

TAKING THEIR TERRITORY WITH THEM WHEN THEY GO:
MOBILITY AND ACCESS IN MOZAMBIQUE'S LIMPOPO NATIONAL PARK

by

REBECCA WITTER

(Under the Direction of J. PETER BROSIUS)

ABSTRACT

The Makandezulu region of Mozambique's Limpopo National Park is Maluleke territory. That is, the population of Makandezulu, which is dominated by the Maluleke *xibongo* or clan name has control over environmental resources here and, more importantly, people's relationships with respect to them. With the establishment of Mozambique's Limpopo National Park in 2001, however, the Makandezulu region has also become national and transfrontier conservation territory. Following park implementation and having concluded that resident aspirations for the park were not compatible with conservation goals, conservation managers with support from international donors are developing an extensive resettlement program for people residing along the Shingwedzi Watershed including the Makandezulu region.

Focusing on the LNP villages of Makandezulu A and Makandezulu B, this dissertation assesses the history of resident mobility in the LNP, how residents established access to and control of resources both within this region and when they moved, and the relevance of this relationship between access and mobility in the context of conservation related resettlement. My research findings illustrate significant changes in Maluleke territory over the last two centuries resulting from the relationships between access, control, displacement, and mobility. The political ecology of access and mobility in Makandezulu is grounded in three broad arguments. First, for Makandezulu residents, mobility was a means to avoiding the displacement context of external or non-Maluleke groups. Second, both within the Makandezulu region and when residents moved, residents established access to resources through a variety of mechanisms; however, there was an important difference between establishing access and control. Third, the establishment or loss of group level resource control was synonymous with establishment or loss of territory.

INDEX WORDS: Political Ecology of Access and Mobility, Displacement, Resource Access and Control, Territory, Conservation-related resettlement, Mozambique, Limpopo National Park, Southern Africa, Maluleke history, Anthropology

TAKING THEIR TERRITORY WITH THEM WHEN THEY GO:
MOBILITY AND ACCESS IN MOZAMBIQUE'S LIMPOPO NATIONAL PARK

by

REBECCA WITTER

BA, University of North Carolina, 1998

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2010

© 2010

Rebecca Witter

All Rights Reserved

TAKING THEIR TERRITORY WITH THEM WHEN THEY GO:
MOBILITY AND ACCESS IN MOZAMBIQUE'S LIMPOPO NATIONAL PARK

by

REBECCA WITTER

Major Professor:	J. Peter Brosius
Committee:	Ted Gragson Tommy Jordan Ikubolajeh Logan Julie Vâlesquez Runk

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2010

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated in memory of Theresina Elias Maluleke.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The trouble with these acknowledgements is that they communicate only a small portion of my gratitude all the while becoming emblematically neglectful to those I am sure to omit. I begin, therefore, by noting that these words do not go far enough in communicating my gratitude and humility both to those listed and not listed herein. Thank you for seeing this project through in all its iterations.

I'll begin by acknowledging my committee. First I thank Pete Brosius, my committee chair. Pete has made a tremendous contribution not only to this project and my doctoral program but also to my academic career. It has been a privilege to work with him. I am also grateful to Drs. Ted Gragson and Julie Velásquez-Runk from the Department of Anthropology at UGA, Dr. Tommy Jordan from the Center of Remote Sensing and Mapping Science Center (CRMS) at UGA, and Dr. Ikubolajeh Logan from the Department of Geography at Penn State. This committee has provided a mix of rigor, humor, and patience, as well as uncanny faith in the effectiveness of learning by writing that has made for an interesting and unforgettable journey.

The generous institutions who have provided financial support for this project are The American Association of University Women, Fulbright IIE, National Science Foundation (Award #: BCS-0612766), Transboundary Protected Areas Research Initiative, University of Georgia Graduate School, and the World Agroforestry Center.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the contributions of my research assistants, Reginaldo Soto, Levi Mahevele, and Divy Mavasa. Soto translated the majority of the interviews and conversations on which this work is based. I thank him for his patience and endurance.

The Department of Anthropology at the University of Georgia has been my home away from home for the last seven years and within it the Conservation and Community Lab, now the Center for Integrative Conservation Research (CICR). I thank the entire Anthropology faculty and staff who have contributed to my doctoral program. I am keenly aware that I would have never made it this far if it were not for Margie Floyd, LaBau Bryan, and Mary Boyd. I recognize CRMS at UGA for additional institutional support and resources. I also thank fellow graduate students. My cohort kept the bar raised high, and among them Adam Henne and Colleen O'Brien have become particularly notable comrades.

The Transboundary Protected Area Research Initiative laid the groundwork for this project, providing early funding, institutional and logistical support, key contact information and scholarly exchange, and a network to call home in southern Africa. Conrad Steenkamp, Daniel Marnewick and Stuart Miller were particularly gracious with their time, resources, and support. Among other TPARI scholars, exchanges with Bram Büscher, Chad Dear, Clapperton Mavhunga, Jessica Milgroom, Kozette Myburgh, Michael Schoon, Marja Spierenburg, and Barbara Tapela have been formative in my understanding of transboundary conservation in southern Africa. Jessica Milgroom and I collaborated throughout our time in Mozambique, and I am grateful to her for her many contributions to this work particularly with regard to her assistance with Shangaan language translations and tree species identification.

From Eduardo Mondlane University, I am grateful to Francisco Vieira for providing the institutional support that allowed me to conduct research in Mozambique and Gabriel Albano who contributed to tree species identification. Among the numerous extremely gracious conservation and government officials who granted me permission to conduct this research in the Limpopo National Park, the following were particularly supportive: Gilberto Vincente, Arrie Van Wyk, Henrique Massango, David Hayward, and Billy Swanepoel from the LNP and Madyo Couto and Alessandro Fusari from the Directorate of Areas of Conservation in Maputo. Thank you for your candor, your work, and generously extending your time and support of this work. I must also recognize the generous and humorous staff at Club do Professor, located near Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, who made us feel welcome time and again.

Tim Otto from Gaza Safaris took me in with notable kindness one afternoon when I showed up unannounced. His stories about the early 90s in the LNP are treasures, and I am forever grateful to him for sharing them with me so openly. Craig Beech at Peace Parks Foundation was also extremely generous with his time and resources. I thank him for his supportive of and patience with this project. I am also grateful to Luka Mukavele, my Tsonga-Shangaan teacher in Maputo and Lucia Mukavele for her day to day friendship and help. Lisa Cliggett (University of Kentucky) and Diane Russell (USAID) have also contributed to this project as well as to my graduate career, while David Hughes (Rutgers University) has also been notably generous with resources.

I would also like to thank my friends and family. Time and again, Stuart Miller and Vanessa Quan opened their home and hearts to me far wider than I could have ever have anticipated. McNair Bailey, Mary Lynn Paluselli, Annie Price, Mosmi Naik-Patel, and Vineeta

Shah continue to empower me. You hold my deepest appreciation, admiration, and respect. I also acknowledge Athens town: particularly the mamas, nurslings, and women's writing group who kept me connected to this graceful little community that over the years has indeed become home.

I can blame my parents, Gary and Carrie Witter for planting the seed in my head that would lead me to believe I could ever take on a project such as this. Though, I am not sure they imagined how the sprouts might grow. Of late, my mother has enabled me to finish this dissertation while she kept my daughter Magdalena in loving arms. For that, I am eternally grateful. My brother, Matt, and his family have always supported me from afar, giving me something to take for granted.

Magdalena was born in December 2008. In the beginning I could hardly imagine completing this PhD all the while caring growing with her. Now, I can hardly imagine ever having done it with her. I also acknowledge my friend and partner, Theodoor. Mozambique brought us together in 2003 and since then he has taken up this journey alongside me. Thank you both for the sacrifices and the smiles along the way. You keep me always turning back towards home.

Lastly, I acknowledge and thank the residents of Makandezulu A and B on whom this project is based. I credit you for the significant contributions to you made to this work while retaining full responsibility for the errors.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xvi
 CHAPTER	
1 Introduction	1
Regional Context: People and Place.....	6
Theoretical Context.....	12
Territory emplaced.....	21
Human mobility and displacement	29
2 <i>Hijigajiga</i> (or How We Mapped Maluleke Territory): Data collection and analysis ...	33
Introduction	33
Interview and Observation Data	38
Oral History Interviews.....	41
Standardized Interviews	43
Archival Data.....	53
Spatial Data.....	54
A note about interview citations	56

3	Taking Their Territory With Them When They Go: Maluleke settlements into the	
	Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions	58
	“Ngugunyane?! We were running from Ngugunyane!” (Introduction).....	58
	Ethnic categorization.....	60
	Maluleke Settlement in the Great Limpopo Region	64
	Maluleke Settlement in the Makandezulu Region	72
	Measuring the extent of Gaza Reach	76
	Conclusion.....	84
4	The Lineage Landscape: External and residents ways of seeing access.....	86
	Tree in Space	86
	Seeing like a state.....	89
	Conservation Mapping	93
	Membership in the group.....	99
	The Resource Controllers:”All of us, we are coming from Guyu”	106
	Conclusion.....	115
5	The Niche Landscape: The customary rules and every-day practices of resource	
	control	117
	Why trees are good to think with	119
	Tenure Niches	122
	Trees in Former Homesteads: Appealing to Maluleke ancestors	132
	Trees in Homesteads: Appealing to non-Maluleke ancestors.....	135
	Trees in fields: Work as a mechanism for establishing resource control	136

	Trees in mafusi: Appeals to extended kinship networks.....	141
	Trees in the Bush: Doing thing the way the ancestors did.....	145
	Conclusion	156
6	Colonial Organizations of Space and Access to Work Abroad.....	159
	The Colonial Cadastre.....	160
	The Rise of Gold	164
	Labor Laws	165
	The transformation of southern Mozambique into a labor reserve:	168
	Early Conservation Measures	175
	Moving in a Displacement Context	179
	The Use of Identity to Establish Access to Resources.....	184
	"Everyone knew that we Shangaans were the best workers": Identity and access to labor.....	186
	Coutada 16 Hunting Concession	190
	Conclusion.....	191
7	"It was a movement to be protected": War and Refuge Seeking in Makandezulu .	194
	FRELIMO reterritorialization.....	196
	RENAMO deterritorialization.....	206
	Gaining Access as Refugees	214
	The territory they left behind	227
8	Conservation-Related Resettlement: Elephants, Inducement, and the Perception of Choice	233

The Resettlement Meeting in Makandezulu B	233
Divergence	237
Choice	244
Displacement	249
The Perception of Volition (and why it endures).....	261
Conclusion.....	264
9 Conclusion.....	267
Establishing Access to Resources when they go.....	278
REFERENCES	296

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 2.1: Data Collection and Analysis	37
Table 2.2: Data Analysis Comparing Discrete and Relative Temporal Data	44
Table 2.3: The Mobility Matrix was used to assess how residents established access to resources when they moved	48
Table 2.4: Attribute table Illustrating tree types and corresponding land use types	56
Table 4.1: Excerpt from Makandezulu residents' responses to the question, Is it harder to get fields here if you are not born here?	107
Table 5.1: Culturally salient subsistence use tree	122

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1.1: Map of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park illustrating the Great Limpopo Region.	8
Figure 1.2: Map of the Limpopo National Park illustrating the Makandezulu Region	9
Figure 1.3: Makandezulu Livelihoods	11
Figure 1.4: Territory Typology	23
Figure 2.1: Participant Observation: Cleaning a field with Makandezulu A resident Priscina Mozamane Vukeya.....	40
Figure 2.2: Oral history interview with a resident from Makandezulu B	43
Figure 2.3: Mobility Categorizations	49
Figure 2.4: Overlay analysis.....	57
Figure 3.1: The Maluleke xibongo and ethnic classification	62
Figure 3.2: Genealogy of Maluleke male lineage authorities	67
Figure 3.3: Taking the territory with them when they move: Maluleke Settlement in the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions.....	71
Figure 3.4: Male lineage authorities (descendents of Ngatsone) at Vanyanhi Hill	77
Figure 3.5: The southern reaches of Gaza Nguni territory under Shoshangane.....	82
Figure 3.6: Gaza territory under Umzila	83
Figure 4.1: First Map of Transfrontier Conservation in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier region	96

Figure 4.2: Map of Conversation Zoning in the Limpopo National Park	99
Figure 4.3: Map of the 4x4 Eco-trail in the Limpopo National Park	100
Figure 4.4: Early clusters of Maluleke settlement in the Makandezulu region	110
Figure 4.5: Association between early settlement sites and two lines of Maluleke ancestors..	110
Figure 4.6: How fissures in the line of Guyu correspond to present-day villages.....	112
Figure 5.1: Homestead in Makandezulu A	126
Figure 5.2: Re-roofing a hut in Makandezulu A.....	127
Figure 5.3: Former Homestead in Wazulu (Makandezulu A)	128
Figure 5.4: Established field in Makandezulu B.....	130
Figure 5.5: <i>Mafusi</i> in Wazulu (Makandezulu A)	132
Figure 5.6: Bush outside of Makandezulu B.....	133
Figure 5.7: "They see me working in the field!"	142
Figure 5.8: A favored <i>nkanu</i> in Priscina's <i>mafusi</i>	145
Figure 5.9: <i>Nkanu</i> fruit gathered in Priscina's <i>mafusi</i> on February 28, 2007	146
Figure 5.10: Foresters preparing to enter <i>Makwakwine</i>	150
Figure 5.11: <i>Makwakwa</i> fruit	152
Figure 5.12: Extending the basin in order to carry more pulp	153
Figure 5.13: A group of young women emerging from <i>Makwakwine</i>	154
Figure 5.14: Truck loaded with <i>Makwakwa</i> pulp	155
Figure 5.15: <i>Makwakwa</i> pulp roasting over a fire pit	156
Figure 5.16: Roasted <i>makwakwa</i>	156
Figure 6.1: The National Boundary	165

Figure 6.2: Mozambique's Territorial Division of Labor.....	174
Figure 6.3: The transformation of southern Mozambique into a labor reserve.....	175
Figure 6.4: The Shingwedzi and Sabi Reserves.....	180
Figure 6.5: Million Casamule Maluleke, former migrant laborer.....	191
Figure 6.1: Excerpt, Resistance to Villagization.....	209
Figure 6.1: Excerpt, Resistance to Villagization.....	209
Figure 7.1: Part of an AK-47 in Xipelwine.....	215
Figure 7.2: Million Casamuela Maluleke as a guide for Gaza Safaris Hunting Concession.....	235
Figure 8.1: Nelson Mandela opening the fence between the LNP and the KNP	260
Figure 8.2: Elephant Relocations from the KNP to the LNP	260
Figure 8.3: Makandezulu A resident illustrating the size of an elephant track in <i>mafusi</i>	263

1.

Introduction

The Makandezulu region of Mozambique's Limpopo National Park is Maluleke territory. That is, the population of Makandezulu, which is dominated by the Maluleke *xibongo* or clan name has control over environmental resources here and, more importantly, people's relationships with respect to them. With the establishment of Mozambique's Limpopo National Park in 2001, however, the Makandezulu region has also become national and transfrontier conservation territory. Following park implementation and having concluded that resident aspirations for the park were not compatible with conservation goals, conservation managers with support from international donors are developing an extensive resettlement program for people residing along the Shingwedzi Watershed including the Makandezulu region. In the context of impending resettlement, my dissertation field research tracked the complex relationship between human mobility, territory, displacement, and access among Makandezulu residents and their ancestors over the past two centuries. In particular, my research was guided by the following research questions: *What is the history of resident mobility in the Makandezulu of Mozambique's LNP? How did Makandezulu residents establish access to and control of resources both within this region and when they moved? What is the relevance of this relationship between access and mobility in the context of conservation-related resettlement?* To address the research questions, I conducted twelve months of ethnographic field research,

from July 2006-July 2007 assessing access, control, displacement, mobility, and territory among residents of Makandezulu A and Makandezulu B.

My research findings illustrate significant changes in Maluleke territory over the last two centuries resulting from the relationships between access, control, displacement, and mobility. Drawing from Ribot and Peluso (2003: 158; see also Berry 1989a), I define resource access as the ability to derive benefits from things and resource control as "the ability to mediate others' access". Cognizant of a recent shift in conservation policy and scholarship, displacement -- conventionally understood to indicate a group's involuntary physical movement away from their place of residence -- is defined as restrictions of resource access even if geographic relocation is not undertaken (Cernea 2006). In this dissertation human mobility refers to a temporary or long-term change in geographic residence, the intentions of which extend beyond a visit. Finally, and departing from (Sack 1986), I define territory as an area over which a group establishes resource control and human territoriality as a social process in which a group seeks to control the resource access of others.

The relationships between these processes constitute what I refer to as the political ecology of access and mobility in Makandezulu, which I ground in three broad arguments. First, for Makandezulu residents, mobility was a means to avoiding the displacement context of external or non-Maluleke groups. Second, both within the Makandezulu region and when residents moved, residents established access to resources through a variety of mechanisms; however, there was an important difference between establishing access and control. Third,

the establishment or loss of group level resource control was synonymous with establishment or loss of territory.

This chapter places my dissertation research questions in regional and theoretical context. Below I briefly introduce transfrontier conservation in southern Africa, the Limpopo National Park, the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions, and Makandezulu residents. The theoretical context of my dissertation is informed by scholarship in anthropology, geography, history, and environmental history. With its focus on the intersection between protected area conservation and people's claims to places, inequities in access to resources, landscape history, and the political economic context of mobility events, this dissertation is grounded in political ecology. More specifically, in seeking to translate the political and territorial ramifications of the multiple ways in which external groups have 'seen' the Makandezulu region, I employ a landscape history approach which tracks the local and political economic factors that convey changes in access, control, displacement, mobility and territory. After introducing political ecology, I organize my theoretical overview into three themes: Ways of Seeing Africa and the Politics of Translation, Territory Emplaced, and Human Mobility and Displacement.

Chapter Two provides an overview of my research design and methodology focusing in particular on methods for collecting and analyzing interview, observation, temporal, and spatial data on mobility and access through time. By tracking the pre-colonial history of Maluleke movement through the region, Chapter Three illustrates a notion of territory and territoriality in which people are the most important components of territory. Through the mechanisms of broadcasting power over people, war and incorporation, and fissure and mobility, Maluleke

ancestors were able to establish and extend their resource control in new places. In other words, they took their territory with them when they moved. In Chapter Three I also introduce the first of several displacement-induced mobility events I will examine in this dissertation: Maluleke settlement into the Makandezulu region. That the Maluleke ancestors were trying to evade the Gaza Nguni polity problematizes the notion that Makandezulu residents are "Shangaan".

In Chapters Four and Five, I confine the geographic focus to the Makandezulu region in order to assess the political ecology of access among Makandezulu residents. Defining access on a spectrum, I highlight the important difference between household and village levels access and control. To achieve this, I compare two views of the Makandezulu region: a lineage landscape in Chapter Four and a niche landscape in Chapter Five. Whereas the lineage landscape highlights membership in the group and the hierarchy of social relations that convey patrilineal resource control in the region, the niche landscape reveals how the everyday practices associated with work and appealing to the ancestors also convey resource decision-making particularly among women. In both chapters the social relations and everyday practices that convey resource access are illustrated in the management and meanings of trees for residents.

In Chapters Six through Eight, I return to assessing the way in which external groups displaced Makandezulu residents and how Makandezulu residents established access to resources when they moved. During the Portuguese Colonial period, Makandezulu residents were displaced by the transformation of southern Mozambique into a labor reserve as well as

the rise of early conservation measures in the Great Limpopo region. Male Makandezulu residents secured their access to labor both in the South African mines as well as in the Kruger National Park both through mobility and Shangaan identity. They then used these benefits of labor to extend their territory back home.

Chapter Seven describes the post-independence displacement contexts wrought first by the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and later by the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO). While Makandezulu residents initially resisted FRELIMO-initiated villagization programs, RENAMO-induced violence eventually compelled them to abandon the region altogether. In their destination locations, Makandezulu residents established access to resources through a web of mechanisms related to refugee or Shangaan identity. In Chapter Eight I examine the displacement context in which conservation-related resettlement is occurring, focusing in particular on the way in which elephants are restricting resource access in Makandezulu. That conservation-related resettlement is occurring within a displacement context undermines the notion that the resettlement is voluntary. Resident willingness to discuss the details of the resettlement, however, is being conflated as compliance.

In Chapter Nine, I conclude this dissertation with a discussion of my overarching research findings, potential limitations, and recommendations for the way forward. In particular, Chapter Nine provides an analysis of the potential for Makandezulu residents to establish access to resources in their destination location, Salane, if and when they are resettled from the park. By applying specific aspects of a pilot resettlement program already undertaken in the LNP to the Makandezulu region, I show how the resettlement compensation

would ultimately fail to recognize and reciprocate for the current extent of resource use in the Makandezulu. As for the customary rules and practices that convey access and control within Maluleke territory, Makandezulu residents anticipate that they would establish access to resources when they moved, but not resource control.

People and Place

The Limpopo National Park (LNP) is the Mozambican side of southern Africa's prized Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP), an international Peace Park that also includes the Kruger National Park (KNP) and Makuleke Region in South Africa, and Gonarezhou National Park, Manjinji Pan Sanctuary, Malipati Safari Area, and Sengwe Communal Land in Zimbabwe. The GLTP is the heart of the Greater Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTCA) which, in addition to the aforementioned lands, includes Banhine and Zinave National Parks, Massingir and Corumana areas, and interlinking regions in Mozambique (PPF N.d.). Transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) and Peace Parks are conservation areas which cross two or more national boundaries in recognition of the "transnational nature of the environment" (Duffy 2001: 2). The goals of transfrontier conservation include, not only ecological integrity, but also cultural integrity, economic integration, and community development (Wolmer 2003). Peace Parks also aim to increase political security by encouraging cooperation between bordering nations to achieve conservation goals (Brock 1991; Westing 1998; Duffy 1997, 2001). In the last decade, under the leadership of the Peace Parks Foundation and heads of State, transfrontier conservation became an important social, political, and environmental movement in southern

Africa. Since 2000 ten transfrontier conservation areas have been proclaimed in the region and four additional areas are currently being developed (PPF N.d.). The MoU between Mozambican, South African, and Zimbabwean heads of state was signed in 2000. In 2001, the Mozambican government transformed Coutada 16 hunting concession into the Limpopo National Park, and in 2002, the GLTP was proclaimed. The GLTP spans 35,000km²- the size of the Netherlands- and it is envisioned that the GLTFCA will span 100,000km², making it "the world's greatest animal kingdom" (PPF N.d.).

The LNP constitutes 10,000km² of arid land in Mozambique's Gaza Province. The LNP landscape is described as Limbombos Woodland and Shrubland and Mopane Woodland (Hatton *et al.* 2001). The predominant surface covers of the Makandezulu region are sandveld and mopane woodland; more specifically Stallmans *et al.* (2004) categorized the region according to four landuse types: Combretum/ Mopane Rugged Veld, Mixed Combretum/ Mopane woodland, Mopane shrubveld, and Nwambia Sandveld. Approximately 27,000 people live in the park along the Limpopo, Olifantes, and Shingwedzi River Watersheds (Hatton *et al.* 2001). Approximately 6,000 residents live in the Shingwedzi Watershed where resettlement from the park is currently underway. The first resettlement from Nanguene village occurred in 2008. Makandezulu A and Makandezulu B are the northernmost Shingwedzi Watershed villages, located less than ten kilometers from the fence that currently separates the LNP from South Africa's Kruger National Park. In 2005, the combined population of both Makandezulu villages was 425; though this number varies seasonally and annually (Chief's Registry, Sebastião William Maluleke, 3 May 2007). The vast majority, over three quarters of the population, resides in Makandezulu B.

In Figures 1.1 and 1.2, I highlight the areas that I refer to as the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions.



Figure 1.1: Map of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park illustrating the Great Limpopo Region



Figure 1.2: Map of the Limpopo National Park illustrating the Makandezulu Region

For the purposes of this dissertation, the Great Limpopo region runs from South Africa's Gioyani in the west to Mozambique's Mapai in the east and from the Zimbabwean border in the north to Mozambique's Massingir in the south. In South Africa then the Great Limpopo region extends into both the Kruger National Park and the region historically referred to as the South African Transvaal and in the east it includes most of the northern reaches of Mozambique's Limpopo River Basin. The Makandezulu region includes the present-day villages Makandezulu A and Makandezulu B as well as settlement and resource use areas of past generations which extend throughout the surrounding area.

In 1969, the area comprising the LNP became Coutada 16 hunting concession (Hatton *et al.* 2001); though it appears to have been managed as a hunting reserve as early as the 1930s (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009). There is little historical documentation about the region's biodiversity; however, it is assumed that mammal populations in Coutada 16 decreased severely since the concession's designation, particularly following the war. During this time, natural resource management suffered, and wild animal populations throughout the country were decimated (Hatton *et al.* 2001). More recently, and in large part due to wildlife translocations from the Kruger National Park, the LNP has become habitat to ostrich, lion, leopard, elephant, hippo, crocodile, buffalo, and a variety of antelope species.

The entirety of Mozambique is subject to cyclical drought, and the land comprising the LNP is reported to receive the country's lowest levels of rainfall (Holden 2001)¹. That being said, livelihood strategies in Makandezulu, some of which are illustrated in Figure 1.3, consist of subsistence-based, rain-fed agriculture focused primarily on maize production. Residents also keep cattle, goats, and chickens and depend on wild plant and tree products. Waged labor has been an important component of Makandezulu livelihood strategies for well over a century including especially migrant labor to South Africa as well as sporadic employment for the hunting concession and most recently the park.

¹ The Shingwedzi River is smaller than both the Olifantes and the Limpopo Rivers and dries from May through September; however, the Shingwedzi River is fed by deep streams originating in the Lembobo Mountains and maintains pools throughout the dry season (Holden 2001: 32).



Figure 1.3: Makandezulu Livelihoods

Following Junod, and more recently Harries, most scholars would likely categorize Makandezulu residents as 'Tsonga' and the region's predominant language as 'Shangaan'². While historically used to denote a unified linguistic or cultural group, 'Tsonga' is now more accurately understood to encompass a set of migrants or refugees who populated southern Mozambique in the 16th and 17th centuries (Junod 1962; Smith 1973; Harries 1987, 2007). In current usage, Tsonga refers both to the larger language cluster of Mozambique and South Africa and to one member of that cluster which is interchangeably referred to as Tsonga, Tsonga-Shangaan, or Shangaan (Baumbach 1987). The Shangaan language is generally attributed to people from Mozambique's Gaza Province. Used broadly, Shangaan can also refer

to all southern Mozambicans, particularly those who worked in the mines. In this manuscript, all italicized words are Shangaan.

Most Makandezulu residents categorize themselves according to the dominant clan name or *xibongo* of the Makandezulu region, Maluleke. The Maluleke surname is common to many but not all of the individuals who reside in Makandezulu A and B. Other prominent names in the village include: Baloi, Chivambo, Chungwane, Fuwela, Makwakwa, Mikalini, Nbezane, Nyalungo, Nyambe, Nkuna, Sitoyi, and, Tchauke. In this dissertation, I refer to the current population of Makandezulu A and B as "Makandezulu residents"; however, I distinguish those ancestors with the Maluleke surname by referring to them as "Maluleke ancestors" though this group also includes male and female ancestors with different last names who are appealed to by current residents as Maluleke leaders.

Political Ecology

In the 1970s and 80s, political ecology emerged as a research approach that "combines the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy" (Blaikie and Brookfield 1987: 17; Peet and Watts 1996). Deemed one of the "new ecologies" - along with historical ecology and ethnoecology - these approaches have in common explicit, though differential, concerns with the relationship between humans and the environment that developed in reaction to the modern-day environmental concerns of predominately European and North American

² Junod (1962) used the term 'Thonga' rather than 'Tsonga'. Tsonga has since become convention (see Harries 198).

populations (Biersack 1999). Like other new ecology scholars, early political ecologists resisted deterministic explanations (Biersack 1999; Brooks 1985). Specifically, by analyzing ecological concerns in terms of broad economic forces, political ecologists began to undermine Malthusian influenced explanations which linked environmental degradation to poverty, over-population, and ignorance (Peet and Watts 1996: 4). Instead, as in the formative work *Land Degradation and Society*, historical, political, and economic conditions of the land manager became explanatory devices of environmental change, and Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) prioritized the relationships between: the land manager and the environment, the land manager and other land managers, and the land manager and the state (Peet and Watts 1996).

Contemporary political ecology has been informed by discursive analyses of colonialism and development (Said 1994; Escobar 1995; Pels 1999; Bryant 1998); critiques about the perceived neutrality of science (Bryant 1998; Harvey 1974; Escobar 1998; Sivaramakrishnan 2000; Haraway 1988); theoretical advancements in ecology regarding scale, hierarchy, variability, and complexity (Scoones 1999; Berkes 2004); as well as scholarship in historical ecology and environmental history which seeks historical rather than social evolutionary explanations of environmental change (Brooks 1985; Christensen 1989; Balee 1998) and sees nature itself as a category for historical analysis (Cronon 1993; Worster 1988; Crosby 1988; Pyne 1998). As a result, contemporary political ecology scholarship includes analyses of the tensions between the processes of globalization which benefit residents of the global North and environmental degradation which often takes place in the global South (Martinez-Alier 1991; Behera and Erasmus 1999; Broad 1994; Sponsel et al. 1996; Bryant 1997; Katz 2000); feminist readings of access, development, and power (Escobar 1995; Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997;

Schroeder 1993, MeinzenDick et al. 1997); and the questioning of such concepts as knowledge (Escobar 1998; Sivaramakrishnan 2000; Brosius 2004), community (Agrawal and Gibson 1999; Li 1996; Brosius et al. 1998; Chapin 2004), nature (Escobar 1998, 1999; White 1995; Guyer and Richards 1996), and conservation (White 1995; Guyer and Richards 1996; Brosius et al. 1998; Dove 1999; Redford and Sanderson 2000). This scholarship represents a range of related approaches rather than any single-minded conceptual vision (Moore 1993: 381); however, by and large, in their examinations of the way in relations within society determine relations between humans and the environment over time and space, political ecologists prioritize political and historical contingency (Greenberg and Park 1994; Neumann 1992). As articulated by Brosius and Russell (2003: 51) adherents of political ecology

"draw from it an appreciation for the way it points us toward understanding how local patterns of land use are related to broader social, political and economic conditions, and how the environment serves as a locus for the enactment and perpetuation of patterns of inequality."

Ways of Seeing Africa and the Politics of Translation

In recent years, political ecologists have examined environmental interventions in Africa, among other places (see Zerner 2003; Proctor and Pincetl 1996; Peluso 1992; West 2006; Velásquez Runk 2009; Li 2002; Zimmerer 2000), in terms of the production and political management of space and the changing perceptions of the human-environment relations through time (Schroeder 1999; Neumann 1995, 2004; Anderson and Grove 1987; Broch-Due and Schroder 2000; Carruthers 1995; Adams and Mulligan 2004; Wolmer 2007; Hughes 2006; Adams and McShane 1992; Moore 1998). Based on the argument that in addition to being a

consequence of military subjugation, resource extraction, and trade, colonialism in Africa was a consequence of powerful ideological formations, Neumann (1995) described the history of national parks in Africa as a particular way of seeing Africa. I borrow Neumann's phrasing here to signal that questions relating to a) the discursive and material ways in which powerful groups, often states and non-governmental conservation and development organizations have produced, territorialized, re-territorialized, and reconstituted space and nature and b) how, in so doing, these groups have displaced, rendered invisible, or obscured local and indigenous relationships with the environment have become central to inquiry in political ecology (Neumann 1995; Zerner 2003; Moore 1998; Castree 2001).

To address these questions, anthropologists, among other translators, have assigned themselves the role of making these marginalized ways of seeing visible, legible, and intelligible (Scott 1998; Li 2002; Moore 1998; Zerner 2003; West 2006; Velásquez Runk 2009; Brosius 1999). Scott's (1998) discussion of legibility asserts that state representations of societies are created at a distance from on-the-ground realities; thus they are simplified versions of society, which enable states to manage lands according to particular agendas (Scott 1998; Brosius et al. 1998). Essential to the concept of legibility are not only those realities on which states focus, but also those that states obscure or fail to see (Zerner 2003). Taking "songs, verses, trances, and memories, as well as customary property rights making practices" (Zerner 2003: 2) to be mechanisms through which people establish political relationships with the environment, anthropologists have engaged in the politics of translation in which they take seriously alternate ways of staking claims, access resources, territorializing spaces and making places (Zerner 2003: 3; Tsing 2003: 27; Brosius 2004; West 2005, Velásquez-Runk 2009).

Anthropologists among others have shown how dream maps (Brody 1982), song (Roseman 1988; West 2005), memory (Moore 1993; Basso 1996), and practices associated with naming (Feld 1996; Gegenbach 2000), representing and symbolizing (Velásquez Runk), hunting (Brody 1982; West 2005), trekking (Brody 1982), and planting (Deweese 1995; Peluso 1996; Schroeder 1993) convey not only significant meaning and identity but also resource control.

The politics of translation refers not only to the political ramifications of these ideas and practices, but also to the politics of representing other people's relationships to nature (Zerner 2003). With respect to this latter dynamic, it is important to highlight two brief important points. First, data on local voices should not be conflated with the local voices themselves (Brosius 2004). Second, and as a related point, practices related to claim-making are contested even at the local level (Moore; 1998 Rodman 1992; Neumann 2000; Brosius 2004). In seeking to transmit moving translations - "not only in the sense of conveying a burden of meaning from one site to another, but moving in the sense of stirring an audience's sense of rightness, conviction, and moral compulsion" (Zerner 2003: 4), anthropologists have had to balance to their desire to advocate for marginalized people against the danger of essentializing resources relations as "a set of ancient laws frozen in time" (Neumann 2000: 238). Instead, ethnographic inquiry must also seek to convey how the rules, norms, and practices of access, control, territory, and identity are the product of struggle, negotiation, change, globalization, and contestation.

In asserting that space is socially produced, critical theorists have undermined the assumptions that space is somehow neutral and universal, that western knowledge about space

is objective, and that spatial planning is apolitical while foregrounding the multiple ways through which spaces acquire meaning, people project knowledge and meaning onto space, and some people benefit while others are marginalized through spatial transformation (Lefebvre 1976; 1991; Harvey 1974; Haraway 1991; Castree 2001). In the disciplines of anthropology and geography, among others, these concerns resonate with scholarship on landscape, place, space, and the cultural production of nature each of which examines the multiplicity of ways through which "citizens of the earth constitute landscapes (place, space, and nature) and take themselves to be connected to them" (Balee 1998: 54; Castree and Braun 2001; Haraway 1991).

Early theorizations of the idea of a dialectical relationship between nature and culture - now also apparent in the lexicons of social-ecological systems (Berkes 2004), social nature (Castree and Braun 2001), nature-society hybrids (Zimmerer 2000), and even cyborgs (Haraway 1991) - are evident in the development of the landscape concept. In the 15th and 16th century realm of the positivist approach to science (Cosgrove 1985). Landscape was both a "way of seeing" and appropriating space as "the property of the individual detached observer, from whose divine location it is a dependent, appropriated object" (Cosgrove 1985: 49). The reemergence of interest in the 1980s landscape, however, resulted from humanist critique on the objectivity in science (Cosgrove 1985). Defined as "culturally and historically determined physical environments" (Balee 1998: 16) and "the material manifestation of the relationship between humans and the environment (Crumley 1994: 6), landscapes represent "an interface between social and environmental processes" (Turner 1989: 189). Landscapes exist at the intersection between time and space, nature and culture, humans and the environment,

evolution and history, rootedness and mobility, local and global, and the real and the perceived and the physical and the cultural (Sauer 1925; Ingold 1993; Balee 1998; Crumley 1993), landscapes enable humans to see how that nature is not distant from humanity but instead how humanity is emplaced in nature (Schama 1995).

In recent decades what (Guyer and Richards 1996) called for a landscape approach to conservation in which environments are not taken for granted as void of social influence and the constructive and destructive effects of human history are made explicit. Scientific misinterpretation has become a theme in the study of the human dimensions of ecological change through time most evident in accounts of anthropogenic environments formerly presumed to be natural or pristine (Bayliss-Smith *et al.* 2003; Gade 1996; Balee 1992; Day 1953; Agrawal and Gibson 1999). This theme is particularly relevant to the history of perceived resource use in Africa. Over the last two centuries, scientists, state and non-governmental representatives have “misread” the resource management histories of Africa (Fairhead and Leach 1996). They have mistaken human-altered landscapes for natural, virgin, and unoccupied ecosystems (Boserup 1965), envisioned unsustainable local hunting practices (Beinart 1990; Adams and McShane 1992), and assumed trends of large scale environmental degradation (Fairhead and Leach 1996; Afikorah-Danquah 1997; Ribot 1999).

The way in which powerful imaginings of space have taken material forms has been well articulated in scholarship on the relationship between the wilderness myth (Cronon 1995) and protected area conservation in Africa (Adams and McShane 1992; Colchester 1994; Neumann 1995; Broch-Due 2000). Colonial envisionings of Africa were tied to the want of open and

uninhabited land, perceived as both "Eden" or "a paradise of man's dominion" and as "wilderness" or "a place beyond human control" (Adams and McShane 1992: 5-6). As a result, some Europeans saw and portrayed a) Africa as a wild Eden for Europe rather than a place where people live and b) Africans as intruders on paradise (Adams and McShane 1992; Anderson and Grove 1987). Over time, this ideology shaped environmental management and conservation interventions in Africa with major consequences for the political organization of space, mobility patterns, and access to resources in Africa (Mackenzie 1987; Boserup 1965; Grove 1987; Fairhead and Leach 1996; Ribot 1999; Adams and McShane 1992), contributing in particular to the ongoing displacement, dispossession, relocation, and resettlement of African people (Neumann 1995; Carruthers 1995). As argued by Neumann, "the idea of nature as a pristine, empty African wilderness...could only become a reality by relocating thousands of Africans whose agency had in fact shaped the landscape for millennia" (1995: 148).

Research in environmental history and historical ecology has undermined this 'wilderness ethic' by revealing the anthropogenic nature of the environment in places which were presumed to be natural or pristine (Bayliss-Smith et al. 2003; Gade 1996; Balee 1992; Day 1953; Foster et al. 2002; Pyne 1998; Black et al. 1998; Whitehead 1998; Cronon 1993). In addition to revealing how "much, if not all" of the biosphere which had been assumed to be untouched has been shaped by humans (Balee 1998: 14; Bowman 1998), much of this literature was oriented towards revealing how human interactions with the environment actually contributed to biodiversity conservation rather than environmental degradation (Balee 1992; Guyer and Richards 1996; Fairhead and Leach 1996).

Drawing from these and other advances, in and around protected areas throughout the world, social scientists have investigated not only the impact of humans on the physical environment - data which continues to be read by conservation managers against a backdrop of decline (Brosius and Russell 2003), but also the historical variables that may influence the relationships and interactions between resource users and conservation practitioners (Igoe 2004; Moore 1993); how different resource management institutions have evolved (Berkes 2004; Agrawal and Gibson 1999; Zerner 2000; Wolmer and Ashley 2003); how particular environments have been differentially, claimed, represented, and contested (Brosius 1999; DeBoer and Baquete 1998); the historical development of environmental concerns (Brosius 1999; Brosius et al. 1998; Brandon 1998; Escobar 1998; Redford and Sanderson 2000; Western and Wright 1994; Carruthers 1995; Dzingirai 2003); the social effects of conservation initiatives (Peluso 1993; Chapin 2004; Carruthers 1995; Dzingirai 2003; West and Brockington 2003); and how the availability of funding effects conservation goals (Brandon 1998; Chapin 2004; DeMotts 2004). As a result, social researchers have made the human and social dimensions of protected area conservation visible. Recognition of the human dimensions of protected areas has been accompanied by the acknowledgement that protected area conservation involves making decisions about 'societal use of space and resources' (Murphree 2004: 221) and changing the ways in which humans access and manage the environment. Many now understand that conservation is a social and ecological process and a human organizational problem and that protected areas can have adverse affects on livelihoods, natural resource and food security, and tenure security for people living in or near to them (Ghimire and Pimbert 1997: 12-13; Brechin *et al.* 2002; Mascia *et al.* 2003; Brandon 1998).

I draw from this scholarship to examine how particular ways of seeing the Great Limpopo Region and the practices for translating those imaginings onto the landscape have politically organized and re-organized space, influenced mobility patterns, determined people's access and control of resources, and obscured local ways of seeing territory in the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions. Of note, however, the predominant way in which external groups have seen the Great Limpopo landscape is not necessarily through a wilderness lens. On the contrary, on Mozambican side of the Great Limpopo Region, the material manifestations wilderness ethic were not apparent until 21st century. For residents, however, the Makandezulu region has remained Maluleke territory - the place of their ancestors and the place where they have resource control.

