in its soil, subsoil, coast, and waters. Despite the great social and economic potential that its natural resources provide, Mozambique has not been able to maintain sustainable peace and has remained one of the most underdeveloped countries in the world. Based on qualitative field research techniques including thematic interviews with residents and with government officials in the various localities, this research examines natural resources management and related conflicts in five provinces in Mozambique. This participatory conflict-sensitive research covers several natural resource use activities such as industrial and artisanal mining, nature conservation, fishing and hunting, tourism, agriculture, and forest resources extraction. The conflicts between these different interests and between the State, private sector, and communities as well as between megaprojects and small-scale usage are analysed in the context of 27 administrative districts. Through mapping natural resource occurrence and related conflicts as well as local initiatives in these districts, the aim is to contribute to conflict prevention and more socially inclusive and peaceful natural resources management. Analysing the characteristics and inter-relatedness of the different groups involved, strong points and limitations of project beneficiaries are evaluated as well as the dynamics and dimensions of gender and age in the conflicts. The dynamics in five provinces, each with a different thematic focus, are compared and successes and failures in one province are represented as potential lessons to improve natural resources management also in others. The research identified local perceptions of conflicts that often also include proposals and solutions.

Potential suggestions include:

1. major decentralization of licensing economic activities, because the consequences of the activities are felt at the local level,
2. Facilitating dialogue between beneficiaries of megaprojects and affected communities,
3. technical training for local young people already in the phase of licensing mining prospections to avoid currently common situations where after years of mining, local youth are not recruited, and

4. founding peace groups in all districts, following a model in Gorongosa district where a peace group founded by women, demobilised combatants and religious leaders in the aftermath of the 2013-2016 hostilities.

Such local proposals, analysed in their broader contexts presented in this document and other publication of this project, can greatly contribute to the aim of the TIPS project for inclusive and peaceful natural resources management in Mozambique.

Keywords: *Natural Resources, Conflicts, Mozambique: Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Tete, Sofala, Inhambane*

INTRODUCTION

Mozambique has great wealth in its soil, subsoil, climate, coast and sea and its natural resources are extremely valuable. But it is also a country that, for many years before and after its independence in 1975, has been cursed by lengthy violent conflicts. The absence of lasting peace is undoubtedly one of the reasons why Mozambique is still one of the most underdeveloped countries in the world, despite the enormous development potential of its natural resources. If it is to avoid devastating conflicts in the future, the inclusive and sustainable management of its natural resources is essential. This research, which makes a part of the Towards an Inclusive and Peaceful Society in Mozambique (TIPS) project, aims to contribute to conflict prevention and more socially inclusive natural resource management in Mozambique, through participatory conflict-sensitive research based on fieldwork in five provinces: Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Tete, Sofala and Inhambane.

General information on natural resources and their conflicts in these provinces was gathered from public sources such as the media, government documents and non-governmental organizations (NGOs); and this literature review was one of the methods initially used to define the focus districts. The most in-depth information was gathered from local knowledge, through discussions with residents of the various localities and with the government officials working on the ground. The research aims to learn from local knowledge while, at the same time, not ignoring the broader geographical and historical contexts: national, regional and global. Through

these methods, the research will present a baseline analysis of natural resources, the conflicts linked to them and seek proposals on the ground to improve the management of natural resources (Table 2).

These provinces were selected because they have significant natural resource extraction activities and host major projects in the mining, oil and natural gas sectors. Although the research examines the impacts of megaprojects that receive public attention even overseas, such as coal mining in Tete, natural gas and coloured gemstones in Cabo Delgado or environmental conservation in the Gorongosa National Park in Sofala; it also considers the everyday use of natural resources on a smaller scale including land, subsoil, forest resources, marine resources which are used for subsistence such as in artisanal mining, which can have an equally strong impact on the lives of local communities and could produce more income for them than mega-projects.

As regards the context of natural resources management, the main objectives of the research are as follows:

- To map local conflicts and peace-building actors;
- To understand local perceptions of conflict dynamics and possible solutions;
- To assess the needs, strong points and limitations of project beneficiaries; and
- To assess the dynamics and dimensions of gender and age in these conflicts.

The findings of the research, presented in this and other documents, will provide a solid evidence base not only for the TIPS project, in its advocacy, activism and capacity building components; but also for broader use by peace-building actors in the country and region. The research material, based on conversations with approximately 260 people in 27 districts in the five above-mentioned provinces (Map 1; Table 1), will also provide the basis for subsequent research on natural resources management in Mozambique and the region.

THE MAIN THEMES

The main themes that resulted from reading, listening and reflecting on the research materials produced are listed below. Some of these themes are summarized below, in tables and subchapters that focus on the individual provinces and are analyzed in more detail in five policy briefs published in the IESE IDEiAS Bulletin series as part of the project.

1. Economic models of mining: The main focus is on the local development potential of artisanal gold mining and the impact of the large areas occupied by, and restricted to, industrial mining (Tables 2 and 3 below).

2. Restricted areas: The impact on local communities of areas with weak State and civil society control. This theme covers the occupation of large areas for both prospecting, research and mining as well as environmental conservation. In these areas occupied by multinational companies or, more often, by national elites in partnership with multinationals, normal legislation is not implemented either *de jure* or *de facto*. Control over the areas is largely assigned to private companies (Table 3).

3. Use and transfer of 20% and 2.75%: These are the shares of revenue from the extraction of forest and mineral resources respectively that, under the mining, land and environment laws, belong to the communities living in areas of natural resources extraction.

4. Resettlement experiences: Industrial mining or environmental conservation projects often require the resettlement of residents in the area containing these natural resources, ranging from forced to more consensual resettlement, where residents receive adequate compensation for the homes and land they lose, as required by the Mining Law (20/2014), for example.

5. Denial of access to natural resources based on party membership: There are indications of partisan exclusion not only in the allocation of land for megaprojects, but also in the small and medium scale use of natural resources.

Map 1 – Focus districts of the research

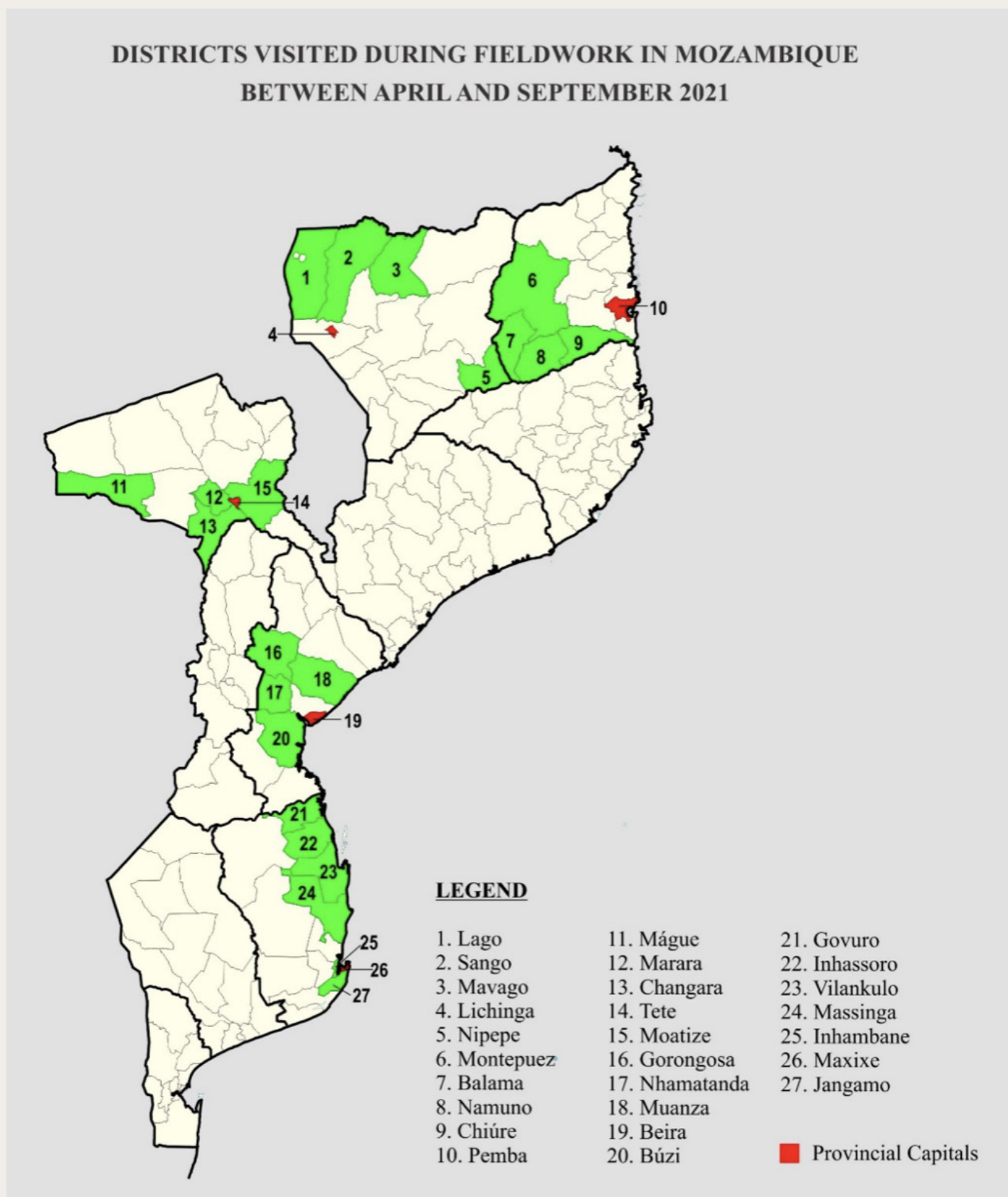


Table 1 - The districts visited, their natural resources (NR), and the focus NR conflicts

Province	District	Resources targeted	Focus NR conflicts
Niassa	1. Lago	Gold and gemstones	Unequal power and gains from gold mining in Lipeliche locality
	2. Sanga	Forests and wildlife	Logging company and the community; social exclusion in committees
	3. Mavago	Rubies, forests and wildlife (conservation)	Artisanal miners in Lilasi locality versus a Chinese mining company and the Niassa Special Reserve
	4. Lichinga	Provincial capital: focus on resources and conflicts in the rest of the province	
	5. Nipepe	Graphite; gold; timber	Disputes over the social benefit of graphite mining, resettlement and land
Cabo Delgado	6. Montepuez	Rubies; gold; timber	Mining companies against artisanal mining; Nairoto Resources versus Panga logging company; man-animal;
	7. Balama	Graphite; timber	Disputes over resettlement and land for mining graphite; benefits of logging
	8. Namuno	Gold; rubies	Risk of conflict between companies and artisanal miners
	9. Chiúre	Gold; agriculture	Police versus. miners; Risk of conflict between companies and artisanal miners
	10. Pemba	Provincial capital: focus on resources and conflicts in the rest of the province and fisheries resources	
Tete	11. Mágoè	Fisheries resources; flora and fauna (conservation)	Fishing community versus. Mágoè National Park over resettlement, fishing and entrance fees for inhabitants
	12. Marara	Coal; soils (agriculture)	Resettlement due to coal mining; mining versus agriculture
	13. Changara	Forest resources; cattle	Cattle vs. farmers; problems with the transfer of 20% from logging
	14. Tete	Provincial capital: focus on dynamics in the rest of the province	
	15. Moatize	Coal; soil (pottery, agriculture)	Resettlement and expulsion of potters because of coal mining
Sofala	16. Gorongosa	Gold; soils; wildlife (conservation)	Mining peasant communities vs. Gorongosa National Park/State including human-animal conflict; artisanal miners vs. agriculture
	17. Nhamatanda	Stone; soils (agriculture)	Quarries versus population; land conflicts
	18. Muanza	Stone (limestone); wildlife (conservation)	Peasant communities versus the Park/State and the game hunting farms included human-animal conflict
	19. Beira	Focus on resources and conflicts in the rest of the province	
	20. Búzi	Land (agriculture, housing)	Resettlement because of tropical cyclones and land conflict
Inhambane	21. Govuro	Fishing; natural gas and oil; forests	Conflicts between fishers and SASOL over alleged damage to fisheries by extraction; accusations that the company does not create jobs for locals.
	22. Inhassoro		
	23. Vilankulo	Fishing; natural gas/oil; stone	Illegal quarrying and logging/charcoal; harmful fishing gear
	24. Massinga	Forests	Conflicts between timber companies; illegal quarrying
	25. Inhambane	Fishing, marine environment (tourism)	Focus on conflicts in the rest of the province and dynamics between tourism, fisheries and conservation
	26. Maxixe		
	27. Jangamo	Heavy sands	Latent conflicts persist over resettlement and local benefits from planned heavy sands mining

Table 2 - Impact of artisanal and industrial gem mining in 5 administrative districts

	Montepuez	Lago (Lupilichi Locality)	Gorongosa	Chiure	Namuno
Miners' Associations	Unregistered association of miners from the Ntola community	4 cooperatives	An artisanal miner's association, AMAG, and possibly a Mapai association	4 gold and one ruby artisanal mining associations	5 gold mining associations of people native to the district
Legally Established	None	Yes	AMAG Yes, the status of Mapai is unclear	No	2: Associação Mineira 3 de Fevereiro Nanlia; Associação Mineira de Nanlia
Mining License	No	Yes	No	No	No
Impacts of Artisanal Mining	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Despite persecution, artisanal mining generates higher earnings than workers employed in legal companies Emergence of areas outside the control of the State and civil society Many local youths are imprisoned for extracting resources from their own land 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significant gains for the families of artisanal miners who own the land Significant social responsibility practices Great potential for contributions to State revenue Emergence of an area outside State and civil society control Attacks on gold buyers on the way to Tanzania Alluvial mining pollutes waters Child labor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significant gains for families of AMAG miners with around 60 members native to the district Modest social responsibility practices Great potential for contributions to State revenue Emergence of an area outside State and civil society control (illegals) Environmental pollution in PNG and surroundings/much imprisonment Corruption linked to the presence of the military and security service (SISE)/tax evasion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significant earnings distributed in egalitarian ways in a broader economy of artisanal mining Impressive social responsibility practices Great potential for contributions to State revenue Synergies and collaboration with the agricultural sector Persecution of miners by the police and potential conflict with companies Increase in crime including robberies and suspicion of sexual violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significant gains distributed in an egalitarian manner in the border economy of artisanal mining Great potential for contributions to State revenue Risks of conflict with police and industrial mining companies Risks of conflict between two associations allocated the same 55 ha area by the provincial government Yola Lda, Chipande, Austral Bound
Other Mining Companies	MRM and Nairoto Resources with shareholders Gemfields e Mwiriti Ltd. (60% held by Raimundo Pachinuapa)	There are several licenses, and cooperatives are looking for partners and investors with capital	Irmaos Minerais Lda established by the late Minister of Home Affairs, Manuel Antonio	Loly Mining, MRM, Yola Lda, Alberto Chipande, Pachinuapa	Yola Lda, Chipande, Austral Bound
Impact of Other Mining Companies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Montepuez Ruby Mining (MRM) makes a significant contribution to State revenue and both companies generate employment They implement social responsibility Social exclusion and marginalization of women who are not employed by companies They occupy vast areas that cannot be used by locals and are not effectively supervised by the State and civil society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Involving partners may jeopardise cooperative autonomy without necessarily improving transparency and the human rights situation Risk of conflicts between investors and cooperatives and companies and cooperatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Modest contribution to State revenue Emergence of an areas outside State and civil society control Tax evasion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Through licenses they make a modest contribution to State revenue Companies do not yet mine but occupy areas that cannot be used by residents or artisanal miners and access to area is risky Emergence of an areas outside State and civil society control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Through licenses they make a modest contribution to state revenue Companies still do not mine but occupy areas that mining associations are not allowed to use Emergence of areas outside State and civil society control with strong risks of other uses of the bush
Main Conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Artisanal miners vs. the police, the government, and companies belonging to the elite Persecution of artisanal mining Extreme violence against locals, miners, buyers, and alleged prostitutes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exclusion of people not belonging to Frelimo Lack of representation of Tanzanian miners in cooperatives Authoritarianism and problems in the enjoyment of civil rights and workers' rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Artisanal miners vs. farmers Illegal artisanal mining vs. police and Gorongosa National Park (PNG) AMAG and Irmaos Minerais withhold from government the amount extracted Conflict over sharing earnings appears to have a party dimension 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Despite district government encouragement to form associations, miners are blackmailed by opportunistic officials and the police Strong risk of conflict with companies and with the government that defends company interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Despite good relations with the district government, associations without a mining license are vulnerable to police persecution Strong risks of conflict with company interests and the government

Table 3 - Some restricted mining and environment conservation areas

Place	Interest	Area	Characteristics
Gorongosa National Park	Conservation of biodiversity, ensuring the continuation of ecological processes, preserving natural values and developing an ecotourism industry. Subsistence hunting, cutting down trees or practicing beekeeping and agriculture are not allowed in national parks in Mozambique because their aim is to conserve the environment without the presence of local residents.	4,068 km ² of total protection area with restricted access in the districts of Gorongosa, Muanza and Cheringoma in Sofala province, and an additional buffer zone of 5,333 km ² that, in addition to the above districts, also stretches into the districts of Maringue, Nhamatanda, Dondo and Caia.	The area is controlled jointly by the government and the American Carr Foundation, but in practice, under contracts signed in 2008 and 2018, the Mozambican government has given the foundation authority to control the area until 2053. An estimated population of some 150,000–200,000 people live in the protection area, mainly in the buffer zone, (BR, I Série, 25/07/2016). Local residents are not allowed to use most of the natural resources, included for subsistence, and access is restricted. The population in the buffer zones complain about repressive measures to drive them from their land, attacks by animals and a ban on hunting for food. The currently active (2) and inactive (15) game farms around the park are part of the same ecosystem and benefit from the park. It was originally founded in 1920 as a game hunting reserve for the Mozambique Company's administrators and their important European visitors. Despite the lack of a directly racial characteristic for activities based on purchasing power, the spatial exclusion of the park complex and the farms are somewhat of a continuation of the colonial era.
Nairoto Resources Limited (NR)	Mining gold, precious metals, rubies and other gemstones and graphite.	1,960 km ² mining concession (Nairoto Resources Ltd 2021), partially fenced, in Montepuez district, Cabo Delgado province, where local residents, district government authorities, local police, journalists and civil society watchdogs do not have access.	NR is a joint venture between the multinational Gemfields Mauritius (75%) and Mwiriti (25%). Shareholders such as Montepuez Ruby Mining (MRM) have occupied other large areas nearby. Instead of the normal control, there are two policing forces in the area: one under the provincial command and private security. By comparison, MRM officially has nearly 500 private guards, although local sources estimate the real number to be even higher. Local authorities suspect tax evasion and violation of labor rights by NR, but due to lack of access, they are unable to investigate. Another example of the lack of state control is that NR did not allow the Panga logging company, which has a license and community support, to cut timber in the area. 60% of Mwiriti's shares belong to the famous Mozambican nationalist Raimundo Pachinuapa, who has areas in Maravia and Zumbo districts in Tete (c. 885 km ²). Consequently, 85% of MRM and NR are foreign-owned.
Mágoe National Park	Environmental conservation.	3,745 km ² most of which (98%) belongs to Mágoe district and 2% to Cahora Bassa district in Tete province. The park and its buffer zone are located between the border with Zimbabwe and the Cahora Bassa reservoir.	The district capital is located close to the park, which occupies 43% of the district, although the park area is supervised by park inspectors under the National Administration of Conservation Areas (Administração Nacional das Áreas de Conservação - ANAC). Most of the mere 26 inspectors are community inspectors inherited from the Tchuma Tchato community environmental conservation project, which had very different dynamics to the current park, which aims to conserve the environment without the presence of locals. Although the park guards are employed by the State, the park has autonomy to apply fines and confiscation, which has already caused growing conflict with the district government that granted fishing licenses for areas where the park prohibits these activities. Fishing communities complain about authoritarian measures to drive residents off their land, rangers burning nets and charging its residents park fees, and animal attacks. The Natural Resource Management Committee has only received its 20% in one year (2015) since the park was established in 2013, while at the time of Tchuma Tchato they benefited from tourism (especially game hunting) every year.

The main sources for this table are interviews and conversations with public or private inspectors, provincial and district government technicians (especially the economic activities services), artisanal miners, farmers, community members, leaders, activists, and NGO staff conducted in Tete, Sofala and Cabo Delgado in June-August 2021. Additional sources for conservation areas were Biofund (2021) and for the NR and MRM mining companies the Mozambique Mining Register (MIREME, 2021).

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Largely based on field work, the methodology used in the research was qualitative and participatory. The following methods were used: literature review, personal conversations, discussions with focus groups and interviews with key informants. The research was based on the prior analysis of relevant materials from the media and general literature. However, the main focus was thematic interviews and subsequent conversations after the preparation phase. There were interviews and conversations with officials from civil society organizations, members of associations and cooperatives and committees related to natural resources management in rural and urban areas, representatives of the private sector, community leaders, community members and provincial and district authorities. The research team is comprised of two main researchers and 10 local research assistants. Local knowledge and proficiency in local languages were considered when recruiting assistants and the team's level of education ranged from graduate to doctorate and with different degrees of experience in field work of this type. In addition, the time required to train the assistants and the conditions for monitoring their work varied from province to province. Some research participants were selected based on the existing networks of the research team, and some were selected in the field using a 'snowball' technique and other available methods to find suitable research participants linked to the central themes in each province.

Management of the research was, in general, as follows. The initial travel plans were prepared together with the local assistants and included the provincial capital and four districts with different types of natural resources extraction and ongoing conflicts. The first meeting with the assistants was for research training, including use of the interview guide, familiarization with dropbox for delivering materials, communication practices between the team and follow-up of the initial interviews in the provincial capital that were conducted together (in Cabo Delgado the work started in Montepuez district). On the first or second day, the goal was to obtain credentials from the Provincial Secretariat of State, requested in advance from the local government authorities. Whenever possible, the main researchers then accompanied the assistants to at least one district outside the provincial

capital to consolidate the field work. The assistants then continued in the other districts while the main researchers traveled to the next provinces. The intention was to spend five working days in the field in each focus district, but in some cases, the team spent more days due to distance, the poor quality of the roads and for other reasons that delayed the work. In these cases, the travel plan was adjusted, reducing the number of days spent in other districts under the original plan. In Chiúre district, for logistical reasons and with the generous support of the Cabo Delgado Secretariat of State, the work started over the weekend, but without any concrete monitoring and support from district government technicians. Paradoxically, this resulted in exceptionally honest research material, produced together with members of the district's artisanal miners' associations¹.

In producing and analyzing research materials, we intended to go beyond the mere reading of the data produced and transcribed by the assistants. The main researchers made a point of starting fieldwork together with the local assistants and participated in the first interviews and in this way included the sensory part of the research encounters and research field in their analysis. The materials obtained from this first moment of joint work in the field were discussed and these discussions continued by telephone, via e-mail and in WhatsApp groups specifically created for communication between the teams and the main researchers. In the main phase of the analysis, two internal seminars were organized where the teams from each province were able to exchange fieldwork experience in their respective provinces. These sessions, which lasted about eight hours, helped to digest and interpret material that, for the most part, was produced by the assistants as the main researchers only participated in a quarter of the interviews. Another method for absorbing the material was listening to tapes, often selected according to the intellectual and emotional willingness of interviewees to share their knowledge and their perspectives, identified during the initial reading of summaries and transcriptions. Listening to the tapes made it possible to hear ironic, emotional, hard tones and other very important audible components for interpreting meaning that cannot be identified in the simple text. Details of the participants' lives narrated and recorded

¹ For instance: Rantala & Alí, which is part of the TIPS research.

can give the image a more vivid and authentic picture than that presented in transcriptions and summarized in the tables prepared with the assistants. The following section presents the different groups involved in the research and the research team's collaboration with them.

RESEARCH TEAM'S COLLABORATION WITH THE VARIOUS GROUPS INVOLVED

Participatory research is a fieldwork method based on collaboration and interaction between the various provincial and local actors in natural resources management. It requires a description of these groups and their characteristics and our collaboration with these actors in general. Actors include both individual and collective actors: communities, associations, institutions, focus groups, clan groups and other organisations. Especially in rural areas, the narrative of research participants was often collective - possibly with a main speaker, but in the presence of various people who accompanied, supported and witnessed the account through their presence, words and gestures. It should also be pointed out that most interviewees have multiple social roles in their communities that may not always be evident in relatively short meetings. For example, one research participant was a primary school headmaster who is also a member and the treasurer at an artisanal miners' association (in Chiúre); another was a SDAE official who is also a logger (in Sofala); a member of the Natural Resources Management Committee who is also a farmer, a member of the agricultural association and a member of the Mozambican Women's Organization (Organização das Mulheres Moçambicanas - OMM²) (in Montepuez); a priest who is also a social activist, broadcaster and researcher (in Pemba). Multiple roles, as well as some historical and political practices in Mozambique, mean that different types of actors often meet representatives from another sector, except for very remote organisations that may not feel the State's presence or meet civil society organisations' representatives coming from urban areas. Also, companies involved in mega-projects might prioritise contacts with the central government before and after the mandatory community consultations. The problem with collaboration between sectors is not necessarily quantitative, but qualitative. Meetings between large companies and poorly

schooled communities are often marked by an asymmetry in power that is not taken into consideration and can in no way be considered "safe spaces".

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS, LOCAL COMMUNITIES, AND COMMUNITY LEADERS

This research understands civil society more broadly than usual, drawing on more comprehensive approaches coming from the Global South, using a concept that the CIVICUS Civil Society Index, among others, has adopted:

The arena of society outside the family, the market and the State, where people come to pursue their interests, not only common interests, but also particular or even private aspirations and interests (Francisco, 2010: 55).

This definition describes the arena of collective activity separate from the State, political parties, the market and the family. However, during this research it was seen that, in reality and local imagery as conceived locally, the civil society arena intersects with these other spheres. Thus, this research report also includes in this category communities, organisations and community leaderships that do not represent mere individual positions but are collective groups. It also includes labour associations and cooperatives in rural areas because of their community character, although they also possess some characteristics of the private sector.

Through this definition the aim is to avoid reducing this complex arena to just formal civil society composed of national and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs), such as the consortium partners in this TIPS project (IMD and FCA). NGOs usually function as service providers to, or in place of, the State and also inspect public and private sector activities, with the aim of contributing to "good governance". However, according to critics of some narrower definitions promoted by the World Bank and other actors that focus on NGOs, these are not the only form of civil society (Ilal, Kleibl & Munck, 2014). In Mozambican society, the narrower concept of civil society has become so common that committees that are well-organized and are founded within communities themselves, do not always consider themselves to be part of civil society, but apply this term merely to the NGOs that are their urban partners.

² OMM is termed a mass organization of the Frelimo party.

In addition to NGOs based in provincial capitals, the definition of civil society adopted in this research includes associations, committees, cooperatives and formal and informal groups in rural and extraction areas, even though they often, and in diverse ways, overlap with the economic and political sphere. In rural areas these associations often have the characteristics of mutual assistance organizations and can have alternative ways of dividing incomes. For example, artisanal miners' (called *garimpeiros* in Portuguese) associations in Namuno district in Cabo Delgado, tend to share profits equally and, if possible, channel some of the profit for community benefits, such as building and equipping schools, churches and mosques. Moreover, through this alternative economic model, they try to protect their activities, improve the conditions of the community at large and mitigate conflicts with the community's other economic activities, such as agriculture. Although they can also serve collective interests, mining associations almost always have a precarious and vulnerable legal status and are persecuted by the police, industrial mining companies and sometimes corrupt and opportunistic government officials.

On the whole, agricultural and mining associations, usually in areas far from urban centres and often with difficult access, welcomed the research team as rare visitors and almost automatically and intuitively became the main participants in the focus group discussions, although in some cases they very perceptibly questioned the researchers' stated intentions. In urban areas, however, interviews and conversations tended to be predominantly individual. As representatives of civil society in its broadest sense, it also includes *regulos*, *queens* and other hereditary (traditional) authorities, "traditional chiefs, neighbourhood or village secretaries and other leaders legitimized as such by their local communities" (Decree 15/2000) who, by law, are considered legitimate representatives of local communities. We interviewed *regulos*/*mwenes* (male chiefs), *bibis*/*queens* (female chiefs), *fumes* or *nfumos*/*mfumos*, *sapangas* and the heads of clan lineages who, in addition to being representatives of the people, are also considered spiritual leaders with ceremonial responsibilities often linked to the use and management of natural resources. The government has classified community authorities into three hierarchical levels of formal recognition.