Territory emplaced

“Territoriality for humans is a powerful geographic strategy to control people and things by controlling area. Political territories and private ownership of land may be its most familiar forms but territoriality occurs to varying degrees in numerous social contexts. It is used in everyday relationships and in complex organizations. Territoriality is a primary geographical expression of social power. It is the means by which space and society are interrelated. Territoriality’s changing functions help us to understand the historical relationships between society, space, and time.” (Sack 1986: 5)

Scholarship on territory has generally coalesced around two overarching theories of human territoriality; one is biological and the other is political (Storey 2001). Biological theorists, including biologists, ecologists, psychologists, and biological anthropologists, hold that human territoriality is a natural phenomenon, a behavior arising from an innate need for

space (Storey 2001). By contrast according to political theory, which is the focus of this review, human territoriality is a mechanism of geopolitical power, rather than a basic instinct and a social construct, rather than a natural phenomenon (Storey 2001: 15).

'Territory emplaced' is not meant to denote a concept of territory that is tied to geographic location or fixed in space. On the contrary, 'territory emplaced' evokes the need for recognition of a place-based notion of Maluleke territory that is human rather than land centric and even mobile. In this brief synthesis of scholarship on territory and place, I begin to illustrate a place-based theory of Maluleke territory by contrasting modern state territory with non-modern non-state territory. The territory typology in Figure 1.4 evokes two binary comparisons: state versus non-state and modern versus non-modern.

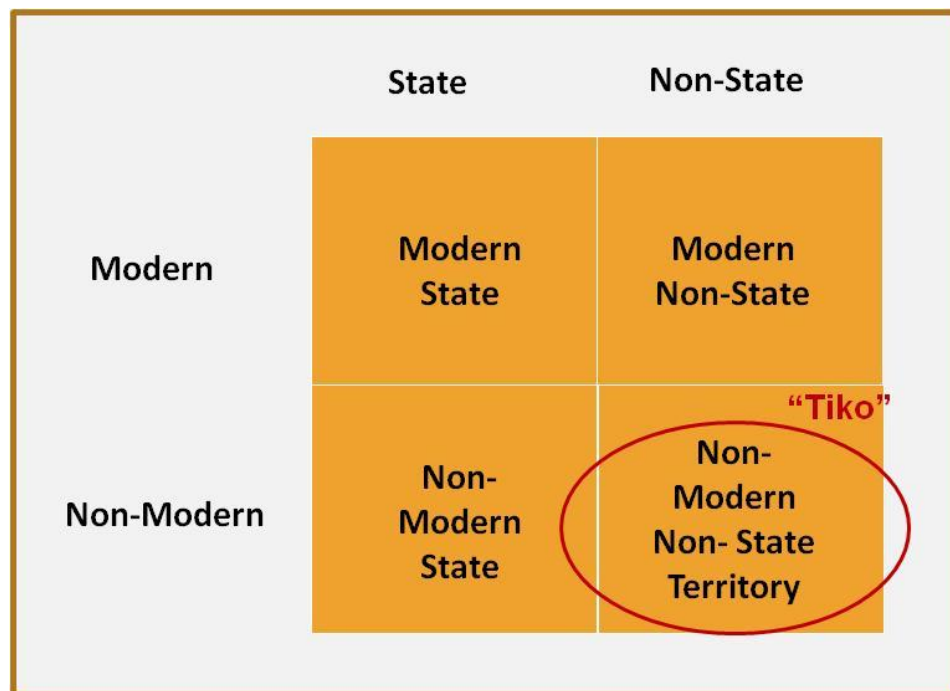


Figure 1.4: Territory Typology

All four resulting types of territory are blendings of geography and power that result from strategies for controlling resource access and politically organizing space. The production of modern state territoriality is intricately tied to concepts of boundaries, maps, and codified laws governing practice. Modern *non*-state territory can be understood with reference to privatized tenure systems centered around the ideas of property and titling which characterize conventional "western" conceptions of secure tenure relations. The third iteration of territory is *non*-modern state territory which was prevalent in pre-colonial period. As will be discussed in chapter three, southern African non modern state or pre-colonial polities were highly mobile and founded on the strategy of power over people before land. Finally, non-modern non-state territory can be understood with reference to indigenous and other non-privatized, place-based formations of territory. In Makandezulu, territory is understood with reference to the Shangaan term *tiko*, a term which denotes both land and people.

Before the incorporation of critical theory in the 1970s and 80s, scholars in international relations and human geography conceived of territory as the natural domain in which modern and mature states established power (Delaney 2005). Scholarship in both disciplines thoroughly illuminated the relationship between state sovereignties and state boundaries (Delaney 2005). Within the territory of modern states, or what Winichakul (1994) has termed the "geo-body", the political power of the state is inextricably linked to its geographical extent. Further, because modern states hold sovereignty within neatly defined borders; States were "conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 1991: 7); theoretically speaking, each state has the potential to hold equal amounts of power. While not a central topic for cultural anthropologists, territory has been of interest in so far as its relationship to culture, ethnicity,

nationhood, and identity as well as place and space. Further, historically in anthropology, understandings of states as containers and boundaries as “clear, stable edges of sovereign states” (Delaney 2005: 56) were echoed in conventional understandings of place as bounded and fixed spaces.

In the 1970s and 80s, critical theorists, including feminist, post-modern, post-structuralist and Marxist scholars, began to interrogate and problematize conventional notions of territory and of place and space more generally (Delaney 2005: 59). Under this influence, theory in international relations, human geography, and anthropology, among other disciplines, began to change and attention to territoriality in non-modern state contexts emerged. Where conventional theory had taken State territories for granted as passive, fixed, quasi-natural containers of society, critical theory questioned the history of these political formations and the relationship between territory and other social and political processes like racism, sexism, and unequal trade (Agnew 1994; Delaney 2005). Critical theorists asserted that by accepting a State-centric relationship between territory and power, conventional scholarship had contributed to legitimizing state power - that the “imagined” sense of vertical equality masked the hierarchy of power within and between nations (Anderson 1991; Agnew 1994). As a result, State territories began to be understood as “reflecting, reinforcing, or undermining the workings of more pervasive social forces” (Delaney 2005: 59).

Critiques on the ideas of fixity, longevity, and homogeneity also emerged in anthropology in direct relation to territory; for example, Leach (1960) questioned the assumption that arbitrarily formed boundaries correspond to markers of cultural difference,

but also with respect to ideas about space and place more broadly. Over the past two decades, scholarship on place has been approached by two different, but interactive trends in anthropology: one trend considered place in local, perceptual, and culturally-constructed terms and the other adopts a political economy approach in which place is produced by capital and global forces (Blu 1996; Read 1996; Escobar 2001). According to the first approach, places acquire meaning through “dwelling” (Ingold 1993), defined as the way in which people perceive geographical space or their “lived” relationships with places (Basso 1996: 54). Thus researchers examine the local or native meanings given to and the identities derived from place (Basso 1996; Basso 1996; Blu 1996; Read 1996; Rodman 1992; Velásquez Runk 2009). Researchers who adopt a political economy approach to place are concerned with the links that connect and the processes that transcend geographical locality (Moore 1998; Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Appadurai 1991). They prioritize the hierarchal forces that construct place, including the social imagination (Pigg 1992), and evaluate the motivations for and consequences of territorializing place (Appadurai 1991; Moore 1998; Proctor and Pincetl 1996; Pigg 1992).

Critical theory also contributed to a major reassessment of the way in which anthropology's core concept, culture, was understood and revealed that anthropological understandings of culture and cultural difference had been over-territorialized (Blu 1996; Moore 1998; Malkki 1992; Escobar 2001). In the 1980s and 90s, as a consequence of developing better understandings of the socio-economic, political, psychological, and environmental implications of human mobility as well as its historical prevalence, some conceptualizations of culture were challenged as over-emphasizing conditions of longevity and territoriality and overlooking human mobility (Malkki 1992; Appadurai 1988; Gupta and

Ferguson 1992; Escobar 2001; Breusers 2001)³. Specifically, critical theorists suggested that in their attempts to legitimize the resource claims of marginalized groups (Breusers 2001) or to show how native people have adapted through time to their environments (Appadurai 1988), anthropologists had “incarcerated” specific people in specific places (Appadurai 1988) and treated space as a neutral grid on which cultural differences are geographically organized (Gupta and Ferguson 1992). Therefore, while scholarship on place had provided insight into the diversity of experiences between and within places (Moore 1998; Rodman 1992), it also contributed to undermining the development of a robust theory about the relationship between space, culture, and human movement. In attempt to address these important theoretical shortcomings, this dissertation places human mobility at the center of its examination of access, control and territory and foregrounds mobile notions of territory and territoriality (Malkki 1992).

As previously noted, an important component of the political ecology of access and mobility is the distinction between access and control. Differentiating between access and control draws attention to the power relations that determine inequities in access between and among households, villages, provinces, and nations (Ribot and Peluso 2003: 158; Berry 1989a; Blaikie 1989; Okoth-Ogendo 1989). This distinction also enables me to advance my argument that group level control is synonymous with territory. Therefore, I argue that if Makandezulu residents or their Maluleke ancestors established group level control of resources both within

³ For example, despite the relatively recent attention of historians and geographers to mobility trends, early ethnographic research intentionally ignored the Shangaan, whose migration to the South African mines was perceived to threaten the persistence of distinct Southern African cultures (Harries 1994).

the Makandezulu region and when they moved, they in effect also established or re-established Maluleke territory.

Along with property, rights, and claims, resource access comprises but one component of the complex and varied ideas about tenure. My decision to focus on resource access is significant. Unlike access, these other terms describing political relations with the environment imply recognition by a governing authority.

"Derived from a Latin term meaning "holding" or "possessing", land tenure means the terms on which something is held: the rights and obligations of the holder. Land tenure is a legal term that means the right to hold land rather than the simple act of holding land." (Bruce 1998).

Similarly, "[Property] generally evokes some kind of socially acknowledged and supported claims or rights- whether that acknowledgement is by law, custom, or convention (Ribot and Peluso 2003: 156). Staking and negotiating claims on the other hand, implies an act that may or may not be recognized by an external agent and concerns the process through which people "turn access into property (Lund 2002). Whereas property is often defined as a bundle of rights, access is a bundle of powers or abilities; further, "access is about all the possible means by which a person is able to benefit from things" beyond rights alone (Ribot and Peluso 2003: 156). This dissertation will show that the ability for residents to establish either access or control was determined both by the rules, norms and practices of the local resource regime and by interactions with external groups.

In southern Africa access is characterized by differing levels of use, control, and responsibility which are employed across and between geopolitical scales (individual, homestead, village, district, province, nation). People can derive benefits from environmental

resources in a variety of ways or at a variety of points along the access relationship: during production, extraction, product transformation, exchange, transport, distribution, or consumption (Ribot and Peluso 2003: 161). Therefore, groups have the ability to benefit from resources without physically interacting with them. For example, while Makandezulu residents benefit largely through direct interaction with resources, involving actually being in the field or forest, other groups acquire benefits from a distance. As will be illustrated in chapters six and seven, the Portuguese Colonial Government derived benefits from the mass movement of labor migrants by instituting laws and fines that corresponded to national boundaries, and FRELIMO sought to derive benefits from rural areas throughout the nation by consolidating populations into communal villages.

My analysis of the way in which Makandezulu residents and their Maluleke ancestors established access to resources both within Makandezulu and when they moved draws from Ribot and Peluso (2003: 160) who presented a framework for identifying access mechanisms or "the means, processes and relations by which actors are enabled to gain, control, and maintain access". The objective of access analysis is to provide a framework rather than a checklist for researchers to consider a range of ways and means people derive benefits from resources, beyond rights alone. My analysis features, but is by no means limited to, a focus on trees. In Maluleke territory, trees transcend the duality between culture and nature; they tie people to place; and they legitimize territorial claims to space. There are at least three interrelated reasons why trees are good to think about Maluleke territory with. First, use - Makandezulu residents depend on trees and their products for subsistence, fodder, fuel, fibers and construction, and medicine. Second, meaning - trees also mark gravesites and places of

historical significance and are symbols for Maluleke connections with the ancestors. Third, tenure- residents manage trees across a variety of landuse types; therefore an examination of tree management practices provides insight into the multiplicity of means through which residents gain resource access and control.

In adopting a place-based approach of Maluleke territory, I am cognizant of these important theoretical shifts and the way in which they have informed recent scholarship on place. In the Makandezulu context, using the word *tiko* to describe Maluleke territory denotes the need for an emic or place-based understanding territory which is informed both by the local meanings, hierarchal forces, and mobility trajectories that construct place. Defined by Junod as "the national unit of the chiefdom," (cited in Harries 1994), *tiko* is a Shangaan term meaning both the "country" or territory and the "nation" or population (Rodgers 2002: vi). By simultaneously denoting the land and its people (Gegenbach 1998), the term also conveys that there is an explicit relationship between the two. As the "repository" of Maluleke patrilineal ancestral history and of the Maluleke *xibongo* (Rodgers 2002: 265), the *tiko* ties Maluleke people to the Makandezulu, this geographic location among others, and implies that it is their place (Rodgers 2002: 171).

Human mobility and displacement

In Mozambique people's relationship to place and to land is characterized by mobility. During the mid-19th century, human mobility in the region currently comprising the Limpopo National Park was an adaptation to seasonal drought, famine, economic distress, labor

constraints and opportunities, warfare, and extensive trade in ivory, slaves, and guns (Mavhunga 2003; Harries 1994). The conditions of mobility worsened with the Portuguese colonial impositions of taxation, military service, the slave trade, and forced agricultural labor and, by the 20th century, thousands of Mozambicans voluntarily and involuntarily traveled to the South African mines to work (Harries 1994; Isaacman and Isaacman 1983).

Mozambique gained independence from Portugal in 1975, and, within a year, the country was engaged in a sixteen year war between FRELIMO and RENAMO (Minter 1994). During this time, an estimated six million people, roughly half the nation's population became refugees (Hatton *et al.* 2001; Unruh 2001; Azevedo 2002). Following the FRELIMO/ RENAMO cease-fire, the return home for the migrant population was complicated by resource claims of the private sector (Meyers 1994; Unruh 2001), drought (Azevedo 2002), and landmines (Unruh *et al.* 2003), and many migrants claimed new lands instead of returning to previously occupied sites. National post-war attempts to reclaim former homelands and to establish homes in new places constitute "the largest reintegration of refugees and displaced persons in the history of Africa" (Unruh 2002: 3). Viewed from an historical context, then, conservation-related resettlement from the LNP appears to be the newest event that will contribute first to displacing residents and second to people moving and being moved.

In the literature geographic mobility has included the processes of immigration, emigration, diaspora, transnationalism, refuge seeking, enforced transportation, and seasonal movements (Sanjek 2003). Mobility, therefore, includes "all forms of territorial movement by people... at different temporal and spatial scales" due to "a wide range of underlying factors

and motivations" (Alexiades 2009: 4). Different typologies of movement distinguish between a) individual and small group movement and collective mobility; b) short-term, seasonal, and permanent movement or migration; and c) the extent to which a range of push and pull factors determine the volition of mobile people (Alexiades 2009). As a more inclusive term than "migration," the use of the term "mobility" better incorporates the diverse patterns of human movement that have characterized the Great Limpopo landscape.

In addition to examining the relationship between mobility, access, and territory, I am also concerned with the relationship between mobility, displacement and volition. In recent years there has been a significant shift in conservation policy and scholarship in which displacement, which has been conventionally understood to indicate a group's involuntary physical movement away from their place of residence, has been broadened to include restriction of resource access even if geographic relocation is not undertaken (Cernea 2006). Cernea (2006) considers this conceptual shift, which has been adopted by both the World Bank and African Development Bank, a policy advancement, because it mandates compensation regardless of whether or not a group was physically relocated by a conservation intervention. From another point of view, this broadening of the term "to include the economic, social, cultural, and other forms of loss resulting from protected areas" is unnecessary and is "more appropriately reserved for physical removal and resettlement" (Agrawal and Redford 2009b: 56; see also Agrawal and Redford 2009a).

Aside from the policy context, the definition of displacement as the restriction of access to resources is particularly germane here, because of this dissertation's focus on the

relationship between access and mobility. Specifically, I examine those mobility events which occurred in a displacement context wherein Makandezulu resource access was restricted by external or non-Maluleke groups. These include: settlement into the Makandezulu region which occurred in the context of evading the Gaza Nguni polity (Chapter Three); labor migration which occurred in the context of Portuguese colonial attempts to instate a territorial division of labor (Chapter Six); villagization and seeking refuge during war which occurred in the context of Civil War between FRELIMO and RENAMO (Chapter Seven); and conservation- related resettlement which is occurring in the context of conservation implementation and elephant relocations into the park (Chapter Eight) .

My analysis of the political ecology of access and mobility in Makandezulu highlights a) the way in which external groups displaced or restricted resource access of Makandezulu residents and b) how movement was a means to negotiating the displacement context and establishing access elsewhere. By arguing that residents moved within a displacement context, I am able to distinguish between the two processes of externally-induced displacement and Maluleke movement (see Cernea 2005; Lubkemann 2008). In Chapter eight, this distinction between displacement and mobility helps to articulate the important issue of resident volition in the context of conservation-related resettlement.

2.

***Hijgajiga* (or how we mapped Maluleke Territory): Data Collection and Analysis**

Introduction

During my first months of field research, my desire to understand Maluleke territory hinged in part, or so I thought, on mapping boundaries. So, with GPS device in hand I sought to locate and document discrete village and field boundaries. By marking boundaries, I would document a type of territory that I could link to the recently developed, yet extensive cadastral of the park. As will be further discussed in chapter eight, maps have been critical for conservation decision-making in the GLTP. With lines indicating boundaries and zones, maps represent conservation aspirations - they communicate the decisions conservation planners have already made and they also serve as primary references for decisions yet to made. The consequences of such decisions, of course, directly correspond with the displacement of local residents. Yet, these same maps do not adequately represent local management practices, resource claims, and local goals and objectives. Therefore in hopes of reconciling Maluleke territory with park representations of it, I sought the existence of a type of territoriality that might be recognized and understood not only by me, but more importantly, by conservation decision-makers.

"In the field," however, my questions about the existence and location of village boundaries were most often met with the response, "I don't know" or people would describe a vague directionally, pointing to "that side" not being a part of "Maluleke". Others referenced boundaries that colonial administrators, FRELIMO, and, most recently, the park, and not Makandezulu residents nor Maluleke ancestors, marked along the road on trees and posts. Eventually, in our travels across the landscape, leaders and elders did show me the "ends of their territory", but in so doing they very rarely pointed to common, discrete locations; rather each pointed to a different topographical feature - most often trees - each tied to a different story from a different time. Despite high levels of spatial and temporal indiscreetness linked to the specific boundaries, the accompanying stories made the landscape come alive with history, culture, struggle, and memory, and they indicated that this was a place over which Maluleke people had resource control.

Eventually I realized that in order to understand Maluleke territory and tenure, I needed to start with what comprised it, internally, and not what bounded it⁴. The stories I dutifully recorded and rerecorded were about the people, the makers and caretakers of Maluleke territory. Through these accounts that Maluleke residents were mapping their territory. As a result, it was primarily through interviews that I was able to map Maluleke territory. I still walked most everywhere with GPS unit in tow, but interviews proved to be the most important sources for "mapping" territory and understanding resource access. This had important

⁴ See Hughes (2006) for a discussion of the errors implicit in the conceptual and methodological tendencies of locating the ends of territory in order to define it.

consequences for my research design and research methodology. As people form the core of Maluleke territory, interviews formed the means through which I mapped it.

"*Hijigajiga*"- literally translated as "we are going out to walk around"- was the response I was able to provide those who inquired of our plans as my research assistant, Reginaldo, and I set out in the mornings for a day of ethnographic inquiry. That this explanation was welcomed with warm satisfaction by Makandezulu residents indicated both their desire to hear me speak Shangaan - a feat which consistently provoked good cheer - and, through time, their growing acceptance of how it was that I conducted research in Makandezulu. This phrase indicated our intent to visit with, interview, and observe people in the tiko, in other words to undertake those activities which formed the core of my ethnographic data collection and those techniques that enabled me to map Maluleke territory, both the land and, more importantly, the people and their social relations.

This chapter provides an overview of my research methodology including data collection and analysis. As stated in the previous chapter, my research questions are: *What is the history of resident mobility in the Makandezulu of Mozambique's LNP? How did Makandezulu residents establish access to and control of resources both within this region and when they moved? What is the relevance of this relationship between access and mobility in the context of conservation-related resettlement?* The data required to address these questions included resident genealogies, histories of resident mobility, and information about the means through which residents established resource access and control; the political economic context of national, regional, and local events common to all or part of the research population; the

location of salient places on the LNP landscape; how residents defined their territory; and interactions between residents and conservation managers. To collect such varied data, I employed an integrated methodology consisting of participant observation, semi-structured interviews, standardized interviews, archival research, and land use mapping (Table 2.1)⁵.

Table 2.1.: Data Collection and Analysis

	Data Collection	Data Analysis
Interview and Observation Data	Participant observation Semi-structured interviews Oral history interviews Community meetings Park meetings	Thematic data analysis (Nvivo) Pattern level analysis (Nvivo) Cross Case Comparison (Excel)
	Standardized Interviews	
	Genealogical surveys	Cross case comparison (Excel)
	Tree use freelists	Compute Saliency (Anthropac)
	Mobility matrix Mobility follow up questions	Thematic data analysis (Excel) Pattern level analysis (Excel)
Archival Data	TEBA/WNLA archives	Thematic data analysis (Excel)
Spatial Data	Historically significant GPS points Regional maps	Thematic data analysis (Excel) Digitized and georeferenced (ArcGIS)
	Site visits	Overlay Analysis (ArcGIS)

I conducted twelve months of field research, from July 2006-July 2007, plus 2 additional months of preliminary research in June and July 2003. The bulk of this research took place in the LNP in the villages of Makandezulu A and B as well as in Maputo. I generally commuted between these locations (by 4x4 truck) at two to three week intervals so that, after securing permission to conduct my dissertation research from the Ministry of Tourism in Maputo and

⁵ My research methodology was approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Georgia and each of these data collection and analysis activities was conducted with informed consent and approval at national, district, village, household, and individual levels.

the park director in Massingir in August 2006⁶, I was in Makandezulu every month from September 2006 to June 2007 with the exception of January 2007⁷. In Makandezulu A, Reginaldo and I resided in tents in the homestead of Elias English Maluleke. In Makandezulu B, we camped at the former homestead of Salomon Maluleke where we were officially hosted by Chief Sebastiao William Maluleke. In Maputo, I resided in faculty apartments at Eduardo Mondlane University. I also visited the LNP villages of Machamba, Mavodze, Mapai, and Pafuri two to three times each; Chimangue approximately eight times; and Massingir the administrative entrance to the LNP approximately ten times. I also spent approximately three weeks in Johannesburg- one week each at the beginning and end of my research period and another week in December 2006 while conducting archival research. I visited Kruger National Park for approximately one week in September 2006, and in May 2007 I attended the South African Wildlife College in Hoedspruit, just outside the KNP for a conservation GIS course.

An integral component of most of my data collection activities was Shangaan-English translation. While the national language of Mozambique is Portuguese, the vast majority of Makandezulu residents do not speak Portuguese and my own proficiency in the language is intermediate. Therefore, my research assistant translated my interview questions from English to Shangaan and interviewee responses from Shangaan to English. Reginaldo Soto of Chokwe Mozambique provided translation and assistance for the bulk of the research and data

⁶ When I first began field research, the LNP park director or warden was Gilbero Vincente who had been with the park since its inception in 2001 and resigned in January 2007. An interim director was appointed until April 2007 when Rudolfo Cumbane took over the position.

⁷ I gained permission from the Gaza Province authorities in Chicualacuala in December 2006.

discussed in this dissertation⁸. In Maputo and elsewhere, the bulk of my interviews took place, very gratefully, in English. With the exception of a handful of oral history interviews, these interviews were not recorded.

Interview and Observation Data

I conducted participant observation on a variety of activities and events in Makandezulu - ranging from day-to-day practices of resource management, for example, clearing fields (Figure 2.1), collecting water, and gathering forest products; to seasonal ceremonies; to visiting neighbors; to park meetings - throughout the research process and in combination with other data collection techniques. Participant observation is defined by detailed observation, involvement in daily activities, building rapport, and unstructured interviews (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002).

⁸ In 2003, my research assistant was Divy Mavasa of Johannesburg, South Africa. In September 2006 my research assistant was Levy Mahevele from Maputo, Mozambique.



Figure 2.1: Participant Observation:
Cleaning a field with Makandezulu A resident Priscina Mozamane Vukeya
(Photo credit: Jessica Milgroom)

Semi-structured interviews are open-ended, but guided to allow for the emergence of unexpected data and the discussion of potentially sensitive experiences (Bernard 2006), while providing for comparison across interviews (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002). I sampled semi-structured and oral history interview participants through judgment sampling (Honigmann 1982), a type of non-probability criteria sampling (Burgess 1982), in which I selected individuals opportunistically, based on their ability and willingness to recall, locate, and trace historical trajectories, land use, and resource claims. I also used snowball sampling, in which I depended on referrals from particular experts on history and tree use to identify other experts in the village or the region. I also identified historical experts in the context of conducting the genealogical segment of my standardized interviews. In some cases, for example, unexpectedly detailed and extensive genealogies provided by particular residents linked the interviewee to one of the founding members of the Maluleke clan. With these residents I extended the

standardized interviews to include an oral history segment or returned at a later date to conduct a separate extended oral history interview.

I conducted semi-structured and oral history interviews with Makandezulu and other LNP residents as well as conservation officials and other representatives from relevant governmental and non-governmental organizations and Gaza Safaris Hunting Concession. Among Makandezulu residents, these interviews were most often conducted on an individual basis but also, initially, in small focus groups. Focus group interviews provided the framework for in-depth conversations about the temporal and spatial dimensions of resident displacement, the contested nature of Maluleke history and genealogies, and insight into local and regional politics, particularly in relation to park implementation (Russell and Harshburger 2003; Handwerker 2001).

Between field visits, I analyzed data derived from participant observation and semi-structured interviews through thematic data analysis using the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo (8). Thematic data analysis consists of organizing, processing, and coding data according to themes or categories (Ryan and Bernard 2003). I coded using deductive or *a priori* codes, which emerged from preliminary research findings and the literature, and inductive codes which emerged from grounded theory or the data itself (Ryan and Bernard 2003).

Once the data was coded, I conducted pattern level analysis to assess how themes relate to one another (LeCompte and Schensul 1999). I began to compare cases of human mobility and resource access early in the data analysis process (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Through constant comparison between cases and attention to themes that cut across

interviews (Denzin and Lincoln 1994), I deciphered patterns. Similar to the coding process, I discerned patterns based on measures of frequency and similarity, and through comparison with theories expressed by other scholars (see LeCompte and Schensul 1999; Lofland 1995). Preliminary data results were then incorporated as questions in my in-depth standardized interviews which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Oral History Interviews

Oral history interviews most often focused on the mobility events of settlement into the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu region, migrant labor, war, and marriage. Much of the oral history data I present in this dissertation extended into the past, well beyond my 12 month period of observation in the field. I obtained this longitudinal data through retrospective interviews conducted in the context of oral history interviews (Blossfield and Rohwer 2002; Mernard 2002). During oral history interviews (Figure 2.2), I prompted residents to relate each event in their accounts to other regional and national landmarks that were becoming known to me. After becoming acquainted with the male lineage authorities that many male and female residents use to convey the passage of time I also prompted residents to discuss the events with respect to these individuals. Axinn *et al.* (1999) referred to this method retrospective data collection as creating "life history calendars", which provide measures for aligning "relative" time, which most of my oral history interviews provided, with "absolute," "universal," or "discrete" time.



Figure 2.2: Oral history interview with a resident from Makandezulu B
(Photo credit: Reginaldo Soto)

Life history calendars help to stimulate memory, temporal accuracy, and consistency across interviews through the use of temporal landmarks at the individual, local, regional and national levels (Axinn *et al.* 1999). Significantly, this method enabled me to assess the temporal dimensions of resident mobility events in individual's lives and across the research population and also reduced my own error in recording residents' stories (Axinn *et al.* 1999; Axinn *et al.* 1997; Mernard 2002).

I analyzed data from oral history interviews through thematic data analysis conducted in NVivo. In addition to coding the oral history data, I made two parallel timelines in Excel in order to compare relative and discrete time (Figure 2.3). Throughout the data analysis process I compared these two time references in order to align relative time with discrete time. Figure 2.3 illustrates an early version of this extended parallel timeline.

Table 2.2: Data Analysis: Comparing Discrete and Relative Temporal Data

		1820-1829	1830s-1839		1840-1849	1850-1859	
Discrete Time	(Literature)	1827-1835 The center of the Gaza Kingdom was in the	Late 1820s-early 30s Maluleke's move away from	1835-1840: The Tsonga traveled to the North and	1836-1838 Center of Gaza Kingdom was North of the	Portuguese East Africa is dominated by those Bantu	1839-1862 Center of Gaza Kingdom Limpopo Valley
Relative Time	(Interviews)	By the time of Malenga, Maluleke ancestors had	Following Malenga's death, his son, Maxakatsi, led the	Following Guyu's death, war with the Vanyanhi re-escalated	The Gaza Nguni polity was beginning to move in from	The Maluleke settled into the current location	The descendants of Xololo settled in Wazulu.

By constantly comparing these timelines, I began to integrate them. For example, in the literature, I found no reference to direct interactions between members of the Maluleke clan and the Gaza Nguni polity. My suggestion, in chapter three that Maluleke settlement in the LNP corresponded to the Maluleke ancestors evading the Gaza Nguni polity is based, therefore, on oral history accounts which I have contextualized in a review of the historical scholarship.

Standardized Interviews

To systematically test the themes and patterns that had emerged from participant observation and semi-structured interviews, I developed a questionnaire for conducting

standardized interviews⁹. These interviews focused on kinship and genealogy, tree use, individual mobility histories, how people established resource access as they moved, and other issues related to tenure in Makandezulu. I sampled interviewees according to the three criteria. First, I identified residents who, as a result of displacement-induced mobility events, have lived in two or more places as "adults" or post-marriage, meaning that they had been responsible for establishing access to resources when they moved (see Handwerker and Wozniak 1997). Second, I chose at least one resident from each available households except where male and female heads of households both requested to be interviewed. Third, households whose members were very sick or away visiting other places were not included. I interviewed a total of 43 individuals, 27 women and 16 men, in both villages. As will become evident throughout the discussion of my results, not every interviewee was asked each question. This was due, first, to time constraints and situations where interviewees showed signs of fatigue or marked distraction. During such cases, I skipped to the most critical questions. Second, due to the contingency of some of the questions included in the questionnaire, not all interviewees were asked all questions. Reginaldo and I tested the survey from April 7-9, 2007 in Canhane village located in Massingir District just outside the park near the Massingir Dam and conducted the standardized interviews in Makandezulu from April 27 to May 8, 2007.

⁹ In addition to building from the data I had collected thus far, the survey was also informed by a questionnaire implemented by Cliggett, Crooks, and Unruh 2005 in Southern Province, Zambia (National Science Foundation award #0236933).

Genealogies

The genealogical aspect of the interviews focused on birth places and relative dates of the interviewee and his or her spouse(s), children, parents, grandparents, and additional ancestors for as many generations as the interviewees could recall. This information provided a rich web of social relationships through time and space and revealed not only inter-village and intra-village relationships but also historical connections to the Maluleke lineage and South Africa.

Trees

To substantiate my initial impressions that trees are important to Makandezulu residents and to identify those trees that are the most essential to resident livelihood and ceremonial practices, I examined the cultural domain of trees (Weller and Romney 1997; Borgatti 1999). Describing the cultural domain of trees among Makandezulu residents means describing how people in Makandezulu think about trees and the relationships between them (Weller and Romney 1997; Borgatti 1999). To achieve this I elicited freelist responses from 43 residents about the use of trees according to a set of grounded categories that had emerged in the field: food, healing, construction, and firewood. Specifically, I asked the following questions to 43 participants: "A) *What are the best trees for food in this area?* B) *What are*

*the best trees for healing in this area? C) What are the best trees for firewood in this area? D) What are the best trees for construction in this area?"*¹⁰.

At least 160 tree species were named and discussed during the entirety of my data collection, and 130 of these were mentioned at least one time during the freelisting exercise. I analyzed this data using the DOS program, Anthropac (4.98). In Anthropac, the average saliency for each item listed is computed for each individual freelist and then an average is taken across the group of respondents for each item. Saliency is computed according to how frequent an item is named and average rank or where in the ordered list the item is named. The assumption is that items listed more frequently and ranked closest to the top are more salient (Borgatti 1999)¹¹. The results of this analysis are included in Table 5.1.

Mobility-Access

The "mobility matrix" component of the standardized questionnaire focused on the relationship between a) individual histories of human mobility and b) the ability for interviewees to establish access to resources when they moved. In other words, during these interviews, residents chronicled their movement across the land and described if and how they established access to resources in each place that they lived. In Table 2.2, the vertical column of the matrix was designed to assess histories of mobility and contained questions regarding 1)

¹⁰ In response to these questions, interviewees named all the trees that were "good" for each use rather than listing personal preference. See Borgatti (1999) for a discussion of the difference between cultural domains which are shared and preferences which are individualized.

¹¹ There is no set method for choosing the cut-off point of things to include (Weller and Romney 1998). In this case, I chose the cut-off point for cultural salience as 0.1.

all the times people had moved, 2) why they had moved, and 3) the temporal and spatial attributes of these events. The horizontal row of the mobility matrix assessed if and how people established access to homesteads, fields and trees in each destination location or place they moved to.

Table 2.3: The Mobility Matrix
was used to assess how residents established access to resources when they moved

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	Places You Have Lived	When?	Why?	Access ?	Homestead	Field	Trees in the Bush
				If yes, how?			
				If not, why not?			
1				Trees			
				Own? How?			
				If Not, Where?			
2				Trees			
				Own? How?			
				If Not, Where?			
3				Trees			
				Own? How?			
				If Not, Where?			
4				Trees			
				Own? How?			

Resident 102, female

To analyze Maluleke mobility patterns through time and specifically the way in which particular mobility events corresponded to the ability for Makandezulu residents to establish access to resources when they moved, I needed to determine and isolate specific mobility events. As depicted in Figure 2.3, I initially identified 16 drivers of the 205 mobility events

reported to have occurred between approximately 1920 and 2007 and thus within the lifetimes of those I interviewed. These preliminary categories emerged from resident's explanations of the motivations and causes driving them to take the decision to move. I then narrowed the categories to six categories: kinship, marriage, environment, villagization, work, and war, each of which I describe in brief below.

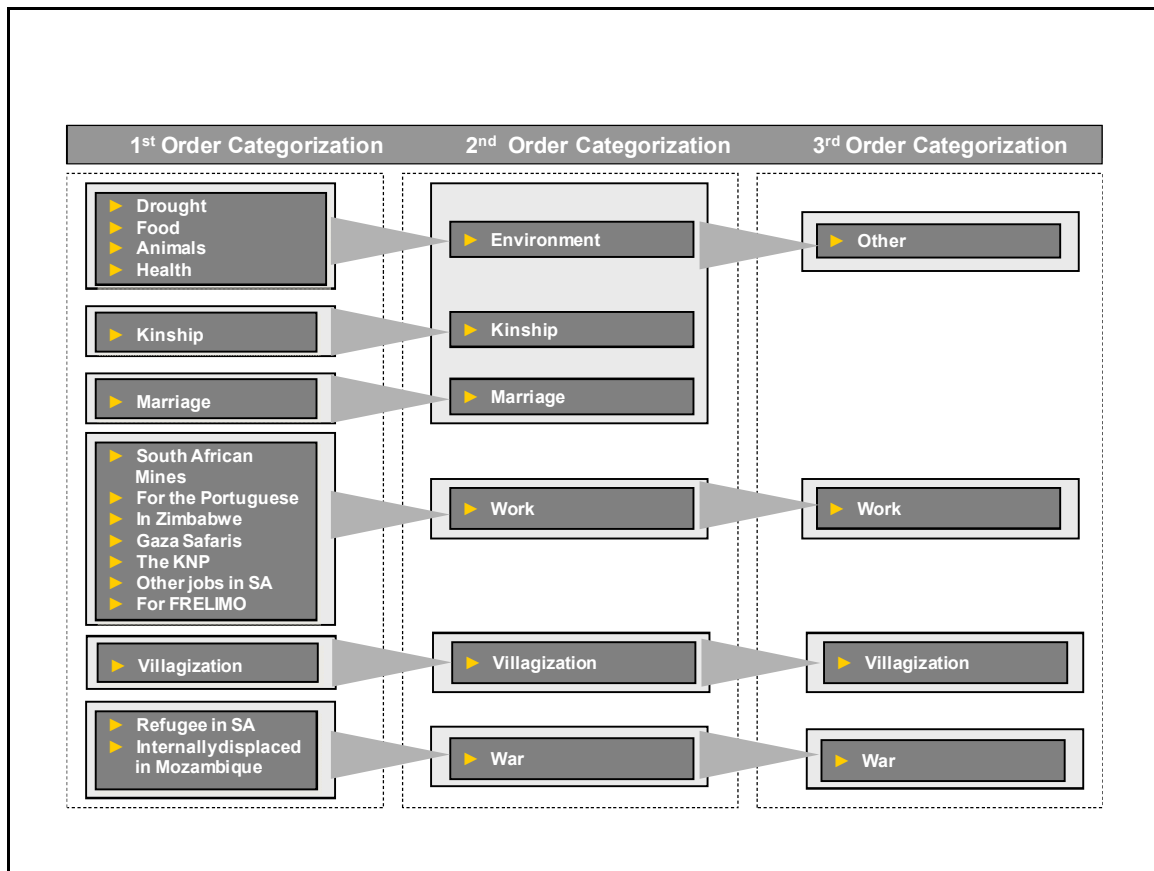


Figure 2.3: Mobility Categorizations

Environment: Environment, in this context, includes mobility and displacement due to drought, sickness, and animal conflicts. Perhaps the most well known environmental event to effect the Great Limpopo Region in recent decades was the high profile flooding of the Limpopo

River in 2000. This event was devastating for Mozambique, killing hundreds of people, displacing hundreds of thousands, and affecting millions (see Brouwer and Nhassengo 2006; Christie and Hanlon 2001). Among those displaced was my research assistant, Reginaldo, who reported living on his roof in Chokwe (an important center for agriculture and trade in Gaza Province) for days after the flood.

In the Makandezulu context, however, the environment category does not include flooding. As transformative as major floods of the Limpopo River are for the Great Limpopo region, my interviews do not reflect negative consequences of flooding in the Makandezulu villages. Flooding did not displace residents in Makandezulu; on the contrary, it is more likely that flooding corresponded to good harvests. Much more devastating and common are dry seasons, dry years, and droughts.

Kinship: Non-marriage kinship events refers to those movements that occurred when participants were young and moving with parents or guardians. For example, in her youth, interviewee #110 moved from Veshu, South Africa where she was born, to Makandezulu B. She reported moving, because she was "following the brothers of my mother". Also in the 1950s, interviewee #111 reported moving from Xipelwine where he was born to Skukuza, accompanying his father who worked in Kruger National Park. I also categorized events under kinship when interviewees noted moving as a family and did not provide a discrete reason for moving.

Marriage: The vast majority of mobility events driven by marriage (all but one) were undertaken by women who moved into the homestead of their husband's family. Throughout

rural southern Mozambique, girls and boys prepare for marriage in Makandezulu through puberty initiation customs, familial agreements, and courtship. Marriage is formalized through *lobola* (brideprice). In this system, men pay money or some tribute of value to the family of his intended wife. Through time and based on regional variations, the contents of lobola have shifted but it has predominantly been paid in cattle, hoes, cash, *capulanas* (intricately designed cloth used primarily by women as clothing among other things), alcohol, and other valuable goods.