However, local notions of authority, importance, role, tasks, social position, cultural characteristics, gender-related aspects, as well as social relations and the articulation of these leaders with State authorities and political parties, vary considerably between different localities and cultural regions. Nevertheless, on the whole, at least in Mozambican daily life, they rarely constitute a structure that is socially separate from communities.³ The heads of post or locality and other local State representatives were also met, often having close links with these local native authorities and often attended personally the meetings.

The most unique aspects of this research material are to be found in these rural encounters behind the "abyssal line"⁴ of social invisibility where local communities recount their perspectives on natural resources management and local development. The aim is to transcend the common concept "on this side" of the abyssal line i.e., that in the invisible, rural world "there is no real knowledge; there are beliefs, opinions, magic, idolatry, intuitive or subjective understandings that, at best, can become the object or raw material for scientific research" (Santos, 2007: 79). In this research it was observed that local actors often have realistic proposals on the management of natural resources that start from their perception and understanding of real conditions and an estimate of the potential of their communities. This is the part of civil society that is often invisible to urban society, more educated and thus "civic" (which includes NGOs, researchers, journalists and politicians) but which deep down represents the vast majority of Mozambicans that this project intends to reach. It is also the part of the population that potentially and, in some cases actually, benefits from training and other kinds of support that could increase their ownership of natural resources.

They are also the least schooled people who are often accused of, or even persecuted, for being traditionalist or tribalist and resistant to change and development. However, this report

³ In contrast to the case of European nobility or the African slave hunting chiefs of earlier centuries who, for some influential researchers (Serra, 1997: 44-51) have been points of comparison when describing "traditional chiefs".

⁴ Abyssal line is the metaphor used by Boaventura Sousa Santos (2007) for the structural lines that, although invisible, run deep and structure the division of society into two distinct realms: one "on this side of the line" (the included) and one "on the other side of the line" (the excluded).

argues that some rural areas are, in fact, quite cosmopolitan, multicultural and multilingual. Although the rural population - often, and especially in places particularly rich in resources, areas of transit and close to national borders - face risks linked to migration and are not totally free of xenophobic attitudes, they easily integrate African brothers and sisters from other provinces or nationalities or even people from other continents into the community's economic activities. Indeed, rural areas are constantly moving and flowing for economic, family and climate reasons and, as in Cabo Delgado today, these movements may be linked to armed and military conflicts and other disasters. For example, the gemstone mines, including the artisanal mines, are predominantly international places, even though ethnic composition and the role of locals within them vary considerably. In Lupilichi locality in Lago district, for example, both the locals and their Tanzanian colleagues are more fluent in the lingua franca of East Africa, Kiswahili, than in Portuguese. When confronted with multinationals, as in Tete, rural communities can exchange experiences with affected communities in other countries through organisations such as the International Movement of Those Affected by Vale (A Articulação Internacional dos Atingidos pela Vale). In other words, the rural world is already much more internationalized and constantly changing than its public image. These people can hardly be considered as "ignorant" or "resistant to change" per se, but only the change imposed and imported by capital or from abroad, by multinational corporations, which often entails forced resettlement, the loss of land, houses and graves of loved ones, changes that were hardly or poorly negotiated and where communities usually lose much more than they benefit. Even in cases of apparently exemplary resettlement, such as that by Syrah Resources in Balama district, Cabo Delgado, due to graphite mining, there is insufficient transparency and openness for observers such as our team, human rights activists, journalists, or even government inspectors, to be able to easily assess the real situation.

It is important to emphasize that, while differing somewhat in their beliefs, livelihoods and living conditions, formal and informal civil society in both urban and rural areas, at least occasionally belong to the same "ecosystem". Urban NGOs

(such as ORAM⁵, Roads⁶, Aceagrários⁷, CCM⁸, Justiça Ambiental) together with international organisations and foundations (such as WWF or the Carr Foundation) and government sectors, especially the District Services for Economic Activities (Serviços Distritais de Actividades Económicas - SDAE) often raise awareness and build capacity among rural committees and associations. Within its budgetary limits the government licenses and monitors both NGO projects and the local use of natural resources, but NGOs gain the power and responsibility initially held by government because they can access international funding more readily than poorly funded provincial government departments, or rural associations with less educational capital. During our research both NGOs and spiritual and religious actors, including community leaders and rural community organizations, often collaborated with us with great dedication and openness, despite sometimes lacking experience of academic research teams or, contrary to our intent, confusing us with government representatives or the party in power. Civil society officers in provincial capitals and other knowledgeable persons in the province, such as journalists and religious leaders, were a great help in mapping conflicts, identifying actors and resources and sometimes, as in Niassa, even helping in improving the research travel plan by sharing their knowledge and experience of the districts.

MOZAMBIKAN STATE

The collaboration with public authorities for the purpose of this research was generally good. This can be explained by the fact that the TIPS project's objectives of promoting the inclusive and peaceful management of natural resources, of which this research is part, are remarkably close to the inclusive letter and spirit of Mozambican laws on natural resources management, particularly the Land Law (19/97)⁹. This recognizes customary practices and states that using

⁵ Associação Rural de Ajuda Mútua (Association for Rural Mutual Assistance).

⁶ Rede das Organizações para o Ambiente e Desenvolvimento Sustentável (Network of Organisations for the Environment and Sustainable Development)

⁷ A Associação de Consultores e Extensionistas Agrários (Association of Agricultural Consultants and Extensionists).

⁸ Conselho Cristão de Moçambique (Christian Council of Mozambique).

⁹ Since 1997, the law has been regulated through Decree N° 66198 -I SERIES - Number 48 (Tuesday, December 8, 1998).

and benefiting from the land is “a universal means of creating wealth and social wellbeing” and “the right of all Mozambican people.” The Mining Law (20/2014) and the Petroleum Law (21/2014), which may contradict the universal access to resources guaranteed by the Land Law in areas licensed for prospecting and extraction, nevertheless, require community consultation, benefits for local communities and a Memorandum of Understanding between the government, the company and the community. Although licenses for mineral activities are approved by the provincial government, as the negotiations take place between the multinational companies and the central government with the decisions being published in the Government Gazette (*Boletim da República*), implementation and decisions are in reality always dependent on central government. The same is true for the recognition of associations, which is officially decided at provincial level, but the practical implementation is dependent on the central government’s will. On the whole, the provincial and district governments welcomed the research team with great warmth and hospitality. Even though both central government and district governments are typically ruled by the same political party, Frelimo, dominant since independence, in conversations with local governments they often complained about their lack of power in licensing activities and associations and other key aspects of natural resources management. They felt that licensing, perhaps not according to the law but in reality, is very centralised, especially in the field of mining.

According to district government officials and local civil servants in general, the centralization of licensing and policing causes problems for district governments and local police units. They are responsible for managing their communities, live with them but do not have the essential tools to exercise power. Sometimes they have to implement policies imposed from above with which they do not necessarily agree with. As the State as a whole is an extraordinarily complex entity, there were exceptions to the generally good collaboration with public authorities. There were negative experiences, first with the State Secretariat in Inhambane that did not let the research team work without credentials from the national government (which is very exceptional in Mozambique) and with government security agents in Lago district, described

in more detail below. Even in Moatize district in Tete, well-known for its coal mining, there were minor delays because of accreditation. A third regrettable aspect is that, in certain extraction areas, especially in the case of megaprojects, the central government has handed over its authority to private actors such as Nairoto Resources and Montepuez Ruby Mining in Montepuez district in Cabo Delgado and Gorongosa National Park in Sofala. This made it difficult or even impossible to conduct field work in these closed and non-transparent areas where, according to sources consulted outside these areas, there are many order and security problems such as violence, violations of labour and civic rights and tax evasion. However, even in these cases there was good collaboration with the local government, and the local authorities were willing to collaborate to mutually facilitate access that is normally denied even to the local authorities under the contract between the central government and the private company. The team even received advice, for use in future projects, on how to obtain special credentials to enter and include these restricted areas in further field work. And finally, it is impossible to ignore widespread corruption in government institutions. Corrupt officials tend to be less forthcoming in interviews and put the blame on communities in order to avoid being exposed, although the team usually found explanations for their positions. Despite these negative aspects, the team met with many professional employees dedicated to local development and with a good understanding of local problems that helped the research.

PRIVATE SECTOR

Collaboration with companies involved in megaprojects, or rather the lack of it, was partially discussed above. Some multinationals and their employees expressed their willingness to participate in the research, but for reasons of time the research focused more on small and medium-scale companies and businesses. In the case of large scale exploration, research materials were mainly produced on communities affected by the multinationals, the related non-governmental organizations and local governments. Collaboration was very good with mining companies, mills, agricultural and mining associations and cooperatives, quarries, timber companies, tourism operators, fishing committees and Natural Resources Management Committees (*Comités de Gestão de Recursos Naturais - CGRN*) that sometimes also had economic activities.

In conclusion, although there was good collaboration with the public, private and civil society sectors during the research process, the time spent in the field was insufficient to build relationships of trust with research participants of the same depth as during prolonged field work. Despite this constraint, the confidence and openness that was experienced in general was sufficient to achieve the research objectives.

GENDER AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

In order to promote gender and sex equality and achieve a balance in the research materials and results, to the extent possible, the research team tried to maximize the presence of women in both the team itself and among the research participants. This was important both ideologically and methodologically as female researchers are better able to access and encourage interviewees to speak especially in rural areas. Unfortunately, given the other recruitment criteria, it was not possible to reach a total balance of 5 female and 5 male research assistants, and ended up to recruit 4 women and 6 men. The imbalance among interviewees is even greater because society has not yet reached equity in terms of educational level and leadership positions in State, private sector and in rural community organizations. The team was able to interact with only one woman District Administrator, in Montepuez, and almost all interviewees in both the provincial and district economic activities services were men, because of their availability, their tasks and positions.

Among community leaders, where hereditary rules determine leadership irrespective of gender, women were more represented, but they were still an arithmetic minority, although an effort was made to identify bibis or queens (rainhas, as these community leaders are called in Portuguese). Paradoxically, queens were often busy working with natural resources use, such as in the fields, and in most cases were less available for conversation. Although it was not easy to locate them on the ground, in the provincial capitals we heard histories of queens who were very important for the management of natural resources, encouraging conservation, the participation of other women and defending their communities. In Tete, for example, Queen Maria encouraged the sustainable use of natural resources in Mágoè district at the time of the Tchuma-Tchato project for community

protection of nature. In Niassa, the interviewees highlighted the importance of some bibis (queens: Che Kalange, Che Chipengo and Che Nampanda) for the management of natural resources in communities of the Sanga district. In Inhassoro district in Inhambane, Queen Maria (Benguela) is well-known for her support to the fishing population and her harsh criticism of Sasol, because the gas company hardly employs any young people in the district. Queens who, instead of being limited to domestic work, are busy in distant fields or forests seeking food, firewood or medicinal plants are just one example of the women rendered invisible behind the above-mentioned abyssal lines. For example, while driving to a meeting at the gold mine in Tsiquiri locality in Gorongosa, the research team came across many women carrying about 10 kilograms of firewood on their heads, walking on the side of the road, who could not be interviewed.

When women marry they do not become the head of the family and typically earn less money than their husbands, but they are the main users and processors of natural resources for subsistence. They produce the food. They use, transport and collect water, firewood and vegetables and practice certain types of fishing and hunting. They are the people most affected by mega-projects, the extraction of mineral resources and the felling of trees. The use, deterioration or total conservation of natural resources often increase the distance to the sources of their daily subsistence or make families more dependent on a cash income in order to use bicycles and motor bikes, buy market products, etc. instead of growing, collecting and working in fields and forests. These changes, often referred to as development, tend to marginalize women and augment the man's role as "the main bread winner". Even though ownership of a motor bike indicates a cash income, it may also be required for access to a resource (water, arable land, wood) that used to be accessible on foot but is now too far away. This results in the further marginalization of some women who lose some of the value of using their feet and become dependent on the availability and willingness of others.

This was the case in Nairoto post in Montepuez, where the mining company Nairoto Resources has taken over a large area for industrial gemstone mining and to date only employs

young men.¹⁰ Contrasting examples can be seen in the coastal area, where the role of a woman as a vendor and the main distributor of marine resources grows when the fishing market expands. However, the deterioration of marine resources and constraints on fishing due to climate change, overfishing, environmental conservation or natural gas mining have had impacts on the livelihoods and independence of these women vendors. The war in¹¹ Cabo Delgado since October 2017, which has displaced over 700,000¹² inhabitants, had a particularly drastic impact on displaced women from fishing communities along the coast who lost their role as the main fish vendors and processors.

Laws and rules on the composition of the Natural Resource Management Committees (CGRN) the main managers of the 20% of forest extraction revenue (discussed below in more detail), promote gender equality. However, the team often found more men than women on these committees, even when they were chaired by women, possibly because of their above-mentioned engagement in family livelihood activities. Nevertheless, the research team visited communities partially led by women, such as the remote community of resettled people in Mualadzi, Moatize district, where the particularly active and influential CGRN has roughly 150 members, 100 of whom (75%) are women, including the committee chairperson. In Mualadzi, women not only run the committee, but also negotiations between the community, local government and mining company. Following riots that ended up with police violence, the women in the community decided that they would be at the front of future demonstrations, on the assumption that the police would be less aggressive with them.¹³

In short, research on the role of women in civil activism, in the subsistence economy and in activities such as artisanal mining, small businesses, the sale of natural livelihood and

cooking resources and the sale of food and services in transit zones such as mines, etc. warrants a separate research, with more time and specific methodological resources for focusing on these important aspects.

The following section presents the dynamics in the project's five target provinces. The dynamics in the 12 districts that will be the focus of the broader project and are analyzed in more detail in a Training Guide elaborated as a part of the overall research.

FINDINGS PER PROVINCE

[SOFALA] In Sofala, the research focused on five districts - Gorongosa, Búzi, Muanza, Nhamatanda and the provincial capital, Beira - where 39 interviews with 65 people were recorded, including workers and entrepreneurs involved in gemstone and gold mining, public authorities, NGO employees and members of rural associations, cattle farmers and vegetable growers, social activists, inspectors, community and religious leaders and members of communities affected by the extraction of natural resources. The main resources and types of extraction targeted were agriculture, quarries (including limestone and basalt), gold mining, forest extraction (legal and illegal), environmental conservation, subsistence hunting (made illegal) and game hunting (legal). Two distinctive features of the Sofala materials are the impact of the military conflict and the impact of climate change.

The impact of the 2013 - 2016 military conflict and its aftermath between the former 16-year civil war opponents (Renamo and the Frelimo government), was also clearly visible in the management of natural resources. Firstly, because the province has less legal extraction of valuable minerals and less land occupation for mining than any other province (Ministry of Mineral Resources and Energy of Mozambique - MIREME, 2021), which has both negative and positive impacts. Negative, firstly because the province does not use its natural wealth properly. Secondly, the conflict prevented the Natural Resource Management Committees from operating in various districts, especially Gorongosa, Maringue and Cheringoma. For several years they could not meet and there were difficulties in transferring the 20% of revenue from the extraction of forest resources that, by law

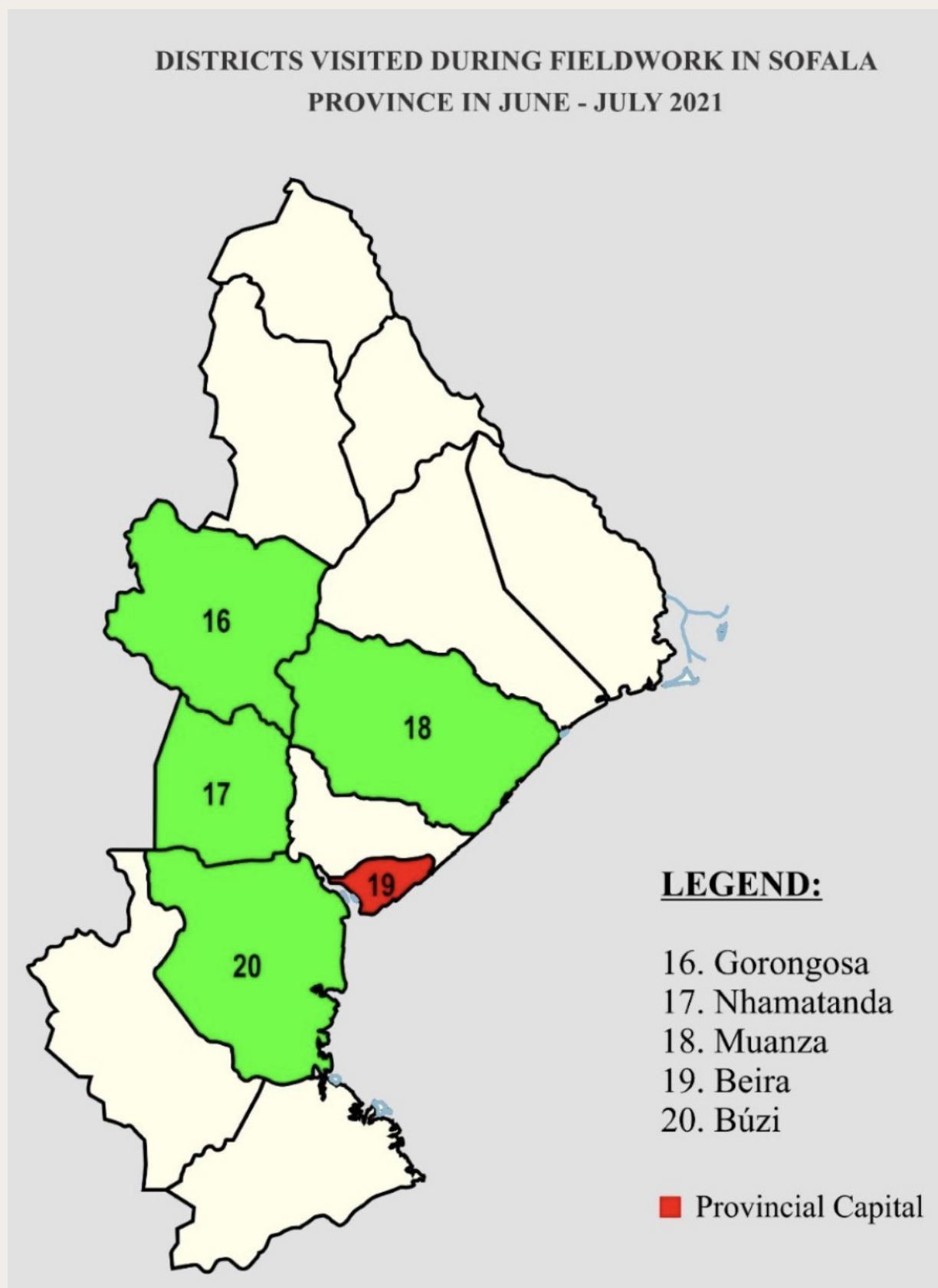
¹⁰ More detail on the impacts of large-scale mining in Montepuez in a policy brief (Rantala, a), which is part of this research.

¹¹ Since 2017, northern Mozambique and Cabo Delgado in particular, has been the victim of attacks attributed to jihadist insurgents.

¹² UN Refugee Agency, 2021.

¹³ More detail about Mualadzi community in a TIPS policy brief (Rantala, b) and a Training Guide.

Map 2 – Focus districts in Sofala



(Decree No. 12/2002), belong to local communities.¹⁴ On the positive side, perhaps the instability in the central region saved the province, for a few years, from the advance and curses of the “new scramble for Africa” by neocolonial forces, while in other provinces occupation for the prospecting and pillaging of mining resources has risen very quickly in recent years. Climate change, especially cyclone Idai in 2019 and then Chalane and Eloise, also had a major impact on this province. In Búzi district Idai caused land conflicts linked to resettlement of displaced people. In all the focus districts, including Beira town, Idai increased man-animal conflict and attacks by elephants, crocodiles and other animals. For example, respondents mention the appearance of crocodiles in the Manga neighborhood of Beira town after some crocodile farms were destroyed by cyclones. Other factors behind the large number of incidents of this nature are the reserves for game hunting and environmental conservation, especially in the vicinity of Gorongosa National Park (Parque Nacional de Gorongosa - PNG). It has a strong impact in all focus districts where the park is located (Gorongosa, Muanza and Cheringoma), and in its buffer zones in Maringue, Nhamatanda, Dondo, Macossa and Caia districts, where an estimated 150,000 -- 200,000 people live. (Ministério da Terra, Ambiente e Desenvolvimento Rural¹⁵ -MITADER, 2016). A no less significant, although rarely raised point is that national parks and game reserves have a symbiotic relationship, despite their different public images and clientele. There are also cases where locals find ivory in the bush without being involved in hunting, because elephants are already scattered throughout much of the province. However, finding ivory in the bush is very dangerous because inspectors are very suspicious of communities and, according to community accusations, they readily beat suspects. In July 2021, a community member who had found ivory in Nguinha-Muanza died in hospital following violence after he was arrested¹⁶.

A substantial part of the Sofala research material focuses on the relationship between local communities and Gorongosa National Park. It covers an area of 4,086 square kilometers, and the buffer zone covers 5,333 square kilometers. It is currently managed by the Carr Foundation / Gorongosa Restoration Project. The area is formally under the joint control of the government and the American foundation but, under contracts signed in 2008 and 2018, in practice the Mozambican government has ceded authority over the area to the park administration until 2053. Formally, although not operationally, the park administration must defer to the Mozambican government.

The park was initially founded shortly after the bloody defeat of the Barué revolt in 1920. It was founded by the Mozambique Company (Companhia de Moçambique) as a game reserve for company administrators and visitors from Europe, thus serving the racial and leisure interests of the upper class of colonial society (Walker, 2015). At the time, this colonial company, which had exclusive rights delegated by the State, controlled the current provinces of Manica and Sofala (Allina, 2012). For its part, the Carr Foundation’s intentions are to conserve the environment, species and biological diversity in general and, to support this objective, to develop an ecotourism industry that can benefit local communities and gain the support of those affected by the park’s expansion and consolidation. However, given the enormous asymmetric balance of power between the foundation/State and the communities, and the existence of 17 game reserves around the park, the original characteristics of the colonial era park persist, as game hunting clearly benefits from conservation and belongs to the same “ecosystem” as the park. As in colonial times, game hunting requires the effective criminalization of subsistence hunting by local people in the region¹⁷. In the park area and the buffer zone where the game farms are located, the Carr Foundation requires autonomous policing and security, along the lines of a sovereign State. In this sense too, it represents a continuation of the age of the colonial companies, although in much smaller geographic areas. From the perspective of the communities in the park region and its surroundings, the main way to encounter the State is to meet representatives of the park, especially the inspectors who are the main policing agents in the area.

¹⁴ The Regulations on the Protection of Forest and Wildlife Resources call for the establishment of local councils for the management of natural resources, as well as for the transfer and use of the 20% resulting from forest resource extraction activities in the respective community, to be used for the common good. However, these local councils are mainly represented by the management committees for these resources.

¹⁵ Ministry of Land, Environment and Rural Development.

¹⁶ Oral information in July 2021.

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¹⁷ However, after cyclone Idai, impoverished communities found an opportunity for poaching on destroyed and abandoned game farms and thus came up against PNG inspectors and public authorities.

Relations between communities and the park management as well as the impact of conservation vary widely from one district and community to another. They are very difficult in some places and more harmonious in others. One positive aspect of the relationship is that, unlike many firms using forests, the PNG pays taxes and its transfer of 20% of the State's revenue is recognised by the Natural Resource Management Committees (NRCGs) in the area. When they were still operating, apparently the game farms also paid taxes, and the visited communities recognised the impact of the 20%. In some places, the park has some quite successful local development projects, such as a coffee project in Tambarara and a project to promote girls' education. Elsewhere, communities deplore the frequency of animals in their fields, the deteriorating man-animal conflict, the destruction of crops and even danger to life that forces locals to abandon their lands, homes and the graves of loved ones in the areas of the park's expansion and buffer zones, without receiving any compensation. Despite the potential gains from game farms that can be transferred to communities, they may have doubts and a sense of injustice when tourists, because of their purchasing power, are entitled to their game hunting while subsistence hunting by locals is prohibited and severely punished.

Overall, it can be agreed that the park plays an important role in conserving ecological diversity and helping to reduce carbon emissions, which is essential in the fight against global climate change caused by human action. However, the violent manner in which this conservation takes place locally and was witnessed by the team in the communities visited, cannot be denied. This violence, described in previous pages, is first and foremost structural and cultural, as communities lose the right to their lands and experiences, their cemeteries and sacred places and livelihoods. Secondly, it is physical not only because of the animals, but also because of the park's private militarized surveillance.¹⁸

One example that can be considered the successful management of natural resources is the legalization of the Gorongosa Artisanal Miners Association (Associação de Mineiros Artesanais de Gorongosa - AMAG) in Gorongosa district. AMAG has existed for more than a decade but was

only legalized in 2017 (Governo da Provincia de Sofala, 2017). Legalization was possible thanks to local level government support that encouraged the miners and farmers who discovered gold in Tsiquiri in 2002 to form an association. As a result of the legalization, artisanal mining is generating a substantial income for the families of the approximately 60 local members in the district and many service providers, who have relative security against persecution. Relations between the Frelimo-run district government and the association, led by a chairman from the same party, are apparently good, but there is implicit distrust between the parties. This can be exemplified by a case in 2021 when the association stopped providing information on the amount of gold mined, claiming that they had not found gold. In interviews recorded in June 2021, the miners repeated the same statement.

There are several gem-rich districts where locals face challenges in legalizing their mining activities, even though many areas in the province still do not have mining concessions. Despite many pending applications, the only industrial mining company licensed in Gorongosa is Irmãos Minerais Lda, founded by the late Minister of Home Affairs, Manuel António, which has a mining certificate for some 2,800 hectares. The legalization of Irmãos Minerais took less than 10 days compared to over a decade for AMAG (MIREME, 2021). The two legal mining companies, AMAG and Irmãos Minerais, are located about 12 kilometers from the district capital. In contrast, to the south and north of the village, especially in Casa Banana locality, where there was an unusual discovery of gold in 2017, locals have no way to legalize artisanal mining, even though the discovery drew a large number of senior government officials, ruling party leaders and police to benefit from the discovery, including members of State intelligence and Security Service (Serviço de Informação e Segurança do Estado - SISE) who were already present in the area because of the military conflict.

Legalization difficulties, coupled with the conflict between conservation and mining interests, make artisanal miners vulnerable to persecution, especially non-legalized miners. Only days after the field work ended there was a news report about a joint operation by PNG and the police that resulted in the detention and subsequent imprisonment of 42 miners in the unlicensed buffer zone (Observador, 2021).

¹⁸ Violence suffered in this region is described with more detail in the policy brief of this research (Rantala, a).

Table 4 - Sofala: Proposals identified on improving natural resource management / successes and the civil society organizations and actors (CSOs) visited and indicated

Province	Proposals on improving management/success	Civil society and community organisations and actors
Sofala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creation of the Gorongosa Peace Group including religious actors, female influencers, community leaders and demobilized soldiers - Training of CGRNs and communities by SDAE and NGOs - Evaluation of CGRNs by ADEL (<i>Agência Desenvolvimento Económico Local</i>) - Gorongosa National Park local development projects to offset negative impacts - Legalization of some artisanal miners associations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ORAM (<i>Associação Rural de Ajuda Mútua</i>), ADEL - Gorongosa Peace Group - Nharichonga Artisanal Miners' Association - Metuchira-pita (Nhamatanda May 1st Agricultural Associations) - Fambizanai Association (Nhamatanda) - Gorongosa Artisanal Miners Association (Amag) - Tambarara (Gorongosa), Cuedja-Búzi (Búzi) CGRNs - Associação Boa-Vinda (Welcome Association), Chibatano - Nhamilonga Agricultural Association (Gorongosa) - Cuedja-Búzi Committee/Association - Guara-Guara Committee/ Association (Búzi)

Two other important topics for future research on the peaceful and inclusive management of natural resources are linked to party dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion. Firstly, the role of Renamo militants and demobilized combatants in the management of natural resources in the province, including artisanal gold mining in areas that support Renamo, which has been the second biggest party in Mozambican politics since the first multi-party elections in 1994. Secondly, participation in land, mining and real estate businesses by the political elite, particularly the elite of the parties with power in these places (either locally or centrally), excluding the opposition. In Gorongosa district, for example, it is clearly easier for associations or mining companies to obtain licenses if they are close to the ruling party. However, in the mountains north of Gorongosa town, such as Casa Banana and other areas that are traditional Renamo supporters, there has also been a lot of mining for several decades, but with no signs of legal recognition. As early as 1997, witnesses reported the existence of a vibrant trade in precious stones near Mount Gorongosa¹⁹.