In the Makandezulu region, men most often married women from other villages throughout the Great Limpopo Region, particularly, Chimangue, Machamba, Massingir, Salani, Mapai and sometimes the other Makandezulu village (see Figure 1.2). Post-marital residence tends to be patrilocal. Typically, married women move into the homestead of the husband's family where the couple may stay indefinitely. Alternatively, the couple may begin a new homestead within the village when they accumulate enough wealth. The pattern of women marrying into the village should, however, not be overstated. In the past, men who were ethnically aligned but who originated from outside the region moved here to be close to South Africa both for work in the mines and, no doubt, for hunting. As a result, there is a trend of men from outside the region marrying in. This trend continued through the war as there are at least two examples of soldiers (from different ethnic groups) coming to the region, marrying, and staying there long-term. Also there are at least two examples of couples (each comprised of one member who originated from the Makandezulu region and one member from outside the region) meeting while being refugees in South Africa and then moving back to Makandezulu together.

(Colonial) Work: Herein the categorization of work denotes migrant labor experiences during the colonial period, specifically work on the South African mines and in the Kruger National Park or Skukuza. As will be discussed in chapter three, in the 19th and 20th generations of men moved to South Africa for work rather than participate in forced labour for the Portuguese. In the LNP, almost every man over the age of 40 has worked in the South Africa several times. More recently men and women move over the border to work, predominantly in privately-owned farms.

Villagization and War: Following independence in 1975, the Mozambican Independence government, FRELIMO, introduced a national villagization plan to stimulate economic development. Makandezulu residents resisted initial attempts at villagization even as Zimbabwe's own war for independence spilled into the region. In the meantime, a Civil War between FRELIMO and RENAMO, which began in the north of the country, was moving south. War did not begin to displace Makandezulu residents until the mid 1980s. During this period, residents moved from clusters of homesteads spread throughout the region to the site of the present-day villages.

As a result villagization in Makandezulu is tightly associated with the government's attempt to defend the populace in the region from violence wrought by RENAMO during Mozambique's protracted Civil War, not the nationalistic plan introduced by FRELIMO. In this dissertation, I continue with the convention of referring to these initial mobility events as villagization to distinguish them to the movement that occurred immediately thereafter and in recognition of the fact that following repatriation from the war Makandezulu residents

returned to these sites. Shortly after gathering for protection at these sites, however, residents moved again; some residents moved east to villages along the Limpopo River while others moved west to South Africa. Still others moved first within Mozambique before becoming refugees in South Africa.

To narrow the focus of my analysis to those mobility events that were driven by the territoriality of external groups, I conducted an additional level of categorization for those mobility events that were not driven by external territoriality. Specifically, I collapsed environment, kinship, and marriage into an “other” category (see Figure 2.6). Doing so enabled me to highlight the relationships between externally driven territoriality and Maluleke displacement, Maluleke displacement and Maluleke mobility, and the ability for Makandezulu residents to establish access to resources when they moved. A focus on mobility events driven by external territoriality - colonial work, villagization, and war - would enable me to compare these events with conservation-related resettlement, which, I contend is also being driven by external territoriality.

To assess how residents established access to resources when they moved, I asked residents: *Did you start a homestead?*, *Did you start of field?*, and *Did you use trees in the bush?* in the destination locations of each of the 204 mobility events discussed in chapter. The focus on homesteads, fields, and forests provided a means to comparing resources organized at the individual and family levels (homesteads and fields) with those organized more communally (trees in the bush). I determined that residents were successful in accessing resources when they moved if they 1) started or borrowed a homestead, 2) started or borrowed a field, and 3)

were able to use trees in the bush, even if this use was limited, as was often the case. The mechanisms through which residents established access were determined through thematic data analysis conducted in Excel (2007). Quantitative analysis of the mobility matrix was completed in consultation with the Statics Consultancy Center (SCC) at the University of Georgia.

After completing the mobility matrix, and depending on the content of the interview thus far, I posed five to ten follow-up questions to each interviewee about issues related to tenure, natural resource management, and conservation related resettlement within Makandezulu. This data was analyzed through thematic and pattern level analysis conducted in NVivo and Excel.

Archival Data

To further assess the history of labor migration and labor recruitment in the Great Limpopo region I conducted archival research in the TEBA (Employment Bureau of Africa) WNLA (Witswatersrand Native Labour Association) collection. The TEBA WNLA archive, housed in University Archives and Special Collections Department at the University of Johannesburg, contains communications regarding mine recruitment from Mozambique including logistics, flooding, drought, famine, health, poverty, international movements of laborers spanning 1899 through to the 1960s. Digitized segments of the archives were also provided by the Transboundary Protected Areas Research Initiative.

Spatial Data

The GIS component of this research was undertaken in collaboration with Dr. Tommy Jordan at the Center for Remote Sensing and Mapping Science (CRMS) at the University of Georgia. Before beginning field research, we obtained Landsat ETM+ satellite imagery of the entire LNP and surrounding areas to assist in characterizing the landscape through analysis of vegetation, water features, and terrain. While conducting research in the Makandezulu region, residents allowed Reginaldo and me to accompany them to current and former village sites, homesteads, agricultural lands, hunting lands, wells, and the paths on which people traveled as well as sites of labor and park implementation almost daily to extend resident interviews 'on site'. As a result, I was able to collect spatial data about some of the more salient sites discussed in resident interviews with a handheld Global Positioning Satellite (GPS) unit. Participant observation and semi-structured interviews at each site enabled me to verify, through the triangulation of site visits, focus group interviews, and life history interviews, residents' retrospective descriptions of why they moved and how they established resource access in the region. I also collected spatial data about these

After data collection was complete, the entire GIS database was integrated into ArcGIS (9.2). I began by digitizing and then georeferencing hardcopy maps provided by the Peace Parks Foundation. I then compiled data from life history interviews and site visits which corresponded to the GPS points I collected into an Excel spreadsheet or attribute table in which I categorized each waypoint according to a set of specific attributes related to geographic location; resource type (for example: tree, field, abandoned homestead, well); resource use

(used for what, used by whom); and time of use (present, past, or continuous). Among other functions, this extended exercise enabled me to isolate the importance of particular tree management practices across specific landuse sites, or what I refer to in Chapter Five as tenure niches. Table 2.4 shows spatial data associated with particular trees. I have highlighted the category (tree), type (species), and landuse fields.

Table 2.4.: Attribute table illustrating trees and corresponding landuse types.
Latitudinal and longitudinal data have been removed to protect the data on gravesites.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	Waypoint	LAT	LONG	Category	Type	Function	Used by	Currency	Landuse	Owner
2	377	#####	#####	Tree	Ximuwu	Charismatic		1	Bush	Makandezulu A
3	385	#####	#####	Tree	Ximuwu	Food Resource			Bush	Makandezulu A
4	412	#####	#####	Tree	Makwakw	Food Resource	Makandez	1	Bush	
5	413	#####	#####	Tree	Xikutsi	Food Resource	Olga, Ther	1	Bush	
6	465	#####	#####	Tree	Nkanu	Resting spot f	Maxavele	0	Bush	Makandezulu A
7	467	#####	#####	Tree	Sihane	Food Resource		1		
8	468	#####	#####	Tree	Nkanu	Food Resource		1		
9	475	#####	#####	Tree	Nkanu	Food Resource	Nora, Jule	1	Mafussi	Nora's husband
10	476	#####	#####	Tree	Xanatsi	Gravesite	Finus Eng	0	Forest	Makandezulu A
11	492	#####	#####	Tree	Xeno	Boundary	Makandez	0	Forest	
12	498	#####	#####	Tree	Nkaya	Boundary	Salomon f	1	Field	Salomon Madjo
13	499	#####	#####	Tree	Mbando	Boundary	Salomon f	1	Field	Salomon Madjo
14	503	#####	#####	Tree	Mbando	Boundary	Salomon f	1	Field	Salomon Madjo
15	506	#####	#####	Tree	Mbando	Boundary	Ernesto Jo	1	Field	Ernesto Johann
16	521	#####	#####	Tree	Nkanu	In the old field	Watchi	0	Mafussi	Calvin Watchi M
17	523	#####	#####	Tree	Nkanu	Gravesite	Watchi Ma	0	Homestea	Family of Watchi
18	525	#####	#####	Tree	Nkanu			0	Bush	
19	528	#####	#####	Tree	Xirhumba	Resting spot	Watchi	0	Bush	
20	545	#####	#####	Tree	Mundo	Gravesite	Muzaman	0	Homestea	Ramina
21	571	#####	#####	Tree	Mondzo	Gravesite	Zandza	0	Bush	Makandezulu B
22	580	#####	#####	Tree	Tsotso	Birthsite	Million	0	Bush	
23	582	#####	#####	Tree	Nkanu	Gravesite	Washtime	0	Bush	
24	583	#####	#####	Tree	Xanatsi	Gravesite	English	0	Bush	Makandezulu A
25	590	#####	#####	Trees	Konde ant	Gravesite	Yanissi Gw	0	Bush	

I assessed change in resource access over time and space through overlay analysis which enables the stacking of data for comparison. For example, in Figure 2.4, layer one shows the pre-Civil War settlement clusters of the Makandezulu region. This data is derived from my research. Layer two shows the current village sites as assessed and provided to me by the Peace Parks Foundation. In later three I have combined or overlain these different types of data to convey change through time and space.

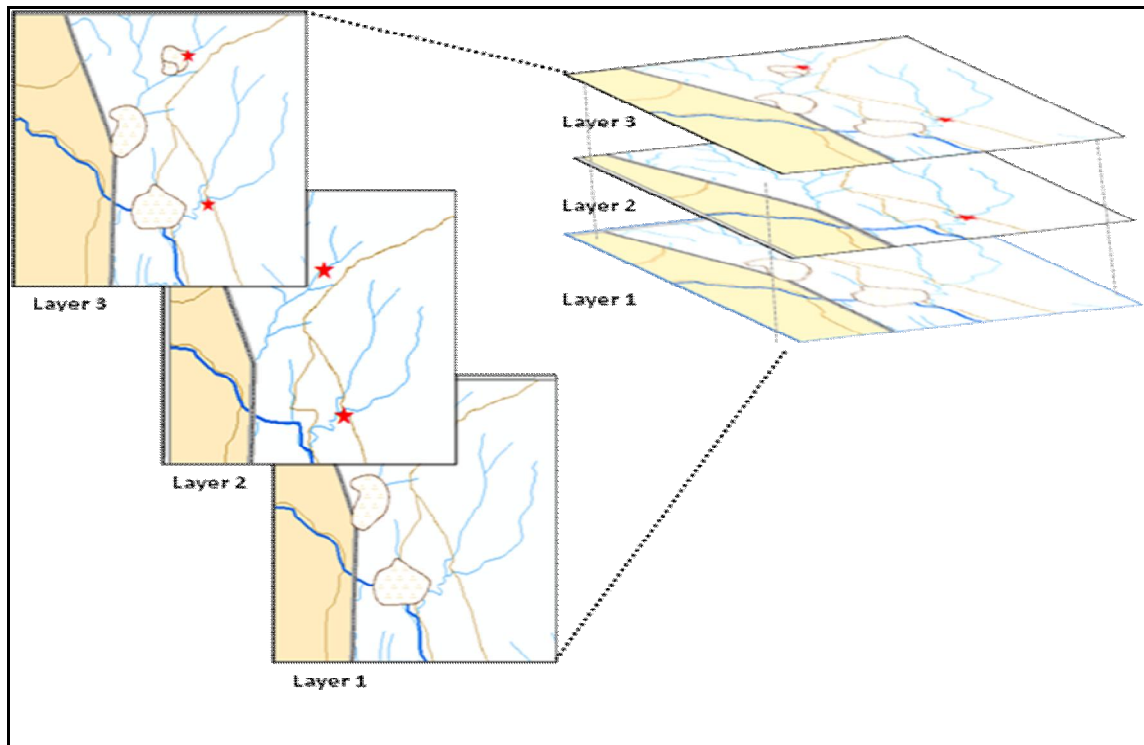


Figure 2.4: Overlay analysis

For aesthetic and functionality purposes, after compiling the data and analyzing it in ArcGIS, I recreated the maps in Power Point (2007) which is the way they will be presented in the following chapters.

A note about interview citations

There are inconsistencies in how I cite interviews in this dissertation. For example, I cite some interviews using names and dates and others using a number. This reflects, on the one hand, my desire to give individuals due credit for their contributions, ideas, and information and, on the other hand my obligation to protect interviewees from unforeseen consequences. Where I had developed substantial rapport with research participants, where interviewees in

fact requested that I "write their names down", and where I anticipated no negative consequences in doing so, I provide the interviewee names and the dates of interviews. In other cases, due to the contested nature of some of the interview material and the potential that the objectives of my research, analysis, and writing were not clear to every interviewee, I maintain interviewee anonymity.

For consistency I also cite all information derived from the standardized interview according to a number randomly assigned to each participant. To ensure confidentiality, I do not include the date of these interviews; however, as previously indicated, standardized interviews were conducted from April 27 to May 8, 2007. Finally, in the text I sometimes refer to individuals by their first names to avoid redundancy and the confusion implicit in the fact that the majority of my interviewees have the same or similar last names.

3.

Taking Their Territory With Them When They Go: Maluleke settlement into the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions

“Ngugunyane?! We were running from Ngugunyane!”

In the early months of my dissertation research period, my research assistant and I spent many late afternoon hours visiting Elias English Maluleke and Celia Matsileni Makwakwa, who own the homestead that served as our base camp in Makandezulu A¹². As we sipped *rooibos* (red bush) tea or Nestle instant coffee, I tried out new ideas, and more often than not, these visits transformed into ad hoc debriefing sessions wherein Elias and Celia clarified my confusion and exposed my assumptions. Perhaps the most important false assumption the couple helped me to correct related to Guyu, the celebrated founder of the Maluleke clan whose descendents are central to the settlement histories of both Makandezulu A and B. Initially, the more I learned about Guyu, the more I struggled to place this figure in time and space. During one particular late afternoon tea session with Elias and Celia, therefore, I sought to mark the time period of Guyu by comparing it with the time period of the last Gaza Nguni leader, Ngugunyane, who is one of the most well-known and widely acknowledged pre-colonial heroes of southern Mozambique. Through time, this leader appears to have become

¹² Note that the link between the Maluleke and Makwakwa clans discussed below is evident in the surnames of Elias (Maluleke) and Celia (Makwakwa).

all the more salient an African champion relative to the unpopular Portuguese colonial regime that was only able to grab hold of southern Mozambique just after Ngungunyane's capture, late in the 19th century.

As discussed in Chapter Two, when collecting oral histories in contexts where dates are largely unknown, it is a good strategy to use other types of historical markers, like leaders who are well known throughout the village, to begin to develop a relative structure for time (Axinn *et al.* 1999). So, in an optimistic stab at good ethnographic inquiry, I asked, "was the time of Guyu before or after the time of Ngungunyane?". Elias' retort, "*Ngugunyane?! We were running from Ngugunyane!*", came with some amusement. The joke was not only on me for not understanding the most basic points of Maluleke history, but also on him for having to point out to me that his ancestors were *not*, in fact, constituents of this most familiar and popular of national heroes. Not only was I left without a tool for measuring the time of Guyu, worse, I was provided with an unexpected and anxiety-provoking flash reality check: ethnically and categorically-speaking, I may not know who this predominantly Maluleke group of people actually "are". What I did glean from this comment was my first indication that the Maluleke ancestors settled the Makandezulu region in a context of evading the Gaza Nguni polity.

In this chapter I introduce the political ecology of access and mobility among Makandezulu residents through an overview of Maluleke settlement into the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions. After providing a brief primer on ethnic categorization in southern Africa, I put forth two overarching arguments. First, before settling Makandezulu, Maluleke ancestors moved throughout the Great Limpopo region in order to hunt, trade, escape drought,

and resist incorporation into the Gaza Nguni polity. Despite political upheaval and displacement, they were able to establish and re-establish a collective sense of resource control in new places. In other words, and resembling the practices of other pre-colonial southern Africa groups, they took their territory with them as they moved. Maluleke and Gaza Nguni leaders achieved this portable typology of resource control through the mechanisms of a) broadcasting power over people b) war and incorporation, and c) fissure and mobility.

Second, as illustrated in the account above, Maluleke ancestors settled the Makandezulu region in a displacement context wrought by the territoriality of the Gaza Nguni polity. Referring to Maluleke people as "Shangaan," a term derived from Shoshangane, the first Gaza king, therefore, inaccurately includes them as constituents of the Gaza Nguni polity, which they were trying to resist. That the extent of Gaza Nguni territory may have been retrospectively extended through ethnic categorization introduces an important sub-text to 20th century claims to Shangaan identity among Makandezulu residents which will be discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

Ethnic categorization

While ethnic categorization in southern Africa has codified a fair amount of historical imprecision, it also provides the basis for discussing the history of interactions between groups (Harries 1989). Figure 3.1 depicts the relationship between the Maluleke xibongo or clan name and ethnic categorization by placing Makandezulu residents into the classificatory system that missionaries, anthropologists, and others have developed to describe southern Africans. At the coarsest level of ethnic categorization (not depicted below), residents of Makandezulu are

considered Bantu speaking people who settled into southern Africa from regions north of the Zambezi River approximately 2,000 years ago. Hall (1990) suggested that the associated movements of Bantu speaking people and swidden agriculture were slow, incremental, and comprised by numerous micro-level migrations driven by environmental degradation, disease, and political uprisings. Holden (2002) divided Bantu languages into the following geographical areas: northwest, West Bantu/ equatorial, West savannah, central, East Bantu/ East Africa, and East Bantu/ southeast, of which Makandezulu belong to the latter. Among other sub groupings, the East Bantu/ southeast linguistic groups include Tsonga, Venda, Sotho, and Nguni (depicted in level one of Figure 3.1) (Westphal 1963; Holden 2002).

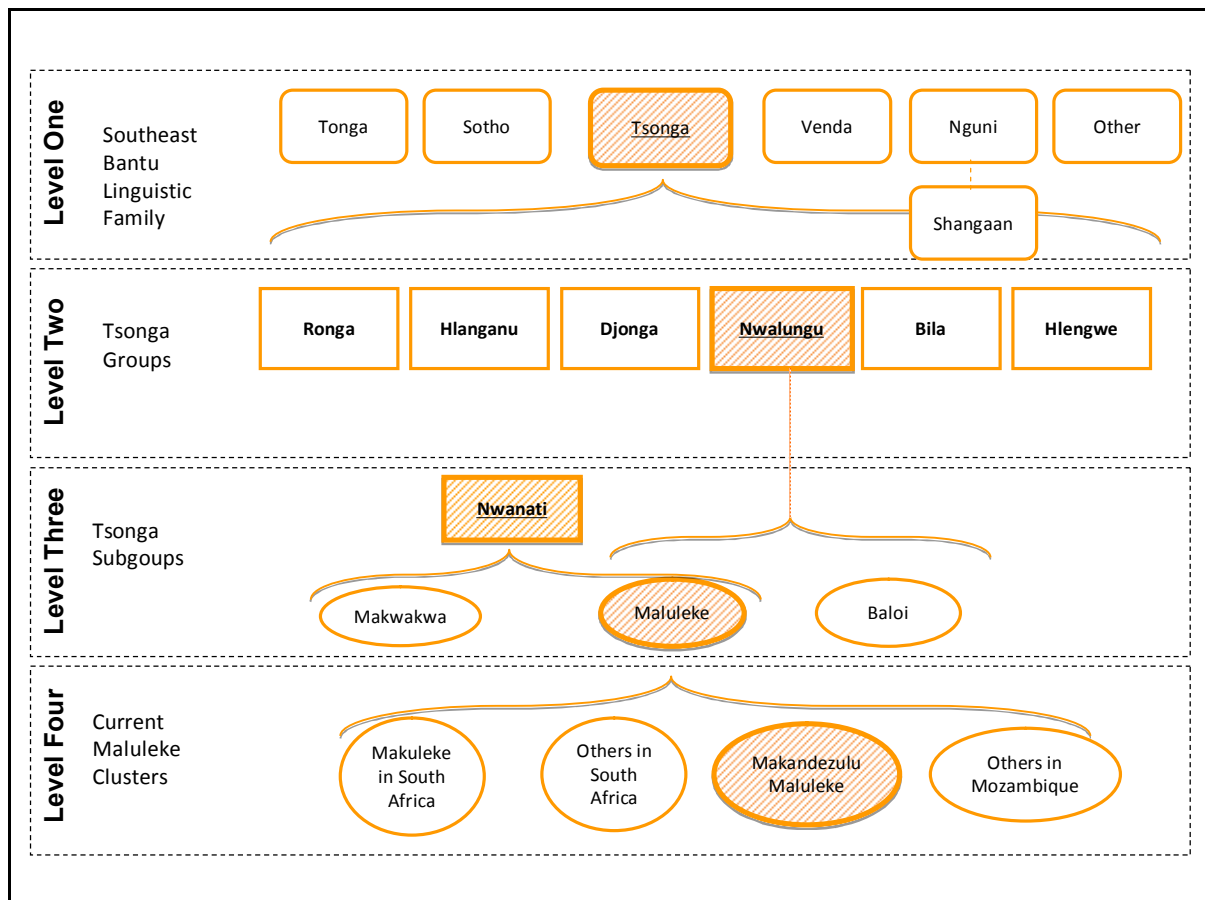


Figure 3.1: The Maluleke *xibongo* and ethnic classification based on the classificatory system that missionaries, anthropologists, and others have used to describe southern Africans

From at least the 16th century, political upheaval, environmental instability, trade in ivory and slaves, and fluctuations in cattle populations throughout southern Africa contributed to a highly diverse population in southern Mozambique (Smith 1973; Harries 1989; Liesegang 1983). In the 16th century, "Tsonga" populations were larger than their Nguni contemporaries, highly mobile, and ethnically diverse (Smith 1973: 572; Harries 1989). By the 17th and 18th centuries, Tsonga migrants had expanded throughout southeastern Africa, and profoundly altered the spatial organization of ethnic groups in what would become eastern South Africa, southern Zimbabwe, and southern Mozambique (Smith 1973: 573-574).

By the nineteenth century, therefore, those living north of present-day Maputo and east of the Lembobos Mountains were referred to by a number of popular names including but not limited to Landims, Knobnoses, Gwamba, Thonga, and Tsonga (Harries 1989, 2007). These names were designated, first, by groups aiming to politically subjugate incoming migrants and, later, by missionaries who aimed to baptize and, alternatively, to linguistically classify them (Harries 1989). Among this latter group, Swiss missionary Henri A. Junod arrived in the Great Limpopo region in the 1890s and, nearing the close of centuries of intense political and demographic change in southeastern Africa, began to ethnically categorize the population (Harries 1989; Junod 1962).

Junod's (1962) classifications of "Tsonga" groups residing in the Great Limpopo region (depicted in level two) remain the recognized standard. While problematic, these

categorizations are key to understanding the history of Gaza Nguni-induced Maluleke displacement and the forging of Maluleke territory in what has become the LNP. Junod (1962: 14) reserved the term tribe to designate the totality of the Tsonga nation and clan to designate sub units within the tribe, which are "essentially familial". While perhaps better described as a norm than a rule, Junod's observation that "as a rule all men belonging to a clan bear the name of the old chief, who is more or less considered the ancestor of them all" (Junod 1962: 14) accurately describes the idealized structure of Maluleke social organization. Junod (1962) initially divided Tsonga into six overlapping groups or clans: Ronga, Hlanganu, Djonga, Bila, Nwalungu, and Hlengwe. Of these categories, the Maluleke (referred to as *the Malouleke* by Junod) and Baloi (referred to as *the Loi* by Junod) clan names were associated with Nwalungu, the categorization used for those who settled north of the Oliphantes River. To describe Maluleke populations, Junod (1962) also employed the term Nwanati, a name that linked Maluleke to a shared history with Makwakwa who lived further south. Significantly, Nwanati is a term Makandezulu residents commonly use to refer to themselves and their ancestors (depicted in level three).

Eventually, resulting in part from the strength and extent of the Gaza Nguni polity and the benefits associated with identifying with this group (Harries 1994), all people to the north of the Nkomati River including those residing in the Great Limpopo region were referred to as Shangaan (Harries 1989; 2007; Junod 1962). The term 'Shangaan' is derived from Shoshangane the first king of the Gaza Nguni polity, who will be discussed in further detail later in this Chapter. Thus the Shangaan categorization implicates "Shangaan people" as members of the Gaza Nguni group (Harries 1989, 2007). However, far from being Gaza constituents, oral

history introduced above suggests that Maluleke ancestors were "running from Ngungunayne"; in other words, they were evading the Gaza Nguni Polity. Maluleke oral history, therefore, supports the argument put forth by Harries (1989, 2007), as well as by Liesegang (1977) with respect to Venda populations, that Shangaan ethnic categorization somewhat inaccurately links the entirety of the region's population to the Gaza Nguni ruler Shoshangane and includes them as subjects of Gaza rule. According to Harries (1989), what Tsonga groups - comprised of east coast hunters, traders, and other immigrants - had in common as they settled into the Great Limpopo region were traits that differentiated them from the groups who already resided there. As depicted in Figure 3.1, therefore, Maluleke people are more accurately categorized as part of the diverse Tsonga group.

Maluleke Settlement in the Great Limpopo Region

Centuries before settling the Great Limpopo region, Nwanati people including the Maluleke clan were living along the Nwanati River near the present-day boundary between Inhambane and Gaza Provinces (Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke, April 11, 2007; see also Connor2002: 8). Spurred by land conflicts and a shortage of food during the 13th and 14th centuries, they left the region on a journey "south and east, following the sun" (Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke, April 11, 2007). Similarly "ancient legends" recorded by (Junod 1962: 22-23) reported that Maluleke ancestors journeyed south, traveling

"in such numbers that they opened out a wide track as wide as a wagon road...white and straight, stretching from the northern bank of the Limpopo and going southwards

through the desert... They went southwards by that wonderful old road till they reached the sea coast not far from the mouth of the Limpopo.”

According to Junod, thereafter the Nwanati people split into two clans or familial sub-units.

The Makwakwa clan remained in the south while the Maluleke clan headed north and west along the Limpopo River and into the Great Limpopo Region (Junod 1962).

From where Junod's account left off with the Maluleke clan heading north along the Limpopo River, Maluleke oral history picked up at the time of Malenga who is fifth in the composite of Maluleke historical leadership in Figure 3.2. The men included in Figure 3.2 are the male lineage authorities of the Maluleke clan. These leaders and chiefs have privileged access to the ancestors who provide them with the requisite authority to hold resource control.

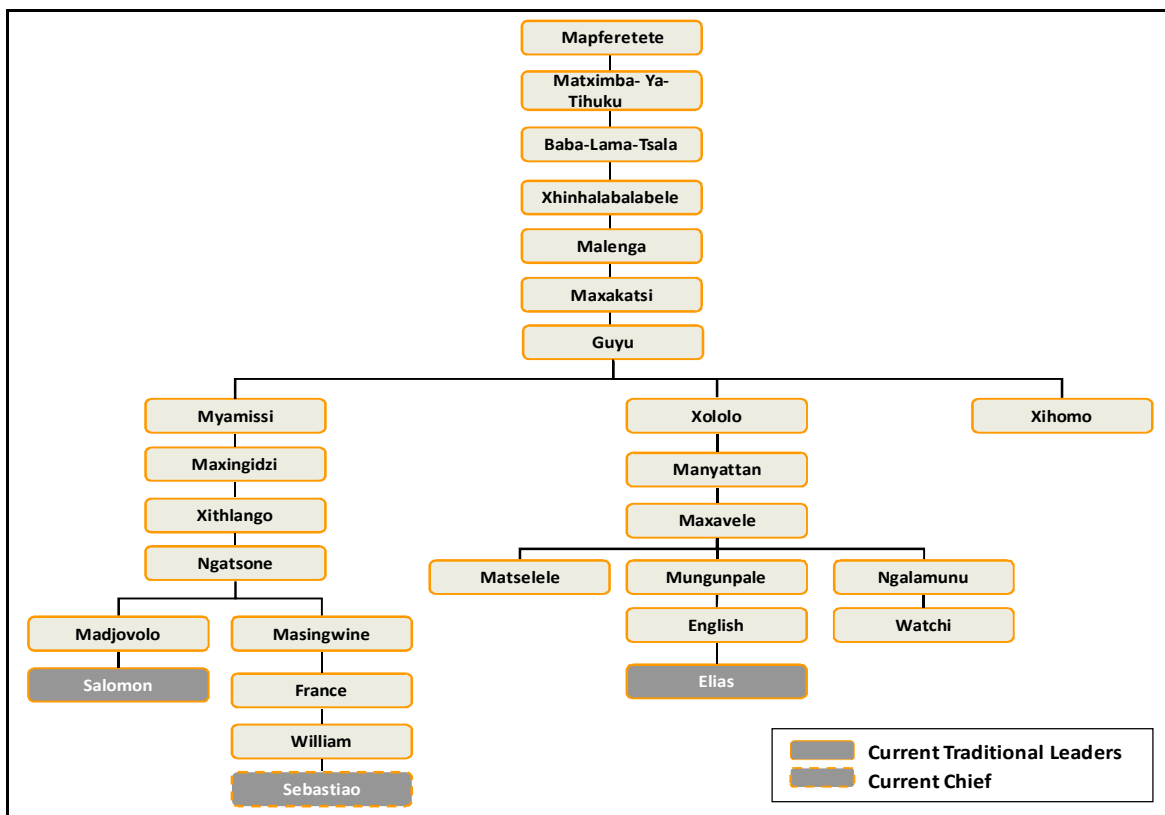


Figure3.2: Genealogy of Maluleke male lineage authorities

Resident accounts of Maluleke settlement most often centered around this clan genealogy (or alternate versions of it). When discussing events preceding the 20th century, interviewees did not reference dates. Instead, they spoke in terms of the "the time of the ancestors" and, more literally, "when our grandparents lived here." The term for ancestors is *vafi* signifying 'the people from here who have died' or, more accurately 'those of our *tiko* who have died'. The term for grandparents is *vakokwani*, signifying both the those who are living and those who have died. Deceased grandparents (*vakokwani*) may be conceived as providing an outlet to the ancestors (*vafi*). For example, in traditional ceremonies conducted at the graves of a grandparent (*kokwani*) traditional leaders sometimes asked the deceased to speak to the ancestors (*vafi*) on behalf of the *tiko*.

Because oral historians in Makandezulu referred to the passage of time by denoting change in leadership, the genealogy of ancestral leaders in Figure 3.2, serves as a timeline for understanding how many Maluleke historians conceptualize their past, specifically how, where and when, Maluleke leaders took their territory with them when they moved. With regards to events during the 20th century, many local historians did incorporate dates. In an attempt to balance these perspectives and story-telling devices, herein I continue with the convention of describing events with rough temporal estimates. Therefore, while this genealogy is a more powerful heuristic for understanding Maluleke history and resource access *emically* than it is a yard stick or metric for aligning oral history with recorded history, using Junod's estimate of thirty year generational spans, I suggest that these genealogies may extend back as far as the 16th century (Junod 1962: 26).

While oral historians did not trace Maluleke leadership as far back as the 13th and 14th centuries when Junod suggested that this group began to move south, with some variation, several residents traced the Maluleke lineage seven generations back, starting with the eldest ancestor, Mapferetete who was the father of Matximba-Ya-Tihuku and working down to Maxakatsi, father of Guyu and Ximabani. Thereafter, the Maluleke lineage splits into at least three lines headed by Guyu's sons, Xololo, Miymassi, and Xihimo, whose decedents are credited as founding members of Makandezulu A, Makandezulu B, and Mapai, located east of the Makandezulu region along the Limpopo River.

Preceding the 20th century, Maluleke leaders took their territory with them when they moved through the interrelated mechanisms of a) broadcasting power over people, b) war and incorporation, and c) fissure and mobility. My argument that Maluleke ancestors brought their territory with them when they moved draws from scholarship on southern Africa and Asia which illustrates types of territory and territoriality comprised, first and foremost, of people and other mobile resources rather than land (Hughes 2006; Kopytoff 1987; Herbst 2000; Vandergeest and Peluso 1995; Winichakul 1994). As a result, pre-colonial territories were not geographically static and the spatial component's of a chief's territorial extent was defined according to the extent of the population under his control (Hughes 2006).

Rather than consolidating power over land, pre-colonial southern African leaders "broadcast" power over people (Herbst 2000; Hughes 2006). That is, they accumulated power by accumulating people who accepted their leadership (Kopytoff 1987). As they moved, male lineage authorities not only brought their status within the group as well as wives, descendents

and other clients with them, they also formed and re-formed authoritative social relationships that continued to legitimize resource control (Hughes 2006; Kopytoff 1987). Maluleke settlement in the Great Limpopo Region begins with the time of Malenga and works down through Guyu. As indicated in Figure 3.3, by the time of Malenga, Maluleke ancestors had settled in present-day Mabalane district located in southern Gaza Province, east of the Massingir Dam, in the southeastern triangular shaped corner of the LNP. I estimate that this may have been in beginning to the middle of the 18th century. It was here that Malenga became the clans' chief (Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke, April 11, 2007).

Following Malenga's death, his son, Maxakatsi, led the clan north and west along Limpopo following ancient trade routes (Junod 1962). Maxakatsi settled in Xikharhi, which is known today as Panyame, on the western side of the Limpopo River across from Mapai and there became the founder of the present-day Maluleke clan (Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke, April 11, 2007; Junod 1962: 23). According to oral history, the primary means of broadcasting power over people was through the alternating and interdependent strategies of war and incorporation. Once a male lineage authority and his clan arrived in an area, they negotiated with the existent population for control over resources, and according to oral history, often secured resource control through war.

Maxakati was a great hunter (Junod 1962: 23), and presumably his move to Xikharhi and thus deeper into the Great Limpopo Region corresponded to the clans' involvement in the ivory trade. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, ivory would have been among the best

economic opportunities in the region, reaching its height in the mid 1850s (Murray 1995: 381; Liesegang 1983).

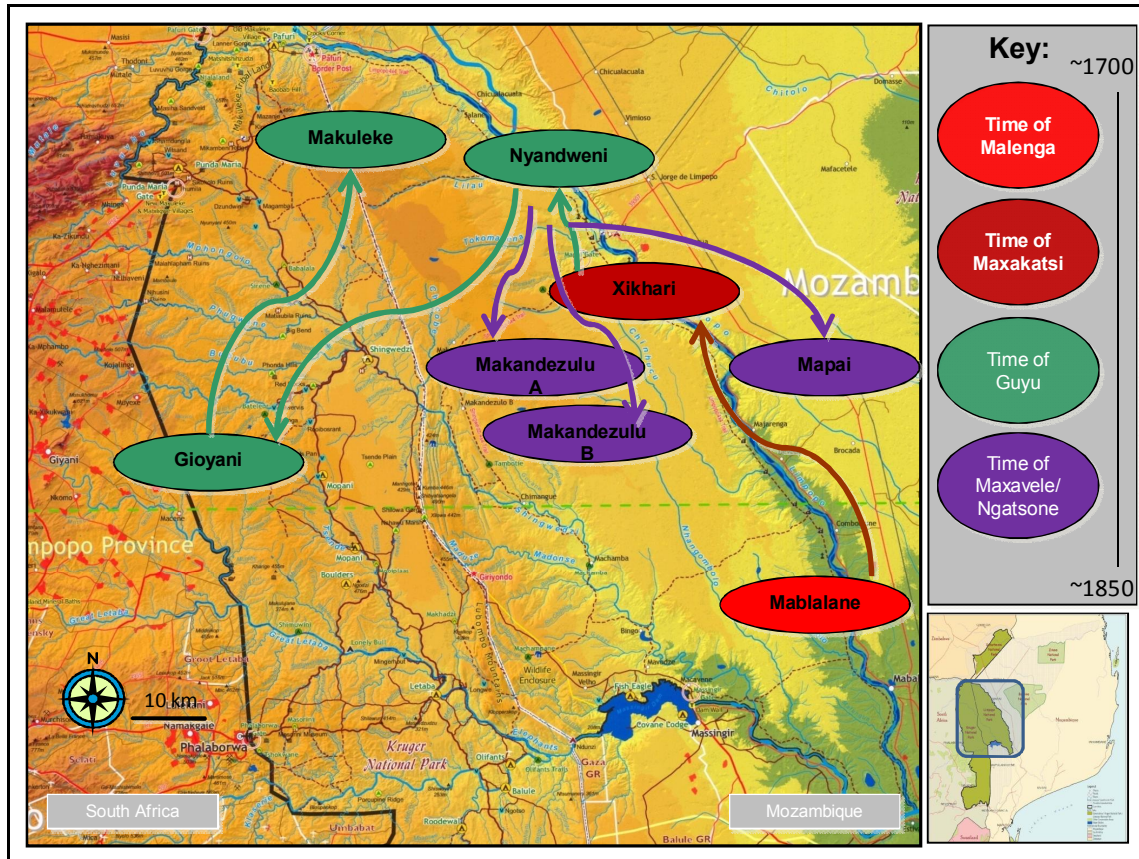


Figure 3.3: Taking the territory with them when they move: Maluleke Settlement in the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions. The timeline of Maluleke leadership is listed vertically to the right whereas the place names these leaders settled are shown on the map in corresponding colors.

Maluleke movement deeper into the Great Limpopo Region also corresponded with ongoing war with "the Vanyanhi," the ancestors of a Venda group that resided in this region. Oral history about Venda settlement in this region is confirmed by Liesegang (1977: 163) who

suggested that in the 18th century, the Venda kingdom stretched from the Limpopo in the north to the Olifants south and beyond.

Maxakatsi's son Guyu grew up in Xikharhi fighting against Vanyanhi people (Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke, April 11, 2007). As important as war was in oral history accounts of Maluleke settlement into this region, so too was the strategy of incorporation. Resulting from the ethic of access wherein people are more essential components of territory than land, leaders gained power by incorporating new members and not by acting exclusively (Berry 1989b; Harries 1994). In turn, there were benefits to identifying with the clan including identity, status, protection, and resource access (Berry 1989b; Harries 1994). After Maluleke ancestors settled in a new place and initiated war, the original occupants of an area, in this case Vanyanhi people, either physically left the region or they were incorporated into the Maluleke tiko as members of the group.

When Maxakatsi died, Guyu moved the clan's political center to Nyandweni along the Limpopo and Lelawu rivers northeast of the LNP (Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke, April 11, 2007). Of significance, Nyandweni is close to the present-day village of Selani, the destination location Makandezulu residents have chosen in case they are resettled from the park. When Guyu became the king, he sent his sons, brothers, nephews, grandsons, and great grandsons throughout the region, spanning from present-day Mapai to Gioyani in present-day South Africa, first to stake and then to defend Maluleke resource claims (Salomon Madjovolo Maluleke, June 11, 2007). In this way, the combined mechanisms of fissure in the lineage and

mobility also proved important for Maluleke ancestors' ability to take the territory with them when they moved.

In pre-colonial southern Africa, competition within lineages was common and fissure was a legitimate means to creating new groups, differentiating and diversifying power over resources and establishing and extending territory (Smith 1973; Junod 1962; Harries 1994; Kopytoff 1987). This resulted in a pattern whereby small groups broke away from growing chiefdoms, moved into new territory, and displaced those who had preceded them there (Smith 1973). For example, Guyu's younger brother, Ximambani, was sent to the region later known as Gioyani (in what would become South Africa's Gaza Nkulu homeland) to fight against the Vanyanhi. Ximambani reportedly kept his residence in Mozambique, residing and dying near the Lelawu River. Before his death, however, he was instrumental in starting an important branch of the Maluleke clan, the well known *Makuleke* of South Africa. The Maluleke were successful in Gaza Nkulu, but they had to remain active in the region to keep Venda groups from coming back to reclaim their territory in the region. Ximambani appointed his son Mhinga to defend the area between the Levubu and Venda Rivers, near present-day Pafuri, which, according to Harries (1987) was a strategic point for the ivory trade. Mhinga then became the founder of the present-day Makuleke clan. In this way, local history collected in Makandezulu linked *Makuleke* groups in South Africa to the *Maluleke xibango* in Mozambique. The *Makuleke* name is well known in conservation scholarship and policy because of the displacement in 1969 of Makuleke villages, comprised largely of people with the Maluleke surname, from the KNP and the subsequent post-apartheid case against Kruger National Park (Steenkamp 2001; Fay 2007).

According to local historians, Guyu died while fighting against the Vanyanhi in Nyandweni. Before his death, Guyu had sent his brothers, nephews, grandsons, and other male lineage authorities throughout the Great Limpopo region including Makandezulu. These fissures in the lineage and mobility had the dual effect of extending Maluleke resource control through space and dividing power through the lineage. Following the death of Guyu in Nyandweni, war with the Vanyanhi re-escalated. As the Maluleke clan tried to maintain their political resource control in the region, the Gaza Nguni polity was beginning to move into the Great Limpopo region from the south seeking to consolidate control over people and ivory, among other endeavors (see Hughes 2006).

Maluleke Settlement in the Makandezulu Region

During the first three decades of the 19th century, southern Africa's most powerful state was the Zulu Nation under the infamous King, Chaka (Newitt 1995; Liesegang 1983; Harries 1983). Displaced by Chaka in the 1820s, the Gaza Nguni polity moved into southern Mozambique from present-day South Africa where they, in turn, sought to re-establish political control (Newitt 1995). 19th century Gaza Nguni invasions into the region that would become southern Mozambique displaced thousands of Tsonga migrants, including the Maluleke clan (Harries 1987) and led to nearly a century of Gaza Nguni rule.

By the mid 19th century, Maluleke populations extended non-contiguously throughout the Great Limpopo Region including the Makandezulu region and along the Limpopo and Levubu Rivers into the South African Transvaal where they were mixed with "Boer" settlers-

signifying Dutch immigrants or Afrikaanders, European hunters, and Venda populations, among others (Junod 1962: 17; see also Harries 1987). The diverse groups who settled the Great Limpopo Region moved in a context of environmental uncertainty, specifically extended drought throughout southeastern Africa (Ballard 1986). Additionally, they were drawn there by ivory and driven there by the territoriality of other groups.

In the early 19th century, political change was afoot throughout southern Africa and displacement rampant. 19th century Gaza Nguni encroachments, therefore, only intensified, if severely so, an existent displacement-mobility dynamic. Afrikaners were displaced by English, Nguni by Zulu, Venda by Tsonga, and Tsonga by Nguni. In the case of Gaza induced displacements, people moved to avoid theft of women, children, and cattle, ongoing war, and conscription into servitude and military service; to retain control of one's own benefits from the resource base, including especially, ivory; to access labor opportunities in South Africa; and in reaction to the interplay of drought and flooding events (Liesegang 1983; Hughes 2006). Scholars have categorized Gaza Nguni displacement of Tsonga populations into three general flows which are pointed out below (Harries 1989; Junod 1962).

The first Gaza King in what would become southern Mozambique was Shoshangane, and he ruled for nearly four decades. In the 1820s Shoshangane occupied the lower Limpopo River and from there began to establish an expansive kingdom. In the late 1820s and early 1830s, Shoshangane's arrival of the Gaza polity in southern Mozambique resulted in a general exodus of people living between the Nkomati and the Limpopo Rivers, leading to the first wave of Tsonga migration (Harries 1989). The refugees traveled along historic trade routes flanking the

Olifants and Limpopo rivers, passing through the thinly populated lowveld (Harries 1989). At that same time, the success of the ivory trade began to increase movement along existent trade routes between the Delagoa Bay area and the Great Limpopo region (Newitt 1995). By the early 1840s, Shoshangane had stabilized a large region under his direct and indirect control (Liesegang 1983).

Following the death of Shoshangane in 1858, a Civil War broke out between Shoshangane's sons, Mawewe and Umzila. This war, coupled with ecological instability from 1858-1862, drove the second wave of refugees into the Transvaal (Harries 1989). In the face of Civil War, Umzila moved the political center of the kingdom north of the Save River. Thereafter, in the 1870s, drought and labor opportunities - a union that would continue to trigger migration from Mozambique to South Africa throughout the 20th century- drove the third flow of refugees into the Transvaal unabated (Harries 1989; Liesegang 1983; Junod 1905). After his death in 1884, Umzila was succeeded by his son, Ngungunyane. In 1889, Ngungunyane transferred the capital back to south of the Limpopo River Valley in 1889. He was defeated there by the Portuguese and deported in 1895. Within a few years, the Gaza Kingdom fell (Liesegang 1983).

Current Makandezulu A and B residents reported that it was in this context of extreme political and social change, and in particular of evading the Gaza Nguni polity, that their Maluleke ancestors settled and established political resource control in the Makandezulu region. While Maxavele defended the area near current day Makandezulu A from yet another Vanhanyhi group, Miyamissi and his descendent Ngatsone defended the land, trees, and animals against Chimangue ancestors (Salomon Madjovolo Maluleke, June 11, 2007). The

Maluleke ancestor eventually undermined Vanyanhi resource control. According to oral history, the Maluleke ancestors pushed many Vanyanhi people out of the region; however, before doing so, they report learning how to live in the region from Vanyanhi ancestors. Today, Makandezulu residents report having incorporated some of the Vanyanhi ways of living, and they continue to respect Vanyanhi sacred ancestral sites which are located throughout the Mandezulu region (Calvin Watchi Maluleke June 9, 2007; Salomon Madjovolo Maluleke, June 11, 2007; Elias English Maluleke, June 14, 2007). Among other sites, Vanyanhi hill, pictured in Figure 3.4, is where Vanyanhi people residing in the Makandezulu region practiced ceremonies before the Maluleke clan established resource control there.



Figure 3.4 Male lineage authorities (descendents of Ngatsone) at Vanyanhi Hill

Gaza Nguni induced mobility of Tsonga groups spanned much of the 19th century; however, aside from stressing that Maluleke people were "running from Ngunguyani," oral

histories indicate very little direct interaction between the Maluleke clan and the Gaza Nguni polity. Oral histories do indicate that Maluleke settlement in Makandezulu region was at the tail end of battles with the Venda; therefore, I estimate that settlement into the Makandezulu region occurred in the first decades of the 19th century and possibly during the first wave of Gaza induced Tsonga migrations. This implies that "running from Ngungunyani" actually signified running from the Gaza Nguni polity and not this specific leader who came to power later in the 19th century.

Measuring the extent of Gaza Reach

The extent to which the Maluleke ancestors were under or, alternatively, able to evade Gaza Nguni resource control is difficult to ascertain. This task is complicated, on the one hand, by oral history which indicates very little direct interaction between Maluleke ancestors and the Gaza Nguni polity and, on the other hand, regional appeals to Shangaan identity. The extent of Gaza reach merits consideration herein, because it relates to understanding a) 19th century workings of two human-centric and mobile territories, Gaza Nguni and Maluleke and b) the 20th century use of Shangaan identity among Makandezulu residents to gain resource access outside their territory. The Gaza kingdom consolidated a large expanse of people and resources under its control and left a cultural heritage that is extremely important to southern African history, particularly in light of the exploitative Portuguese colonial context that would characterize much of the next century. While it is difficult to undermine the legacy of the Gaza polity, it is interesting to consider how Gaza territory in southern Mozambique seems to have

been further consolidated and retrospectively extended through a shared sense of Shangaan identity that, initiated in part by ethnic categorization, developed after the fall of the Gaza Kingdom.

Data regarding how Gaza territory was administered is sparse, particularly with reference to regions outside of the royal centers (Liesegang 1983: 190). However, exemplifying the pre-colonial state characteristics discussed above, it is evident Gaza leaders, like their Maluleke counterparts, were highly mobile. They settled into southern Mozambique in a context of displacement-induced mobility wrought by Chaka and thereafter, as illustrated above, moved the capital of their kingdom not only further but also more frequently than previous leaders had (Liesegang 1983; Hughes 2006). In pre-colonial African states, political centers often shifted, not only in the sense of their rises and fallings, but also geographically, as “soil became exhausted or buildings deteriorated or as bad fortune indicated that the old site had lost its virtue” (Colson 1969, cited in Herbst 2000: 15). Mobility was so significant to the political history of southern Africa that Kopytoff (1987: 11) compared African polity development and demise to a meteorological map “in which mature societies and polities might be represented by blotches of light clouds and frontier areas by the meandering dark channels between them.”

To suit their mobile character, the Gaza Nguni state “instituted a portable politics” which “required violent forms of power over people” (Hughes 2006: 25-26). Gaza Nguni leaders broadcast power over people primarily through clientele creation which they achieved through extensive raids on resident groups. Clients were created by inducing local chiefs to

pledge allegiance and tribute in exchange for protection and continued access to resources (Hughes 2006: 26; Liesegang 1983). In the outlying territories, located at a distance from the capital, were guards who watched the local chief (Liesegang 1983). Additionally, there were seasonal tribute collectors, but these were active in some areas only (Liesegang 1983: 193). By broadcasting power over chiefs of existent territories, Gaza leaders also obtained control over soldiers, slaves, wives, children, cattle, ivory, land and other resources (Hughes 2006: 26; Liesegang 1983; Harries 1983). While “a high degree of social segmentation and migration ensured that no clan was of “pure” descent or occupied contiguous territory” (Harries 1994: 4), the incentives to identify with the Gaza were substantial. As a result, Gaza society was characterized by cultural assimilation, and it was neither uncommon nor contradictory for individuals to pay allegiance to more than one chief (Harries 1994; Niehaus 2002).

If the Gaza political system, both its leaders and its clients were mobile, then so too was the Kingdom’s political economy (Hughes 2006). For most of the Gaza reign, trade persisted along the lines that it had functioned before the Nguni established their dominance in the region (Liesegang 1983). That is, economic centers in the interior maintained their trade links to the coast, but paid tax or tribute to the Gaza empire (Liesegang 1983). The Gaza tribute system honored currency not only in ivory, cattle, animal skins, soldiers, wives, orphans, slaves, cloth, court fees, food, services rendered, and goods from afar; it tapped into local, regional, and international trade systems (Liesegang 1983; Hughes 2006). As a result, the system adapted well both to local specificities and to the changing political economy of the region, particularly as it shifted from ivory production to labor migration (Liesegang 1983; Hughes 2006).

Under Shoshangane, the Gaza kingdom appears to have extended from Delagoa Bay, near the present-day capital of Maputo in the south, to the lower Zambezi River in the north. To the east, the territory was bound by the Indian Ocean,¹³ and to west by the Lembobo mountains which extend along the present-day boundary between Mozambique and South Africa (Liesegang 1983). To further attest to the size of the Gaza kingdom during Shoshangane's near 40 year rule, the king reportedly made agreements with Afrikaaners (or Dutch settlers) who began to occupy part of the South African Transvaal and with the Portuguese traders and colonists whose presence was, at that time, limited to the Mozambican coast (Liesegang 1983). Based on this description, one might assume that Maluleke populations in the Great Limpopo region were under a degree of Gaza Nguni control.

While Umzila managed to maintain rule over much of Shoshangane's territory, Gaza political control in the Great Limpopo region seemed to contract. Such a contraction is illustrated in Erskine's (1875) map of Umzila's territory which is depicted at different resolutions in Figures 3.5 and 3.6. Whereas the territory credited to the Gaza Nguni polity under Shoshangane's reign extended past the Lembobo Mountains and into the South African Transvaal, according to Erskine (1875), the extent of Gaza territory under Umzila rule ended right in the center of the Great Limpopo region, and interestingly, within kilometers from present-day Makandezulu A and Makandezulu B.

¹³ The Gaza Kingdom excluded populations of Portuguese and Tonga (who are generally distinguished from Tsonga) along the coastal ports (Liesegang 1983).

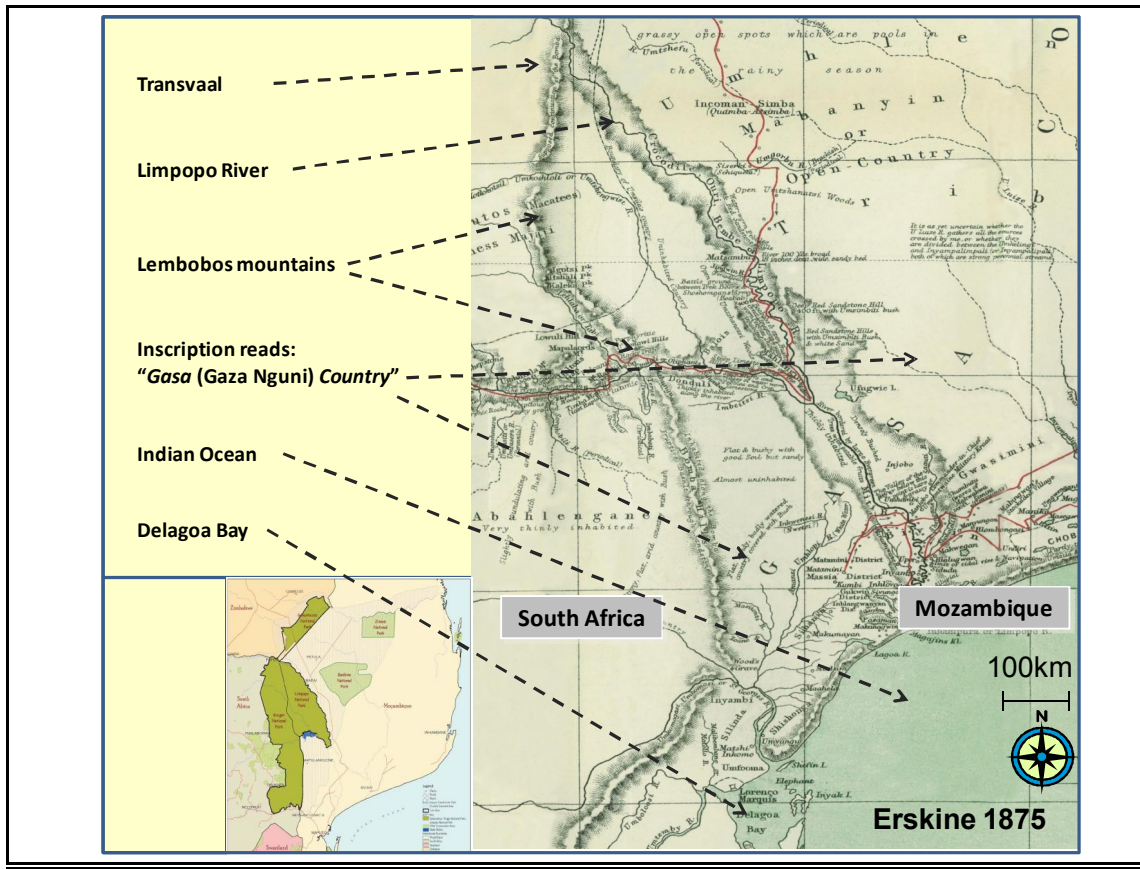
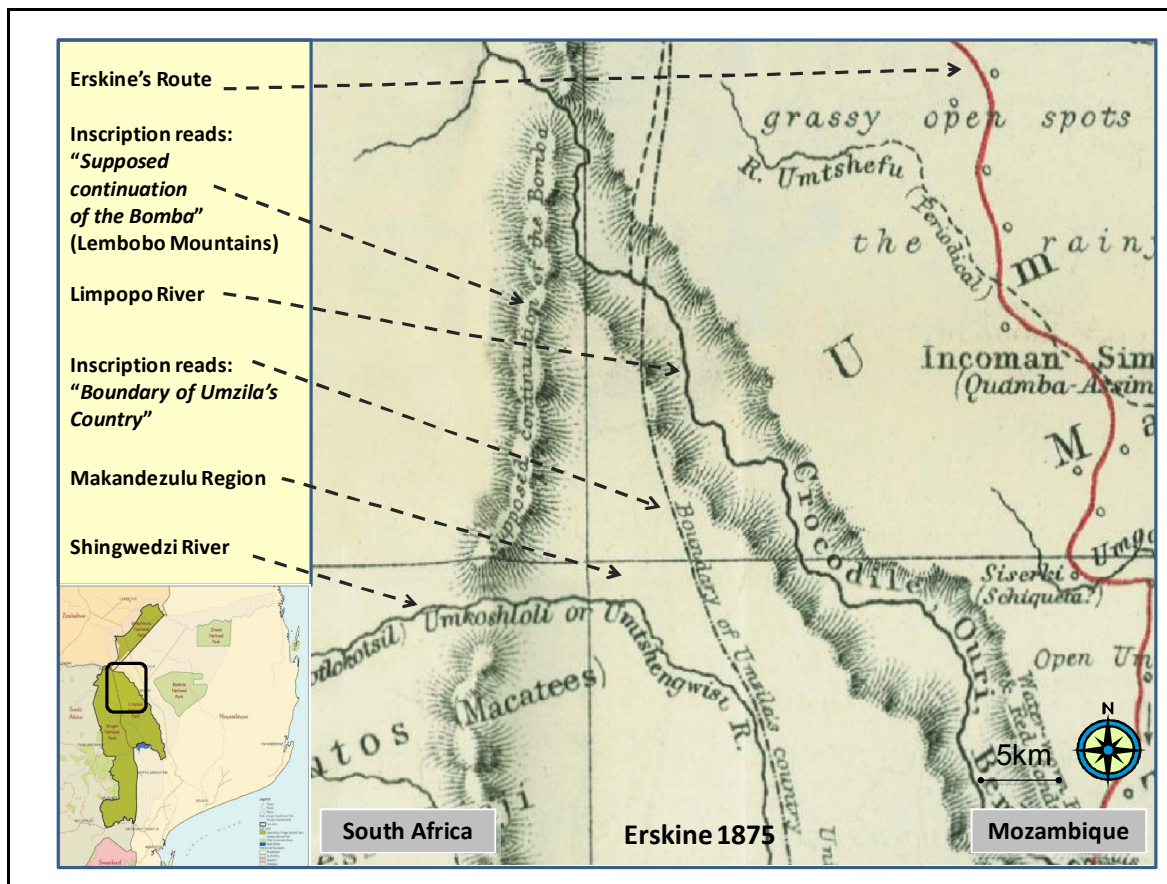


Figure 3.5: The southern reaches of Gaza Nguni territory under Shoshangane
(Source: Erskine 1875)



Aside from the details of Erskine's map, any map that described Gaza territory strictly through the delimitation of its boundaries must be suspect. Unlike colonial and post colonial governments who consolidated their rule in Mozambique through boundaries, pre-colonial leaders and states did not depend on modern forms of boundaries to achieve resource control. Rather than consolidating power over land, they were more concerned with broadcasting power over people (Herbst 2000; Hughes 2005). Therefore, whereas modern state boundaries indicate the geographical extent to which state power is at least supposed to extend, pre-colonial states were not conceived of as bounded containers of power¹⁴. Instead the extent of the people under state rule determined the extent of the territory. Further, populations who had submitted to the chief did not necessarily live adjacent to one another, signifying the existence of not only un-delimited but also non-contiguous territories. In other words, non-modern state authority extended "everywhere people had pledged obedience to the king" (Herbst 2000: 40-47; Hughes 2006). These characteristics have important implications for assessing the extent and territorial reach of the Gaza polity.

The reach of the Gaza state and corresponding peripheries under Gaza control, likely contracted and expanded not only according to the location of an oft shifting capital. In addition to the geographic extent, the intensity of state influence also varied considerably. "Conceived of as a series of concentric circles radiating out from the core" (Herbst 2000: 45), political influence was presumably strongest near the political centers and less concentrated along the peripheries where autonomous chiefs remained in power with their own social

¹⁴ Whether or not the Portuguese colonial state actually established control of hinterlands and frontiers is another issue (see Hughes 2006). Modern state boundaries were effective, because they are recognized by other modern

stratification and social customs (Liesegang 1983; see also Herbst 2000). As a result, the extent of state power was determined not only by how far but also by how effectively the sphere of authority could be projected from the political capital. Based on these characterizations, the social and geographic extent of the Gaza empire, and specifically the degree to which Gaza power effected the ancestors of current Makandezulu residents, remains difficult to measure.

While oral history provides strong indication that Maluleke ancestors remained on the periphery of Gaza rule, the entire Great Limpopo region, at some point at least, was most likely under indirect influence, if not direct Gaza control. The tensions between these findings are relevant, because, as subsequent chapters will show, Makandezulu residents established access to resources both as laborers in the South African mines and the Kruger National Park and as refugees in Gioyani through "Shangaan identity".

In the Great Limpopo region, missionaries unwittingly placed themselves in the midst of a "linguistic diaspora" and then, based in part on the assumption of a relatively static geographical settlement pattern, tried to ethnographically map it (Harries 2007: 158, Harries 1989, 1994). According to Niehaus (2002: 562), however, "one should not overstate the agency of a few European missionaries in the making of local African identities." This assertion is a welcome one. Certainly, the Swiss mission did not, in and of itself, create and sustain Shangaan identity or culture. On the contrary, people defined themselves as Shangaan to "facilitate their incorporation into the social landscape" (Niehaus 2002: 559), a landscape that, at the turn of the century, was witness to the fall of an African empire and the rise of a colonial regime.

states, regardless of the limited assimilation within those boundaries.

However, by categorizing members of the Maluleke clan, among other Tsonga groups, as Shangaan, missionaries, academics, and even residents themselves retrospectively expand the territory of the Gaza Nguni polity, a polity which many Tsonga groups appear to have been evading. They also inadvertently undermine the history and identities of both those residing in the area before the rise of Nguni kingdom as well as those who resisted this polity (Bonner 1978; Liesegang; 1977; Harries 1989).

Conclusion

My examination of the political ecology of access and mobility in this chapter reveals that even in the context of the Gaza Nguni encroachments which displaced thousands of Tsonga people including the Maluleke clan (Harries 1989; Junod 1962), Maluleke leaders were still able to establish, maintain, and extend their resource control. In other words, through the mechanisms of broadcasting power over people, war and incorporation and fissure and mobility, Maluleke ancestors, like other pre-colonial southern Africa groups, took their territory with them when they moved. Among these territorial conquests, Guyu sent his descendents to establish resource control in the Makandezulu region. In Chapter Four I show how these settlement histories are still evident in the political organization space and the means through which residents establish resource control today.

This chapter also introduced oral history that portrays the Maluleke clan as "running" from the Gaza Nguni polity. This data supports the arguments of other scholars that ethnically categorizing people throughout the interior of southern Mozambique as Shangaan is historically inaccurate (Harries 1989; Liesegang 1977), and it introduces the contested history of what, in

the 20th century, became an important access mechanism for Makandezulu residents, Shangaan identity.

4.

**The Lineage Landscape:
External and resident ways of seeing access**

Tree in Space

I have titled the introduction to this chapter “Trees in Space” as a reflection on an imagined future wherein tourists, in four-wheel drive convoy, are on safari in Mozambique’s Limpopo National Park. For the tourists in this brief and intentionally provocative scenario, the park is a symbolic entry into *real* Africa. It is wilderness, void of culture and history. The trees in this wild space are habitat for potentially dangerous animals and countless *non*-human beings. They are thorny saplings and majestic shade trees, diverse in size and shape; some have hefty trunks and upward reaching branches; others are decaying or broken in half by elephants. Many trees hold nests or enormous spider webs, and some are heavy under the weight of fruit and flower. They are integral and ecologically vital ingredients of the wild, but they are culturally inconsequential, set in the backdrop, lost in space. Trees in, near and along the way to the lowveld woodland that comprises the Makandezulu region are indeed trees in space. In contrast to my imagined scenario, however, these trees inhabit and generate a politically organized space that is Maluleke territory.

Travelling through what they perceive should be an environment devoid of human intervention and culture, the tourists in my imagined, but not improbable, scenario seek to encounter *wilderness space* rather than *cultural place*. They are interacting with a wilderness

myth which is derived from the notion of a duality between nature and culture (Adams and McShane 1992; Gomez-Pompa and Kraus 1992; Cronon 1995). The perception that the LNP is a wild space implies that it is outside of, apart from culture, and in a condition that preceded human intervention. This perceptions is echoed in the idea of a duality between space and place. As nature is thought to precede culture, space is presumed to be primordial to place. Space is "a neutral, pre-given medium, a tabula rasa onto which the particularities of culture and history come to be inscribed, with place, as the presumed result" (Casey 1996: 14). Like wilderness, space is "elsewhere" - "the place to which the traveler goes to find something dangerous and sacred" (Haraway 1989: 137).

The tourists I have envisioned here are "straw" men and women. That is, I have imagined characters with essentialized qualities and set them up to be readily challenged. In truth, I do not know what tourists are thinking when they drive through the homesteads, fields, and forests that make up the LNP villages. However my imaginings may not be too far-fetched given that a predominant objective of park implementation, as stated in the *Limpopo National Park Management and Development Plan*, is "to maintain the current 'wilderness' (in the sense of natural or near-natural, largely un-transformed) character of LNP". This objective is furthered by propaganda that sells conservation areas in southern Africa as "wilderness" areas despite their cultural legacies and operationalized in the efforts to replace residents with tourists, villages with lodges, footpaths with 4x4 trails, and agricultural fields with wildlife vistas.

In Chapter One, I introduced two underlying assumptions that have informed and shaped my interpretation of the political ecology of access and mobility in Makandezulu. First,

perceptions of space and more specifically human-environment relationships in the Makandezulu region as they are imagined by external or non-resident groups are different than the way in which they are perceived by Makandezulu residents. Second, these competing ways of seeing have serious displacement consequences for local residents (Lefebvre 1991; Neumann 1995; Basso 1996). One of the underlying goals of this dissertation, therefore, is to make the political components of human-environment relations visible where they risk being obscured by conservation implementation and the pursuit of a wilderness ethic, among other ways of seeing this landscape.

In this and the following chapters, I temporarily set aside my interest in displacement and mobility to focus on resident access and control within the Makandezulu region. Examining the political ecology of access in Makandezulu entails 1) differentiating between access and control and 2) identifying the multiple means through which residents establish and articulate access and control. It also entails a fair amount of translation. In this chapter, I translate between a) external and residents conceptions of territory in the region, and in Chapter Five, between b) the customary rules and everyday practices that convey access and control. I achieve these objectives by comparing two views of the way in which space is politically organized in Makandezulu, by lineage and by niche. Analytically, this comparison enables me to illustrate the relationships between what Soja (1971) termed the 'political organization of space' and the mechanisms through which residents establish access and control.

"Seeing like a State"

"No administrative system is capable of representing any existing social community except through a heroic and greatly schematized process of abstraction and simplification. It is not simply a question of capacity....It is also a question of purpose." (Scott 1998: 22)

Since the 1960s anthropological scholarship has argued that the essential problem in African land tenure is understanding not how people relate to land but rather how people relate to one another and then how these social relationships play out on the environment (Bohannon 1963; Shipton 1994). Indeed, throughout contemporary southern Africa, people's access to resources is mitigated through a variety of social institutions including but not limited to national law - like kinship, marriage, labor, first arrival, identity, and custom (Berry 1989a; Berry 1993; Shipton and Goheen 1992; Ribot and Peluso 2003; Colson 1971; Kopytoff 1987). These relations and institutions might be formalized as rights-based mechanisms or they may be informal, structural or relational mechanisms (Ribot and Peluso 2003). Whereas rights-based mechanisms for gaining benefit from resources are sanctioned by law, custom, or convention and generally enforced through state or community governance (Ribot and Peluso 2003: 161-162), examples of structural and relational mechanisms include but are not limited to: access to technology, capital, markets, labor and/or labor opportunities, knowledge, authority, self-identity, and the ability to navigate other social relations (Ribot and Peluso 2003). Distinguishing and translating between those mechanisms which are recognized by law and all the means through which people gain benefits from resources is central to the framing of this dissertation, because none of the means, practices, rules, and norms for establishing

access and control described herein are officially recognized as legitimate claims to land and resources by the Mozambican state.

This tension between state and customary ways of seeing land and accessing resources in Mozambique has a well-established history. Throughout colonial Africa, customary relations to land were neglected and obscured by European conceptions of tenure, space, and human-environment relations (Colson 1969; Okoth-Ogendo 1989; Scott 1998; Hughes 2006).

Bohannon (1963: 102) explained that in western culture, "land- whatever else it may also be- is a measurable entity", a thing that can be held and easily traded as a commodity (see also Colson 1969; Bruce *et al.* 1993). By contrast in pre-colonial Africa societies, land - whatever else it may have been - was not owned in the sense of private property (Colson 1971). Instead, there are "rights and duties of use, transfer and administration; of access, occupation, and reversionary control" that "combine in ways that tend to differ from property and ownership" (Shipton 1994: 349). Bohannon (1963) articulated the difference in these approaches in terms of man-man and man-land units (*sic*) and argued that by privileging the latter relationship, scholars had failed to recognize the importance of the former in Africa.

Such oversight was due in large part because tenure scholarship was dominated by western concepts of land (Bohannon 1963; Bruce 2000). Shipton and Goheen (1992: 313) described the problem of terminology and translation between colonial European and rural African conceptions of land and access with the following:

The most basic English terms like 'ownership', 'property', and 'tenure' generally do not translate neatly into most African languages, and do not neatly reflect rural African ways of think about land. They neglect over-lapping and contingent rights or duties of

different persons and groups, and they ignore temporary rights that arise from seasonal oscillations between private and collective access.

The problem extended to French, Portuguese, and Italian (Shipton and Goheen 1992: 313-314).

Wilderness is a relatively new way of seeing the Mozambican side of the Great Limpopo region. As discussed in Chapter Six, Portuguese colonialists saw the Portuguese East African side of the Great Limpopo region as part of a labor reserve for South Africa. For FRELIMO the region was a place for the development of a new integrated citizenry (Lunstrum 2007). For, RENAMO, on the other hand, the Mozambican side of the Great Limpopo region was a place to institute violence in order to undermine state sovereignty and the new citizenry (Lunstrum 2009). The current, post-colonial way of seeing the region is, of course, as national and transfrontier conservation territory. If most of these disparate ways of seeing did not focus on the production of nature, they a) did produce, politically organize, and territorialize space so as to derive access and control and b) displace Makandezulu, among other LNP resident, ways of seeing land. Additionally, each of these diverse ways of seeing land has found legitimacy in the state law.

The idea of safeguarding land in the hands of the state for the benefit of the population has been central to colonial, independence, and post-independence Mozambican land law (Tanner 2002: 6). Colonial land laws recognized African control over rural farms and villages, based on the assumption that vast stretches of land in Portuguese East Africa were free and unoccupied, as will be illustrated in Chapter Six, the state allocated large areas of land to colonists and investors. (Tanner 2002) In post-independence Mozambique, FRELIMO sought to bolster economic development and secure their independence by consolidating all land in the

hands of the state (Lunstrum 2007; Tanner 2002). Following the Civil War, as the government struggled to repatriate thousands of refugees, land was still officially managed according to the 1979 (Tanner 2002). "Land could not be bought, sold, rented or mortgaged. There was therefore no legal land market" (Tanner 2002: 10-11). In practice, however, large areas of land, considered unoccupied, were being consolidated by outside investors (Myers 1994; Tanner 2002). Resulting from "a curious mix of socialist principles and capitalist supply-and-demand," the 1997 Land Law maintained State ownership, all the while recognizing customary resource tenure and promoting private investment (Tanner 2002: 10; Lunstrum 2008).

The current way of seeing the Mozambican side of the Great Limpopo region is also legitimized by current Mozambican law. According to the draft Resettlement Action Plan (RAP) for Nanguene village whose population was resettled from the LNP in 2008, the Land Law does not allow "rights to use and occupy land in total protections" like the LNP, though special licenses can be acquired for specific activities...."It is thus not clear from the legislation what should happen to people who are living in an area which is declared a total protection zone and how their existing land tenure rights are affected" (MITUR 2007: 24). Nonetheless, echoing findings of Schmidt-Soltau and Brockington 2007: 2184) when pressed on the issue, conservation employees legitimized the resettlement with reference to the land law. In other words, the potential of the 1997 Land Law to recognize and secure customary resource regimes appears to effectively end at park boundaries Lunstrum (2008). As a result, the ostensibly progressive Land Law which seeks to recognize customary claims has actually codified or made official a lack of recognition of the rules, norms and practices that comprise tenure systems in particular spaces (Lunstrum 2008; see also Peluso and Vandergeest 2001).

Conservation Mapping

Perhaps the most effective way in which the relatively new wilderness ethic has been translated into a way of seeing land and resources in the LNP is through conservation mapping. Pointing out that "maps stimulate desires- for territory, for natural resources, for real estate, even for conservation", Soule and Terborgh (1999: 13) encouraged conservationists to start mapping and in particular to produce maps that "promise a social good: the benefits of wilderness and nature protection" (1999: 14). A decade later conservationists appear to have realized the power and utility of maps for conservation planning and investment (Harris and Hazen 2006). Maps and GIS have become increasingly powerful tools for the planning and implementation of conservation areas particularly with the shift towards conservation at larger scales (Soule and Terborgh 1999; Harris and Hazen 2006; Olson *et al.* 2001).

There are few better examples of this trend than in the development Great Limpopo Transfronter Park and Conservation Area. Much of this conservation cartography has been undertaken by or in collaboration with or drawing from the materials of the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF)¹⁵. For example, the map in Figure 4.1 is a product of a preliminary study of the transfrontier conservation conducted in 1991 by Tinley and Van Riet, who is now CEO of the PPF.

¹⁵ Case in point, the mapping materials for the majority of the mapping and GIS undertaken in this dissertation were provided by the Peace Parks Foundation. As mentioned in Chapter Two, conservation cartographers from the PPF also contributed to my GIS education at the South African Wildlife College in Hoedspruit.

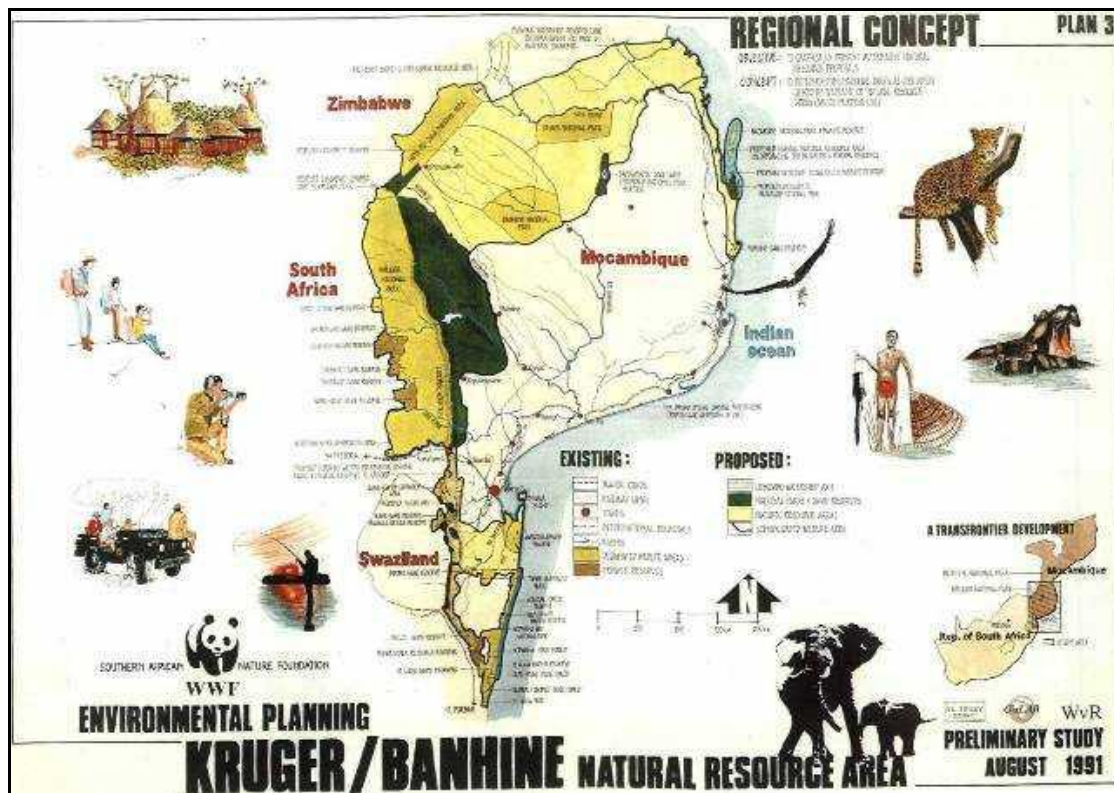


Figure 4.1: First Map of Transfrontier Conservation in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier region
(Source: www.peaceparks.org)

More recently, maps have been used: to collect and transmit basic geophysical and socio-economic data (Holden 2001); to identify landscapes and plant biodiversity (Stallmans et al. 2004), to plan tourism investments (Spenceley 2006); to track the movement of elephants and disease and the related task of maintaining fences (Grant et al.); for zoning and boundary negotiation (cite report) as well as to devise the resettlement program.

Maps have also been crucial for garnering support for conservation. As explained by one conservation cartographer from the Peace Parks Foundation, in the context of initial meetings at least, maps have all but replaced management plans in their ability to negotiate and render support for the idea of transfrontier conservation (Beech, personal communication

May 2007). These maps, however, have been "quite silent" on the communities living in and near the LNP (Spierenburg and Wells 2006: 294). As a result, the extensive mapping that has gone on the LNP has appeared to promote conservation aspirations more so than appropriately evaluate current systems of resource management.

PPF maps include the location and place names of villages within the park, some with very great detail¹⁶. However, these cartographic representations have been limited in their ability to adequately depict the diverse human experiences of the landscapes they represent including local access regimes and the history of claims in the region (see Harris et al. 1995; Pickles 1995; Rochelau 2006). In part this is a technical problem. Modern mapping techniques provide "snapshots" of the land that often lack rigorous ground-truthing (Turner 2003; Goodchild 1996). Maps are models of space, and, of necessity, models isolate spatial and temporal scales so that patterns can be observed (Turner 1989). As a result, there is a privileging of form over process (Ingold 1993; Cosgrove 1985). While improvements in technology such as the development of Digital Elevation Models (DEM) are beginning to address these problems, mapping the diversity of customary resource claims still means using "... (blunt) tools to frame the indefinite complexity of local places and peoples on the planet within a two-dimensional global grid of property rights and political authority" (Rocheleau 2005).

¹⁶ The basemap I use in Figure 3.2 of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (gltp_plain_a1, 07_04_2006) is a prime example. It includes great detail on local place names and has been a tremendous resource not only in spatially representing my data but also in locating important places referenced in oral history interviews.

Viewing the limitations of maps as only a technical problem, however, undermines mapping as a “form of knowledge production and management” (Pickles 1995: 22), leading to a sense of what Brosius (2006) referred to as “cartographic naturalism” in which contested ways of seeing spaces and determining zones and boundaries become normalized and fixed (Harris and Hazen 2006). In the disconnects between local practices and representations, there is a relationship between the technical and the political that must be acknowledged (Brosius and Russell 2003; Velásquez Runk *forthcoming*). Maps are not neutral representations of space, instead they represent particular visions and decisions, while rendering others' invisible (Hazen and Harris 2006; Brosius 2006). In this capacity they have been important tools for recreating and reterritorializing space in the Great Limpopo region. In the words of Scott (1998: 3), these spatial representations are “rather like abridged maps” that “when allied with state power”- in this case the Mozambican Land Law- “enable much of the reality they [depict] to be remade” (Scott 1998: 3).

In conservation cartography, the desire to locate people’s claims on maps has most often surpassed the need to represent tenure regimes (see Walker and Peters 2001; Fox 2002). These locations are then assessed for the potential damage they may cause to the resource base or the impediments they may present to tourism development, and not assessed as points of departure for understanding customary means of relating to the environment (Brosius and Russell 2003). In the LNP, such assessment directly corresponds to the decision to resettle people from the park while bringing in other types of people whose own resource use is not necessarily more sustainable, just more compatible with the conventional vision of doing tourism in Africa.

While wilderness is not explicit in the stated objectives of the PPF, it is implied on PPF maps, GIS, and posters. For example, the map illustrated in Figure 4.2 illustrates the zoning of the park into Tourism, Natural and Buffer Zones while the poster in Figure 4.3 The poster included in Figure 4.3 depicts a proposed 4x4 eco-trail in the LNP. The Shingwedzi watershed villages location in the tourist zone corresponds to their resettlement to the buffer zone.