[INHAMBANE] In Inhambane, the research concentrated on six districts i.e., Inhassoro, Jangamo, Vilankulo and Massinga, as well as the municipalities of Inhambane and Maxixe, where there were 34 taped interviews with workers and operators involved in timber, fishing, gas and oil, tourism,

journalists, religious leaders, environmental conservationists, public authorities, social activists, community leaders and members of affected communities. Although not part of the districts visited, there were some interviews on Govuro conducted outside the district to compare with dynamics in the extraction of natural gas in the two other north-eastern districts involved. The main resources and types of extraction studied were oil and gas, heavy sands, fishing, tourism, environmental conservation and forest resources. Inhambane was a very important province because, as the first province addressed in the fieldwork, the team had to put into practice the research plan and the interview guide initially drawn up in offices and cross check the plans with the linguistic and social reality encountered on the ground. As it was the first province, where the fieldwork was conducted, collaboration with public authorities was not yet well established and, methodologically, it was extremely important to quickly devise an alternative approach and develop new ways to reduce the possible risk of weak collaboration in the other provinces. In contrast, when fieldwork began in the other provinces there was already an initial travel plan.²⁰ For these reasons, the time spent in the field in Inhambane by the main researchers had less impact than in the other provinces.

²⁰ In Inhambane, the travel plan was drawn up during the first meeting with local assistants. In addition, the online site to circulate instructions and templates and deliver research materials, which facilitated coordination of the work, was not yet ready.

¹⁹ Victor Igreja, in conversation with Rantala, 30th of October 2021

The biggest challenge in Inhambane province was weak collaboration by the public authorities, the result of non-transparent influence on some authorities who obeyed “orientações superiores” – written and oral instructions issued by figures of authority, but without identifying who gave them. This resulted in government officials not being authorized to collaborate with our team.²¹ Inhambane’s socioeconomic context has certain aspects that may explain the poor collaboration. Despite being one of the traditional bastions of the ruling party, there are strong social tensions, some already manifest and others potential, linked to the extraction of natural resources, especially in the two places where we focused our research:

1. Conflict between the South African natural gas company SASOL, which also involves partners in national elites, and the predominantly fishing population in the north-east of the province, notably in Govuro, Vilankulo and especially Inhassoro. The problematic relations between the State and SASOL also fall into this group.
2. Strong risk of conflicts arising over resettlement and land use along the coasts of Jangamo district and its closest neighbouring areas, related to the mining of heavy sands by mining companies Rio Tinto and Matilda Minerais with a licensed area of about 400 square kilometers covering almost a third of the Jangamo district area (Savannah Resources Limited, 2019: 39-43; Ministério de Administração Estatal²², 2015).

In the case of SASOL, the protests and demands of the Inhassoro population have come to public attention throughout the country several times, both during and after the fieldwork. Coincidentally, one of the demonstrations against SASOL’s social responsibility policies and its poor local employment performance, even six years after extraction

started, occurred the day after the launch of this project in Maputo (Deutsche Welle, 2021a). Given the above-mentioned fieldwork challenges, the voice of the younger participants in these demonstrations are not directly included in our research material. However, reading the media materials and interviews with relatively well-placed research participants provided an understanding of the silent and invisible voices behind the abyssal social exclusion line. In this sense, even people in a relatively stable position, including district government officials and even SASOL’s own officials, were almost unanimous in their dissatisfaction with SASOL’s weak contribution to the district’s development.

In the case of heavy sands mining in Jangamo, a project that is still in the preparatory phase, the conflicts were not yet so visible, but this may be due in part to the limitations of the research material produced outside the district, for the reasons explained above. However, it is obvious that some people will be resettled and some roads will be closed, and this will have a major impact on communities. Neither the district government nor civil society organizations have detailed information about Rio Tinto’s plans in Jangamo and their potential positive and negative impacts. In general, industrial mining projects create more employment at the beginning of the project but there are far fewer jobs when the activity is up and running. Since the negative impacts on the concession area and the resettled population are permanent, it is extremely important to monitor the current development of the project because it is still possible to avoid disasters, general dissatisfaction and endless court cases similar to those that the mining companies Jindal, Vale and Rio Tinto (now International Coal Ventures Limited, ICVL) have brought about in Tete province.

The main results in the province were that, although the transfer of 2.75%²³ of natural gas revenue is felt by some individuals and communities, gas extraction and plans to extract oil still produce fewer benefits and more risks for fishing communities and have more negative impacts than other activities. Moreover, the local fishing community, tourism and environmental conservation linked to ecotourism

²¹ Gonçalves (2013) speaks of “orientações superiores” – guidelines in the context of meetings with key groups in provincial visits during President Armando Guebuza’s mandates. As it is understood in this research, “orientações superiores” are an informal way of exercising authority with strong continuity from the era of one-party socialism and often – as in this case – practiced anonymously, with the targets of these orders unable to identify clearly who gave the order.

²² Ministry of State Administration.

²³ The Mining Law (20/2014) and the Petroleum Law (21/2014) stipulate that a percentage of State revenue should be channeled towards the development of communities where mining activities take place. This figure is currently set at 2.75% of revenue for the benefit of the community.

Map 3 – Focus districts in Inhambane



Table 5 - Inhambane: proposals identified on improving natural resource management / success and the civil society organizations and actor (CSOs) visited and indicated

Province	Concrete-proposals on improving management/successes	Civil society and community organisations
Inhambane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training young people from fishing communities in Inhambane - Proposal on training young people in gas and oil extraction areas - Reconciliation between fishing, tourism and conservation interests in Vilankulo and Inhambane - Introduction of closed and restricted seasons and the establishment of fish farming - Local Development Agreement prepared between the State, Sasol and communities - Proposals on training marine and forest resource management committees - Stronger involvement of local authorities in licensing processes - Involvement of communities in inspection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Marine Megafauna Association, Ocean Revolution, Bitonga Divers - Old Mosque congregation - CGRNs in Pambara (Vilankulo), Mawaela and Pande (Govuro), Cometela, Závêla and Inhapel (Inhassoro) - Vilankulo Fishermen's Association - Mozambican Fishermen's Association of Inhassoro (<i>Associação Moçambicana dos Pescadores de Inhassoro - AMOPI</i>) - Inhassoro Sports and Cultural Youth Association (<i>Associação Juvenil Desportiva e Cultural de Inhassoro - AJUDESE</i>) (Inhassoro) - Terra Viva Center - Community Fisheries Council (<i>Conselho Comunitário da Pesca - CCP</i>) in Inhassoro - Queen of Mikokuene (Inhassoro) - <i>Régulos</i> in Chitsotso and Maimelane (Inhassoro) - Inhambane provincial NGO Forum run by the Community Legal Support and Assistance Association (<i>Associação de Apoio e Assistência Jurídica às Comunidades - AAJC</i>) and district platforms

in Inhambane and Vilankulo seem to create more local well-being than mining. At the moment, and contrary to the tension between Gorongosa National Park and communities in Sofala, it seems that these three economic interests can resolve their conflicts better than communities and mining companies, perhaps because of the enormous asymmetry of power between communities and mining companies that was never considered. According to some local NGOs, through training they have managed to turn fisherfolks on nature-friendly practices, including training to become professional divers and tour guides. However, although they may be skeptical of the techno-scientific rationale behind conservation areas, fishers are not necessarily enemies of nature. For example, on the whole they are against prospecting and the extraction of crude oil in the north-east of the province, not necessarily for the same reasons as some urban environmentalists, but because they believe that disturbing the sea, the destruction of algae and vegetation on the seabed and the risk of pollution and accidents harm fishing. Clearly, the timing of the fieldwork coincided with the Covid-19 pandemic, which obviously had a catastrophic impact on the tourism sector and consequently

the demand for fish, although the general opinion was that the tourism crisis was temporary. Given the reduction in sources of tourism income, it is possible that harmful and illegal practices may attract more people. Moreover, some local people who are not fishers were pleased with the falling price, although the supply also fell, especially in Tofo Beach in Inhambane district that, under normal conditions, is both a mass tourism destination as well as an important source of fish and seafood.

However, even fishing was not a problem-free resource use. Especially in the northeast of the province, there were overfishing problems because of the rising number of fishing boats, restrictions on fishing for environmental reasons and the lack of collective freezers to improve the conservation of products. Community Fisheries Councils have attempted to address these problems, for example, by introducing closed seasons that give the fish stock time to grow. Fishers and fish vendors (predominantly women) and most people in the community were concerned about the impact of gas extraction on fishing activities because SASOL

requires fishing to be banned over large areas. According to fishers, community members and local leaders, SASOL's seabed investigations and the noise made by the company's activities have already had a major negative impact on fishing and resulted in the disappearance of some local species. Communities were also very aware of the risk of pollution resulting from oil production. Government employees and SASOL representatives generally deny the negative impact as do environmental consultants. Authorities point to cyclone Idai in 2019 and climate change as the most likely factors for this damage. But the fact is that the environmental consultancy was paid for by the company and, on the whole, the fishing communities did not trust their impartiality and demanded another independent consultancy.

Despite the challenges, it was the almost unanimous opinion that fishing was the most important activity for local development. In addition to the impact on fishing, mega-investments create another type of dissatisfaction in the province, resulting in popular demonstrations. During this research there were at least four demonstrations against SASOL's policies in Inhassoro district, despite serious attempts to prevent and suppress these protests (Evidence, 2021). In Inhassoro in particular, but also in Vilankulo and Govuro, the benefits of oil and gas production for communities in the area where they occur, were considered to range from insufficient to non-existent, compared to the alleged high gains for the company and the risks to local people and the local environment and the impact of this activity considered predominantly negative. The local population, with limited schooling, hardly ever finds employment in SASOL and the other companies linked to it, which seek a workforce that is already trained. There have been suggestions that SASOL should help to train local youth, and this even appeared in the Development Plan, but few changes have been noted to date.

Compared to mining, research participants recognized the benefits of forest production more frequently, especially logging and charcoal burning in Vilankulo and Massinga districts. In addition to problems and shortcomings in the transfer of the 20%, including the small amounts compared to the area of forest explored, there appears to be little progress in local authority and community control over

logging and charcoal production.²⁴ However, some years ago, the government started to be more rigorous in demanding the Identity Cards, Bank Accounts and Tax Identification Numbers of committees before they could receive the funds, such that many committees have not received funds for years, and this could encourage corruption and illegal felling. Other reasons for the lack of transfers are corrupt government inspectors and community or committee leaders, and a lack of information about the use of the funds. Furthermore, the level of organisation of local CGRNs was surprisingly low: frequently, even the committee members did not know the amount of the funds or how they were applied, and stated that only the leader had this information. This poor organization supports claims by people outside the communities, including provincial and district authorities, that it is not uncommon for committee leaders to use the funds without any accountability to the committees, much less to the communities they represent. Furthermore, according to the provincial government, at the moment, only one committee in Pambara meets all the legal requirements for receiving funds in its account, yet other committees also receive their 20 % through that same account, which is obviously not ideal. Furthermore, political partisan nature of the committees by the ruling party puts community representativeness at risk. Although this was not explicitly observed in the province, it is highly probable that the ruling party is most represented in the composition of the CGRNs, also in Inhambane.

[CABO DELGADO] In Cabo Delgado, the research focused on five districts - Balama, Chiúre, Namuno and the municipalities of Montepuez and Pemba - where there were 41 predominantly unrecorded interviews with workers and entrepreneurs in gold, ruby and graphite mining (especially in artisanal gold mines), public authorities, NGO officials, members of rural associations, community and religious leaders and members of affected communities. The main resources and types of production that appear in the material are gas and oil, rubies and gold, timber and fishing. Based on these conversations and interviews, the team learned many things about natural resources management in the province, not only in the focus

²⁴ In future, it would be useful to investigate the level of illegal logging and the misappropriation of public funds in a combination of participatory fieldwork with natural resource management committees, studying government documents on the taxation of logging companies, and modern remote sensing methods.