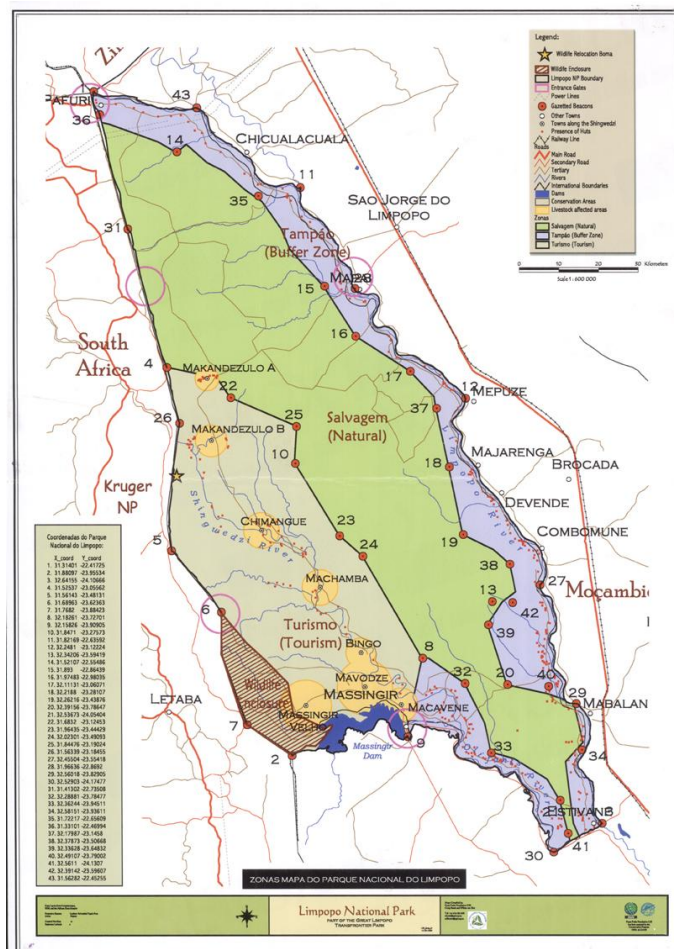


Figure 4.2: Map of Conservation Zoning in the Limpopo National Park
 (Source: PPF)

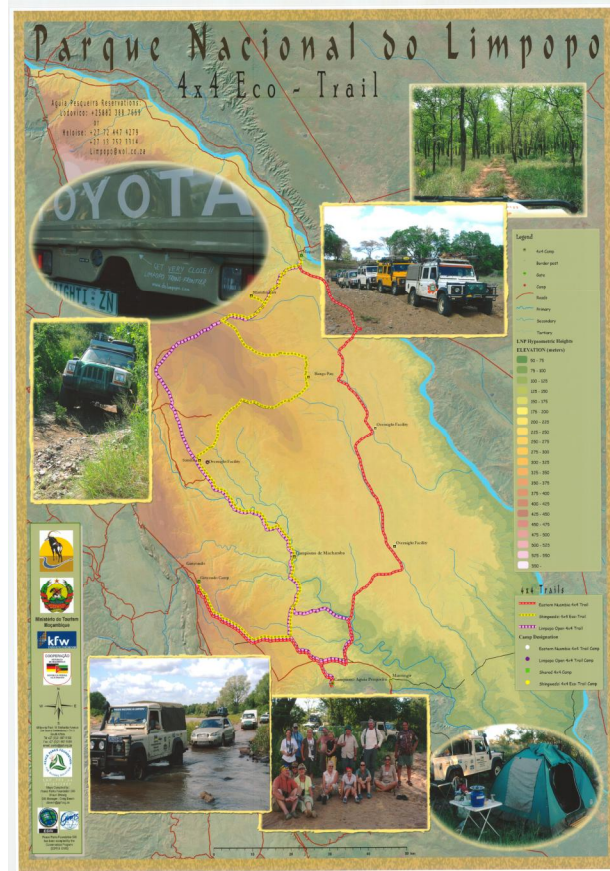


Figure 4.3: Map of the 4x4 Eco-Trail in the Limpopo National Park
(Source: PPF)

In the 4x4 poster, villages have been replaced by images of safari. Tourism and wilderness are particular visions of economic development and landscape conversion, which directly displaces resident ways of seeing land and politically organizing space.

Membership in the group

A counter-narrative to the one I fashioned to introduce this chapter, which describes the LNP landscape not as wilderness but instead as Maluleke territory, was provided in the histories of settlement described in the previous chapter. Indeed if the wilderness narrative is supported by modern State mechanisms for territory-making like mapping and state law, Maluleke ways of seeing are grounded in membership in the group.

In support of the notion that social relations determine resource access and control, scholarship has shown that the predominant means to negotiating social relations and thereby gaining resource access in southern Africa is through group membership and its implicit counterpart self-identity (Berry 1989b; Shipton and Goheen 2002, Ribot and Peluso 2003). Identifying with a group cultivates a "sense of belonging" which, in turn, infers a "sense of entitlement" to resources (Hammar 2002: 228). So important are these interrelated components to establishing access to resources in southern Africa that "in so far as resource access hinges on social identity or group membership, identity and membership are themselves resources" (Berry 1989a: 2). As I argue in Chapter Five, however, membership in the group is not the only way of doing access and control in Makandezulu. Instead membership in the group describes what Peluso (1992, 1996) termed the "ethic of access" in Makandezulu; it provides both an overarching framework for understanding and a common thread for linking the multiple means through which Makandezulu residents of establishing access and control.

While many types of groups define rural African societies - including, for example, village wards and neighborhoods, domestic compounds, cooking groups, and work groups -

scholarship on social organization and resource tenure in Africa has primarily focused on two groups or levels, the lineage and the homestead (Guyer 1981: Shipton and Goheen 1992: 310). Whereas "the lineage" implies a political collectivity in authority, ownership, and representation, "the household" implies a domestic unit with decision-making autonomy about production and consumption" (Guyer 1981: 89). The lineage view of African social organization has been adopted predominantly by anthropologists and stresses the importance of particular interrelationships, for example whether a society is patrilineal or matrilineal and how this influences tenure (Guyer 1981). By contrast, economic approaches to resource management have tended to highlight individual contributions to household production and to compare these across and within villages, towns, cities, and nations (Guyer 1981).

These contrasting views have enabled scholars to illustrate different configurations of resource tenure, for example, access to forests held in common by a village versus fields controlled by a family or an individual. However, studies that have limited their analysis to a narrow view of the lineage and the household have been critiqued for disguising more than they illuminate about people and "the variability in ways things get done" (Guyer 1981: 89). For at least three reasons, a focus on lineage and/or household provides too narrow a framework to capture the variety of tenure configurations that comprise many non modern non State territories including Maluleke territory. First, a variety of different groups manage resources in common including, for example, homesteads, villages, clans, districts, states, and organizations (Schlager and Ostrom 1992). Groups can also organize according to age, gender, ethnicity, religion, profession, birthplace, and educational background (Ribot and Peluso 2003: 170-171).

Second, these and other terms - village, lineage, household, and family (as well as clan,

ancestors, and descendents for example) - are problematic, because none indicate a neatly bounded container of social relationships (Guyer 1981). This involves a problem of translation, as "terms for groups like 'villages' and 'households' by themselves seldom accurately describe indigenous units of production and consumption" (Shipton and Goheen 1992: 310). Third, in addition to the people who move in and out of households and villages, scholarship has shown how markets, labor, media, and technology also influence and determine access to resources (Pigg 1992; Moore 1998; Gupta and Ferguson 1992; and Appadurai 1991). In this chapter, my analysis of the political ecology of resource access in Makandezulu focuses on members on the authority of male lineage authorities, in other words, Maluleke men. In Chapter Five, I shift the focus to include all adult members of the tiko, male and female.

In Chapter Three, I argued that when Maluleke ancestors settled the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions, they took their territory with them when they moved through the combined mechanisms of a) broadcasting power over people b) war and incorporation, and c) fissure and mobility. Each of these strategies were undertaken by male lineage authorities who were born into the tiko they led and each relates to membership in the group. Indeed, while group membership can be gained through a variety of mechanisms including fostering, capture, and purchase (Berry 1989b: 41-42), in contemporary Makandezulu there are three predominant ways in which people join the tiko: birth, marriage, or permission from the chief.

The role of birth in determining access and control was introduced in the previous chapter and is predominant factor motivating me to describe the political organization of space in Maluleke territory as a lineage landscape. Lineage descendents (Figure 3.2) have privileged

access to the ancestors who provide them with the authority to hold resource control. The most common means through which outsiders gain membership is through marriage. In Makandezulu, marriage confers adulthood, status in the community, and tenure. Customarily, it is not until they marry, that men and women start their own homesteads and fields. Marriage, therefore, can be viewed a mechanism through which both men and women are assured land within the patrilineal system of territorial control (Gegenbach 1998). Other outsiders gain membership to it by seeking permission from the chief. By gaining permission outsiders are also "placing themselves under the protection and authority of its leaders" (Berry 1989b: 41-42). By gaining membership in and identifying with the "land- holding" group, people obtain the rights, privileges and authority of that group to access land and resources (Berry 1989b: 41-42; Shipton and Goheen 2002). After joining the group, people maintain their status by respecting the rules and norms of the village or household, often referred to as the ways of the ancestors.

As an ethic of access, there are two underlying premises of membership in the group. The first is that all members of the tiko, by sheer virtue of their membership, have access to resources in the village and, as a related point, that access remains substantial to meet the needs of their family. The second premise is that despite this sense of equity, unlike marriage and permission from the chief, being born of the lineage and being born male conveys not only resource access but also resource control. The tensions between these principles are evident in an analysis of resident responses to the question: *Is it harder to get fields here if you are not born here?* I posed this question to 38 Makandezulu A and Makandezulu B residents in the context of an in-depth standardized questionnaire I conducted in April 2007. In my analysis I

differentiated between male and female, Maluleke and non-Maluleke responses. However, there was not a significant difference in the way in which men and women, non-Maluleke and Maluleke thought about this issue.

In response, 82% of residents (n=38) indicated that getting access to fields in Makandezulu was not harder for those not born of the tiko¹⁷. Not only did the majority of residents indicate that getting access to fields was not harder for outsiders, most residents addressed my question by emphasizing the ease through which fields in Makandezulu are acquired. Many residents explained that one need only plough (130 female Nkuna; 115 male Maluleke) to gain fields. Less often, residents explained that one need only seek permission from the chief to gain fields (122 male Maluleke; 132 male Chivambo).

Still others explained the ease of getting fields in terms of the equality that characterized village life and the willingness with which newcomers are received. One woman emoted the sense of equality that characterizes resource access in Makandezulu by responding, "How can it be harder? You are received!" (128 female Chugwane). These responses denoting both equity and inclusivity, resonate with a common theme in anthropological scholarship on African resource tenure described by Shipton (1994: 350) described as "fairness in flexibility" - the ideals that "access to land should go to those who need and can use it, and no one should starve for special want of it, at least not within a group whose members consider themselves the same people".

¹⁷ 11% indicated that getting fields was harder for those not born of the tiko and 8% indicated that they did not know.

As illustrated in table 4.1, immediately following this initial emphasis on ease and equality, however, most residents moved on to explain that there was a difference in tenure between those who are natural to the tiko and those who are not. In table 4.1, I have included those responses in which the contrasts between a) field and land ownership and b) an initial sense of equality and a follow-up sense of hierarchy are most evident. However, such differentiation was not atypical. In fact, after describing the ease and equity through which all members of the tiko gain fields, the majority of these residents moved on to point out that only those who are natural to the village were actual "owners of the land".

Table 4.1: Excerpt from Makandezulu residents' responses to the question, *Is it harder to get fields here if you are not born here?*

Interview A	Interview B	Interview C	Interview D
Question 1: <i>Is it harder to get fields here if you are not born here?</i>			
"Getting land to use the soil, you can do, but to be the owner, you have to be natural"	"It is very easy (to get fields here) because when you arrive here, you go straight to the land where you want to stay and after that, you open the field. Being acceptable to stay there (however) doesn't mean you have a voice. Those who are natural here have the voice"	"No, you just need to plough."	"When I open a homestead, it is mine. When I open a field, it is mine."
		Question 2: <i>Do you own the land in the same way?</i>	
		"If they (the owners here) show you a place it is yours for a field but the land is not yours because it's owned by those who are born here. Everything that you cultivate is yours but the land is not yours.."	" It is not the same. You are a stranger and there is nothing you can say about the land and the ceremonies, you will not do your own ceremonies."
		Question 3: <i>What about you, do you own the land?</i>	
		"No, I do not make decisions about the land. The land is theirs because they are the first to be here." (Interviewee	

The excerpts above point to an important difference between access or the ability to derive benefits from things and control or having decision-making power over other's access (Ribot and Peluso 2003; see also Berry 1989a). They also illuminate the role of social *relations* in determining access and social *authority* in determining resource control. In other words,

within the group there are hierarchies; particular members may have privileged access to power; and higher status and authority within the group corresponds to increasing levels of resource control (Bruce 1998; Berry 1989a). As Ribot and Peluso succinctly put it, some people (and institutions) "control resource access while others must maintain their access through those who have control" (Ribot and Peluso 2003: 154). While advances in status are based on a variety of characteristics, for example, seniority, gender, place and order of birth, number of children (Berry 1989b: 41-42), in Maluleke territory, being born of the lineage (and being born male) indicates that one is on their way to securing resource control.

The Resource Controllers: "All of us, we are coming from Guyu"

Preceding my initial visit to the Makandezulu region in July 2003, I had guessed that Makandezulu A and Makandezulu B were related in ways beyond mere geographic proximity. Based on their names, this required no great leap of faith. The labels "A" and "B" were inorganic, but provocative nonetheless. Initially, I perceived these names to imply that somewhere along the way there had been a division between the villages. During my short stint of preliminary research, I learned that the villages had acquired these names during a National Villagization scheme. In the 1970s Mozambique's independence government, FRELIMO, had instituted villagization projects throughout the country to stimulate the nation's economy and its food supply. "Makandezulu" residents, therefore, had acquired not only new village names, but also new village sites. In 2006, I would come to understand that the split I initially suspected from the naming of the villages A and B turned to be instead, a consolidation of

hamlets throughout the region into two villages. This followed an unsuccessful attempt to meld the population into one village.

In Chapter Three, I illustrated how during the 18th and 19th centuries Maluleke settlement spread throughout the Great Limpopo Region from Mabalane north to Mapai, Xikarhi and Nyandweni and west through what had been Venda territory to present-day Goyani. In recognition of the extent and legacy of Maluleke territory throughout the Great Limpopo Region, one oral historian boasted, "All of us, we are coming from Guyu". Be that as it may, resource control in each locality is not equally available to all descendents of Guyu. Instead the way in which Maluleke resource control is spatially organized in the Great Limpopo region reflects fissures in the line of Guyu. From his residence in Nyandweni (Figure 3.3), Guyu sent the descendents of Xololo led by Maxavele to settle Wazulu and Gazinga among other hamlets while, in a parallel fashion, the descendents of Miyamissi led by Ngatsone resided in Xipelwine, Nwentini, Zandza, and Gazon (also known as Ximzwine). The former places of residence in Figure 4. 4 are where much of the history described in this dissertation actually took place.

Contemporary with the time when the descendents of Xololo and Miyamissi were sent to settle the Makandezulu region, Xihimo extended Maluleke resource control in the region of Mapai. Therefore, as residents of Makandezulu A justify their resource control according to their descendancy from Xololo and Maxavele and those in B justify theirs with reference to Miyamissi and Ngatsone (Figure 4.5), residents of the larger tiko of Mapai access their authority through their descendancy from Xihimo.

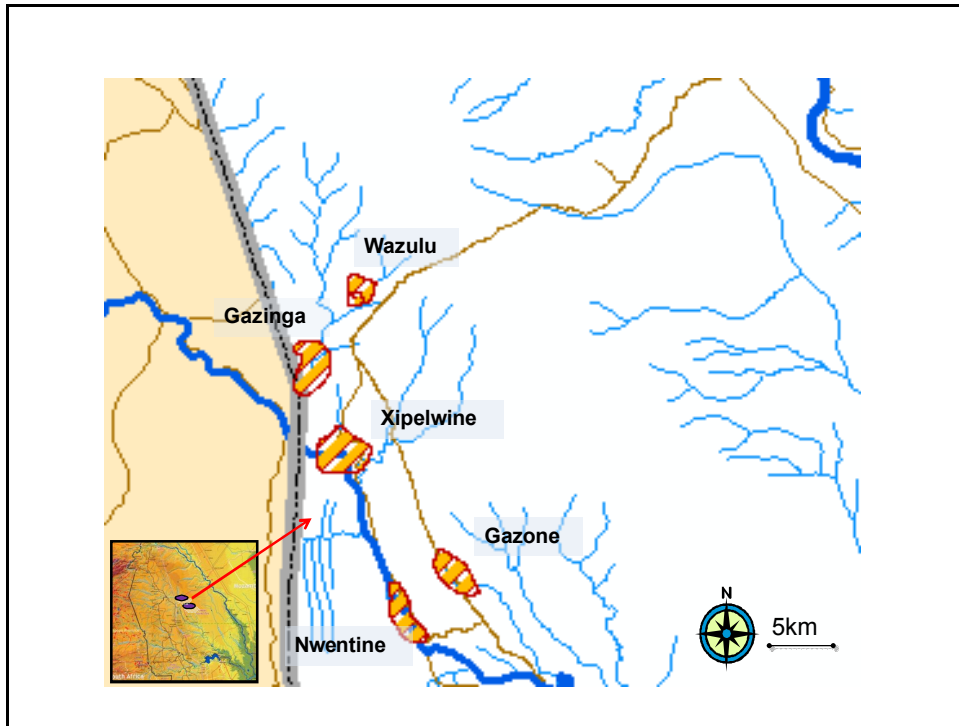


Figure 4.4: Early clusters of Maluleke settlement in the Makandezulu region

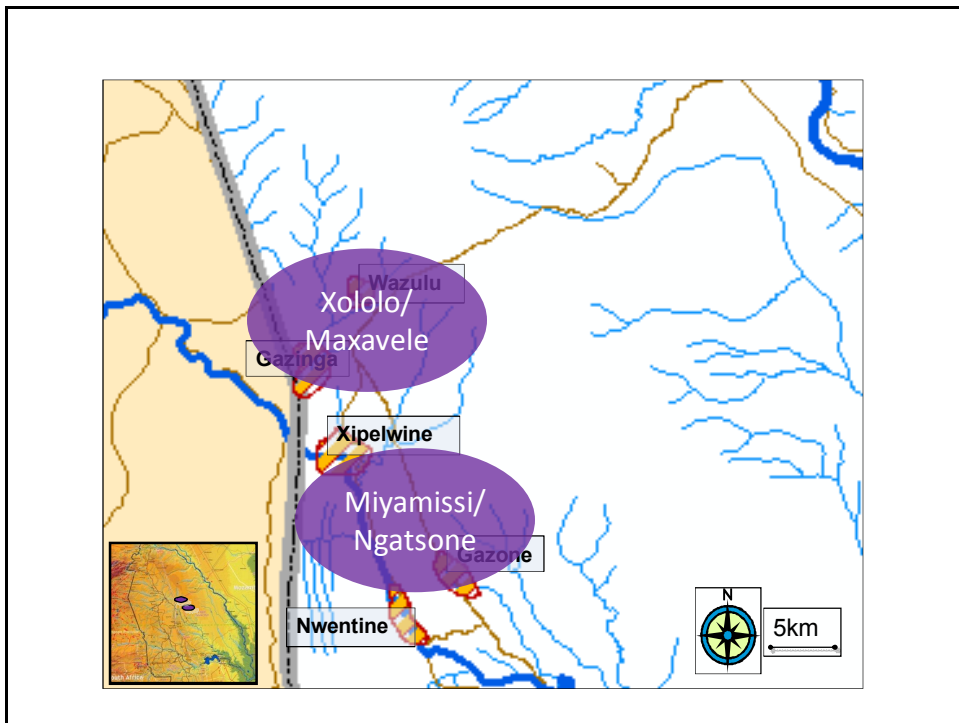


Figure 4.5: Association between early settlement sites and two lines of Maluleke ancestors

Because direct descent from these ancestors determines who are (and, perhaps more importantly who are not) the resource controllers in each tiko, these linkages to the past enable some Makandezulu residents to legitimize their control over the resources in the present and the future.

Following the post-independence events of villagization and Civil War, which will be discussed in Chapter Seven, the populations of Wazulu, Gazinga, and the other hamlets settled Makandezulu A while those of Xipelwine, Nwentini, Zandza, and Gazona, among other localities settled by the line of Miyamissi and Ngatsone gathered in the present-day site of Makandezulu B. To some extent then, villagization only sharpened the distinctions between these lineages. Today, the descendants of each Guyu line represented in Figure 4.6 - Miyamissi, Xololo, and Xihimo - have privileged access to the ancestors who provide them with the requisite authority to be owners of land in each respective tiko Makandezulu B, Makandezulu A, and Mapai.

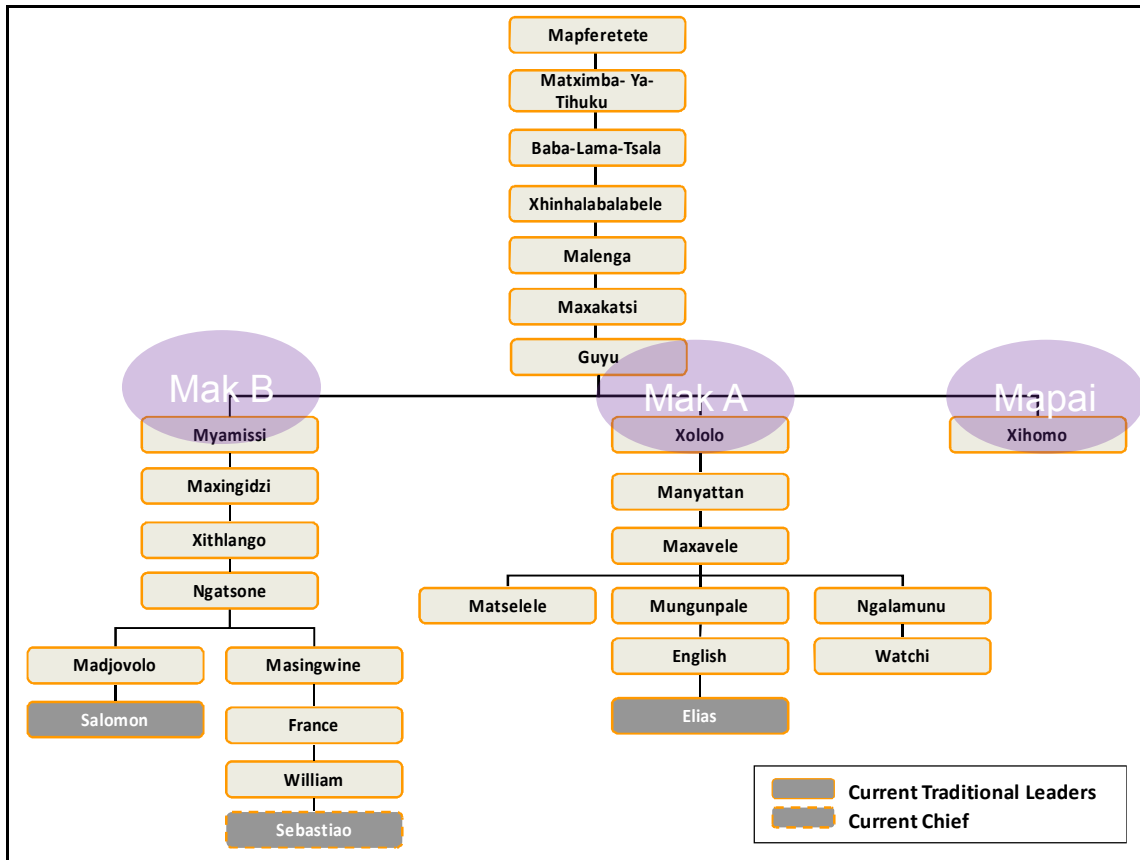


Figure 4.6: How fissures in the line of Guyu correspond to present-day villages

Among their descendents, all of whom are considered male lineage authorities, four men stand out because of their roles as recognized leaders. In Makandezulu A, the *hosi ya misava* or land chief is Elias English Maluleke who descends from the line of Xololo, Manyattan, and Maxavele, and in Makandezulu B, there is Salomon Madjovolo Maluleke, who descends from the line of Miyamissi, Masvingidzi, and Ngatsone. Additionally, there is Sebastião William Maluleke who was elected chief in 2002. Importantly, Sebastião William Maluleke of Makandezulu B is also a descendent of the Miyamissi and Ngatsone line; therefore, in addition to being elected he is of the lineage that would traditionally convey resource control in Makandezulu B. For its part, the region of Mapai is led by Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke or Chief

Mapai who descends from Xihimo. Like Sebastião, Rodriguez was both elected and is of the lineage of Xihimo which conveys resource control in Mapai.

While all may be coming from Guyu, in some respects, the members of these lineages make up three sovereignties wherein leaders sometimes vie for resource control and power is contested. For example, that Xihimo's descendents are now geographically associated with political resource control or being "the owners of the tiko" in Mapai while is historically contested, especially because if residents are resettled from the park they will move to Salane. In particular, some Makandezulu A residents have undermined legitimacy of Xololo as a rightful heir to the Maluleke crown. With reference to the contested relationship between Xihimo and Xololo, one oral historian from Makandezulu A offered the following:

Guyu married the younger of two sisters. The eldest sister was married into another home, but, after some time, she ran away from that home and joined the homestead of Guyu and her younger sister. When the elder sister arrived, she was already pregnant with Xihimo. Guyu received her as the sister of his wife, and he married her. When Xihimo was born, he was called with the Maluleke name", because he grew up in Guyu's home. His father, however, was not a Maluleke (November 15, 2006).

By undermining the legitimacy of Xihimo as a biological son of Guyu, this account undermines the legitimacy of the descendents of Xihimo as resource controllers in Mapai. It also positions the lineage of Xololo to assume, what the teller assumes to be, its rightful resource control. When I questioned Chief Mapai about this account, he countered that his ancestor, Xihimo, *was* the legitimate son of Guyu. He went on to discredit the line of Xololo in much the same way as my informant from Makandezulu A had discredited the line of Xihimo (and thus of the Mapai lineage).

As between the descendents of Xololo (Makandezulu A) and Xihimo (Mapai), power legacies between Xololo (Makandezulu A) and Miyamissi (Makandezulu B) were also contested. Back in 2003, through brief and introductory discussions with park management, I became aware, if vaguely so, of a sense of inequality in leadership between the two villages, with the leadership in Makandezulu B having more power than the leader in A, at least so far as park managers were concerned. By my first trip back to the Makandezulu region in 2006, my perception of inequality between the leadership in A and B intensified. Upon first returning to the LNP in 2006, having not yet made back to the Makandezulu region, I came to understand that, unlike all the other Shingwedzi Watershed villages facing resettlement Makandezulu A did not appear to have representation at park resettlement meetings. Instead the leader of B, Sebastião William Maluleke, was representing both villages of park and other governmental meetings.

That one leader now represented what I had assumed to be two villages reflected a change with respect to how the park had conceived the Makandezulu villages previously. For example, in 2002, following the establishment of the LNP, representatives from an NGO forum¹⁸ - hosted a series of meetings involving members of the 51 villages that would be most affected by park implementation (Nhalidade 2002; DeMotts 2005). By the end of these meetings, each village, including Makandezulu A, had elected village committees responsible for information dissemination (Nhalidade 2002).

¹⁸ The forum was charged with 1) informing communities about the park, 2) mobilizing community participation in park management, and 3) initiating information dissemination. This forum has since been disbanded (Nhalidade 2002; DeMotts 2005).

In 2006, my perception that Makandezulu A had lost representation at park meetings was only partly accurate. As far as the park was concerned, there was one leader for both villages, and this was Sebastião William Maluleke of Makandezulu B. Although the traditional leadership position is becoming increasingly legitimized by State governance structures, it is this latter position that affords Sebastião formal recognition by the national, provincial and of late, park authorities. Makandezulu A does not have an elected FRELIMO representative at the same level of power as Sebastião. To make matters worse, since the war, Makandezulu A's population has dwindled so low as to disqualify it from such infrastructure as a health center or a school. While the villages have more that unifies them than tears them apart, in the context of conservation-related resettlement when decision-making and future aspirations rest to some extent on who both residents and external actors perceive as the rightful decision-making authority, appeals to fissures in the lineage may take on new and renewed import and meaning.

Throughout the majority of my time in Makandezulu, I remained unsure as to exact relationship between the complex genealogies of settlement- presented in a highly condensed form herein- and the means through which residents gained access to resource when they moved. I felt assured, however, that my effort to meticulously record, and later try to piece these stories together, would enable me to represent a history that was extremely important to those I interviewed as well as help me to better understand the social fabric of the LNP landscape- both of which were important sub-components of my dissertation research objectives. Therefore, upon hearing the extensive and sometimes conflicting accounts of Maluleke settlement in the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions, I often worried with the

details. Like Moore (2005: 274), I sought "to reveal the smoking gun of social facts". In particular, I aimed to locate particular mobility events in discrete time and space, and grasped to figure out precisely how the stories' main characters were genealogically linked to the very story-tellers who shared these accounts with me.

These accounts illustrate Shipton's (1994: 350) observation that when resources are contested "In almost any part of agrarian tropical Africa, those who arrive first think themselves superior to latecomers. What matters is who, among the living, can persuade others to think their ancestors pioneered a place". Narratives, memories, and imaginings of places are political representations that shape people's expectations about their surroundings including how these surroundings should be managed and accessed (Basso 1996; Kahn 1996; Sivaramakrishnan 1999; Moore 1998; Nazarea *et al.* 2006). Stories of the past are contested, not only in the sense that the details are disagreed upon but also in the sense that they provide ideals from which day-to-day actions can be compared (Fortmann 1995). Such sensing of place is also appropriation of space (Basso 1996: 83).

While my urge for ethnographic precision initially clouded my ability to see it, I eventually came to realize that the objective of these histories was *not only* for residents to reveal the rightful heir to the territory, nor was the point of my analysis for me to discover the most authentic lineage (see also Moore 2005). Instead, local historians were showing me what it was I was asking: 1) how in the pre-colonial period Maluleke ancestors took their territory with them when they moved; 2) how Maluleke territory works in the present (and in particular the important distinction between those that have access and those that have control) and

even 3) the question of why, in context of conservation related resettlement, residents do not anticipate taking their territory with them when they go.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to make the mechanisms that define Maluleke territory visible where they are obscured by the pursuit of wilderness, evident, not only in the plan to resettle residents from park but also, in the maps and GIS that represent the park to conservation managers and donors and legitimized by Mozambican law. Membership in the group is grounded in the principle that, as people and not land comprise the most important components of territory (Chapter Three), social relationships are the dominant means through which territory is lost, gained, extended and maintained (Berry 1989a; Shipton and Goheen 1992). In this chapter, my view of the Makandezulu region as foregrounded the argument that while membership in the group conveys resource access to all members of Makandezulu A and B, status within the group conveys resource control to descendants of Maxavele in Makandezulu A and Ngastone in Makandezulu B. The articulations of resource access and control among Makandezulu residents that were presented in this chapter revealed not only *who* has control in Maluleke territory, but also *what* control actually means. "Land ownership" in Makandezulu is not expressed through an exclusive hold on a parcel of land and the resources contained therein (Bruce 1998), in other words, Bohannan's man-man units. Instead, land ownership conveys a high level of decision-making power on behalf of the village with respect to the way in which residents access resources. Male lineage authorities have an

advisory role and their opinions about how others manage resources carries a considerable amount of weight. In this sense, they have *village-level* resource control. However, as I illustrate in the following chapter, there are other ways of establishing and articulating control.

A focus on the historical lineages that determine resource control supports the argument put forth in this dissertation that territories, like land and property in Africa, are first and foremost social relationships, and not things (Bohannan 1963; Okoth-Ogendo 1989; Lund 2002). Be that as it may, "the materiality of the things seems to constantly butt in" (Lund 2002: 15). Territory, after all, is a *geo-political* thing; it is social, but it is also linked to a geographic location, a physical space, shifting, shrinking, expanding, and mobile as that space may be. In the LNP, the geo-spatial and biophysical or material components of Maluleke territory are particularly important in light of the significance now assigned to these features by conservationists and the State. After all, it is these geophysical characteristics, as well as the potential biodiversity, habitat, and wildlife, that now give the landscape its conservation value. In the following chapter, by assessing the Maluleke territory as a niche landscape, I highlight in addition to the social, the material components of Maluleke territory. Through an analysis of tree management practices across a variety of landuse types in Makandezulu and the day-to-day interactions with the resource base, I also illustrate that there is more than one way to establish resource control.

5.

The Niche Landscape:

The customary rules and every-day practices of resource control

In Chapter Four, the way in which being born of the lineage determined resource access and control in three different Maluleke locales - the line of Xololo maintaining resource control in what has become Makandezulu A, Miyamissi in Makandezulu B, and Xihimo in Mapai - led me to describe Maluleke territory as a lineage landscape. The lineage view of the Makandezulu region illustrated that through virtue of their membership in the group, all Makandezulu residents have access to resources in each village while those born into one of the two dominant Maluleke lineages have resource control. This is a pervasive ethic in Makandezulu is indicative of "most academic discussions of Shangaan customary land law" which "focus on the powers of the chief (*hosi*) as supreme custodian and arbiter of the collectively-owned land resources of the chiefdom (*tiko*)" as well as , male lineage authorities who are responsible for allocating land in the chief's name, male heads of households who allocate land and have ultimate decision-making over the resources controlled by the homestead (Gegenbach 1998: 10; Junod 1962; Harries 1994).

Oral history research on southern Mozambican women's shifting tenure regimes undermined and informed this pervasive discourse (Gegenbach 1998, other). "Significantly, the

themes that resonate most forcefully through women's testimony, and on which women's memories uniformly converge, sidestep the issue of male land control altogether"... focusing instead on "the daily weave and rhythm of their farming activities... through which exercise powerful influence" over land and resources (Gegenbach 1998: 14). Gegenbach's findings not only supported the notion that within the patrilineal system of resource tenure in southern Mozambique, there is a lot of flexibility and room to negotiate (Shipton and Goheen 1992), but also revealed the specific means through which rural southern Mozambican women established access to and decision-making over resources in the *tiko*. Transforming land into fields and respecting the ritual and moral authority of the elders were two particular ways through which women fostered community but also established their ownership and decision-making over resources (Gegenbach 1998). This focus on the every-day practices of establishing access and control resonated strongly with my own findings in Makandezulu. Therefore, this chapter builds from Gegenbach (1998) to illustrate how, in addition to the rules of the patriliney every-day practices also convey resource control in Makandezulu, especially among non Maluleke men and all women. I achieve this through an analysis of resident tree management practices across a variety of tenure niches. Therefore, unlike Gegenbach (1998), whose focus was oriented to fields, the focus of this chapter while inclusive of fields is predominantly oriented towards trees.

As in Chapter Four, my analysis of the political ecology of resource access in this chapter hinges on the idea of translation. Whereas in the previous chapter I translated between external and resident ways of seeing territory in the Great Limpopo region and specifically between what is recognized, or in this case is not, by State law and Maluleke claims to space

and resources, in this chapter, I focus on translating between the patrilineal rules and the every-day practices through which resource control may be achieved. In the South East Asia context, Peluso and Vandergeest (2001: 762) capitalized "Customary Rights" to highlight that these are a subset of the collection of "customary practices" that are written into state law. Though neither the rules of the patriliney or the every-day practices are recognized in this context due to their location in a total protection, I borrow this distinction here to highlight that what gets codified by anthropologists, NGOs, and local residents as a rule may be an ideal and may serve to hide the other ways in which things get done (Guyer 1981; Hugh-Jones 1979). Such a translation entails not only differentiating between codified rules and every-day practices, but also recognizing the multiple groupings of people that do access and understanding membership in the group as an "ethic of access" rather than a rule.

Why trees are good to think with

In the freelisting exercises outlined in Chapter Two, Makandezulu residents listed 120 tree species for food, healing, construction and firewood. Table 5.1 illustrates the 21 most salient tree species^{19, 20}.

¹⁹ Jessica Milgroom (Wageningen University) and Fransisco Vieira (Eduardo Mondlane University) made significant contributions to tree identifications.

²⁰ Sihane and xikukutsi appear to be names for more than one tree species. *Sihane* was also identified as *Grewia Hexamita*, *Grewia Bilocor*, and *Grewia flavescens* while *xikukutsi* was also identified as *Combretum molle*.

Table 5.1: Culturally salient subsistence use tree

Shangaan Name	Scientific Name	Frequency %	Saliency
Food			
Xikutsu	<i>Boscia Albitrunca</i>	88.1	0.605
M'wambo	<i>Manilkara mochisia</i>	78.6	0.565
Nkwakwa	<i>Strychnos madagascariensis</i>	71.4	0.494
Nkanu	<i>Sclerocarya birrea</i>	71.4	0.491
Sihane	<i>Grewia monticula</i>	59.5	0.374
Toma	<i>Diospyros mespiliformis</i>	42.9	0.219
Uthlangula	<i>Euclea divinorum</i>	42.9	0.227
Tonwa	Unknown	40.5	0.149
Nkuwa	<i>Ficus sycomorus</i>	35.7	0.189
Ximuwu	<i>Andasornia digitata</i>	33.3	0.161
Filwa	<i>Vangueria infausta</i> Burch.	31	0.169
Nsala	<i>Strychnos spinosa</i>	21.4	0.109
Healing			
Kanono	<i>Terminalia sericea</i> Burch. Ex DC.	39.3	0.333
Mondo	<i>Combretum imberbe</i>	35.7	0.263
Lumanyama	<i>Cassia abbreviata</i>	28.6	0.18
Nkanu	<i>Sclerocarya birrea</i>	21.4	0.146
Construction			
Xanatsi	<i>Colophospermum mopane</i>	97.2	0.84
Simbitsi	<i>Androstachys johnsonii</i>	86.1	0.56
Firewood			
Xanatsi	<i>Colophospermum mopane</i>	100	0.815
Xikukutsi	<i>Combretum apiculatum</i>	90.5	0.676
Mondo	<i>Combretum imberbe</i>	50	0.28

If illustrating resident use of *makwakwa*, *nkanu*, and a host of other trees were the objective of this analysis, my discussion might stop here. However, data on the process and practices through which residents access trees revealed how human-arboreal relations articulate meanings that extend well beyond use (see Cheng *et al.* 2003; Kahn 1996; Basso 1996;

Rappaport 1979; Brody 1982; Peluso 1996; Rival 1998; Jones and Clark 2002; Velásquez Runk 2009), and specifically, that there is more than one way to gain resource control.

In seeking to understand the political ecology of access in Makandezulu, there are several reasons why "trees are good to think with". In evoking this phrase, I build from Bloch (1998) and by proxy Levi-Stauss (1966). Whereas Levi-Strauss considered why animals are cross-cultural symbols for understanding life, Bloch (1998) and the other contributions to Rival's (1998) edited volume, *The Social Life of Trees*, examined how and why it is that trees are used throughout the world to symbolize the lives of individuals, the continuity of social groups, and life itself. In my own use of this phrase, I am concerned less with why trees are (good) symbols of life and more with how trees are indicative of resource access in Makandezulu.

Scholarship on tree use in Africa has focused on the importance of trees for subsistence (Shackleton and Shackleton 2004); anthropogenic deforestation and reforestation trends (Fairhead and Leach 1996; Unruh et al. 2005; Cliggett et al. 2007; Afikorah-Danquah, S. 1997); the relationships between tree management practices (cutting, planting, and protection of trees to claim land) and tenure (Cliggett et al. 2007; Unruh et al. 2005; Dewees 1995; Schroeder 1993; Wislon 1989; Fortmann et al. 1997); how tree management practices and access varies across different landuse types (Fortmann et al. 1997; Schroeder 1993; Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997; the gender dimensions of tree access (Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997; Schroeder 1993; Fortmann et al. 1997), and how human-arboreal relations articulate meanings that extend well beyond use (Unruh 2006; Schroeder 1993; Wilson 1989).

These themes are reflected in Makandezulu resident tree use. Makandezulu residents depend on trees and tree products for food, shade, medicine, fuel, and construction, and trees also mark gravesites, places of historical significance, and field boundaries. Residents interact with trees through a variety of different utilitarian and ceremonial management practices, deciding to cut, clear, plant, protect, process, harvest, propagate, climb, visit, pay homage to, navigate around, and gather beneath them. Residents also manage trees across a variety of landuse types; therefore an examination of tree management practices provides insight into the multiplicity of means through which residents gain access and control of resources which are predominantly, if differentially, held in common. Trees were also salient in interviews regarding resettlement. For example, in response to my question, *“If you have to leave here, what will you miss the most about this place?”* residents continually cited in order of saliency (1) trees, and especially those that got them through periods of hunger, (2) arboreal gravesites, many noted the need to visit and clean family graves, (3) fields, several respondents noted having cleaned their land in vain, and (4) residents also indicated that they would miss their village-wide ceremonies, most of which occur at particular arboreal sites and at least one of which centers around a beer produced from nkanu trees. Specifically, residents bemoaned the fact that, in the destination areas, they would not be allowed to practice them. In Maluleke territory, trees transcend the duality between culture and nature; they legitimize historical claims to space; and they tie people to place. Therefore, resident tree management practices articulate meanings that extended well beyond use.

Tenure Niches

In recognition that landscapes managed by indigenous groups are often divided into a variety of landuse types "with different tenures applying to those areas," Bruce et al. (1993: 627) employed the concept of tenure niches to illustrate the multiplicity of tenures that describe indigenous territory (see also Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997). Tenure niches are spaces in which "access to and use of a resource is governed by a common set of rules, a particular tenure" (Bruce et al. 1993:627). For the purposes of this chapter, I focus on homesteads, fields, *mafusi*, and bush, which together, these convey a broad spectrum access configurations and tree management practices in Makandezulu²¹.