Map 4 – Focus districts in Cabo Delgado

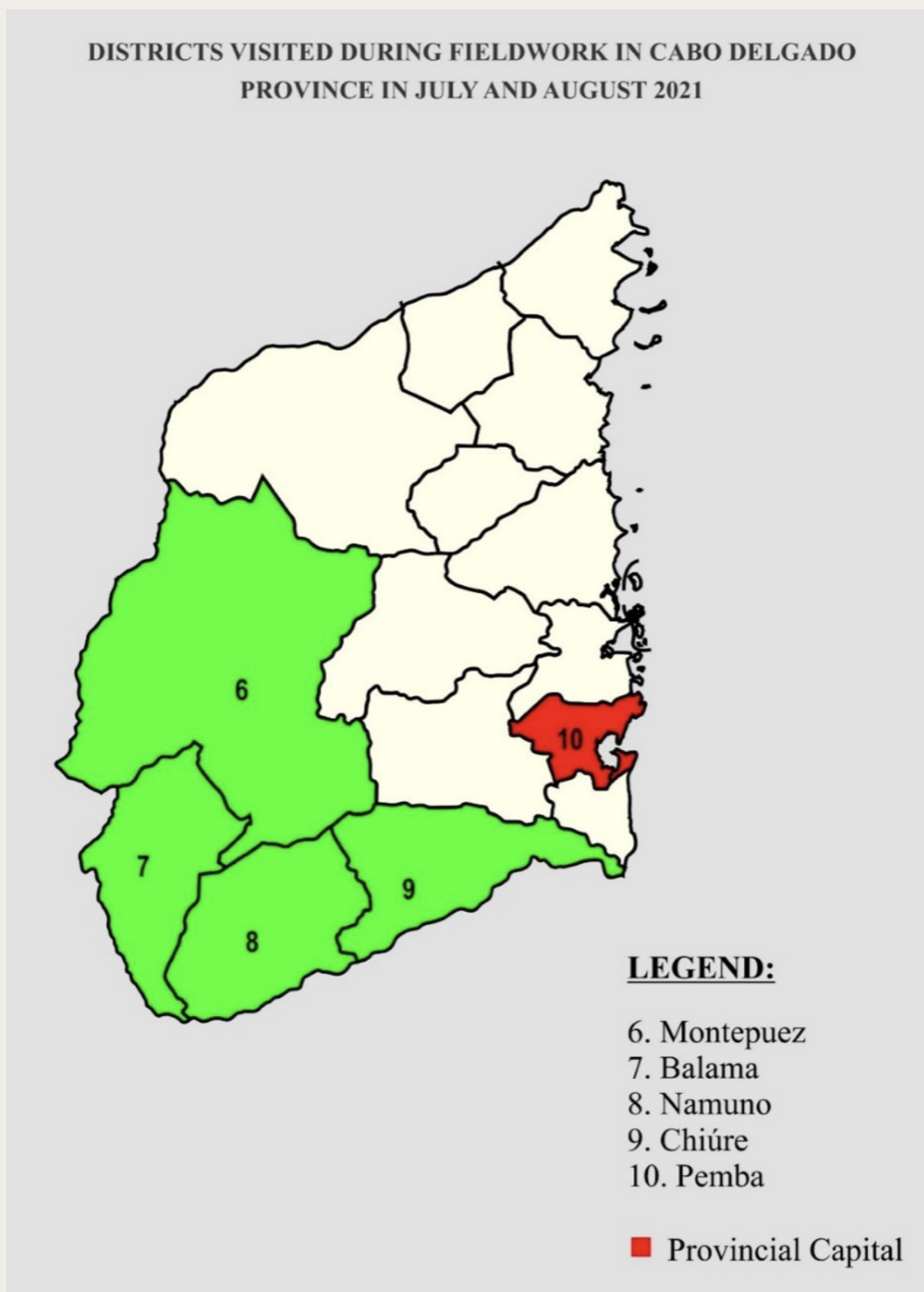


Table 6 - Cabo Delgado: proposals identified on improving natural resource management / success and the civil society organizations and actor (CSOs) visited and indicated

Province	Proposals on improving management/successes	Civil society and community organisations
Cape Delgado	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Natural Resource Management Committees created in Nairoto post, Montepuez - Suggestions by the Montepuez district government on a meeting between the timber company and the mining company in conflict - Efforts by local governments, local miners and NGOs to create legal artisanal mining associations (Chiúre, Namuno) - Introduction by Medicus Mundi of borax (instead of mercury) in mining associations to minimize environmental impact (Namuno) - Social responsibility practiced by artisanal mining associations (See: Table 2) - Reconciliation of agricultural practices and mineral interests (Chiúre) - Local governments propose decentralization in the allocation of natural resource extraction permits and for the purchase of gold, which prospectors can sell locally at a list price 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Medicus Mundi - <i>Centro Terra Viva</i> - Doctors Without Borders - Environmental association <i>Associação do Meio Ambiente (AMA)</i> - Helvetas - Provincial Peasants Union (FUNAC) - CGRNs in Nairoto and Nanhupo (Montepuez) and Kwekwe (Balama) - 4 community leaders from Nairoto village - <i>Régulo</i> and Queen of Nacolo (Montepuez) - Régulo Megama (Chiúre) - 5 artisanal gem mining associations in Namuno, 2 of which are legalized - 4 artisanal mining associations in Chiúre - Artisanal Mining Association in the Ntola community not yet legalized (Montepuez) - Community Fisheries Council (<i>Conselho Comunitário da Pesca - CCM</i>) of Pemba - Radio Without Borders

districts but also others, including those affected by the jihad insurgency and the military operation against the insurgents. At the time of the field work, access to most of the province was restricted to both the inhabitants themselves and the research team, primarily due to the closed areas reserved for mining natural gas, graphite, rubies and gold as well as due to the war started as the jihadist insurgency in 2017. The districts of Ibo, Macomia, Mécufo, Meluco, Mocímboa da Praia, Mueda, Muidumbe, Nangade, Quissanga and Palma were totally or partially inaccessible.

Environmental conservation in the Quirimbas National Park was in an area that overlapped with the area occupied by the insurgents. However, as shown above in Sofala, even under normal conditions, although conservation areas have different objectives to those occupied for geological investigation and mining, both belong to the class of closed and restricted areas with characteristics of a “State within the State”. They are areas where there tends to be a lot of structural and physical violence that remains relatively invisible to the public eye. In addition to these negative impacts of conservation in the Quirimbas National Park (Parque Nacional das Quirimbas - PNQ), it has a large positive footprint in the area around the

conservation region itself, manifested in training and raising awareness among the population about environmentally recommended production methods, community surveillance of economic activities, poaching, etc. Many committees in the province said that they benefited from the training promoted jointly by the PNQ and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF).

Cabo Delgado province is extremely important for the research and the entire project for various reasons. Many natural resource management problems that also exist in other provinces, such as violent conflicts, mass detentions and social exclusion, especially of young people, are exceptionally striking in Cabo Delgado. The province has abundant natural resources including natural gas, rubies, gold, graphite, fishing and natural forest but this abundance is accompanied by a high degree of poverty and the socioeconomic exclusion of the masses.

The province has several types of restricted areas with various kinds of management, characterized by significantly lower or non-existent taxes and private security forces, often mixed with the State police forces, but which do not belong to the local police posts and are not accountable to them. In

these often very large areas, covering thousands of square kilometers, the use of other types of resources by locals is prohibited or severely limited. Moreover, in the case of mining areas, in addition to camouflaged violence, there are reports of tax evasion and the destruction of the environment that is equally difficult or impossible to see and monitor. The closed areas usually belong to multinational mining companies in partnership with national elites, but there are also artisanal (illegal) mining areas where access by people from outside, including State authorities, is either non-existent or very difficult. In the focus districts, one of the areas with these characteristics is the Ntola community in Nairoto post, Montepuez district that, according to local authorities, is inhabited mainly by foreign artisanal miners.

A prime example of restricted areas is that occupied by the company mining coloured precious stones, especially rubies, Montepuez Ruby Mining Limited (MRM), covering an area of 360 square kilometers in Namanhumbir post, Montepuez district (Gemfields, 2021a). The company comprises the multinational mining company Gemfields (75%) and the Mozambican company Mwiriti Limitada (25%) owned by the well-known veteran of the liberation struggle, General Raimundo Pachinuapa (60%) and Asghar Fakhr Ali (40%), an Iranian businessman²⁵. Mining areas such as those of MRM are rarely inspected by local government agents, district governments, or members of provincial assemblies. Access to MRM is also restricted and complicated for civil society organizations and research institutions. However, members of the Assembly of the Republic (Assembleia da República - AR) have less difficulty visiting the areas. Nevertheless, permission for certain visits to MRM, such as those by AR deputies, is given in London by the parent company, Gemfields. Restricted access clearly weakens inspection and transfers a lot of power to companies that, in practice, can decide how much of their profits they want to disclose and how much they pay in taxes. One example of tax evasion is Nairoto Resources Limited (NR), which does not pay taxes because it declares that it is still in the prospecting and investigation phase, despite having an operating license since 2017. However, few locals believe that it has not yet discovered gold.

MRM has the same partners, founders and only known shareholders as NR, which intends to mine gold, rubies and other minerals and has occupied an area of 1,960 square kilometres, also in Montepuez district (Gemfields, 2021b). Through these companies and others, General Pachinuapa is also involved in the occupation of large areas in Chiúre and Namuno districts, which are not yet in the production phase but prevent most other economic activities in the concession area. He also owns large mining concessions in Tete province. Despite the extensive occupation of land analysed in this research, some activists, NGOs and public officials surveyed estimate that the largest owner of land and natural resources is another veteran of the liberation struggle, General Alberto Chipande, who is involved in mining, construction, real estate and many other activities linked to natural resources. A government official in one of the district governments in Cabo Delgado said that almost all the land is occupied by national elites living in Maputo, whether originally from the province or not, in partnership with foreign companies. In addition to Chipande and Pachinuapa, other historical figures, especially those associated with the public memory of the anti-colonial fight, such as the Chissano and Machel families, among others, are currently involved in the accumulation of profits from the extraction of natural resources (Mate, 2021: 5). Some public commentators and locals find it easier to blame foreign exploiters and not these “men born in the province”, for the impoverishment of the population because, despite being the partners of these multinationals, they still have a certain aura of heroism.

Although much less imposing and more fragmented in terms of area and reduced sovereignty in the powers granted, these closed and autonomous areas with little control by the State, particularly the rule of law, fall within the same kind of logic as the chartered companies of the colonial era, such as the Gorongosa National Park, analysed in the previous chapter. Obviously, the Niassa Company (Companhia do Niassa) that controlled the current provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa was more imposing in terms of area and authority granted, but a glance at the Mining Register (MIREME, 2021) confirms that there is no longer much unoccupied area in these provinces, whereas the Land Law defends and guarantees access to and the use of land and its various resources to every Mozambican.

²⁵ However, according to Rui Mate (2021), the largest effective beneficiaries of this mining cannot be identified because 75% of the shares belong to a company (Nairoto Resources Holding) that is registered in Mauritius.

Several local residents and public authorities recognised the benefits of these multinational mining activities for local communities in terms of social responsibility, job creation and, in the case of MRM, significant revenue for the State. However, they also noted the negative impact on the survival of inhabitants caused by restricted access to vast areas. Even in cases where social benefits and the generation of relatively well-paid jobs are recognised by local leaders, as in the case of Nairoto Resources, it is obvious that not all those who are de facto excluded and prohibited from using resources because of this occupation will have access to employment. Others, especially young men, may feel obliged to face the risks of artisanal mining at night or in remote places, becoming targets of police violence. In the particular case of Nairoto Resources, for example, the mining company does not employ women for any tasks, on the grounds of security, to prevent violence against them. However, this increases their marginalisation and gender inequality, as they no longer have access to significant areas for their previous economic activities and for future potential.

One indication of the level of despair and lack of future prospects among young men may be that, in 2021, it was noted that while the insurgency in Cabo Delgado has been running for four years, the province's universities saw a significant reduction in male registration, that was surpassed by young women for the first time ever.²⁶ The research material does not explain the reasons for this change, but we recognize the importance of the problem in terms of querying the relationship between social exclusion and the military instability in Cabo Delgado.

One alternative model for local development that has already been experimented successfully in some places is the improved organization of artisanal mining into associations, especially for gold but also rubies, and attempts to legalize these activities. This model has been adopted, to some extent and with certain external restrictions, in Namuno and Chiúre districts, and despite major challenges to its implementation, has already had impressive impacts. The profits from artisanal mining have resulted in the construction

of common goods such as schools, mosques and churches by the associations and have improved the lives of families in the large group of participants, including farmers, miners, diggers, buyers, mill and machine owners and users as well as relatively well-educated people in positions such as treasurers, and to perform other administrative work in the associations. One of the biggest challenges is the tardiness or reluctance of the central government to endorse the legalization of activities, which leaves artisanal miners and their buyers in a permanently insecure situation and subject to arbitrary blackmail, violence and bribery demands by opportunistic elements of the police and the district and provincial government. However, district government as a whole, especially in Chiúre and Namuno, is supporting and encouraging local miners to form associations, and deplores the lack of power of district governments to legalise these activities as well as the political pressure of multinational mining companies, their elite shareholders and the central government to expel and punish “illegal artisanal mining” as this activity is commonly termed. In Montepuez, with the concentration of concessions for mining companies limited to multinationals and granted at the central level, unlike Chiúre and Namuno, artisanal mining is not tolerated, and is severely attacked. In this district, the only way to practice artisanal mining is to mine at night or in places that the government and multinationals are unable to control effectively, for example, the above-mentioned Tolla locality. As existing or new occupations proceed in other districts such as Chiúre and Namuno, there is a great risk that conflicts between mining multinationals and local mining communities will escalate and become serious. Therefore, in order to promote peace and social cohesion and avoid further violent conflicts, it is extremely important that the benefits of natural resources be distributed in the most inclusive and egalitarian way in this province of young people.

[TETE] In Tete, the research focused on five districts - Mágoè, Changara, Moatize, Marara and the provincial capital Tete – resulting in 22 interviews with 30 respondents, including coal mining workers and entrepreneurs, fishermen, inspectors, potters, animal keepers (cattle, goats and sheep of various species), public authorities, NGO officials and members of rural associations and committees, community and

²⁶ Oral information by a local university professor, July 2021. When questioned, he confirmed that this was the general situation in the universities in Cabo Delgado, not only his university.

religious leaders and members of communities affected by exploration. The main resources and types of production targeted were coal mining, fishing, agriculture, forest and timber extraction (legal and illegal), pottery, flora and fauna (conservation). The main conflicts identified were tensions between fishing communities and the Mágoè National Park,

conflicts between communities and coal mining companies in Marara and Moatize and the problems of transferring to communities the benefits of the “20%” and “2.75%” of State revenue: especially the 20 % (for forest use) in Changara and Mágoè and 2.75% (for extraction of minerals) in Moatize and Marara. In Moatize and Marara a lot of research material was

Table 7 - Tete: proposals identified on improving natural resource management / success and the civil society organizations and actor (CSOs) visited and indicated