Makandezulu residents interact with each of these places differentially. Each "niche" conveys a different ethic, a particular set of norms and behaviors, and different strategies for deriving benefit (Peluso 1996, Bruce et al. 1993). Therefore, as a multiplicity of landuse types comprise the Makandezulu region, a multiplicity of tenure configurations comprise the Maluleke access regime. The rules and practices that describe the ethic of arboreal access in each niche are "by no means simple or static. They may vary seasonally, as when household

²¹ It is important to note that the Makandezulu landscape is described by a variety of landuse types. Alternating swatches of thick, short thornbush and smaller groves of tall trees which line dry river beds and along the road, there are clusters of homesteads, kraals, and fields recently carved from the bush. There are also community meeting spots and places of worship in both villages and in Makandezulu B two schools and a health center. A working water pump marks the center of Makandezulu A, but in Makandezulu B the water pump remains abandoned, unrepaired since breaking in 2001. Further out of the villages, but still in Maluleke territory, there are a few permanent fishing holes, high cliffs, and the fenceline separating the LNP from KNP. There are also places of conservation employment, the new radio tower installed by the park and closer to Makandezulu B, Gaza Safaris Hunting Concession. Seemingly endless sandy footpaths lead out from the village connecting these places of the present to the landscape of the past, particularly the previous settlements of Wazulu, Gazinga, Xipelwinem Nwetini, and Gazon. Here older fields are still used for agriculture or fruit harvesting and abandoned homesteads still visited so that current residents can pay respect to the ancestors and clean the arboreal gravesites therein.

fields of farmland become after a harvest a grazing commons for the community" (Bruce et al. 1993: 627) or in the longer-term when homesteads are abandoned and fields transition into *mafusi*.

Homesteads: If, as implicated in the previous chapter's description of the Makandezulu region as lineage landscape, the village can be understood to "contain", more or less, the lineage, then the homestead (*munti*), is the unit which holds or centers different versions of both nuclear and extended families (Kuper 1980; Junod 1965). LNP homesteads (*mimunti*) generally contain three to seven huts (Figure 5.1).



Figure 5.1: Homestead in Makandezulu A

These structures are made of thatch and mud, are either round or square in shape, and may be used for sleeping, storage, cooking, bathing, study, and ritual. From my point of view, huts

seemed to be eternally "in progress" as residents constructed, moved, extended, dismantled, rebuilt, reroofed, refinished, and painted them (Figure 5.2) .



Figure 5.2: Re-roofing a hut in Makandezulu A

Many homesteads are polygamous. If men have more than one wife, it is typical that each wife has her own hut within the homestead which she may share with her children. As children age, they may move into an additional hut with their older siblings. Formally speaking, each wife may also maintain her own cooking fire from which she feeds her children. In times of drought or food shortage; however, cooking fires merge. In my time there, more often than not, families occupying one homestead seemed to combine food resources and cooling fires.

In addition to people, domestic animals are also common residents in most Makandezulu homesteads which generally contain a *kraal* or two for goats and cattle. Some homesteads may also have chicken houses, but for the most part, chickens roam free and roost

in trees. Dogs are also common in Makandezulu homesteads with a few families owning upwards of ten. A few families also own donkeys which are rented and loaned throughout the village. Other common structures in homesteads are barns or storage sheds for food and small gardens. Homesteads may also contain bicycles and carts drawn by cows or donkeys. Access to homesteads and the resources therein is reserved for all members of the homestead. Control and decision-making over resources however is maintained by the heads of household, both male and female.

Former homesteads: As evidence to the mobility events that will be discussed in the following chapters, abandoned homesteads are located throughout the region. Most were left behind by the deceased or by current residents when they moved closer to the road following Mozambican Independence (Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3: Former Homestead in Wazulu (Makandezulu A)

Other homesteads were abandoned as people moved to South Africa and did not return. More recently homesteads have been abandoned due to HIV-AIDS, elephant conflict, and witchcraft. Former homesteads are not only the places where people lived, they remain active memorials for the deceased. At gravesites residents consult the ancestors, often asking this specific ancestor to consult with the other ancestors on behalf of the living, on issues ranging from when to consume the first products of a seasonal harvest to physical health and financial gain.

Fields: In Makandezulu field "ownership" is conceived - not in the western sense of owning property which can be bought or sold- but instead as having access to, decision-making over, and responsibility for one's field and that which is produced from it (see Shipton and Goheen 1992). Makandezulu residents generally own two to three fields (*masimu* or *machamba*) per nuclear family (Figure 5.4). This generally corresponds to at least one field per married adult, often two. While the size and quality of fields is variable, on average based on an analysis of the LNP village Nanguene, fields in Limpopo National Park are just under three hectares (MITUR 2007). Fields dating from before villagization, when residents lived in settlements dispersed throughout the region, are scattered throughout the region, generally close to seasonal strategic water features. By contrast, newer fields are generally placed just off the road. Maize is the most important agricultural product, but residents also plant pumpkin, tobacco, okra, and beans.



Figure 5.4: Established field in Makandezulu B

Once land is converted from bush, which is by comparison can be understood as a village-level resource, into a field (by clearing most, but not all, of the trees) access to it becomes narrowed down to the household and individual levels. For as long as it is being used as a field, the resource is owned at the individual level and managed and accessed at the household level. Access to fields and the resources therein is reserved for members of the extended nuclear family. For example, in a homestead populated by two wives, the children of each wife have access to their mother's field and the field of their common father. Control over fields is generally maintained by the person, male or female, who cleared the field. Traditionally, scholars have described marriage as institution that particularly favors male tenure because husband's are presumed to have power over their wives' access to resources

(Harries 1994; Junod 1962). Fields in particular are often considered to be held in the hands of the husband on behalf of the family (Gegenbach 1998). However, in Makandezulu it is clear that women also establish control over fields.

Mafusi: *Mafusi* is a field no longer used by the owner for agricultural purposes, and over which the owner still has an active claim (Figure 5.5). *Mafusi* is characterized not only by transitional landcover, usually *mopane* trees (*Colophospermum mopane*), which grow up around the well-established fruit trees that were protected on the landscape when it was converted to a field, but more importantly in terms of its categorization, by a different tenure system. *Mafusi* may be loaned to others for agricultural use²²; however, the trees in *mafusi* cannot be used without permission from the owner. In fact, one of the main uses of *mafusi* is tree management.

²² In my time in Makandezulu I was aware of three instances in which a resident was borrowing mafusi from another resident for agricultural purposes.

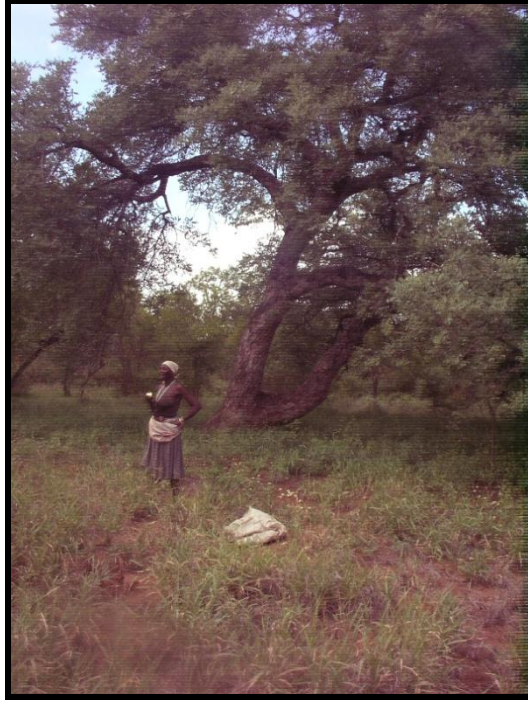


Figure 5.5: Mafusi in Wazulu (Makandezulu A)

While owners do not return to *mafusi* to farm, they do use it for tree management or to visit ancestral sites, and in my time in Makandezulu, there were numerous instances when residents were using their *mafusi* for tree collection, particularly during *nkanu* season.

Mafusi results from an absence of farming; however, because the owners of *mafusi* do not intend to return to it for agricultural purposes but do maintain the claim on the field, *mafusi* are distinguished both from a) former fields and b) dormant fields. In former fields, an owner's claim is certainly still implied but it is not active, because the owner has no intent to return to it for any purpose. This is the case for example of many fields formerly owned by Makandezulu B residents that are now comprised by Gaza Safaris. Dormant fields, no matter how long they remain so, are only temporarily inactive, because the owner's intent is still to return to it to use for agricultural purposes. As residents explained it, a field can be left alone

for years may not be *mafusi* – it stays a field until the intent to return to it for farming has passed. After that, it is neither forest nor field, it is *mafusi* (Elias English Maluleke, November 19 2006; also Calvin Watchi Maluleke, May 1, 2007). In Makandezulu, residents have an average of one *mafusi* per homestead whereas they may have several fields that are not currently in use.

Bush: Ethnographically categorized, the "bush" (*kwati*) in Makandezulu is that which is outside the village (Figure 5.6). In this sense, the bush can also be referred to as *mananga* or countryside, and in addition to forest cover includes swatches of grass, dry river beds, dams, mounds of rock and cliffs old fields, and even abandoned homesteads. In Makandezulu region, the bush is defined primarily through a more open level of resource access, it is all the land that has not been converted to other use.



Figure 5.6: Bush outside of Makandezulu B

Residents differentiate between different types of landcover in the bush with reference to specific soil types; for example, *thlava* indicates sandy soil while *bahnine* indicates soil that holds water²³.

Trees in Former Homesteads: Appealing to Maluleke ancestors

Most gravesites in Makandezulu are marked by trees located in former gravesites - these can any number of tree species, because it is the location, stature, and perceived longevity of the tree that is important. Temporally and spatially tracing the different lineages of resource control described in Chapter Four meant visiting arboreal gravesites. Among the gravesites scattered throughout and marking Maluleke territory, the lineage dichotomy between Xololo and Miyamissi is symbolized by parallel arboreal sites of Maxavele in Makandezulu A and Ngatsone in Makandezulu B. At these sites, the male lineage authorities, often on behalf of the village, consult the ancestors, appealing to the past in order to affirm their control over resources in the present. They may do this through day-to-day story-telling as in the example at Maxavele's grave in Wazulu or through more ritualized narratives at ceremonies, for example at the grave of Ngatsone in Makandezulu B.

On June 14, 2007, one of my final days of field research in Makandezulu A, Reginaldo and I had the privilege of visiting several gravesites in Wazulu with Elias English Maluleke. Wazulu is a former place of residence near Makandezulu A where the celebrated village

²³ Wazulu is also known as Tlhavini.

founder, Maxavele, resided (Figure 4.4). Maxavele died at the beginning of the 20th century, but the settlement of Wazulu continued to flourish until the 1970s when, in the contexts of villagization and war, residents moved to the present-day location of Makandezulu. During much the 20th century then, Wazulu was full of people. Located within a kilometer of the center of present-day Makandezulu A, this is where many Makandezulu residents, as well as their parents, grandparents, and great grandparents resided. In the 21st century, Wazulu is full of gravesites. While no longer a place of residence, the homesteads, fields, mafusi and forests continue to draw residents to Wazulu to farm, collect tree products, and to visit ancestral gravesites.

Recall from Chapter Two that Guyu charged Maxavele with protecting the region now referred to as Makandezulu A from Vanyani people. At Maxavele's former homestead and gravesite, Elias pointed out the *xikutsu* tree (*Boscia albitrunca*) where Maxavele consulted his ancestors all the while respecting the Vanyani people who his ancestors had displaced:

Maxavele was born in Nyandwini and lived here [in Wazulu]. In this Xikutsu tree here, he did his traditional Vanyani ceremony. He made a division in the tree. He would speak to the [Maluleke] ancestors on the right side and to Vanyani ancestors on the left (Elias English Maluleke; 14 June 2007).

Here, Elias shows respect to people who came before all the while reminding us that his ancestors had won the place from the previous occupants.

The gravesite of Maxavele is also where the *nkanu* festival an important fruit festival is held in Makandezulu A while a parallel ceremony is held in Makandezulu B at the arboreal gravesite of Ngatsone. I attended the ceremony in Makandezulu B. Traditional leader,

Salomon Madjovolo Maluleke, began the celebration by inviting the Maluleke ancestors to join the group and drink the beer made from the *nkanu* fruit. The extensive list of names Salomon invoked centered on the male lineage authorities stemming from Miyamissi. In fact, Salomon asked Miyamissi to invite the other ancestors on the village's behalf. However, the names called by Salomon also included Vanyanhi ancestors, important Maluleke women and the male lineage authorities' wives, and even Maxavele (of the Xihimo line).

Strategically, Salomon peppered his ancestral role with specific appeals to the ancestors, for example, he asked the ancestors to protect the tiko from elephants, sickness, famine, and drought. He also invoked his connection to the ancestors to convey a sense of responsibility over the ethic of access in Makandezulu as he advised residents not to wash clothing in the community water supply; offered suggestions for how to elephants out of the hand-dug wells and children away from the elephants; scorned residents for allowing their cattle to enter others' fields; and alluded to some unnamed individuals questionable use of witchcraft.

The gravesites of Ngatsone and Maxavele, as well as those of English, Georgie, Zandza, and Watchi, are important not only for individual families but also for the entire tiko. Through time then, these particular graves and their niches have become increasing communal as residents from beyond the tenants of the former homestead visit the sites to appeal to the ancestors.

Trees in Homesteads: Appealing to non-Maluleke ancestors

In homesteads, trees are cleared to build huts, kraals and, in a few, cases to create small gardens or fields. Trees are also protected for purposes of healing, subsistence, and ceremony. Additionally, some homesteads contain *chisaga* - a cluster of forested landcover - which is differentiated from bush because it is claimed by the homestead, yet uncleared. Unlike the other tenure niches described herein, many homesteads in the Makandezulu region contain trees that have been planted and/or transplanted. For example, with limited success, some residents have planted non-native plants, particularly fruits trees like mango brought back from South Africa or Mapai. Reflecting what I perceive to be an urban-suburban aesthetic, around huts, several residents have also planted drought tolerant flowering shrubs. Additionally, wild trees and bushes that are important for healing may be transplanted to homesteads from the bush. Most trees in homesteads, however, are wild trees that were protected- not cleared- when the homestead was created.

Additionally, in each homestead, one tree is chosen as a site in which members of the homestead interact with the ancestors who may or may not be of the Maluleke lineage. Though not necessarily gravesites, these arboreal sites parallel village level sites described above. At these trees, gain permission from the ancestors to eat the first harvest of a new seasonal food, like *nkanu*, *makwakwa*, maize, or *sihane*. They may also gain guidance on family matters and conduct ceremonies. This household level ancestral worship provides what amounts to an additional, but very specific for each family, level of ancestral consult than that which is obtained by traditional leaders on behalf of the village at Maluleke ancestral

gravesites. From one point of view, then, the worship of non-Maluleke ancestors, is relegated to the homestead. From another point of view, it is with reference to these non-Maluleke ancestors that men who are not born of the lineage are also able to make their own decisions about homestead level resource access and therefore articulate their resource control²⁴.

Trees in fields: Work as a mechanism for establishing resource control

Makandezulu residents identify the land for their fields based on soil and they identify soil type by grass cover. On November 17, 2006, we interviewed Jantar who, having moved to Makandezulu A from Makandezulu B, was clearing a new field, a couple of kilometers east of the water pump in Makandezulu A, just off the road to Mapai. Jantar had identified this particular field based on the grass, in particular the presence of the grasses which he called *punli* and *nbawani* led him to value this particular location. As Jantar explained, "if you can confirm (the site) has this good grass, you can start to cut the big trees." Once the field is chosen, it is cleared of most trees and shrubs. As we interviewed Jantar, he was placing trees and shrubs that he had recently cut down with machete into large piles. After lumping the recently cut trees together, Jantar planned to haul carry the branches out of the field. He planned to use the materials in his homestead to construct a kraal.

While the primary means to converting forest to field is through clearing trees, this practice is not indiscriminant and residents also protect particular trees in their fields. In almost every field in the Makandezulu region, trees remain in the field. In particular residents protect

²⁴ An additional significant finding regarding the use of trees in homesteads relates to the inconsistencies between the way in which park managers propose to compensate residents for tree-use once they move from the park and the way in which residents actually manage trees in the LNP. This issue will be addressed in detail in Chapter Nine.

favorable fruit trees; strategically located shade trees, provided they do not block out too much sun; and trees that serve to mark the boundary between adjoining fields. In Jantar's case he planned to save *nkanu* (*Sclerocarya birrea*) "because of the fruit and nuts", *nyiyi* (*Berchemia discolor*) "because of the fruit, I couldn't cut these" and he was also considering saving a *nhulu* tree for shade (*Balanites maughamii* or *Trichilia emetica*). Additionally many fields contain trees that residents have not yet managed to clear.

Drawing from my preliminary research on mobility and access in Zambia's Southern Province, my dissertation research examined not only how residents manage trees, but also the tenure conditions under which they clear, plant, and protect trees. As discussed in Chapter Two, on the Zambian Plateau, Tonga migrants - perceiving that the diverse, customary means through which securing tenure over new fields "all favor local community members over migrants" - cleared trees more trees than they needed to cultivate the field in order to legitimize their claims to land (Unruh et al. 2005: 192). In Makandezulu, however, the intentionality that characterized the relationship between tree clearing and resource claiming in Zambia was absent. While Makandezulu residents certainly do clear, plant and protect trees, they did not do so *in order to* establish claims to land. Unlike migrants displaced on Zambian plateau, Makandezulu residents perceive their field tenure to be secure.

This perception of tenure security, despite a history of mobility and displacement, was bolstered by data on the use of trees as field boundaries. During semi-structured interviews, often conducted while touring Makandezulu residents fields, when field owners pointed out their field boundaries to me, they often did so with reference to trees, for example, as a

singular and notable tree in the distance, a clump of shrubs, or branches of sharp acacia pulled together. In the first months of field research I thought that these responses indicated the use of trees as boundaries. However, as the research progressed, I began to understand that boundaries were often points beyond which residents hoped to clear the next season. As a result, boundaries were forged by more temporary materials than trees, and when trees were used to indicate claims, their use was also temporary.

Makandezulu residents often indicated a desire to extend their fields as large as possible, and access to fields was rarely limited by competition for land. Instead access was determined, first and foremost by the soil and second by "one's own strength" (Priscina Mozamane Vukeya, November 18, 2006) or the ability to harness the power to clear as much as you need which could be supplemented by access to labor and technology. For example, in response to the question *How do you know how big your field will be?*, Priscina pointed to a path behind a cluster of trees and explained: "As the clearing time is just passing, I will not succeed to clear to the path to the west of us... but every year, I will keep cutting more". As a result fields are constantly in flux and residents aim is generally to clear in at least one direction beyond where they have thus far. Similarly, Thomas Elias Maluleke explained, "The grass tells us where the farming is good. I want it to be as big as possible. We are using this smaller area because we do not have cows. When we have cows, we can clear the entire area (November 17, 2006)". These findings resonate with Gegenbach (1998: 15) who showed how for women from Magude District, "individual field size depends only on a farmer's 'strength'...every woman's goal is to cultivate as large an area as physically possible". In most cases, therefore, boundaries were temporary makers beyond which residents hoped to clear the next year.

If residents do not "clear to claim" or depend on boundaries to establish, communicate, and legitimize their access to fields, how do residents establish access to fields? To address this question, I asked 33 residents how they established their first fields. 48% reported inheriting their first field, and in all but one of these cases, residents took over the field of a relative. Most often, the field was passed from a mother-in-law to a new daughter-in-law who had just moved into the homestead²⁵. That inheritance is a common mechanism for establishing fields is not surprising in light of significance of membership in the group in determining resource access. The ethic of membership in the group, however, did not help me to understand the other predominant response: 52% reported starting their own field; that is, they were the first one to convert the plot from forest to agricultural land. Therefore, rather than pointing to social relations like marriage, birth, inheritance or permission from the chief, over half of resident responses pointed instead to the importance of work.

Similarly, to assess how residents legitimize their access, control, and sense of ownership over fields in Makandezulu, I posed the question, *How do other people know that a field is yours?* to 36 residents in both villages. The majority of residents, 81%, responded again with reference to work; most offering some version of the enthusiastic exclamation "They see me working in my field!". Where residents did not explain communicating their sense of ownership through physically being and working in the field as in Figure 5.7, they pointed

²⁵ As previously discussed marriage conveys resource control in Makandezulu. Before marriage, women and girls certainly work in fields, but they are not the primary owners and managers of fields until after they are married. Therefore, even if the new wife comes to the homestead from within the village, this field from her mother-in-law becomes her first field.

instead to products of their harvest in their barn as proof of their field ownership, expletives that I suggest is also related to work.



Figure 5.7: "They see me working in the field!"

Of note, although one respondent explained his sense of ownership over fields with reference to having gained permission from the chief to clear a particular field when he moved to the village, no other interviewees referenced membership in the group or any other formal rules of the patriliney related to membership in the group. That is, Maluleke men did not explain their control over fields through having been born of the lineage; women who had married into the village did not explain their access to resource with reference to marriage nor *lobola*; and no interviewees referenced inheritance. Finally, and of additional note, no one mentioned the use

of boundaries to communicate ownership, and only one respondent indicated the use of a tree to mark a claim.

That Makandezulu residents pointed to work rather than membership in the group and other more formal rules of the patriliney to legitimize their ownership of fields supports the findings of Gegenbach (1998). Gegenbach (1998) showed that whereas "most academic discussions of Shangaan customary land law focus on the powers of the chief (hosi) as supreme custodian and arbiter of the collectively-owned land resources of the chiefdom (tiko), and on the role of male lineage authorities... in making the majority of land allocation decisions," women from Magude District in the northwest corner of Maputo Province, Mozambique legitimized their resource control instead through by actively transforming the soil (Gegenbach 1998: 10). The gender dimensions of Gegenbach's findings are further supported in my discussions of trees in mafusi and trees in the bush.

Trees in mafusi: Appeals to extended kinship networks

My examination of *nkanu* access in mafusi illustrated how women use extended kinship networks to extend their resource access beyond the confines of their immediate families. The *Nknau* (*Sclerocarya birrea*) or marula tree is well known throughout southern Africa due to its versatility and use in a number of products. *Nkanu* has even become well known in urban centers where the popular Amarula Cream liqueur produced from *nkanu* fruit is sold. In the LNP region, *nkanu* tree also has several subsistence, medicinal, and functional purposes. Among these, the *nkanu* fruit, which is generally gathered by women from both Makandezulu

villages during February and March, is eaten fresh. The *nkanu* seeds which are laboriously removed from the nuts within the fruits are all consumed and seem to provide a significant long-term protein contribution to resident's diets. In 2007, the seeds from *nkanu* nuts gathered in February were still being consumed in June. *Nkanu* bark also serves numerous medicinal purposes. Additionally, the bark of *nkanu* can be peeled and sewn together to form a container for *makwakwa* powder discussed above (Priscina Muzamane Vukeya, February 28, 2007). The most important local *nkanu* product is a ceremonial beer produced from the fruit and consumed within weeks of harvest time. Herein I provide a brief overview of *nkanu* harvesting in Makandezulu A and the context of its consumption in Makandezulu B.

On February 28, 2007, Reginaldo and I joined Priscina Muzamane Vukeya to collect *nkanu* fruit from her *mafusi*. The *mafusi* is located in Tsangile a former place of residence for Priscina and her family that was originally part of Wazulu and is now comprised by Makandezulu A. The *mafusi* contains a cluster of *nkanu* trees, and, on that day, the ground surrounding the trunks of the trees was covered with fruit, more fruit than the three of us could hope to carry home. Like with *makwakwa*, only fallen fruit is gathered.

We set about gathering, Reginaldo and I following Priscina's lead; however, when I began to gather the fruit beneath a different tree, Priscina stopped me. She explained that we would not waste time gathering the fruit of just any tree; another one just ahead has nuts that were easier to open (Figure 5.8).



Figure 5.8: A favored *nkanu* in Priscina's mafusi

It turned out that Priscina knew these trees based, not only on their location in her families' *mafusi*, but also by what type of fruit and nut each produced (Figure 5.9).



Figure 5.9: *Nkanu* fruit gathered in Priscina's *mafusi* on February 28, 2007

On the following day, March 1, 2007, we gathered *nkanu* with Nora also in *mafusi* located in the surrounding area of Makandezulu A. Like Priscina, Nora confirmed that the particular tree we worked around was a special tree to gather fruit from; she preferred the fruit from this tree over other trees she had access to. These brief examples illustrate these women's knowledge of the productive landscape down to the fruit from particular trees. To produce the beer, residents tend to prefer the fruit from specific trees and return to these annually. While *nkanu* fruit may be collected from any niche residents have access to; for example, homesteads, fields, and the bush, women generally tend to gather the fruit from *mafusi*. In fact, based on my findings I hypothesize that the presence of *nkanu* in one's field may be a primary reason for continuing to claim a field as *mafusi* when it is no longer being used for agricultural purposes.

While we collected fruit with Nora, another woman from the village, Juletta, joined us. Rather freely, from my point of view, Juletta began to place fruit into her own basin. Surprised by what appeared to be an open access use of the *nkanu* tree on what I had come to understand was be Nora's husband's *mafusi*, I asked Nora if just *anyone* could gather fruit from the trees. Nora confirmed that the fruit from a tree in *mafusi* belongs to the *mafusi* owners.

The *mafusi* from which Nora gathered *nkanu* fruit belonged to the parents of Nora's husband. Her father-in-law died in 1996 and mother-in-law in 2004. The field had not been used for agricultural purposes since Nora married into the village, well over a decade before; however, in her time, Nora's mother-in-law had also collected fruit from this *nkanu*. Juletta's use of the tree was not a problem, because she was family; "the fathers of our husbands are brothers, from the same mother." The *mafusi* had been passed down not just one but two

generations, from the grandparents of both women's husbands. Through time access to the *mafusi* became increasingly communal, but it by no means open. Though officially male heads of household and the sons from which the *mafusi* was inherited have ultimate decision-making over the *mafusi*, in this case the wives had established both access and decision-making over other's access based on what Gegenbach (1998) referred to as a system of "land-based kinship" (Gegenbach 1998: 15).

This example introduces some important characteristics of the ethic of access in Makandezulu: first and foremost, the way in which women establish access to and decision-making over resources; second, the way in which kin relations mapped on the landscape convey access; third, women's acute knowledge of this relationship between the productive and social landscapes; fourth, how access can become increasingly pluralistic through time; and fifth how what may appear to outsider to be abandoned fields still very much hold active claims. The role of women as resource decision-makers and the this notion of a land or in this case resource base system of kinship will be further explored in the following account of trees in the bush.

Trees in the Bush: Doing thing the way the ancestors did

My analysis of trees in the bush focuses on *makwakwa* (*Strychnos madagascariensis*) harvesting and production and highlights the way in which "doing things the way the ancestors did" influences resource access. So important is this ethic of access for *makwakwa* production that older women's appeals to it establishes their role as decision-making over others' access to the resources; in other words, it conveys their resource control. Below, I detail the processes of

makwakwa access and production. The intent of this somewhat extensive overview is 1) to highlight the high regard many women, and especially those from Makandezulu A, have for each practice included in the time honored process and 2) to show how by employing this ethic Makandezulu women appeal to the Maluleke lineage to establish resource control. Through marriage, women are woven into the Maluleke lineage. It is through the practices like *makwakwa* production, however, that women begin to adopt, to shape, and to extend the Maluleke ethic of access. *Makwakwa* production connects women to Maluleke clan and to each other and through it older women in particular establish their control over resources in this patrilineal resource regime.

The cultural and regional importance of makwakwa (*Strychnos madagascariensis*) was signified in the earliest scholarship on the Maluleke clan, Junod's accounts of early Nwanati settlement patterns. Recall from chapter two that Nwanati is classified as a Tsonga sub-group which consists of the ancestors of those people who now carry both the Maluleke and Makwakwa surnames. According to Junod, before settling in the Great Limpopo region, Nwanati people lived along the southern reaches of the Limpopo River. While one part of this group - those who would later comprise the Maluleke clan- decided to move north, their counter-parts remained behind them. The sedentary group had found a fruit, the makwakwa, "about the size of an orange, with a hard outer shell". As further explained by Junod, "when broken it was found to contain a number of stones, each wrapped in a delicate, strongly scented pulp, of which the Natives prepare an excellent dish". So, they explained to their migrant counter-parts, "we shall remain here to break our makwakwa... hence the name Makwakwa now given to those Nwanatis" (Junod 1927, 1962: 22).

As it turned out, *makwakwa* trees are also found along the northern reaches of the Limpopo River and well into the Great Limpopo interior. There *makwakwa* production has become one of the most salient arboreal food sources in Makandezulu. Following an extensive process lasting a few days of, first, collecting, opening, and transporting the fruit, then roasting and pounding the pulp into powder, the fruit powder can be stored up to a year. Therefore, it is particularly important food during times of drought and food shortage.

On November 20 and December 13, 2006, Reginaldo and I joined women from Makandezulu A to gather makwakwa. As if to bolster Junod's account, Celina Matileni *Makwakwa* was among our primary guides. The first step in gathering makwakwa fruit is traveling to the forest. While small amounts of the fruit may be collected from trees in fields and homesteads, makwakwa is primarily collected from the bush where it is found in groves. During the months of November and December, women travel in groups to the bush to collect the makwakwa fruit. The best type of forests for makwakwa are characterized by sandy soil or *thlava*. This soil type characterizes much of surface cover in Makandezulu A, much more so than in Makandezulu B; thus the name *Thlavine* given by some residents to refer to Makandezulu A. Women from Makandezulu A reported with pride that the best *Makwakwine* or place of makwakwa in the Shingwedzi Watershed region is located approximately ten kilometers east of Makandezulu A along the main road to Mapai (Figure 5.10).



Figure 5.10: Foresters preparing to enter Makwakwine

Women noted that people from as far as Makandezulu B and Chimangue come to this area to collect the fruit, and women have gathered makwakwa in this forest "since the grandparents time and before."

By persistent request, we used my truck to travel the first half of the journey along the road east towards Mapai. As a result, residents reported travelling in a larger group than they normally do (10 in the first group and 13 in the second) and carrying more fruit home than they are typically able. Typically, women travel to the forests in small groups of perhaps four to eight. Other times, they may be discreet about their journey so that occasionally other women will be made to feel left out. Each woman carried at least one basin plus, in some cases, an additional sack for transporting excess fruit back home. On our trips women returned home with approximately 1/3 more fruit than is typical.

With the distance in mind, women leave early, departing the village well before sunrise.

Leaving the truck along the road, we undertook the remainder of the journey deeper into the forests on foot. Once arriving in Makwakwine, the women divided into smaller groups of two or three, typically by homestead, in recognition that when they leave the forest, the fruit will be processed and consumed by homestead. However, due to the danger of getting lost, even among those who seemed to know each tree on the landscape, the women were careful to remain within shouting distance of at least one or two other homestead groups.

The foresters then began to collect the hard shelled fruit, comparable in form to a bocchi ball, which lay on the ground surrounding the trees. During this step, residents worked quickly, in spirited competition with one another to gather as many balls as possible, thus forcing their rivals to gather at a new trees. Once individual basins were full, the fruit were dumped in piles with women from the same families and homesteads contributing their individual basins to the same pile (Figure 5.11). After making a pile, the residents returned to gathering, each woman contributing approximately two or three full basins to the homestead's pile before all the fruit in the area has been gathered.



Figure 5.11: Makwakwa fruit (*Strychnos madagascariensis*)

Then, leaving the piles behind, they travelled further into the forest to begin gathering more fruit and making new piles, all the while remaining in ear shot of at least one other group. The work continued like this until there were approximately three piles per homestead spread throughout the forest.

At this point, from their locations deep within the bush, the women began to process the fruit. This step helped to facilitate transporting the fruit back to the village. Approximately three piles consisting of four to nine basins of fruit each had to be carried by the women back to the road and typically back to homestead. The first step in processing makwakwa is to remove and discard the hard outer shell. Women achieved this by banging the balls forcefully against one another until the outer shell breaks and the inner bright orange pulp is revealed. They then placed the pulp in the basin and retrieve two more balls. After completing one

entire pile, they travelled back through the forest to the second pile to begin shelling it, and then to the initial pile. Processed fruit beyond which did not fit in each woman's basin bucket went into the overflow basins or bags or, following older practices, some basins were extended with flexible branches and grasses to hold more pulp (Figure 5.12).



Figure 5.12: Extending the basin in order to carry more pulp

All the while, each sub-group made their way back within earshot of the members of the extended group and eventually back to the road. When members of the extended group began to locate one another, vocally if not visually, older women instructed younger to track down those who have not yet emerged from the forest and to help them finish with their work. Figure 5.13 illustrates a group of younger women emerging from the forest.



Figure 5.13: A group of young women emerging from Makwakwine

In the meantime, the residents made comparisons between each other's skills in the forest, noting not only the amount of fruit gathered by each woman, but also the quality with which the fruit had been shelled. By then those who had lagged behind had joined the group. At length, they were encouraged to be quicker next time, to place their piles more strategically, or to only shell fruit which could be readily transported home. Typically, the foresters would then undertake the long journey home. In our case, we loaded the truck full of fruit (Figure 5.14) and undertook two trips back to the village in order to transport the foresters.



Figure 5.14: Truck loaded with *Makwakwa* pulp

While women gathered the fruit in Makwakwine, the men and children were responsible for preparing an area in the homestead to cook it. This requires digging a large fire pit and covering the hole with a reed mat, often also made by men (Figure 5.15). When the women arrive home, they begin to smoke and roast the pulp covered seeds for two or three consecutive days, a process which dries and cooks the otherwise poisonous pulp (Figure 5.16).



Figure 5.15: *Makwakwa* pulp roasting over a fire pit



Figure 5.16: Roasted *makwakwa*

Once dried, the seed is easily removed from the pulp. The pulp is then ground into a fine powder. In powder form, the fruit is consumed and excess fruit is stored, often in the bark of

nkanu tree, for the interim.

With *makwakwa* Makandezulu women provide an important, drought resistant subsistence product to their homesteads and the *tiko*. By doing *makwakwa* production the way the ancestors did, they are also shaping the ethic of access in Makandezulu and articulating resource control. Doing things the way the ancestors did, however, does not mean merely continuing to gather the fruit but doing so according to a particular ethic: staying in communication while in the forest, walking home together, using specific materials, and cooking the fruit a particular way. Again, Gegenbach's findings resonate with, and help to articulate, my own observations.

...The 'strength' of women manifest through arduous agricultural labor is a source of immense pride for them, and a cornerstone of female agrarian identity.... a woman's agricultural performance- the number of hours she spends on her fields each day, how energetically she swings her hoe; the quality of her harvest- is closely watched by other women in the community, and is as important a factor in her reputation.... If, (through their labor)...women establish 'traditional' tenure rights not explicitly recognised by patriliney, then likewise through the every-day habits of farming women learn, perform and nurture relationships that overlap with, but range far beyond, blood- and marriage-based patrilineal kinship (Gegenbach 1998: 15)

As expressed in the extensiveness of the process and the energy with which Makandezulu A women compared one another's skills and kept each other in-line, the practices associated with doing *makwakwa* the way the ancestors did are highly valued. As women are proud of the *makwakwa* forest in their territory, they are also proud of the type of *makwakwa* powder (*timkwakwa*) they produce. They explained, for example, that in Mapai where some women are selling *timkwakwa* in the markets, the powder is bitter because the women are either not roasting the pulp long enough or they are roasting it on inferior wood. Older Makandezulu

residents in particular (male and female) are also proud of their use of this fruit during both drought times and war times.

Finally, *makwakwa* production is a means to articulating group membership. The majority of married women in Makandezulu are not originally from the region but instead marry into the tiko. Most move to Makandezulu from places where *makwakwa* production, if it is practiced at all, is not as central a component for subsistence as it is in Makandezulu. While *makwakwa* production is prevalent in many of the Shingwedzi Watershed villages, it is not prevalent in Massingir and none of the villages, including Makandezulu B, seem to depend on it as enthusiastically as residents in Makandezulu A. Therefore, upon moving to the village, women begin to learn about the extensive process of *makwakwa* production from other women, who were themselves taught by women of preceding generations. Makwakwa foresters identify with the past, the Maluleke lineage, in order to determine the ethic of access in the future. By passing this knowledge down through the generations of women who join the *tiko*, residents not only increase their ability to benefit from *makwakawa*, they are asserting themselves, and women at-large, as village-level resource controllers.

Conclusion

By engaging with the environment as a place outside of culture, scouting out pristine spots to lunch or spend the night, and anxiously anticipating encounters with animals, the tourists in the imagined scenario I used to introduce Chapter Four help to solidify a false separation between nature and culture and begin to erase the rival narrative of this landscape,

that of Maluleke territory. This chapter has shown that trees in Makandezulu are not just a back-drop but rather integral components of a politically organized space. Through both ceremonial and subsistence-based interactions with trees then, residents “constitute” and “take themselves to be connected to” the landscape (Basso 1996: 54), and they transform environment into territory.

In this and the previous chapters I presented two views of Maluleke territory. Viewing the Makandezulu region as a lineage landscape highlighted the patrilineal rules that determine resource control. Based on this overview, one might assume then that male lineage authorities have resource control in Makandezulu while those married into the village and those gaining permission from the chief have resource access. However, this is only one part of the story, and only one means through which resource control can be derived in Makandezulu. In this chapter, I drew from Gegenbach (1998) to translate between those rules and norms that are recognized and codified into Maluleke "social law" and the every-day practices that also convey resource access. Rather than presenting an either/or scenario between the importance of social relations versus human-environment interactions, these two contrasting and complementary landscape views have enabled me to articulate the variety of expressions of resource control that comprise the political ecology of access in Makandezulu.

My analysis of trees as gravesites illustrated the way in which male lineage authorities appeal to the Maluleke ancestors to articulate and maintain their resource control. However, in the use of ancestral sites in homesteads, men and women not born of the lineage also establish resource control. In fields, work even more than social relations legitimizes Maluleke

tenure security and control. In the mafusi and the bush, women articulate resource control by appealing to extended kinship networks and to the ancestral ways of doing things. Through these day-to-day practices of access, women extend the relations conventionally defined by the confines of marriage, birth, and homestead; they insert themselves into the lineage; and more importantly open the lineage so that it is a more inclusive net through which all residents of the tiko, through time, have the potential to articulate resource control.

Attention to different landuse types illustrated the way in which different resident groupings establish access, including villages; lineages; homesteads; nuclear, polygamous and extended family groupings; women's work groups; access-based kinship networks; and Maluleke and non-Maluleke ancestor worship groups. Across several tenure niches, appeals to the past provided a moral framework and ethic for actions in the present (Hugh-Jones 1979). As male lineage authorities appeal to the ancestors to determine the ethic of access in Makandezulu, they also assert their resource control. The past can only be accessed through the concrete present (Hugh-Jones 1979) and this is done not only through ceremony, ritual, and at gravesites, not only through ways of seeing, but also through every-day ways of *doing* access (Basso 1996: 83).

6.

Colonial Organizations of Space and Access to Work Abroad

In this chapter I return to my analysis of the political ecology of access and mobility in Makandezulu by examining the displacement context in which Makandezulu residents engaged in migrant labor and the means through which they established access to resources , in the form of labor, when they moved. During Mozambique's colonial period, which in the interior south effectively extended from the fall of Gaza Nguni rule in the 1895 to Mozambican Independence in 1975, the resource colonial administrators sought to control was not only land but also human labor. Therefore, in addition to cadastral tactics, Portuguese colonial administrators employed mechanisms for deriving benefits from migrant labor by transforming southern Mozambique into a labor reserve for South Africa. Meanwhile, the South African side of the Great Limpopo region was undergoing the first in a century's worth of conservation implementation projects. It was in these contexts of diminished access that men from Makandezulu engaged in migrant labor both in the South African mines and in the Kruger National Park. Through appeals to Shangaan identity, residents established access to labor in abroad, but not resource control. Therefore, unlike pre-colonial Maluleke movements, Maluleke territory remained behind them in the Makandezulu region, and they returned there to extend and reclaim it.

The Colonial Cadastre

The history of the first four centuries of Portuguese colonialism in southern Africa can be told through an overview of international trade. International trade was established in eastern Africa in the 13th century, and dominated by Arabic cultures it until the 16th century (Alpers 1975; Hall 1990; Wolf 1982). While southern African kingdoms traded extensively with Swahili merchants in ivory and gold (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983); by comparison, most of Portugal's preliminary attempts to establish trading posts in this region either failed quickly or lingered as “miserable trading stations” (Caton-Thompson 1970: 274). By the middle of the 16th century, however, Portugal had managed to establish a trade presence along the northern reaches of the Indian Ocean coastline that would become Mozambique (Newitt 1995). In the 17th century Portugal established *prazos* – white settler communities loyal to the crown- to extend and increase Portugal’s power (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983). At the close of the 17th century, Lisbon had lost its hold on most of the southern African market leaving Indian and Dutch traders to control the 18th century ivory trade (Alpers 1975; Azevedo 2002). Through the slave trade, Portugal re-established its position as an international trade power in southern Africa, and in the 19th century alone, over a million people were forcibly removed from their homelands to fill the market (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983; Newitt 1972). Despite the expansive slave market, Lisbon’s hold on Portuguese East Africa remained sporadic and questionable, particularly in the interior (Newitt 1995; Isaacman and Isaacman 1983). In the second half of the 19th century, the decline in ivory, the increasing social illegitimacy of the slave trade, and the discovery of gold on Witswatersrand enabled gold to take center stage (Newitt 1995).

From the first year of the 16th century, when a Portuguese vessel landed off Kilwa, just north of present-day Mozambique, to 1895 when the Gaza Nguni kingdom fell, a Portuguese colonial conquest in southern African interior was a long time in the making. Much like the Gaza Nguni polity, who established resource control in the Great Limpopo region early in the 19th century, Portuguese colonial control contracted and expanded according to how far the sphere of authority could be projected into the far reaches of the territory. Kopytoff (1987: 29) described this dynamic in pre-colonial southern Africa as a polity's "technology of reach." Defined as "the available material and administrative technology of political control," Kopytoff argued that insufficient technologies of reach- for example, lacking transportation, communication, record-keeping and military services - limited pre-colonial States' "political penetration" into African hinterlands (Kopytoff 1987: 29).

Among the primary means through which modern colonial states overcame such limitations was through the establishment of a colonial cadastre, grounded in boundaries and laws, which together helped to execute and secure a colonial re-organizations of space, naturalizing the territory of a nation, all the while displacing and rendering invisible indigenous conceptualizations of space (Winichakul 1994; Vandergeest and Peluso 1995; Scott 1998; Fox 2002; Craib 2004; Hughes 2006). The cadastre is comprised of delimited territory that is 1) marked at boundaries on the landscape and on maps and 2) registered by or with the state (Hughes 2001, 2006; Scott 1998). By the end of the 19th century, in what has been called the "Scramble for Africa," European nations created fifty new colonial states in Africa (Newitt 1995: 356; Hughes 2006). African colonial states created territory when they use fixed and

recognized boundaries to enclose delimited spaces under their sovereignty, and states act territorially when they work to legitimize these actions through laws.

Portugal's early territorial aspirations for Africa had been grand, spanning the African continent from colonial Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa) clear to colonial Angola (Portuguese West Africa). However, early on, this territorial gaze was readily undermined by Britain whose own territorial visions extended from South Africa's Cape northward to Cairo, and by African polities who, for centuries, successfully maintained resource control in the interior (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983). As a result, the colony settled for an abbreviated territorial extent whose limit fell right in the middle of the Great Limpopo Region and defines the western edge of the present-day Makandezulu region. The formal process for demarcating a geopolitical border between South Africa and Mozambique in the Great Limpopo region began as early as July 29th, 1869 when representatives of Portugal and the Transvaal Republic signed a "Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Boundaries" in Pretoria, South Africa (Hertslet 2008). This treaty identified the Lembobos Mountains, and in particular where they adjoin the Olifantes and Limpopo Rivers, as the predominate features of the national boundary (Hertslet 2008: 822). This segment of the border was reconfirmed by treaty on December 11, 1875 and subsequently beacons off in 1890 (Hertslet 2008).

By way of explaining the Lembobo Mountains as the sensible demarcation choice, the Queens Agent in Pretoria, a Mr. von Wielligh, provided the following to the High Commissioner at Cape Town:

"the Lembombo is a plateau varying from 1 to 20 miles in width, without any well-marked ranges or sudden descents on either side, but it falls with a steeper gradient to

the east, and that break or brow being the best natural boundary has for that reason taken as the line of demarcation, giving the Transvaal the tableland, but leaving Portugal the whole of the eastern slopes" (Herstlet 2008: 828).

Among others Great Limpopo residents, the Maluleke ancestors of current Makandezulu residents resided just east and west of this line (Figure 6.1).

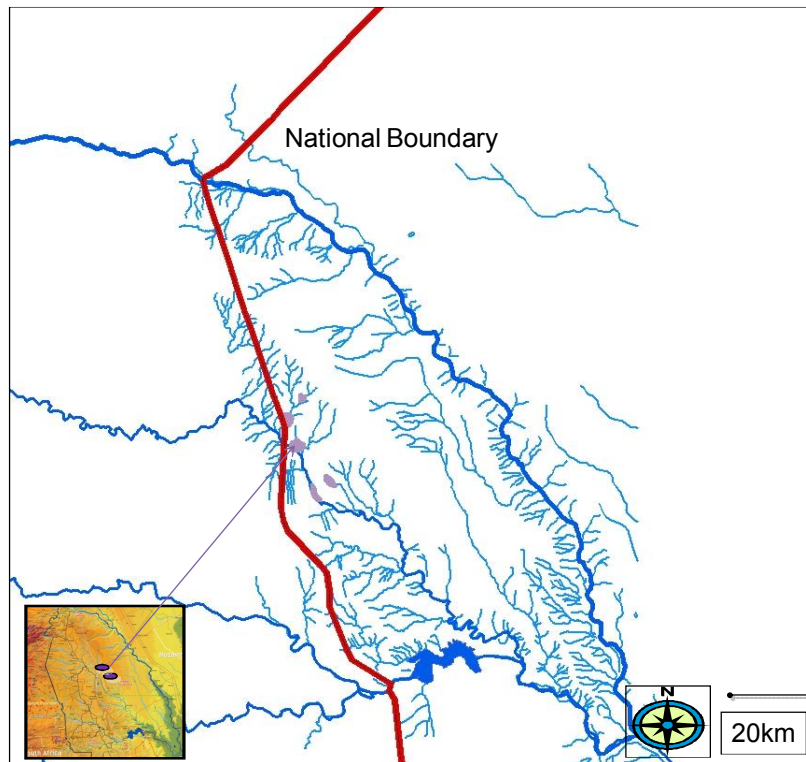


Figure 6.1: The National Boundary

As discussed in chapter two, 19th century Maluleke residence extended throughout the Great Limpopo region from present-day Gioyani in South Africa to present-day Mapai in Mozambique (see also Junod 1927; Harries 1987: 96). Approximately "7000 Malulekes lived strung out along the Levubu" (Harries 1987: 96), and there were also bush settlements on both sides of the newly formed border, among them the Makandezulu and Nandweni and Xikarhi in

Mozambique and just a few kilometers west of Makandezulu and over the national boundary in Xingomeni (Elias English Maluleke, June 14, 2007)²⁶.

The Rise of Gold

Gold was discovered on the “Rand” or the Witswatersrand region near present-day Johannesburg in 1886. A decade before, migration to South Africa, in particular the sugar plantations in Natal and to the diamond mines in Kimberely, was well established (Harries 1994; Newitt 1995). Labor migration had already become an institutionalized aspect of household reproduction for many rural Africans (Roesch 1991; Harries 1994; Newitt 1995; Norman 2004), and migration routes throughout the Transvaal were well traveled (Harries 1994).

Following the discovery of gold, the “previous flow” of workers traveling through the Great Limpopo region became a “regular flood” (Newitt 1995: 489) as tens of thousands of Africans trekked to the mines annually (van der Horst 1942). Men and boys traveled from all over southern Africa to work on the South African mines, nearly all of which were part of the Witswatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) (van der Horst 1942). However, the mines targeted men from Portuguese East Africa in particular, and at the turn of the century, Mozambican constituted well over half of the WLNA labor force (van der Horst 1971: 216-217 cited in Wilson 1972: 70)²⁷.

²⁶ Located, just over the border, within a few kilometers from the Makandezulu region, Xingomeni comprised an area now referred to as Vlakteplaas in the Kruger National Park (Kloppers and Bornmann 2005).

²⁷ From 1896-1898, they made up 60.2% of the total labor force which consisted of approximately 54,000 men. Thereafter, from 1904 to 1907, Portuguese East Africans made up well over half of the WNLA labor force. From 1908-1929, they constituted half. Finally, from 1930 to 1969, Mozambicans made up 25 to 37% of the more than 300,000 laborers on the mines (van der Horst 1971: 216-217 cited in Wilson 1972: 70).

In addition to providing the numbers, Portuguese East Africans were often skilled miners who, by the turn of the century, had already gained over a decade of experience in the diamond mines although the mines tended to avoid formally (i.e. financially) recognizing this experience (van der Horst 1971; First 1983). Newly recruited miners were also highly regarded, because they were generally not permitted to choose their destination mine and could be used to fill the labor demand of the less popular mines (van der Horst 1971: 218-219). Portuguese East Africans were further valued, because they generally worked longer contracts than men from other countries (Harris 1959). At the turn of the century, these "east coast" workers stayed on the mines for an average of three years, substantially longer time periods than workers from other southern African nations (Harris 1959). In general, a mobile, but massive and somewhat steady flow of laborers enabled the mines to keep investments in laborers low (Wilson 1972) and helped to stabilize seasonal fluctuations in mine employment (van der Horst 1971).

Labor Laws

Perceiving that they could do little to stop the labor emigration, the Portuguese colonial government did their best to benefit from it. With this objective in mind, the colony made agreements, first, with the Transvaal government and, later, the Union of South Africa. Most significantly, in exchange for allowing South African mines to access Mozambican labor, the Union government was beholden to channel almost half of its sea-borne traffic into the Transvaal through the port at Lourenco Marques or present day Maputo (Harris 1959). By the turn of the century, a failing Portuguese economy and continued uprisings throughout the

interior of Mozambique, in combination with continued European skepticism over the colony's ability to maintain control, led the Portuguese government to conclude that its African colonies would have to start paying for themselves (Newitt 1995; Isaacman and Isaacman 1983). These agreements, therefore, also enabled Portugal to consolidate control in southern Mozambique, particularly by consolidating colonial control over migrant labor.

To consolidate their control over South Africa's access to Mozambican labor, Portuguese colonial administrators also instituted a suit of labor policies. Many of the labor policies were poised to take advantage of the national boundary demarcating Portuguese East Africa and the Union of South Africa as separate State sovereignties. Work in the mines had been going on for decades, but the formalization of the international boundary in combination with these labor policies provided colonial administrators with the political and material means to control labor within its' polity and to regulate movement across it. They also reflected the persistent tensions between, on the one hand, seeking to benefit from the extensive movement of labor into South Africa, and, on the other hand, the dire need to develop Portuguese East Africa internally which required a labor force back home (Newitt 1995).

First, migrants had to pay fees for permits to pass over the border into South Africa and the South African mines had to pay a fee for each labor recruit (Newitt 1995; Harris 1959; Harries 1994). Second, labor policies limited the time men could stay abroad (Harris 1959; Harries 1994; Newitt 1995). Third, Portuguese colonial government received permission to establish tax collecting facilities on South African soil (Harris 1959). Fourth, the colonial government worked with South African mines to institute a system of deferred payment which

meant that laborers would not receive their full salary from the mines until they returned to Mozambique. This encouraged men not only to return home but also to spend their profits on the Portuguese side of the border (Harris 1959; Newitt 1995). Fifth, laborers also had to pay taxes on their wages once they returned to Mozambique (Newitt 1995).

Further, in 1890 Portuguese East Africans were required to pay part of their tax in labor, and in 1894 correctional labor was introduced in which Africans were required to work for breaking laws (Newitt 1995). These and other policies came to culmination with the implementation of the 1899 Labour Law which made work both a legal and "moral obligation" (Newitt 1995: 384). Men and women between the ages of 14 and 60 "fulfilled" this obligation by owning capital, practicing a profession, farming, or producing goods for export. In general, local authorities determined residents "fulfillment" capacities, and if citizens fell short, the transgression was to be paid for through wage labor (Newitt 1995: 384). Local authorities had the power to forcibly contract those who did not seek work themselves and to impose correctional labor on those breaking these laws (Newitt 1995: 384).

While labor policies effected the entire colony, in the south they were balanced against the benefits derived by the State from keeping the channels of movement open to South Africa. In the north, however, plantation agriculture was perceived as the primary means to draw European investment to Africa and there was incentive to keep men at home to provide labor to the concessions. In both regions, however, the Labor Law was paradoxically effective - and as if to oblige the needs of the South African mines- the Labor Law, in combination with inferior labor conditions and substantially lower wages, appears to have driven even greater numbers

of men abroad in order to avoid the horrific conditions of work under the Portuguese (Harris 1959; First 1983; Isaacman and Isaacman 1983; Newitt 1995; Norman 2004).

The transformation of southern Mozambique into a labor reserve:

Following the discovery of gold, the mines introduced a capitation fee to aggressively encourage labor recruitment throughout southern Africa (Bulpin 1954: 157). As a result, turn of the century labor recruitment was characterized by “cut-throat competition” (Newitt 1995: 489). In 1900 the Witswatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) to coordinate labor outside of South Africa and to dissuade illegal recruitment and clandestine movement into the mines (Newitt 1995). “No longer content just to sit and wait for a haphazard flow of labour” (Bulpin 1954: 157), mine owners sought to systematize and control labor recruitment and, no doubt, to consolidate profits from it, by discouraging clandestine recruitment (conducted by unofficial recruiters in which the proper fees were not paid) and clandestine movement (in which men moved to the mines independently).

By 1905 a total of sixty-five receiving stations fed men to the fourteen camps run by white settlers. With one station every 300 square miles and almost fifteen hundred employees, WNLA exerted an influence over Southern Mozambique that was rivaled only the by the Portuguese administration..... Prospective mineworkers were generally recruited in their villages by black "runners," The men were assembled at receiving stations and then funnelled to camps run by white recruiters (Harries 1994: 178-179).

Nearly a decade later, in 1914, there were 75 official recruiting stations in southern Mozambique. These stations restricted who managed the "natives", how long they could work, and where they would be sent. A WNLA office was not placed in the Great Limpopo region until 1918 when the WNLA established a post at Pafuri. By then, however, unofficial recruiting channels had already been well established (Bulpin 1954; Murray 1995; Mavhunga 2003).

In the 19th century, a "motley" crew of outlaws which included men of German, English, and Dutch decent were drawn into Great Limpopo the region by the ivory trade (Murray 1995: 384). By century's end this group had settled near Makuleke, a Maluleke settlement at the junction of the Limpopo and Levubhu Rivers (Murray 1995; Bulpin 1954; Harries 1987). This "secluded and sinister wedge of land" became known as Crook's Corner, because the tri-border region offered the ability to hide from national authorities in one country by seeking refuge in the next (Bulpin 1954: 20; Murray 1995). Therefore, it was an ideal location for the activities that typified trade in ivory, guns, and people (Bulpin 1954; Murray 1995; Mavhunga 2003). With the demise of the ivory trade, by the end of the 19th century, these men, who became known as "blackbirders," had shifted their focus to labor.

Early in the 20th century, the Portuguese colonial administration remained dedicated to supplying labor to the South African mines. However, as the northern interior of the country began to be devoted to foreign-owned concession companies, colonial administrators also recognized that plantation agriculture required its own extensive labor supply. They struggled, therefore, to effectively balance their desire to reap the benefits of labor migration against the need to simultaneously invest in national development.

WNLA correspondence, presented below, illustrates the territorial tensions that emerged in this spatial organization of labor in particular between the claims on labor made by the concessions in the north and those made by the mines coming from the south. In 1911, the manager of the Matadane concession met a WNLA representative who was presumably

recruiting within the concession. The Concession Manager, wrote to the WNLA urging that they discontinue recruiting men north

May I point out to you that the residents of the Matadane are our employers, are registered in our books as such, and hold our labour tickets. Further the labour available is insufficient for our own work and we must therefore protest against your representatives entering our property for the purposes of inducing natives to work elsewhere (Excerpt from letter from Robert English, General Manager of Matadane Concessions to WCA Shepherd, Chief Agent. 19 September 1911. WNLA; File 194).

A WNLA manager, by way of explaining this letter to others in the association, wrote that the Matadane concession owner had apparently “come to some arrangement with the Government in Lisbon by which each native residing within the boundaries of his concession is registered as being in his employ” (Letter from R. Trotman, to Mr. Shepherd, Secretary Head Office of the WNLA in Johannesburg. 16 November 1911. WNLA File 194). The Matandane Concessions have, “I believe all rights as to the collecting and forcing the natives to sell them all the rubber collected on their property....(and) they consider all natives on their concession to be their employees... “ From the point of view of the WNLA, “this arrangement may have been made with a view to preventing our recruiting of natives on the concession” (*Ibid.*) The manager's suspicions seems to have been accurate.

These competing claims on labor materialized in the grand colonial project of transforming southern Mozambique into a labor reserve for South Africa while reserving northern Mozambican labor for the foreign-owned concessions. This objective gained tremendous traction in 1913 when, in response to pressure from concession owners and their political supporters in Lisbon, the South African Union government banned labor recruitment north of the 22nd parallel runs (Newitt 1995). While to the south of this line Portuguese

Africans were still available to work in the South African mines; to the north, those residing on concession land were obliged to become concession employees (Newitt 1995). As depicted in Figures 6.2 and 6.3, the 22nd parallel runs just north of the Great Limpopo region.

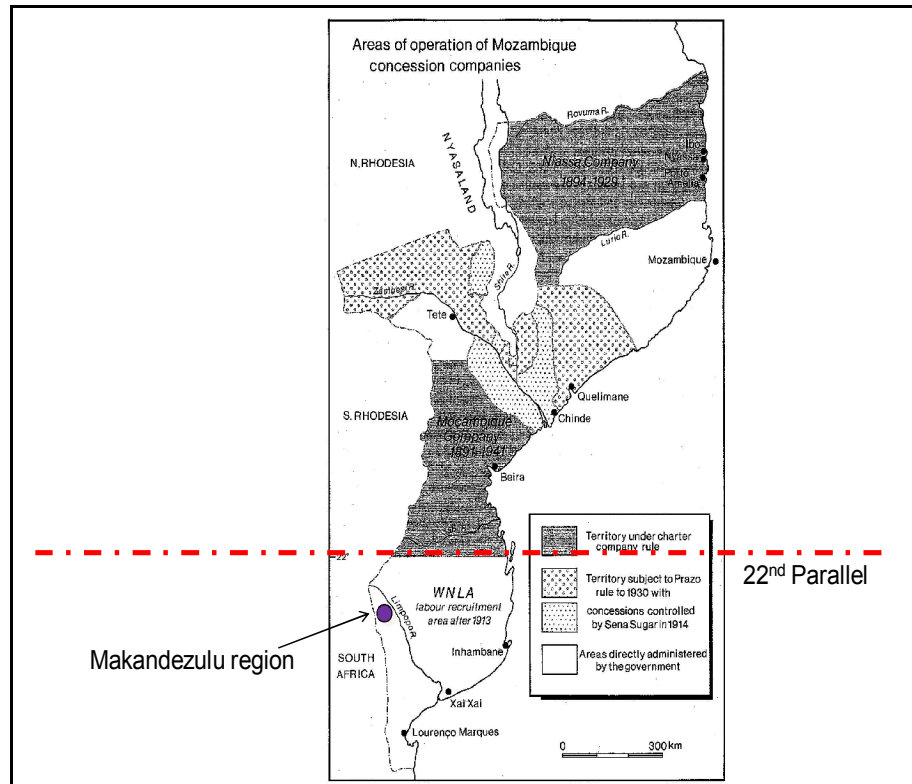


Figure 6.2: Mozambique's Territorial Division of Labor (source: Newitt 1995: 366)

The stated rationale of the law was to mitigate the heavy incidence of sickness and death of “Tropical Natives” en route to and from the mines (Newitt 1995). Indeed, the overland journey was trying, dangerous and deadly and men travelling further distances were particularly vulnerable (Harries 1994)²⁸. However, recruitment of men from the north also competed with the claims on labor being established by the concessions in that region who

²⁸ As one recruiter accounted “the skeletons of those who have died are frequently seen, and at almost every store and dwelling near the road can be found those whom sickness and fatigue.” (Harries 1977: 64-65).

equated their claims on land in the region with claims on the people residing there. Despite colonial policies attempting to tie labor to territory, it is clear that the 1913 lines in the cadastral did not halt movement into the Great Limpopo region from north of the 22nd parallel. On the contrary, after this prohibition was made, smuggling began, much of this traffic moving through Crook's Corner (Figure 6.3) (Bulpin 1954; Murray 1995; Mavhunga 2003).

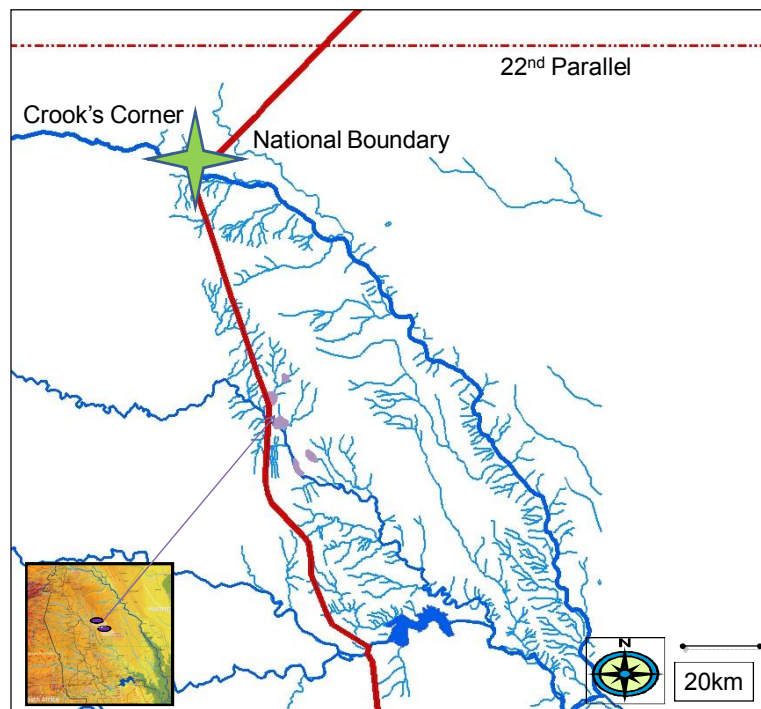


Figure 6.3: The transformation of southern Mozambique into a labor reserve

For example, the infamous hunter and recruiter, Cecil Barnard, developed an extensive trail system throughout Portuguese territory and used it to smuggle workers from north of the 22nd parallel to Crook's Corner where the men would be incorporated into the legal trade. Along the way to South Africa, Barnard had a string of chiefs that he worked with to get the

recruits from the north passed off as local men (Bulpin 1954). In 1917, his best year, Barnard recruited 3,350 Africans illegally, successfully moving them past both Portuguese and Transvaal police through his network of crooked trails and opportunistic chiefs (Bulpin 1954: 166). WNLA records provide further support of a trend whereby recruitment through sublegal channels proved more successful and lucrative than legal ones. During that same year, from September 1917-February 1918, reports show that 1,312 men were legally recruited in that region (Letter from Recruiter Holgate to District Manager in Lourenço Marques. 15 March 1918. WNLA Pad 197/1).

In June 1918, a WNLA district manager undertook a scouting trip in the Great Limpopo region. The manager described recruitment of men North of Latitude 22° S as one of the "outstanding features of present recruiting" at Crook's Corner (Letter from the District Manager to the Manager and Secretary of WNLA. 3 June 1918. WNLA file 194). He further described the proof of the nationality and place of origin of laborers moving through Pafuri as "valueless," because the "records have been consistently falsified by the Recruiters" (*Ibid*; see also Bulpin 1954). Correspondence between recruiter Stuart Erskine and a WNLA manager urging Erskine to stop recruiting in the region sheds further light on the matter. In September 1918, a notice was given to Stuart Erskine who received men and boys from Mozambique via Makuleke, that he was not to cease recruiting on the first day of the next month. Erskine responded that he had been recruiting "Portuguese boys" at Makuleka/Pafuri for the past 15 years, suggests that 95% of those recruited live north of the 22 parallel. He further asserted that that the government knowingly admitted these through the border at Pafuri so long as they claimed that they lived south of the 22nd. He refers to the 22nd parallel as an "arbitrary line" that was

“hastily decided upon by Parliament” with no effort “to discriminate between natives who were suitable for employment upon the Rand Mines and those who were not. Erskine estimates that prohibiting movement through the WNLA’s northern recruitment post of Pafuri/ Makuleka will deprive the industry of at least 3,000 labourers of which 80-90% would be employed in the Witswatersrand Mines (Letter from Recruiter Erskine to Imroth of the Native Recruitment Company work. September 1918. WNLA file 194).

Attempts to tie labor to land in northern Portuguese East Africa, therefore were opposed both by unofficial and WNLA recruiters, who had been receiving boys from northern Mozambique, including those areas occupied by concessions for decades. However, the 22nd sought not only to restrict the reach of recruiters, but also to limit the will of Africans, their labor opportunities and their patterns of movement. For migrant workers, the extensive agreements between colonial governments meant fees for permits passing into South Africa, taxing of wages, and work assignments detailing the location and, therefore the conditions of work, and the length of work contracts (Newitt 1995; Harris 1959; Harries 1994). Not surprisingly then, clandestine migration or unofficial travel to the mines for work, wherein recruits could "bargain for better wages, better employers and shorter contracts" (Harris 1959: 51), seems to have made up well over half of the total migrant labor force.

Early Conservation Measures

In the 1830s, the plains of southern Africa had been “teeming with wildlife” (Beinart 1990: 163). By the middle of the century, however, wildlife populations were in decline as European led groups, “penetrating deep into the interior,” undertook numerous notably big kills (Beinart 1990: 163- 164). The decline in wildlife was certainly evident in the decline in ivory. Throughout the 19th century, as European hunters moved in from the south, elephants, in turn, moved north (Murray 1995). In the 1850s the heart of the ivory trade was at the junction of the Nkomati and Olifantes River. From there the “ivory frontier” moved into and through the Great Limpopo region (Murray 1995; Mavhunga 2003). By the 1870s, the best elephant hunting had already moved north (Murray 1995: 381).

Throughout much of the 19th century, a diverse collection of groups engaged in wildlife extraction (Carruthers 1995; Wagner 1980). While oral historians asserted that Maluleke had established resource control over hunting grounds throughout this region, scholarship shows that In the 19th century, a Tsonga sub-group referred to as Hlengwe controlled the grounds north of the Limpopo, and Venda groups controlled the grounds to the south and west referred to as Bvesha (Wagner 1980: 326; Mavhunga 2008; Wolmer 2007). At the very least, it is apparent that resource control in the region remained contested among African groups. For example, after English moved to Xingomeni, war between Maluleke and Vanyani which as discussed in the previous chapter had been ongoing in the 19th century, started again, and many Malulekes were killed.

The region was also of interest to Portuguese colonial and Gaza Nguni polities who were trying to access the well established trade routes linking this region with Inhambane, a center of trade along the Mozambican coast (Wagner 1980: 326; Harries 1987). In addition, European sportsmen were drawn to the Great Limpopo Region and in particular the Transvaal by the abundance of wildlife and lack of hunting restrictions (Carruthers 1995). These were predominantly commercial hunters who with the assistance of Africans hunters severely exploited the wildlife populations (Carruthers 1995; Adams and McShane 1992). In contrast to the sportsmen, Boer settlers in this region had come to the Transvaal to escape British governance of the Cape Colony, and they sought an economic and subsistence means to maintain their independence. They found it in the seemingly sustainable African wildlife trade (Carruthers 1995: 10).

As wildlife populations in the region declined, white settlers in the Transvaal began to take legislative steps towards wildlife protection by managing hunting. These laws forbade foreigners to hunt in the region, limited kills to no more than could be used, and banned traditional African hunting techniques (Carruthers 1995). Additionally, some white residents began to consolidate wildlife on private farms where hunting was forbidden (Carruthers 1995). Despite these measures, by the end of the 19th century, extinction appeared eminent (Carruthers 1995; see also Beinart 1990). In reaction, at the turn of the century, Transvaal Government established game reserves, where hunting was restricted on specific plots of state lands. The Sabi Reserve, which spanned from the Crocodile River in the south to the Olifants River in the north, was proclaimed in 1898. Thereafter, in 1903, the Shingwedzi Game Reserve, which spanned from the Olifantes north to the Levubu was founded (Figure 6.4).

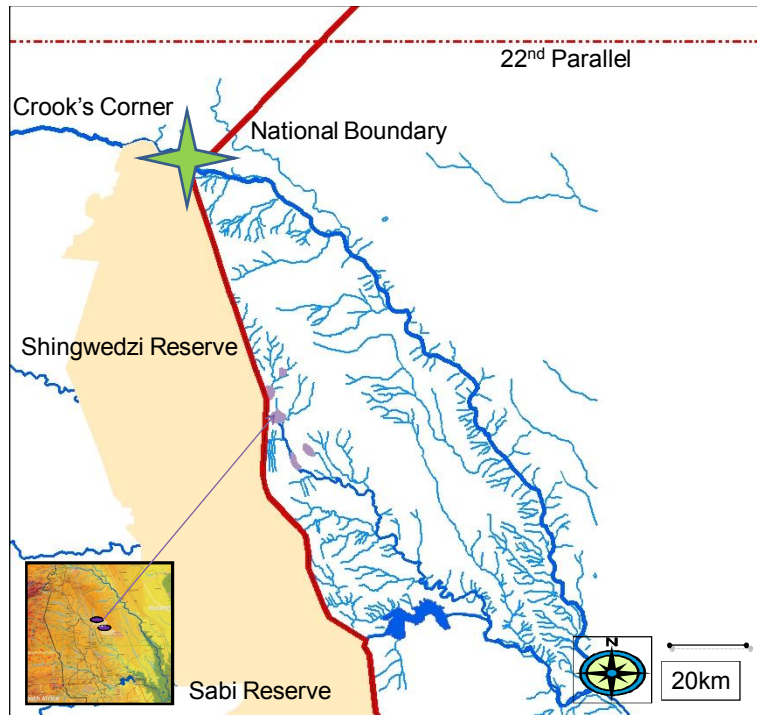


Figure 6.4: The Shingwedzi and Sabi Reserves

After the establishment of the Sabi reserve, two to three thousand Africans were removed from the Sabi Game Reserve (Carruthers 1995), and following the establishment of the Shingwedzi Reserve, "large numbers of Africans" including Maluleke ancestors were also forcibly removed (Harries 1987: 98). While many Malulekes moved north to Chief Mhinga area in South Africa (the Makuleke area), some decided to move to over the border and specifically, to the Makandezulu region (Interview with Million Casamula Maluleke, December 14, 2006). Among them was Casamula Mapimela Maluleke who was born on land that became consolidated by the Shingwedzi reserve and was living inside the area when it became a reserve. In Makandezulu, Casamula met Nyanissi Musamane Maluleke who was born in Chimangue. "He

fell in love with my mother and had us" (Interview with Million Casamula Maluleke, December 14, 2006).

After its establishment, Maluleke residents also appear to have remained in the Shingwedzi Reserve (see Carruthers 1995). For example, English Ngumbani Maluleke remained in Xingomeni and eventually became a police man Kruger National Park. Despite remaining in the reserve, the displacement context remained visceral. In both the Sabi and Shingwedzi game reserves, as well as in Kruger National Park, which was proclaimed in 1926, hunting was prohibited and Africans were forbidden to carry guns. The loss of this important protein source and valuable trade items were compounded by other displacement factors. First, Shingwedzi Reserve residents were treated as squatters who had to pay rent (Carruthers 1995). Second, residents were prohibited to carry guns, thus diminishing their wealth and their ability to protect themselves against dangerous animals or to hunt outside the reserve (Carruthers 1995). The Natives Land Act of 1913 further restricted (Carruthers 1995; Harries 1987).

Additionally, from 1913 through 1918 drought conditions and starvation persisted and poaching in Sabi and Sinwetsi Game Reserves increased significantly (Carruthers 1995: 93). Much of this poaching was attributed to Mozambicans (Carruthers 1995: 93).

Armed and hungry people made deep forays into game reserve territory, and police posts were established on the Mozambique side of the border in order to prevent illegal border crossings....Poaching parties from Mozambique, were large, well organized and accompanied by many dogs. They also had firearms, unlike Transvaal Africans who were not permitted to bear arms, and the African staff of the game reserve, carrying only assegais, was powerless against them (Carruthers 1995: 93).

Poaching was also attributed to the Maluleke clan, and by 1920 the first Makuleke hunters began to appear in courts on poaching charges (Steenkamp 2001; Harries 1987: 99). As traces

of Maluleke history are evident in the demise of ivory, they are also evident in the rise of gold, particularly with respect to their integration into migrant labor.

Moving in a Displacement Context

Throughout my time in Makandezulu, I conducted in-depth oral history interviews with seven men who, during the period of Portuguese colonialism, had spent much of their young adult life working in the South African mines. Among the dozens of questions I posed to these men was if their work in South Africa was ever forced. In the context of conservation-related resettlement, which most residents emphasize is not by their choice, volition was a particularly salient issue when discussing other types of mobility events. While all men characterized their choice to engage in migrant labor as having occurred within a displacement context or a context wherein their access to resources was restricted, the level of choice these men had is more difficult to convey.

Sampson Government Nkuna who is likely the living oldest resident of Makandezulu, described work in the South African mines as "very hard work," but he explained, "it was by my desire to leave here to go to South Africa." He further elucidated the level of decision-making he had over his own mobility with, in South Africa "you could work, and, if you were tired of being there, you could come back" (December 13, 2006). Million Casamuela Maluleke explained his decision to engage in migrant labor, noting that "the forced work was here in Mozambique, not in Johni" (15 November 2006). "Johni," short for Johannesburg, is a term used by many Makandezulu residents to signify South Africa. Further, Elias English Maluleke explained that his decision to seek migrant labor was influenced by rumors of maltreatment

people endured at the hands of Portuguese bosses. Hearing that "they would beat you.. in the colonial time, I ran away to the gold mines" (Elias English Maluleke, 15 November 2006).

Finally, Salomon Madjovolo Maluleke explained, "we were forced to work (in South Africa). At that time the Portuguese were selling us. They were earning from the South African government for us to work there" (March 5, 2007).

Despite the displacement context in which labor migration was undertaken, it is clear that Makandezulu residents, among other Portuguese East Africans, were active decision-makers in the migrant labor process. However, determining volition in migration, relocation, resettlement, and displacement contexts is a complicated and contested undertaking, further complicated by such "bald" categorizations as voluntary and involuntary (Schmidt-Soltau and Brockington 2007: 2184). Following the work of other scholars, it is perhaps more illuminative to discuss southern Africans' motivations to engage in migrant labor according to a set of push and pull factors (Wilson 1972; Norman 2004; Alexiades 2009).

Neither migrant labor nor the situation whereby laborers moved within a displacement context began with colonialism. During Gaza's reign men engaged in labor migration to honor economic regulations related to clientship and marriage; to cope with environmental factors linked to agricultural viability and fluctuations in cattle populations; to access technologies like guns and hoes; to negotiate political interactions including transformations in power; and to escape war, slavery, military inscription, and famine. Portuguese colonial administrators, however, certainly ratcheted up those conditions which induced men to work abroad. Colonial

work conditions were notoriously poor, characterized by forced labor and markedly low wages.

As argued by Harries (1994: 226-228):

The Portuguese did more than just sell Mozambique's basic means of production to the mines in exchange for hard currency; they sold Mozambican labour at bargain-basement prices and passed on the costs to the miners and the homestead economy.... Hut taxes, forced labour, military conscription, and, initially to a limited degree, land alienation obliged men to sell their labor to the mines for a wage well over 20 percent lower than their fathers and grandfathers.

Makandezulu residents appear to have evaded the forced agricultural labor present in the Limpopo Watershed (see Roesch 1992: 465) by engaging in migrant labor. Younger residents reported hearing cases from their fathers and grandfathers of Portuguese coming into Massingir, Bingo, Chimangue, Mapai, and Makandezulu to seek laborers. However, as word spread, "the men from each village would switch (go elsewhere)" (Derick Finias Maluleke, 15 November 2006).

Environmental conditions also pushed men to engage in work abroad, and during drought years the desire to work abroad increased significantly (Sampson Government Nkuna, December 13, 2006). By contrast, heavy flooding along the Limpopo River diminished migrant labor. For example, in 1953, there was a significant decrease in migration to the mines from the Great Limpopo region. Seeking to increase employment, the general manager of the WNLA's Gold Producer's Committee (name unavailable) visited the region. He found that abnormally heavy rains that year had contributed to an "excellent crop position." Additionally, "as a result of the excellent rains, the grass was now high enough for Natives to re-thatch their huts" (WNLA Pad 46A: 13 May 1953).

In addition to these push factors, socio-economic pull factors also contributed to the decision men made to leave their rural homesteads. Mine labor was difficult and dangerous, to say the least (First 1983; Norman 2004). However, through the generations, the motivations to work on the mines were substantial enough that by the turn of the century it was well integrated into the social fabric of southern Mozambique (Roesch 1992: 465; Norman 2004). Based on research conducted in the Shingwedzi Watershed village of Mavodze, Norman (2004) showed how mine labor became a rite of passage for Great Limpopo residents, an integral part of transitioning men through adolescence by providing them with the resources for marriage and building their own homesteads:

... former miners repeatedly referred to themselves as 'boys' or 'kids' when they first leave for South Africa. These 'boys' signed up at the Wenela (WNLA) recruitment centre and departed to serve their contracts in the mines. Having endured and survived the dangers in South Africa, they returned as men and with their earnings were able to purchase cattle with which to get married...(and with more contracts) to establish their own homesteads, independent of their fathers. (Norman 2004: 72).

Work in the mines provided men with money which they used to purchase for food, guns, ivory and other foreign goods and for paying colonial taxes and recruiting fees (Wilson 1972; Harries 1994; Roesch 1991). Most importantly, men also saved money from their contracts on the mines to contribute to their *lobola* or bride price (Wilson 1972; Norman 2004).

Interviews about the history of mobility and work during the colonial period, revealed a general pattern of Makandezulu men working in the mines as young adults and saving these early wages for the lobola required for their marriage. For example, Sampson Government Nkuna worked in South Africa throughout his young adult life. His work there began with a number of contracts in at least four different mines which Sampson recalls as Samanjac Mine,

Crown Mine, Josia Mine, and Jundry Mine. As is typical of his generation, when Sampson began work on the mines, he was unmarried. The money he saved contributed to the *lobola* for his first wife, Tatsawana, who was also from Wazulu.

Work in the mines was only half of Sampson's migrant labor history. After his first marriage, Sampson continued to travel west over the border, but this time on foot walking straight to "Skukuza" or Kruger National Park. In Skukuza, Sampson was employed primarily within the ranger station, but he was sometimes transferred over to the kitchen. Sampson explained that he worked in Skukuza for many years and married his second wife, Priscina, with the money he received from that work. After their marriage, Sampson continued to work in the KNP (Sampson Government Nkuna, December 13, 2006).

The full pattern of migrant labor histories began with Makandezulu men working in the mines as young adults, saving these early wages for the *lobola* required for their first marriage, and thereafter working in "Skukuza" or Kruger National Park. Officially, "Skukuza" is the main tourist and administrative camp of the Kruger National Park. However Makandezulu residents, among others, used this term to refer to the entire KNP²⁹. The term Skukuza derives from "the Zulu verb 'khukhuza', meaning 'to scrape clean'" and "originated as a nickname given by the local black population to Lieutenant-Colonel James Stevenson-Hamilton," the KNP's first warden (Rodgers 2009: 401).

²⁹ Alternatively, residents used the term "parki" in combination with a gesture towards the west to refer to the KNP.

The Use of Identity to Establish Access to Resources

While abroad, no residents established access to fields or trees in the bush. In the few cases where migrants did explicate an attempt to access forest resources, they were unable to do so within the context of privatized tenure in South African. These findings are not surprising because for the most part, residents were not seeking to farm or collect resources from the bush, instead, they sought labor opportunities.