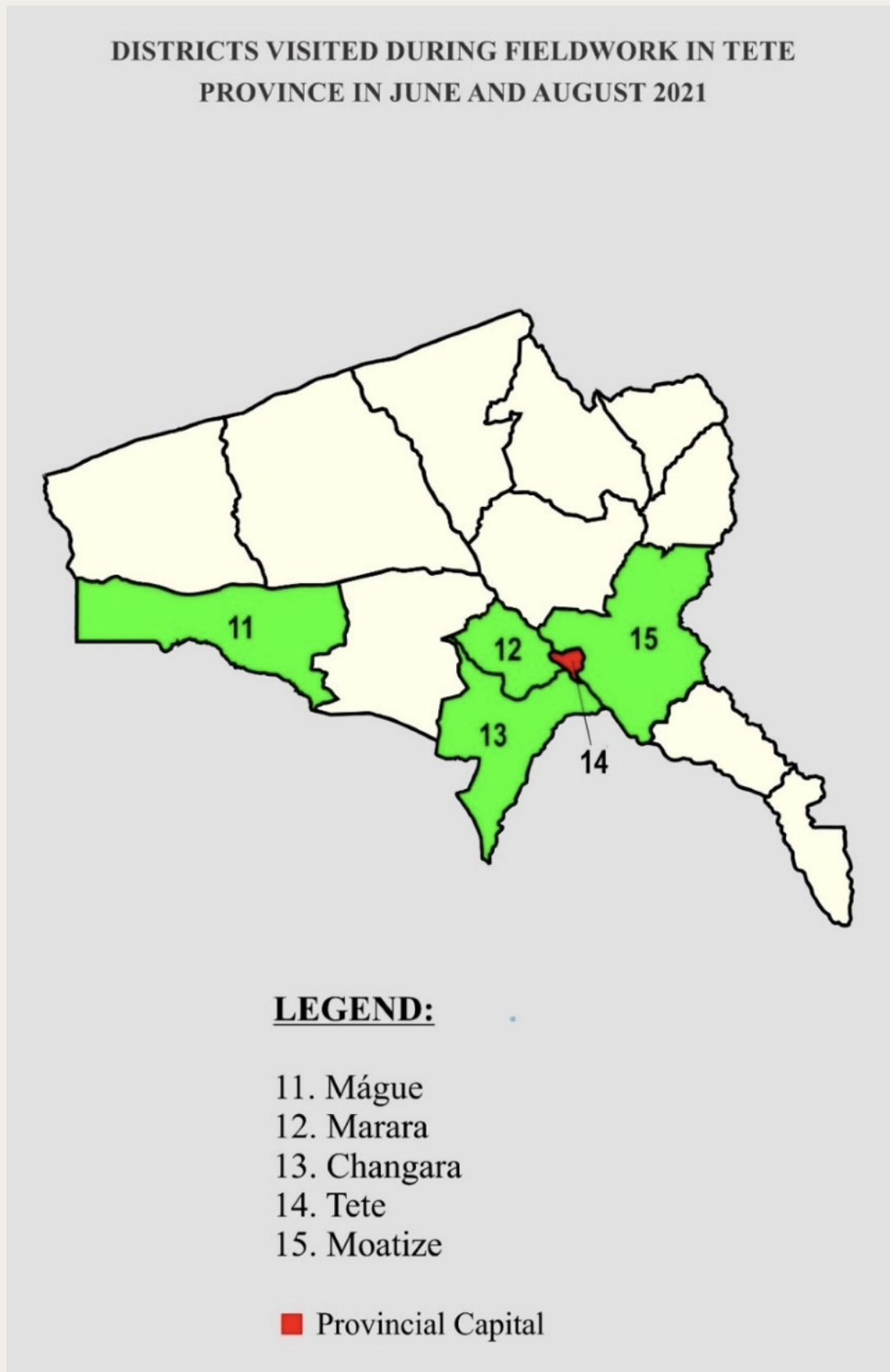
Province	Concrete proposals to improve management/successes	Civil society and community organisations
Tete	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proposals for making the transfer of the 20% more flexible - The population removed from Mágoè National Park requires a place where there is school and hospitals and a space to develop fishing - Affected communities require resettlement before production starts - The mining resource management committees are well-empowered and aware of the legislation and their rights - Communities prioritize writing letters about their claims - More peaceful and creative demonstrations: reduction of property vandalization and police violence - Role of women in mineral resource committees increased - Emergence of new solidarity among communities affected by mining 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Association of Support and Legal Assistance to Communities (<i>Associação de Apoio e Assistência Jurídica às Comunidades - AAAJC</i>) - Justiça Ambiental – JA (in English: Environmental Justice), Paralegal Women, Sequelecane, Human Rights League, SIPE, CUUCA - Vale Affected Commission (Bagamoyo neighbourhood, Moatize) - Neighbourhood Committee 25 September of the Resettled of Chipanga (Moatize) - Association of Mining-Affected Communities in Moatize - Potters Resettled by Vale - Cassoca Resettlement Commission - Marara - Cassoca Resettlement Committee ("Group 12") - Several Community Fisheries Councils (CCPs) in Magoé and Cahora Bassa (e.g. Calonda) - Christian Council of Mozambique - CGRNs in Daque (Mágoè), 25 de Setembro neighbourhood, Mualadzi (Moatize), Chipembere, Cassoca (Changara), Aceagrários - Mágoè Community Radio

produced on resettlement conflicts by mining multinationals and complaints about water pollution and dust, poor quality houses built for those resettled and related to promises generally unfulfilled by the Brazilian mining company Vale and the Indian mining companies Jindal and ICVL, the owner of mines previously owned by a multinational mining company Rio Tinto.

In the south-west of the province, near the Zimbabwe border, there was a large community project for the sustainable use of the environment, flora and fauna called Tchuma Tchato (Our Wealth), which the fishing community beside the river recalls with some nostalgia. The government's decision in 2013 to create the 3,745 square kilometre Mágoè National

Park (Parque Nacional de Mágoè - PNM) in a significant part of the area dramatically transformed community-based conservation management to top-down management, and from the objective of conservation for collective and sustainable natural resource use to total conservation that prioritizes and requires the absence of local human beings. This naturally creates conflicts over resettlement and fishing restrictions and the entrance fees that park guards arbitrarily charge local populations. As in the case of Gorongosa National Park, the emergence of the total conservation area in inhabited areas has made the man-animal conflict worse around and within the protected area. In the case of PNM, it is elephants in particular that destroy fields. Resettlement is a controversial issue in Mágoè, with fisherfolks concerned about

Map 5 – Focus districts in Tete



the possibility of being resettled in areas where fishing is not sustainable. Meanwhile, the Mágoè National Park and the local community have reached an agreement on resettlement in an area with better conditions. However, it is unclear who will be responsible for the resettlement costs to compensate the community for their losses. Equally, it is unclear when and where the agreed resettlement will take place.

Resettlement also creates conflicts in mining areas where, under the Mining Law, mining companies are responsible for compensating for losses and building homes for people resettled, while in the case of conservation the responsibility lies with the government. At the moment, the province has two main coal mining areas on both sides of the Zambezi River:

1. In the area that formerly belonged to the Cassoca community in the Marara district occupied by the Indian mining company, Jindal.
2. On the outskirts of Moatize district capital, with the mines of multinational companies Vale (sold to Jindal in December 2021) and International Coal Ventures Limited (ICVL).

The conflict between the mining company Vale and communities in Moatize has received much public attention in Mozambique and worldwide since 2012, when residents resettled to Cateme protested against poorly built and cracked houses, land that was unsuitable for agriculture, long distance to the village and city markets and an authentic environment of repression in the face of any protest (Justiça Ambiental, 2012). Some of the problems of the resettled population in the Chipanga neighborhood in Cateme have been solved, especially the condition of the houses, but Vale's activities still generate conflicts in other communities. For example, the inhabitants of the so-called urban resettlement in 25 September neighbourhood in Chipanga, who were predominantly farmers, protest against resettlement without prior community consultation and insufficient and unfair compensation, with poorly built houses, small back yards in an area inappropriate for agriculture, polluted waters and the dust produced by Vale's activities, which alters the quality of flour. One of the demonstrations in this neighbourhood, which the inhabitants call "strikes", was caused by failure to respond

to a letter sent by the Chipanga 25 September Neighbourhood Committee on the issue of poorly built houses. The letter was found in 2019 in the district government's "dead files". It had not been forwarded to the provincial government as promised. Like many other communities affected by large-scale mining, residents say the district government does not defend them and even that Vale is the government in Moatize. The environment among Moatize activists after Vale announced the sale of its mines and logistics system, the Nacala corridor, to Jindal in December 2021 is that it is good that it is leaving, but it should first pay for its damage."

The Indian mining company ICVL, which also operates in Moatize, has an even worse reputation than Vale among the affected communities. Families resettled from Capanga to the remote Mualadzi neighborhood between 2010 and 2014, mostly at the time of Rio Tinto, still struggle to meet their basic needs such as public transport, an appropriate road and a functioning water supply system, all of which were promised by the mining company and government before resettlement. The NGOs visited in the province have produced documents describing a reality that leaves no doubt about the veracity of these complaints by communities (Lillywhite et. al, 2015; Ordem dos Advogados de Moçambique, 2016).

Given the challenges of coexistence between Vale and ICVL and the communities in Moatize, it is hard to believe that the situation with the Jindal mining company in Marara district is even worse. There are several problems between Jindal and the population in Cassoca and Nhansanga communities. The people have been resettled in Nhamatua in poorly built houses with water infiltration and pollution. The Nhansanga farmers community complains about coal-contaminated water invading into fields along the banks of the Nhansanga River that flows directly into the Zambezi River. Local communities, activists and NGOs emphasize that Jindal avoids direct dialogue with the population and civil society organizations as much as possible and wants to negotiate everything directly with the central government. Jindal recently received resettled and affected committees and promised to resolve the problems, but committee representatives complain about their failure to do so. It is suspected that they have strong supporters among political elite because, unlike Vale or Rio Tinto that lost a lot of money in cases they lost in the

courts for the benefit of affected communities, Jindal tends to win cases even in the courts. In December 2021 Vale sold its Moatize and Nacala corridor mines to the Jindal company. It is extremely important to observe the impact of this business on the promises already made by Vale and on the dialogue between the communities and the company that have developed significantly since the beginning of mining, even though the problems still persist.

An important topic that also emerged in the Tete material is related to the 20% and 2.75% that should be transferred to communities as the result of forest production and mining activity respectively. In addition to Mágoè, where the transformation of Tchuma Tchato into a national park ended the flow of 20% to the committees, the subject arose more vehemently in the districts of Changara (20%), and Marara and Moatize (2.75%). In the case of 2.75% from mineral extraction, this revenue is transferred from the State budget to be managed by district governments that, together with communities, identify actions or infrastructure that contribute to local social development. In practice, the Moatize and Marara coal mining districts are just two examples of the many districts in Mozambique where, because of the lack of transparency, it is difficult to know whether public investments in infrastructure were financed by the 2.75% of revenue paid by Jindal and Vale or were part of the normal State budget. It could also be asked whether these amounts should be used to finance maintenance or the construction of essential infrastructure - such as water system repair or road construction - that were promised to communities in public consultations prior to resettlement.

Changara district has several registered forest resource management committees recognized by the government that have already received the 20% of the revenue paid by logging companies. Despite the legally recognised status of the Natural Resource Management Committees, and the government's transfer of funds through them, there are several reasons why some committees have used them for purposes that have no relevant impact on communities. Committees tend to justify these shortcomings on the grounds that they do not understand the legislation on the application of funds, whereas the authorities point to the greed of community leaders. For example, several committees in Changara applied

the 20% to no effect, giving loans to community members to develop their businesses, which they should return with a percentage interest. However, most of the loan beneficiaries were unable to honour their commitments. One positive aspect was that this practice was later abandoned and the Changara committees showed they were aware of the error.

The main objective of the interviews in provincial capitals during this research was to understand conflicts in other districts in the province. However, as in Sofala, an important topic to be addressed for future research in Tete - linked to the peaceful and inclusive management of natural resources - is land conflicts in the provincial capital. An example is the land conflict between civilians and the military in Chingodzi neighborhood, on the outskirts of Tete town, which became very violent in August 2021 when the military threatened journalists and began shooting to disperse people who gathered there. The people were protesting against the occupation of their land by military personnel (Deutsche Welle, 2021b.).

[NIIASSA] Work in Niassa faced major and costly challenges in the team's travel arrangements, especially travel to Nipepe district and the remote administrative post of Cóbue in Lago district. For instance, it took the local assistants four days to reach Cóbue, because their bus broke down. Another challenge was the delay in processing the research material, with the result that Niassa's research material was not analyzed as rigorously as that from other provinces.

In Niassa, the research focused on five districts - Sanga, Lago, Nipepe, Mavago and Lichinga municipality - and recorded around 40 interviews with mine workers and entrepreneurs, especially in the artisanal gold and ruby mines and in communities affected by graphite mining, public authorities, NGO officers and members of rural associations, social activists, community and religious leaders and members of committees and communities affected by logging. The main natural resource activities addressed were agriculture, gold, ruby and graphite mining, forest use - especially timber, environmental conservation, hunting for subsistence and religious festivals (Islamic) and game hunting. The main conflicts covered were: social exclusion in committees and in the distribution of income (Lago, Sanga), conflicts between

Map 5 – Focus districts in Niassa

**DISTRICTS VISITED DURING FIELDWORK IN NIIASSA
PROVINCE IN MAY AND JULY 2021**



LEGEND:

- 1. Lago
- 2. Sango
- 3. Mavago
- 4. Lichinga
- 5. Nipepe

■ Provincial Capital

Table 8 - Niassa: proposals identified on improving natural resource management / success and the civil society organizations and actor (CSOs) visited and indicated

Province	Concrete proposals to improve management/successes	Civil society and community organisations
Niassa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CSO involvement in natural resource management policies and agendas - Use of community radio to inform and raise public awareness - Planting trees (acacia and pine) in places where charcoal is produced (Sanga) - Suspension of mining activities by the Chinese company that was in conflict with the Ntaka Nwetu association of artisanal ruby miners (Mavago) - Legalization of Ntaka Nwetu - Created and legalized 4 artisanal gold mining cooperatives in Lupilichi (Lago) with social responsibility actions - Collaboration between the government and ORAM on the management of mining resources (graphite) in Nipepe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Natural Resource Management Committee (<i>Comité de Gestão de Recursos Naturais</i> - CGRN) in Chipanje Chetu (Sanga) and Muichi (Nipepe) - Community Management Council (<i>Conselho de Gestão Comunitária</i> - COGECO) and CGRNs in Sanga - Yambone, ORAM, AGIR, Roads, Forum of Niassa Women's Organizations (<i>Fórum das Organizações Femininas do Niassa</i> - FOFEN), Amungi, Provincial Peasants Union (FUNAC) - Samora Moisés Machel Organization (women working in the market of this name, Sanga) - Community Radios in Sanga (CR Sanga-Malulu), Nipepe, Mecanhelas, Majune, Mandimba, Cuamba and Metarica - <i>Régulos</i> in Namairi, Manlia and Muichi (Nipepe) and Macaloge (Mr. Rajabo Suaieia, Sanga) - Queens: Che Kalange, Che Chipengo and Che Nampanda in Sanga - 4 cooperatives and former artisanal mining associations in Lupilichi (Lago) - Ntaka Wetu Association (Mavago) for artisanal ruby mining

the logging company and the community (Sanga), between artisanal miners and Chinese mining company, between artisanal miners and conservation interests in the Niassa Special Reserve (Mavago) and over resettlement and land use in Nipepe where the DH-Mining graphite mining and the local community have an unresolved conflict over cultural values and materials.

In the distant administrative post of Cóbue, and Lupilichi locality in particular, there are four artisanal mining cooperatives that were founded in 2006, all led by the local businessman Calisto Pedro, chairman of the cooperatives and currently a deputy in the provincial assembly. These cooperatives extract large amounts of artisanal and alluvial gold and in addition to significant income for local artisanal miners who manage the land, they attract manpower even from beyond national borders. They have also engaged in impressive social responsibility activities, building seven primary schools and a health post, piped water for a community and improving roads through manual labor, among other investments for the common good.

Nevertheless, these activities entail many latent and repressed conflicts, social exclusion from major benefits and decision making and there are serious problems in ensuring clean drinking water and basic civil liberties in the area. It is also foreseen that the occupation of large areas, decided in offices in the country's capital, or even overseas and visible in the Mining Register (MIREME, 2021), projects by national elites in partnership with multinational mining companies, e.g. Gold Mining Limited, may clash with the cooperatives in Cóbue, even though they have strong links with the party in power, at both the grass roots and the provincial level. Although it was not possible to visit Matchedje Administrative Post in Sanga district during this research, interviews elsewhere in Sanga show that the dynamics of gold mining are similar to those in Lupilichi. Conflicts in Matchedje also involve the industrial mining company Lupilichi Mining. The legacy of the one-party system, with the exclusion of other parties, is very visible in Cóbue where Frelimo flags decorate the gold mines and offices of cooperatives and where opposition supporters are still openly called "enemies" and "infiltrators."²⁷

²⁷ A vibrant, international artisanal gold mining locality of Lupilichi near to Tanzanian border is right next to the famous Matchedje post belonging to the neighbouring Sanga district that hosted Frelimo's second congress

Elsewhere, far from the provincial capital, in Nipepe district near the border with Cabo Delgado province, there is a conflict between a Chinese graphite mining company, DH-Mining, and the community that has still not been resolved satisfactorily. The conflict involves similar issues experienced in other disputes over major concessions and resettlement in Tete and Inhambane, such as no clear policies on the purchase of land belonging to the population, the company's failure to generate jobs locally, with many company employees coming from outside, lower salaries for and the dismissal of local employees, allegedly without just cause. The company has already been fined for violating labor rights and its operation was suspended in 2019 following the construction of facilities without an environmental license and without community consultations (António, 2021). Cultural aspects such as the importance of maintaining access to graves, a feature of resettlement disputes in other provinces, are also present in the planned resettlement of 200 families in Nipepe. In a community consultation, this dynamic revealed surprising differences between genders rather than between generations: men, who are generally "newcomers" i.e. come from outside the community because of matrilocality, were more favorable to resettlement whereas women, native to the area, were generally against it because their social power is linked to the land, local matrilineages and physical markers of this power on the ground, such as graves. Thus, resettlement in the matrilineal and especially the matrilocal context, not only threatens the power of community leaders, both men and women, but also the relative power of women in general.

As Sanga and Mavago, two districts in the north of Niassa province, have significant forest and wildlife resources, the main conflicts are between communities and the logging company (in Sanga) and the Niassa Special Reserve (in Mavago). Conflicts with logging companies such as the Norwegian company Green Resources²⁸, which has licenses covering up to 126,000 hectares in Sanga and other districts, are mostly latent, but include risking loss of livelihoods, loss of land and traditional local knowledge, human rights violations and loss of aesthetic and mnemonic values when native and

biologically diverse forests are replaced by monocultural plantations (Environmental Justice Atlas, 2019). A team from an environmental organization that was inspecting Green Resources' business was recently detained illegally on the Tanzanian side of the border (Justiça Ambiental, 2021). Respondents in Sanga complain that Green Resources does not create enough local jobs.

Another significant economic activity in Sanga is game hunting by Lupilichi Wilderness in collaboration with the committee that has been managing the Chipande Chetu community conservation area since 1998. The "20%" that the five Sanga committees receive from this activity amount to between 400,000 and 500,000 meticaís a year, which is much more than usual from these activities. These funds are used to build schools, classrooms, health facilities, purchase football equipment and sewing machines, among others. In Mavago there are also game farms "coutadas", but the transfer of the 20% is more difficult because the district does not have many organized committees. Although Mavago has many forest resources there are no loggers because of the Niassa Special Reserve, the largest conservation area in the country that, in addition to the entire district of Mecula, occupies much of Mavago district.

The community where the fieldwork was concentrated in Mavago district has activities in Lilasi locality, which also lies within the reserve. Ntaka Wetu is an association of artisanal miners, established in 2015 by former combatants and their children. The association has 160 members and a mining license approved by the provincial government, although out of date, to mine rubies over 130 hectares within the reserve in Lilasi locality, Msawizi administrative post. Since the discovery of rubies in 2007/2008 there has been violent conflict with the Chinese mining company that the artisanal miners call the "Bárue Company". The company was extracting the gems with the mining concession registered in the name of the Ntaka Wetu Association, but removing from the area the local informal miners, who were members of the association. However, in 2019, the year of presidential elections the government resolved the conflict by expelling the mining company, as required by the community.

²⁸ in 1968 during the liberation war. Matchedje and Lupilichi share liberation struggle history as well as similar contemporary dynamics of artisanal mining.

²⁸ With Finnish and Norwegian capitals.

There is also conflict with the Niassa reserve's inspectors. As in many other places, an out-of-date license or conflict with industrial mining companies makes artisanal miners vulnerable to violence, which became very serious between 2013 and 2015. The miners were frequently attacked and the children of veterans, members of the association, were detained for a long time at the request of the Chinese company. However, recently, in July 2020, they were attacked by the Mbatamila Reserve inspectors, who took precious stones, cash and other goods. At the time, there were about 40 miners in the Lilasi camp. Because of these incidents, many miners and service providers have given up the activity, especially women, who previously participated in larger numbers. These violent events also resulted in buyers losing interest in going to the mines. In addition to the violence, the Ntaka Wetu miners complain about the price of the rubies they are obliged to sell, that is way below their market value. Mining activity at the Lilasi mine also has other problems, especially environmental ones. The area can be described as an authentic desert within the forest, full of lifeless holes. The miners are not interested in reforestation of the tree-less desert. The activity also pollutes the waters of nearby rivers, where the miners wash their stones.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this report is to answer the questions raised in the TIPS project and briefly summarised at the beginning of this document.

(i) Mapping local conflicts and peace-building actors.

This research has identified the main current and potential conflicts in 27 of the country's administrative districts, summarized in Maps and Tables 1, 2, 3 and Tables 4-8 on the provinces reported in this document and explained in more detail in the narrative part of the document, in the Training Guide and in the policy briefs. The conflicts typically occur between multinational companies and communities where the government at the local, provincial and central levels is also a stakeholder. Implicit conflict often occurs between central government, which controls the licensing for exploring mineral resources, and district governments, which have to manage the consequences. There are also inner conflicts among communities although most of them are resolved locally, for better or worse, and tend to leave

no record for the outside world. Less inclusive and peaceful practices such as corruption, authoritarian natural resources management including violent means and illegal or unethical use of community funds and natural resources were identified and are described in more detail in this document and other publications of this project. In one way or another these conflicts are all linked to the multiple significances of land, rivers, lakes and the sea as spaces containing natural wealth, but also with no less important significance through the housing, way of life and history experienced by communities.

In this research, more attention was paid to natural resources and the respective conflicts than peace builders because solutions to problems arise from analysing problems head on. But also, some civil society organizations and peace actors, which can both contribute to this project and benefit from it, were involved as part of the research (Tables 4-8). By peace actors, this research refers to each citizen or collective actor who participates or wants to participate in the management of natural resources as doing so not just for their own benefit, but also for the common good. The research team met and identified hardworking and dedicated civil servants, community members, community and civil society officers, private business workers and entrepreneurs and community leaders acting in good faith. Actors who benefit from peace, who promote and idealize peaceful, legal and legitimate solutions through a sense of responsibility or necessity were identified; district governments and their officials who help their inhabitants to legalize their associations and cooperatives linked to the use and management of natural resources; community organisations working to improve their members' personal lives and also to contribute to the greater common good. The team identified government officials who have recognised the problems and want to improve practices, NGO members and leaders, who were extremely interested in our research and are able to contribute the objectives of this project to promote peace and social inclusion.

(ii) Contributing to a better understanding of local perceptions of conflict dynamics and possible solutions.

By mapping and analysing conflicts, especially in the policy briefs and the subchapter focusing on each province in this document, the research has attempted to identify local perceptions of conflicts that often also include the proposals

and solutions presented in the Training Guide in relation to the 12 districts selected for the broader project. Some of the most common proposals include the following two:

- Major decentralization of licensing the economic activities to local level where the consequences are felt.
- Putting the correct mining officials, instead of consultants, into direct dialogue with affected communities.

Examples about less common but useful proposals are:

- A demand for technical training for local young people already in the phase of licensing mining prospections, to avoid situations where after years of established mining, local youths are not recruited for lack of skills.
- Peace group in Gorongosa, founded during the demobilisation after the 2013-2016 hostilities in central Mozambique consists of women, demobilised combatants and religious leaders. Its organisation might serve as an example for other conflict affected areas.²⁹

However, a glance at the Mozambique Mining Register is sufficient to understand that these local perceptions can only be fully understood and make sense by taking into account the broader context, not just insights from the affected local communities. By this, we do not imply that communities affected by coal mining in Tete for example, are not aware of the global dynamics that affect their lives. On the contrary, through their experience they can have unique and more profound perceptions of globalization than urban actors like us. As shown by the examples of Marara and Moatize in Tete province, in addition to being aware of the local concepts of justice that the State also recognizes in its legislation, communities affected by multinational businesses may also be well aware of their legal and formal rights and of the constitutional and international commitments on human rights assumed by the Mozambican State. In addition to the unique experience of witnessing at first hand the impacts of multinationals and globalization, another source of knowledge for these communities and space for mutual learning were the meetings and constant interactions with

²⁹ More detail about these and other initiatives is provided in the Training Guide.

various urban-based civil society organizations, for example, during capacity building training. Thus, local perceptions are an important resource for communities, but they can always be complemented and empowered by perceptions at broader contexts.

(iii) Assessing the needs, strong points and limitations of project beneficiaries.

It is clear that knowledge about these normative frameworks and the social contexts where communities live, or rather, their “organic intellectuality” varies enormously. There are committees for managing natural forest resources that were in fact established from the top down and their members do not fully understand their powers and duties. Members and even the chairpersons of these CGRNs were met who knew very little about the purpose of the 20% they were managing. Other committees, as explained above, arise more as a local initiative, possibly aided by urban NGOs, and tend to be more aware of their role and rights. In this respect, the mineral resources committees in Tete stand out although, perhaps because of their conflicts of interest with multinationals, they have faced more difficulties and delays in their legalisation.

Wherever there are land conflicts and natural resources conflicts, as in the area around Gorongosa National Park, the CGRNs and the communities they aim to represent can collide when the committees lose their legitimacy in the eyes of communities. In these cases, communities feel that the CGRNs represent the park and not the community itself. Community leaders can also lose legitimacy when communities interpret certain collaboration situations with the State and private companies as their leaders being bribed. The boundary between the common good and bribery may seem tenuous when mining companies pay a subsidy to community leaders who help recruit the local workforce and thus distribute the few local opportunities. In localities where communities feel that leaders listen to and defend them, there is clearly a stronger possibility of successfully negotiating with the government and mining companies. However, in cases where there are major asymmetries in symbolic, academic, and social capital and communities do not have the support of NGOs and lawyers even “united people” can be overcome and discouraged.

Districts where local governments are helping their communities to develop their lives could generate local and national development if they had central government support. Unfortunately, in situations with strong economic interests, district governments feel pressured by the central government and businesses to crack down on their own communities to the detriment of the district government. Yet resolving these conflicts can benefit everyone including State revenue and the socio-economic development of the district. It could also promote decentralization of power, a stated commitment of the Mozambican State since the early 1990s despite simultaneous fears among government officials that this will happen.

(iv) Assessing the gender and generational dynamics and dimensions in conflicts resulting from the use of natural resources.

As described in the subchapter on gender issues, women are the main collectors and users of natural resources in rural communities, especially those resources close to the localities where they live. When large investments occur, they are often the main losers because access to subsistence resources becomes more difficult and the inhabitants become more dependent on vehicles and cash incomes. Women's participation in local natural resources management mechanisms can have an empowering impact and therefore gender balance is promoted by the government and national and international NGOs, encouraging communities to create committees with a stronger representation of women. Women's participation in hereditary authority structures depends a great deal on the region, but it is generally more common in the north of the country where matrilineal systems predominate i.e. as concerns this research the provinces of Niassa, Cabo Delgado and the north of Tete. Government officials, and especially NGOs consider that queens have a very important role, and some believe that they, as well as women committee members, tend to be less corrupt than their male colleagues and are therefore highly respected in local communities.

On the whole, young people, especially young women, have less decision-making power, although they are the main workforce in resource extraction. Investments sometimes create opportunities for young people in terms of training, temporary employment, informal business and, for a

minority of young locals, wage work. Young people are also the main actors in activities that are mainly organized locally: fisherfolks, artisanal miners, farmers, beekeepers, etc. In situations of socio-economic exclusion resulting, for example, in the occupation of large tracts of land for mining, young people suffer financially, whereas the elderly regret more the symbolic and cultural losses such as sacred areas and graves. As described in the subchapter on Niassa, under matrilocality conditions, this dynamic can also exist between genders, because a woman's power is based on land and local matrilineages, whereas men usually come from outside the community. Because of their exclusion, young people are easily angered and, as a result, are the main participants in the most serious and violent conflicts such as revolts, uprisings, insurgencies, and wars.

Important questions about the involvement of a number of minorities such as people with disabilities and LGBTQ people were not addressed in the research material. Addressing these groups' special needs in natural resources management would require further effort and longer involvement with the communities and research participants.

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