In the early years of the 20th century (these were the fathers and grandfathers of the men I interviewed), Makandezulu residents appear to have traveled to the mines independently moving through land that would become Shingwedzi Reserve and Kruger National Park and evidently avoiding the tactics and exploitation endured by those coming from further away. While further research is needed to examine the degree to which this appears to be true and why, perhaps the knowledge of the physical landscape and the social networks afforded by Maluleke heritage enabled them to navigate the landscape.

By the time the Makandezulu residents I interviewed set out to work in the mines, however, Makandezulu residents traveled through the official recruitment channels rather than through the Kruger National Park. As one Makandezulu B resident explained it, "(Whereas in the old days), they used to leave from here going straight through Skukuza to work in Johannesburg in the mines...in my time everyone was going by Pafuri gate" (Fernando Maxagani Makwakwa, 11 June 2007). There was plenty of reason to avoid going through the park, and on an already treacherous journey, conservation implementation further restricted

movement to the mines and increased the dangers associated with wildlife encounters (see Frump 2006).

Legal travel to the mines meant that most Makandezulu residents walked to Mapai Ngala, located across from Mapai on the western side of the Limpopo River. In Mapai Ngala Makandezulu residents met up with Orlando Paes Mamede of Ngala Limited, a recruitment and transportation firm that transported the men to Pafuri by bus (Finias France Maluleke, 5 March 2007; Sampson Government Nkuna 13 December 2006)³⁰.

In Pafuri...they were giving us a permission paper to start working. Leaving Pafuri, we slept the next night in Mutata Antomini and after there to Zukomakhari.....From there, we took a train to Petersburg. From Petersburg to Pretoria until [we reached] Mozilikhasi, which was the center of the entire mines..... Once we arrived there, we were divided by the mines (Finias France Maluleke).

To get to Skukuza, Sampson and other residents traveled to KNP on foot, a route which Sampson described as easy and during which he never encountered trouble. Preceding Mozambican Independence and the villagization exercises which consolidated the population into the villages of Makandezulu A and B, the Makandezulu region was comprised of several hundred homesteads scattered throughout the region, clustered into hamlets and small villages. One of these was Xipelwine. Located at the foothills of the Lembobo Mountains and adjacent to Mozambique's border with the KNP, 'Xipelwine' means "to travel down and up." "In the Portuguese time", those Makandezulu residents who were employed as policemen in Kruger National Park or "Skukuza" would meet their families and exchange food, goods, and

³⁰ WNLA correspondence suggested that Ngala Limited also providing transport for men residing north of the 22° to Pafuri (Extract from Confidential letter dated 29th August 1952, addressed by Dr. T. Sasadura Botte to Mr. J.A. Gemmill).

their wages from the park (Fernando Johannes Matuki, June 9, 2007). This is also how men would travel to the KNP seeking work. "It was very easy to leave from here on foot, and when you arrived there in Skukuza, they had to give you permission papers to be there." (Sampson Government Nkuna, December 19, 2006). At that time they had good relations with the park. Movement over the border was easy, and from the perspective of many residents, these connections between Mozambique and South Africa were strong. "This was before FRELIMO when (Kruger National Park) employed a lot of people, (and) no one needed a passport" (Fernando Johannes Matuki, 9 June 2007).

"Everyone knew that we Shangaans were the best workers": Identity and access to labor

On the mines, men were isolated from the social institutions of the tiko and the homestead. As a result, ethnicity became one of mechanisms for affirming and re-affirming their relationships with one another (Harries 1994: 64). In the early 20th century, Shangaan identity was not only synonymous with, but also considered the most valued ethnicity of Portuguese East African identity. In chapter two, I showed how referring to the Maluleke and other Tsonga populations as Shangaan ascribes them to a political entity they were trying to resist. Correctly used 'Shangaan' should be applied to those people who adopted the material culture of the Gaza Nguni chief Shoshangane and those who were not under Gaza rule or whose ancestors fled from it should be distinguished from the term (Harries 1989: 86). Shangaan identity, however was not just an "exogenous creation" (Niehaus 2002: 562; Harries 1994). Shangaan identity crystallized through common experiences of being immigrants,

political flexibility, strategic allegiance, and an “experience of solidarity” developed in the South African mines (Niehaus 2002: 559).

As early as the 1870s Shangaan identity was beginning to signal a "nascent worker consciousness (that) linked these Tsonga-speaking communities..." (Harries 1989: 102).

Working in ethnic teams at the rock face bred solidarity. Miners were housed in ethnically segregated rooms and barracks in the mine compounds and their representatives and policemen were appointed on an ethnic basis. In a harsh and often hostile world, ethnicity took on some of the functions of the extended family." (Harries 1989: 102).

Eventually, ‘Shangaan’ became "an all-embracing term used to refer to the Tsonga-speaking peoples of southeast Africa and, in a more general way, to all Mozambicans employed in the South African mines" (Harries 1989: 86). On the mines managers employed ethnic lines to organize and control laborers. Specifically, from the perspective of the mine owners, organizing laborers in compounds along tribal lines protected the mines from formation of labor unions (Harries 1994, 1989). While ethnic and nationalistic identity was used to the benefit of employers, generations of Mozambican also used this stereotype. On the mines, they used it to etch out a place for themselves, to convey status, and to improve their labor opportunities while back home they used it to reinforce their identity as mine laborers back home. As expressed by Million with reference to work on the mines, "everyone knew that we Shangaans were the best workers" (Figure 6.5).



Figure 6.5: Million Casamule Maluleke, former migrant laborer

Shangaan ethnicity, even if fictively derived, provided laborers with social fabric through which they could forge membership and self-identity.

As on the mines, national and ethnic identity also contributed to access to work in Skukuza (Bunn 2001; Rodgers 2009). Set in contrast to a national backdrop of modernization and industrialization, part of Kruger National Park's success was the envisioning of a simpler time (Bunn 1991). As described by Bunn, the Park Board "sought to preserve in the Park stable forms of ethnicity like the Shangaan gate guards, police boys and trackers" (Bunn 2001: 19). Considered closer to the real Shangaan ethnicity, less damaged than South African blacks by modernization, and more obedient, Mozambicans provided "a static 'Shangaan' essence" (Bunn 2001: 18). For their part and when they were not being linked to poaching (Carruthers 1995; Steenkamp 2001), Mozambicans "played into these perceptions in ways that enhanced their

tactics ... over time and within the racial hierarchy of the KNP, Mozambicans were able to secure their place on the social landscape of the KNP" (Rodgers 2009: 406).

The perception that Mozambican employees demonstrated a quintessential Shangaan identity was also wrapped up in being obedient and loyal blacks rather unlike their South African counterparts (Bunn 2001). Mozambican workers in the KNP were described by the Park as "skilled, loyal and hardworking occupying senior positions within the game ranger unit" (Rodgers 2009: 405). The notion that Mozambican workers were loyal was reflected Makandezulu residents were successful in catching other Mozambicans and other Shangaan poachers. For example, Million's duties were "to attack the poachers" and "kill the hunting dogs" that accompanied them. According to Million many of these hunters were indeed Mozambicans, "the people who hunted in the KNP were coming from Mozambique... we would catch them and hold them there in Skukuza" (Million Casamula Maluleke, December 14, 2006). Makandezulu residents also maintained long-term commitments to their jobs in Skukuza often working there upwards of a decade or longer, all the while maintaining links to Makandezulu. Apparently this was not atypical of other Mozambican employees, because by the late 80s, 90% of Mozambican employees in the Kruger Park had been hired before 1974 (Rodgers 2009).

The perception of loyalty also likely stemmed from the pervasive patriarchal relationships between them. As on the mines, in the KNP Mozambican employees, extremely vulnerable to deportation, were much less likely to unionize or strike than their South African counterparts (Rodgers; Bunn 2001: 19). Be that as it may, relations between white bosses and black employees were notably amiable, and there is indication of some depth in the relations

between these groups that merits further research. During Mozambique's Civil War period which corresponded to the fall of white minority rule in southern Africa, the Park's Board who considered itself to be a "friend of the natives" (Bunn 2001: 19), defended employees against the South African State who sought to fire all Mozambicans (Rodgers 2009). From the resident point of view and particularly in contrast to the often strained relations between LNP residents and park administrators, as described by Sampson, Makandezulu residents had good relations with the police from KNP who would come to Makandezulu region to share beer during Christmas (Interview with Sampson Government Nkuna, 13 December 2006). "Skukuza didn't want to employ whatever person; [they wanted to hire] only people from here. The residents of this area (Makandezulu); they were the bosses there" (Sampson Government Nkuna, 13 December 2006).

Coutada 16 Hunting Concession

Following the establishment of Kruger National Park in 1926, the Union of South Africa began to pressure its neighbors to the east and north, Portuguese East Africa and Rhodesia, to institute comparable conservation measures on the land adjacent to Kruger (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009; Duffy 1997). Initially, however, the Portuguese colonial government resisted these early transfrontier conservation visions, because the Portuguese had other priorities for the region linked to the anticipated development of the Massingir Dam (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009).

The Portuguese colonial State did, however, see the potential value of managing hunting in the region, and in particular they viewed "migration of game from the Kruger National Park as an asset, stating that every winter – i.e. every hunting season – large numbers of game crossed the border from the Kruger" (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009: 11-15). As a result, in 1932, Portugal's answer to South Africa's call to control hunting in the region adjacent to the Kruger emerged in the form of a *coutada* or hunting concession where "hunting was controlled, but not prohibited.... (and) in the rest of the District hunting was free" (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009: 15). While not officially designated Coutada 16 Hunting Concession until 1960, since at least the 1930s the LNP was managed as a hunting reserve.

In the hunting concession, hunting was limited to permit holders, mainly whites, who worked with local guides (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009). However, part of the *coutada*'s draw was that tourists would "would have no problems finding local guides" (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009: 14-15). Indeed local residents, including Makandezulu residents, commonly served as game scouts for Portuguese, South African, and other colonial hunters in the region (see also Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009).

Conclusion

Despite the displacement context in which labor migration occurred, Makandezulu residents clearly perceive of their participation in migrant labor by choice. On the mines and in Skukuza, Makandezulu residents appealed to nationalistic and Shangaan identity to access labor opportunities. Therefore, by calling the Makandezulu Maluleke "Shangaan" we attach them to a polity their ancestors aimed to escape, but we also include them in the history of the

Mozambican miner, an identity many in the region earned, adopted, and embodied with great pride (Comaroff and Comaroff 1987).

The objective of waged labor was not only to establish access to resources abroad but also to bring these resources back to improve the situation back home. For migrant laborers, the primary means to establishing and extending access back home was through marriage. Waged labor enabled workers to purchase food, guns, ivory and other foreign goods and to pay the colonial hut tax imposed by colonists (Roesch 1991). Most importantly, however, it enabled men to put together their *lobola* or bride price. In terms of territory, having a wife meant access to labor, to the subsistence provided by women's work, and the ability to establish access to more fields and forest products (Harries 1994). More importantly, marriage and reproduction provided the means to increasing the population of the family and tiko. Therefore while men's work brought people away from the territory to explore other labor opportunities, women's work and reproduction maintained and even extended the territory back home.

Preceding the 19th century, Maluleke territory was not fixed, because as people moved and shifted, the territory expanded, contracted, and shifted in response. With the onset Portuguese colonialism and modern State territoriality in southern Mozambique, the ability for Makandezulu residents to take their territory with them when they moved was severely diminished as state boundaries and tenure systems focused on fixity displaced these customary and highly mobile institutions of resource control. Within the pervasive displacement context of Portuguese colonialism in southern Mozambique, Makandezulu residents still managed to

use mobility as a resource if not for establishing their territory in other places, then for accessing resources abroad and using these resources, in turn, to extend their territory back home.

7.

"It was a movement to be protected": War and Refuge Seeking in Makandezulu

With independence, Mozambican mobility patterns changed dramatically. In 1976, a fence was constructed on the eastern edge of the Kruger National Park. Reportedly built for wildlife protection, the fence also corresponded to South Africa's discontent with the fall of white majority rule in their country. While perhaps the most visible deterrent to migration, the fence was only one factor diminishing migrant labor. In addition, South Africa ceased recruiting Mozambican labourers and failed to honour the system of deferred payments for work already completed (Newitt 1995). Violence associated with the war for Zimbabwean Independence further disrupted cross border movement. As the geographic mobility of black men, including Makandezulu residents, came to a temporary halt, that of the former colony's white population ensured, and the majority of Portuguese descendents left Mozambique. Shortly following this white flight other types of mobility events would soon shape the mobility history of Makandezulu residents.

In this chapter, I examine the political ecology of access and mobility in Makandezulu during the post-independence, Civil War, and repatriation periods, which span from

approximately 1975 to 1995. Drawing from Lunstrum (2007, 2009) I analyze the displacement context wrought by external groups through a comparison of FRELMO reterritorializations and RENAMO deterritorializations of space. The origins of both FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) and RENAMO (Mozambique National Resistance Movement) remain complex and highly contested due, not only to the intense and protracted political nature of both villagization and Civil War, but also the diverse means through which each group articulated with the micro-politics of specific villages and homesteads throughout Mozambique (Lubkemann 2005). This analysis, therefore, is notably coarse. Both FRELIMO and RENAMO were military groups turned political parties who depended on bordering nations to consolidate power. Since the fall of Portuguese colonialism, though FRELIMO has maintained presidential power, both parties continue to dominate the Mozambican political system. Most importantly for the purposes of this chapter, in the 1970s and 80s the territorial tactics of both groups contributed to the mobility and displacement of Makandezulu residents; though, as this chapter will show, RENAMO much more so than FRELIMO.

I designed my dissertation research based on the assumption that I would be able to categorize a particular set of mobility events as one political process called "villagization." As this chapter will show, however, this assumption proved false. During the 1980s and 90s, Makandezulu residents did move from their relatively well watered hamlets and villages comprised of dispersed homesteads, fields, kraals, and groves to the present-day sites of Makandezulu A and Makandezulu B, located right along the road. However, the movements associated with residents' decisions to "live a community life" did not occur in one discrete block of time, nor did they occur in reaction to FRELIMO- induced villagization, in which the

new Independence government sought plan to resettle and sedentarize the new citizenry into urban centers and communal villages throughout the country. Instead, resident movement from Wazulu, Gazinga, Nwetine, Gazon, and Xipelwine to Makandezulu A and B was initiated by violence wrought throughout the region by RENAMO. The "movement to be protected", however, was a temporary one, because soon after this initial move, Makandezulu residents moved again, abandoning the region all together in the heat of Mozambique's protracted Civil War.

During the war, one-third of residents took refuge in villages along the Limpopo River while two-thirds of the population went abroad to Gazankulu, a former homeland of South Africa. In both places, Makandezulu residents accessed resources through webs mechanisms forged by strands of identity, generosity, and work. They did not, however, establish resource control. As in the colonial period, Maluleke territory remained behind displaced residents in the Makandezulu region; it was severely diminished, but had not come undone.

FRELIMO reterritorialization

Under colonial rule, the Portuguese "underdeveloped" the country by exploiting labor and resources to create an economy that predominately fed external interests to the severe detriment of internal investments (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983). Portuguese East Africa had been characterized by economic underdevelopment, social disintegration, and inordinately high illiteracy rates (Newitt 1995; Isaacman and Isaacman 1983). Additionally, because the pervasive colonial police prevented African independence organizations within the country, the

population was effectively distanced from the ideas of African nationalism and the trade unions that were transforming other African nations (Newitt 1995: 520). Portuguese administrators, however, could not control the education and mobilization that occurred both in foreign Universities - among others, FRELIMO's first president, Eduardo Mondlane, attended Universities both in Europe and the United States - and in the mines (Newitt 1995: 521). As a result, the Mozambican Independence movement was born abroad (Newitt 1995). Based primarily out of Tanzania, FRELIMO launched its military campaign in 1964, and beginning in the north, FRELIMO liberated the country in sections before securing Mozambican Independence (Newitt 1995). In 1975 Portuguese colonialism ended, and Mozambique, under the leadership of FRELIMO, became an independent nation.

It is common rhetoric to hear that Portuguese colonists left not a light bulb behind them when they left the country, and in some cases went out of their way to sabotage infrastructure throughout the country, especially those projects that were in the midst of completion at Independence (Newitt 1995; Isaacman and Isaacman 1983). In combination with an economic recession and severe flooding and drought in the Limpopo River Valley, these circumstances severely undermined FRELIMO's ability to achieve some semblance of a smooth transition to independence (Newitt 1995; Roesch 1992).

To address these problems socially and economically disenfranchised, FRELIMO instituted an ambitious socialist agenda based on a pervasive ethic of nationalism under the leadership of Samora Machel, a former military commander and the nation's first president. FRELIMO prioritized social integration through education, health care, and the emancipation of

women (Newitt 1995). As for the economy, industry was the main development goal for urban areas, and in rural areas, where the vast majority of the population lived, the overarching objective was to increase agricultural production (Lunstrum 2007). To accomplish these goals, FRELIMO instituted a nation-wide villagization campaign, which in rural areas, entailed transforming settlement from dispersed hamlets to communal villages (Lunstrum 2007: 108-109; Covane 2001).

In many respects, villagization was an experiment in reterritorialization (Lunstrum 2007). Through villagization, FRELIMO sought to dramatically alter the political organization of space and the means through which people derived benefits from the resource base. Drawing from reports of the National Commission of Communal Villages (*Comissão Nacional das Aldeias Comunaís*) from 1979 to 1981, Lunstrum detailed these plans as follows:

The “basic unit of organization” of the communal village would be the *lote* (lot) or *talhão* (plot); each individual family would have its own lot where its members could cook, sleep, and relax. Several lots would together form a *bloco* or *quarteirão* (block) which would themselves form a *bairro* (neighborhood). And *bairros* would come together to form a communal village. In the center of the village or of each *bairro* (depending on the size of the village) would be communal space for public meetings. Each village (or *bairro*) would also have a school that could be located either in the village center.... The village proper would thus be broken down into spaces for family use (which would consist of family lots) and spaces for collective use (which would consist of village centers, schools, etc)....The village proper, or *zona de habitação*, would itself be surrounded by the *zona de produção* where the communal farms could be found... The *zona de produção* would also contain forested areas (Lunstrum 2007: 117-119).

By instituting a sharp separation between residential and productive spaces (Roesch 1992: 465) FRELIMO sought to restructure, not only the spatial attributes of daily life but also the institutions which mediated people's relationships to the resource base. Concentrating a dispersed population into villages had the advantages of increasing agricultural outputs, creating a more efficient government services program, providing labor for communal farms and increasing sedentarization (Lunstrum 2007; Covane 2001). Villagization was also grounded in the assumption of improvement and the "thinly veiled subtext" that reorganizing the population made it a better objects of political control (Scott 1998: 224; Lunstrum 2007).

When FRELIMO came to power, independence administrators sought to create a new national identity in part by replacing traditional governance structures with a modern structure, united from the nation's top level of administration, the president, all the way down to rural villages where secretaries presided (Newitt 1995). While the formal rules of the patriliney had to go underground, in practice they appear to have been very much in play. As described by Tanner (2002: 9), "local people continued to think of the areas in which they lived as 'theirs'." Not only were "traditional authority structures" still in place, "they managed the vast bulk of land and natural resource use," and continued to be "accorded a high level of legitimacy by local people" (Tanner 2002: 9).

Resistance to the program of villagization, therefore, was rampant (Newitt 1995). In the rural hinterlands of Gaza Province where the separation between household and agricultural production would have been even more dramatic, resistance was likely to be even greater (Roesch 1992). Nonetheless, villagization moved forward. The potential for agricultural growth

in the Limpopo Valley made Gaza Province a top priority for villagization (Roesch 1992: 465; Lunstrum 2007). By 1980s, over one hundred communal villages had been formed in Gaza Province, primarily along the well watered southern districts but also in the arid districts to north (Roesch 1992: 465). Two such villages were Makandezulu A and Makandezulu B, among other Shingwedzi Watershed villages located further south (Figure 1.2).

In the first five years of independence, FRELIMO was extremely popular and "highly successful in translating this support, and the intense post-independence nationalist euphoria which underlay it, into a widespread process of active popular engagement with its radical agenda for social change" (Roesch 1992: 466). As a result, during the "great wave of communal village formation" that occurred in the nation during this period, (Roesch 1992: 465) though many would have preferred not to move, many accepted resettlement out of a sense of duty to FRELIMO (Roesch 1992).

Southern Mozambicans were, by and large, FRELIMO supporters and enthused about moving the new Independent nation forward (Roesch 1992). At the same time, however, residents were, at the same time, apprehensive about villagization (Roesch 1992). Throughout Gaza Province, therefore, villagization was facilitated by conditions which restricted resident resource access (Lunstrum 2007; Roesch 1992; Covane 2001). In other words, for many Gaza residents villagization occurred within a displacement context. In particular, 1977 flooding of the Limpopo River which was described as a "catalyst for socialist transformation" (Covane 2001: 56), displaced hundreds of thousands of people "whom the government was able to rapidly resettle into planned village communities on the high ground above the flood plain"

(Roesch 1992: 465). As for the arid hinterlands of the province, violence was spilling over from Zimbabwe, formerly known as Rhodesia, where this nation's own war for independence was underway. Political unrest further encouraged residents to comply with villagization schemes (Roesch 1992). In Makandezulu, however, this was not the case. Residents resisted villagization even in the face of violence spilling over the border from Zimbabwe.

The first of three villagization scenarios, Makandezulu residents described was conceived for several of the northernmost villages and settlements formerly spread along the Shingwedzi Watershed, was to form one large village which would be located between present-day Machamba and Chimangue (Celina Makwakwa, November 21 2006). Of note, this scenario was only described or acknowledged by a handful Makandezulu residents, and interviewees provided little detail about this villagization plan beyond indicating, for example, that they "heard the government wanted to do this". Makandezulu residents' overall lack of knowledge of this initial scenario seems to imply that it was much less developed than a parallel plan described by Lunstrum (2007) devised for Massingir District and villages along the Olifantes River. This is likely due, first, to the fact that villagization in Massingir District was undertaken in association with the completion of the Massingir Dam and CAIL (the Limpopo Valley Agro-Industrial Complex) which formed the Limpopo River Valley's largest state farm (Lunstrum 2007: 110-111). Second, mounting violence associated with the Ian Smith War likely also contributed to the demise of this first scenario while contributing to the formulation of a second.

Makandezulu residents disliked this initial villagization scenario, because it entailed parting with the ancestors (Elias English Maluleke, November 21, 2006) and because there was a lack of *makwakwa* trees in the proposed villagization site (Celia Matsileni Makwakwa, November 21, 2006). Signaling not only the desire to be close to those relatives who have passed away and the importance of *makwakwa* as a livelihood resource, residents evoked the social relationships and the everyday practices, discussed in Chapters Four and Five, that legitimize residents' positions as resource controllers. For Makandezulu residents, villagization was more than a restructuring of settlement, it was a devaluing of what comprises local territory.

In Makandezulu as well as in the LNP village of Massingir Velho (see Lunstrum 2007) resident resistance had much to do with access to and control of resources. As I illustrated in Chapters Three and Four, before villagization settlement patterns in Makandezulu were by no means random. Those residents of Wazulu and Gazinga among others settlement clusters were members of the Xilolo-Maxavele (Makandezulu A) tiko, while those residing along the banks of the Shingwedzi Xipelwine, Gazone, and Nwetini were members of the Miyamissi- Ngatsone (Makandezulu B) tiko. Resource control was geopolitically organized by lineage.

In the years preceding Mozambican Independence in 1975, the Makandezulu region was comprised of several hundred homesteads scattered throughout the region in a handful of small hamlets including Wazulu and Xipelwine. Located at the foothills of the Lembobo Mountains Xipelwine, meaning “to travel down and up,” was named for the step-like terrain that leads to the Mozambican border and South Africa's Kruger National Park (Fernando

Johannes Matuki, 9 June 2007). There, "in the Portuguese time", those Makandezulu residents who were employed as policemen in Kruger National Park or "Skukuza" would cross the border for work or meet their families and exchange food, goods, and their wages from the park (Fernando Johannes Matuki, June 9, 2007).

In 1961, tapping into the wages migrant laborers were bringing or sending home every year from South Africa and perhaps also supplying the needs of foreign hunters, Orlando "Paes" Mowumede built a store in Xipelwine (Sebastiao William Maluleke, June 12, 2007; Fernando Johannes Matuki, June 9, 2007). The building contained a few large rooms and a balcony. Paz also kept a large garden in Xipelwine and four large *kraals*. In the years immediately preceding Mozambican independence, Paes' store functioned as an unofficial school for local children. Following independence, Paes left the country. Residents moved the school across the road where it became the first official school in Makandezulu (Sebastião William Maluleke June 12, 2007). The school was administered by a FRELIMO appointed teacher from Chicualacuala. Sebastião Maluleke, who was among the school's first cohort, estimated that approximately 90 students attended the school, one child from every family with children coming from as far away as the next tiko to the south, Chimangue (Sebastião William Maluleke, June 12, 2007; Fernando Johannes Matuki, June 9, 2007). The school was open for only two years before violence from the neighboring war, referred to as the Ian Smith War by Makandezulu residents³¹, spilled over into the Makandezulu region, displacing the teacher and forcing the school to close.

³¹ Casting each war in the image of the opposition, Makandezulu residents refer to the Zimbabwean Independence War as the Ian Smith war and the Mozambican Civil War as the RENAMO war.

A major characteristic of the Zimbabwean war was attacking guerilla bases in Mozambique, a practice which escalated between 1976 and 1979 and effected the entire district of Chicualacuala (Preston 2004) including Makandezulu.

The first war was happening in 1976 while I was back in Mozambique after working for Kruger.... (It) was between Ian Smith and Zimbabwe. Zimbabweans fled to Mozambique and Ian Smith followed them. He killed both Mozambicans and Zimbabweans, because he didn't know the difference between them.... Four people from Wazulu (tiko of Maxavele)... died along the road in Wazulu....They were shot. One was a grandchild and two were my sister's children.... It was assumed that (the people in the cart) were Zimbabweans because they were carrying corn in a donkey cart and the Zimbabweans did the same thing (Elias English Maluleke, July 18, 2003).

As violence ensued, FRELIMO's mission in the region changed dramatically from economic development to protecting people first from Ian Smith and later from REMAMO. Throughout the northern districts of Gaza Province this violence corresponded to new villagization projects (Roesch 1992). However, while true for other parts of Chicualacuala District, my data suggest that the violence associated with the Ian Smith war did not correspond to villagization in Makandezulu.

Soon after the closing of the school in Xipelwine, "*Guardas da Frontiera*" or frontier soldiers, arrived in this location and occupied the site of Paes' abandoned store (Sebastiao William Maluleke, June 12, 2007). These soldiers were appointed to defend the region against ensuing violence coming over the border from Zimbabwe (Sebastiao William Maluleke, June 12, 2007; Bernardo Jackson Ngonhama, June 9, 2007). Part and parcel with this strategy, soldiers sought to gather residents from their dispersed homesteads and settlements to form one village.

According to this second scenario, residents of the Xololo/Maxavele tiko would join residents of the Miyamissi/ Ngatsone tiko and move together to the site that eventually became Makandezulu B (Figure 4.5). As illustrated in the excerpt below, however, this plan also met resistance.

Interviewee 130: Before the war, we were spread out there, there, and there! They made us move close together.

RW: Did they try to make you move to Makandezulu B?

Interviewee 130: There was this idea, but it was not possible, because a person cannot accept to leave by force.

RW: Who did this?

Interviewee 130: The Government! After the Ian Smith war, people refused to move. The government came several times, and the people said if you don't want us, we can go to South Africa.

Resistance to this second scenario stemmed from the perception that, when joining the tiko of Ngatsone, members of the Maxavele tiko would lose status in the lineage and thus resource control. So salient is this component of the Maluleke access regime that some residents of Maxavele *tiko* would have preferred instead to move to Panyame along the Limpopo River (Sebastião William Maluleke, May 3, 2007). There, they would also lose status in the lineage and resource control, but they had closer family ties that would convey a higher degree of resource access than in the tiko of Ngatsone (Sebastião William Maluleke, May 3, 2007).

A few years later, however, the violence wrought by RENAMO in association with Mozambican's protracted Civil War displaced Makandezulu residents severely enough to force

many to move to the FRELIMO bases, ultimately and indirectly, marking their initial compliance with villagization.

Following Zimbabwean Independence, the frontier soldiers left Makandezulu but in the years thereafter many more FRELIMO soldiers returned, this time to fight RENAMO. As was illustrated in the closing of the school in Xipelwine and the death of those Makandezulu residents in the donkey cart, the violence associated with the Zimbabwean war (referred to as the first war below) certainly reached the Makandezulu region and its residents. However, it paled in comparison to the violence wrought by RENAMO. In general, "Ian Smith mainly aimed for soldiers." The violence associated with the RENAMO war, however, "was a different thing." Elias continued, relative to the practices of RENAMO, "I can almost thank Ian Smith a little bit for not killing women and children..." (Elias English Maluleke, July 18 2003). Another resident of Makandezulu B further compared the violence associated with both conflicts with, "Ian Smith was not against us; RENAMO was. They were coming to our homesteads and killing us." Resistance to villagization and the corresponding loss of resource control in Makandezulu was significant. Before the Civil War arrived in Makandezulu, FRELIMO had encouraged Makandezulu residents to move together twice, and twice Makandezulu residents successfully resisted the relocation project. However, there were limits to this resistance and as the violence began to heat up, resident movement began.

RENAMO deterritorialization

At the same time that minority white rule was falling in Mozambique, it was also falling in Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia). RENAMO was initially comprised of antagonists to

the Mozambican Independence movement who formed small counter-insurgency squads that supplied information to the Portuguese intelligence service (Hall 1990). Following Mozambican independence, RENAMO shifted its focus to Zimbabwe (former Rhodesia). RENAMO scouted for the Rhodesian army in its war against the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army, ZANLA, and worked to sabotage Mozambican support for Zimbabwe's independence movement (Hall 1990; Newitt 1995). Following Zimbabwean Independence in 1979, RENAMO's external backing shifted to South Africa, and its military focus, back to Mozambique (Newitt 1995). Working from bases in South Africa, RENAMO's mission became destabilizing FRELIMO through sabotage and violence (Roesch 1992; Lubkemann 2005; Newitt 1995). As a result, throughout the 1980s, FRELIMO's hold on its borders remained insecure.

While RENAMO initially depended on forced recruitment to build its military, RENAMO did establish a significant grassroots element in Mozambique linked to Shona-speaking people of Zambezia Province in the north (Roesch 1992; Lubkemann 2005; Newitt 1995). Additionally, the group was able to take advantage of widespread discontent with FRELIMO's policies, particularly villagization (Roesch 1992; Newitt 1995). In the earlier stages of war, RENAMO focused much of its attention in the middle of the country. There RENAMO targeted schools, health clinics, infrastructure, and communal villages - those institutions that were FRELIMO priorities in the first years following independence (Newitt 1995; Azevedo 2002). However, RENAMO also targeted people and regardless of the group's genesis and its grassroots ties, RENAMO's success and thereafter its downfall can be linked to the violence it directed at people (Hall 1990; Gersony 1988).

Gersony (1988) divided RENAMO incursions into three zones: taxation, control, and destruction (Hall 1990; Gersony 1988). In taxation zones, RENAMO presence was relatively limited, and the strategy seemed to be one of extraction. Local residents were used expected to pay tributes of food and other goods to RENAMO soldiers. In control zones, residents endured "onerous forced labour, especially involving portorage duties, and other abuses" (Hall 1990: 53)

A majority of Gersony's interviewees who had resided in a control zone had personally witnessed severe punishment or death inflicted on captives apprehended while trying to escape, and reported that when individuals made successful escapes, any dependents left behind might be executed in retribution. In general, these punishments were conducted publicly, as a deterrent. The effect of this violence may have been to induce passivity- and a sense of fear, anxiety and helplessness-in the populations concerned. (Hall 1990: 53)

Residents of destruction zones, of which the Makandezulu and other villages along the Shingwedzi Watershed appear to have been a part, suffered even worse treatment.

The war's associated violence did not reach Gaza Province until the early 1980s; thereafter, "by 1987, the war spread to every district of the province, severely crippling the province's economy and displacing over 100 000 people from their homes" (Roesch 1992: 468). By the mid 80s both RENAMO and FRELIMO were present in the Great Limpopo Region. RENAMO set up bases in the hinterlands and from there would work to attack newly formed villages in the Limpopo Valley (Roesch 1992). Additionally, there were RENAMO camps within the LNP. One RENAMO base was to the south of the Makandezulu region near Massingir Velho.

A second RENAMO base was located in the northeastern corner of the park in a region referred to as Lelau and a third was located between Chimangue and Machamba.

From these bush camps, RENAMO soldiers would attack the Makandezulu region as well as other villages along the northern reaches of the Shingwedzi Watershed (Lunstrum 2007). Makandezulu and the other villages along the Shingwedzi Watershed may have been particularly vulnerable due to their location near the border of South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Elias provided a vivid account of RENAMO practices in the region.

RENAMO killed woman and children. If RENAMO found people; [for example] two people sitting around like there where we were sitting, the soldiers would make the two fight each other until one died. The RENAMO soldiers would kill the remaining one..... If a soldier found a pregnant woman, he would cut her open, take out the baby, and leave them..... If they found people making fire, they put the hot triangle [used for cooking above fire] and place it around their neck.... Soldiers would cut the skin off your nose and the upper lip...but first they would un-sharpen the knife by cutting a rock... [They would] burn a machete until it's red, then put it between [a person's] arm and their body....They would make the person hold the machete tight under their armpit, tight to burn.... (Elias English Maluleke, July 18 2003).

Interviews with other residents also revealed a similar pattern of violence and variety. For example, Sampson recalled, "if RENAMO found an old man who could barely walk, they would kill him. If RENAMO found storage, they would raid it, then burn it" (Interview with Sampson Government Nkuna, July 16, 2003). Interviews also suggested that this activity was not limited to the Makandezulu region. In Mavodze, RENAMO soldiers killed cattle, cut down the fresh corn in the fields, and burned the food storage units. In at least one case they, forced women

to carry the corn for the soldiers, and then subsequently killed the women (Mavodze residents, July 14, 2003).

RENAMO's ability to ratchet up the violence had clear consequences for resident mobility. In response to the violence, residents hid in the bush, they gathered at FRELIMO bases in the region for protection, and they took up arms. Thereafter, and as a last defense, they eventually fled the region. The strategy of setting up temporary bush camps seems to have been a regional response to RENAMO incursions. From their camps, RENAMO would "come at night to attack the village" (interview with Thomas Elias Maluleke, November 17, 2006).

"When we saw the enemy [RENAMO], then we were running. Running to the bush to hide. We would be there in the forest for 3 days at a time hiding, bringing our cattle with us (Thomas, November 17, 2006).

In Mavodze two residents who had fought with FRELIMO soldiers during the war described how they would try to draw RENAMO soldiers away from the women, children, cattle, and fields hidden in the bush (July 14, 2003).

Relative to residents vivid portrayals of the strategies of RENAMO attacks, resident's descriptions of life hiding in the bush were sporadic and vague. Among the few explicit memories shared of time spent hiding in the bush came when one of the oldest living residents of Makandezulu described a period of intense rain in the region, a rarity in Makandezulu, and as a consequence, how his clothing "turned to rags". Further indication of time spent hiding in the bush emerged in the context of interviews about wild tree and plant use. During war, there was a heavy dependence on trees fruits and roots. Particularly salient tree species were

recalled as trees "that saved us in the time of war" and "this tree saved us while the enemy chased us". Additionally wild plants eased the suffering of residents suffering from and protected residents from the enemy as they hid in the bush (Calvin Watchi Maluleke, May 1, 2007; Samuel Maluleke, March 1, 2007).

Throughout the nation, the ability for FRELIMO to communicate with and protect its citizenry was compromised by a lack of infrastructure, radio communications, and high illiteracy rates (Lunstrum 2007). However, FRELIMO did send soldiers. Whereas RENAMO set up bases in the bush, FRELIMO set up just outside of villages (at least in the Makandezulu region). There were two FRELIMO bases in the Makandezulu region, one in Wazulu just west of what was becoming Makandezulu A and one in Xipelwine just west of what was becoming Makandezulu B. The Wazulu base held a "brigade" of approximately 50 soldiers (Bernando Jackson Ngonhama 9 June 2006) and consisted of at least three compounds or *quartels* containing tents where soldiers slept and ate here the soldiers lived in tents and ate as well as extensive trenches or foxholes where soldiers lay covered with sticks hiding from the enemy (Priscina 13 December 2006; Frank Manuel Duzi, 28 February 2007).

The FRELIMO brigade in Xipelwine was larger than the Wazulu base with approximately 250 soldiers (Bernando Jackson Ngonhama, June 9, 2006). Based around the site of Paes' store which was transformed into a cooperative store for the military, the camp also included a soldier's kitchen and hospital as well as extensive weapons storage (Sebastiao Maluleke 12 June 2007; Fernando Johannes Matuki 9 June 2007). Bernando Jackson Ngonhama, born in Manica Province in 1960, was soldiers stationed at Xipelwine. Bernando described his military duties as

the chief of the guns and reports having worked with AK-47s, Bazukas, MGs, and B11s among other guns.



Figure7.1: Part of an AK-47 in Xipelwine (Makandezulu B)

Gathering residents together for protection was an additional duty.

Villagers were living here and the war found them spread out from one another... We made them be in the same place to protect them against the enemy. We went from house to house informing them that they must go to the safe place, because the enemy would kill the young and the old, would kill all.... We moved them for protection.

(Bernando Jackson Ngonhama June 9, 2007).

Therefore when hiding in the bush did not work, residents moved together to be protected by FRELIMO and they took up arms.

In addition to FRELIMO soldiers stationing themselves outside of the villages and moving residents closer together to be protected, residents also participated in actively defending the region. For example, when I asked Frank Manuel Duzi³² what he was doing during the war, he responded "I was using a gun." Initially confused by Frank's response, I then inquired, "Were you a soldier?" Frank explained, "All of us were soldiers in that time. We had to hold the guns to protect our cattle." Other residents also reported being in the "militia," and "using a gun" (Million Maluleke, December 14, 2006; Salomon Miyamissi Maluleke March 5, 2007; Fernando Johannes Matuki June 9, 2007). Fernando Johannes Matuki who worked with FRELIMO in the mid 80s explained, "Some of us were not official soldiers, but they gave us guns to protect our villages" (June 9, 2007).

Despite these defenses, RENAMO soldiers burned down homesteads, stole cattle, cut off food supplies, and they killed people. Even the FRELIMO soldiers stationed in Makandezulu left the region, and eventually "the elders decided we could not stay here" (Juletta Zuka Mangane, November 19, 2006). Therefore within months of gathering together to be protected, RENAMO deterritorializations caused most Makandezulu residents to abandon the region. For those who did concede to gather together during the war, therefore, the move proved temporary. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Makandezulu region was all but abandoned, save Million Casamuela Maluleke and at least two other families who remained "hiding in the bush" throughout the war. As a result, villagization would not be solidified until over a decade later in the context of repatriation.

³² When I met Frank he was visiting the Makandezulu region from Mapai where he currently resides. However, Frank is originally from Makandezulu region, and he was living in Makandezulu during the war.

Gaining Access as Refugees

Throughout the nation, as in Makandezulu, Mozambicans held out as long as possible (Wilson 1994).

Sections of the rural population most rooted to local social and natural resource configurations proved extremely reluctant to leave not only because this stripped them of their status and identity as well as livelihood in the short term, but also because they believed staying put was the best way to secure their long term links, if necessary with new de facto authorities. [Wilson 1994: 5].

Ultimately, however, in order to cope with livelihood restrictions, economic collapse, and terror wrought by Mozambique's protracted Civil War, almost half of the nation's population eventually fled (Wilson 1994). By the early 1990s, approximately 3 million Mozambicans were internally displaced while almost 2 million Mozambicans were refugees abroad³³ (Wilson 1994; Azevedo 2002).

Approximately one-third of Makandezulu residents I interviewed were internally dislocated to villages along Mozambique's Limpopo River Watershed while two-thirds "ran" west, directly through Kruger National Park and into Gazankulu, a former homeland in South Africa. Recall from the Gaza Nguni chapter that Maluleke settlement throughout the Great Limpopo Region resulted from fissures in the Maluleke lineage stemming from the line of Maxakatsi and Guyu. As the descendents of Xololo comprise the Makandezulu A tiko and the descendents of Miyamissi-Ngatsone comprise the core of the Makandezulu B tiko, those

³³ Almost half that number sought refuge in Malawi, followed thereafter by Zimbabwe, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zambia (Azevedo 2002).

Maluleke people residing in the vicinity of Mapai region are perceived to descend from the Xihimo branch while those in Gazankulu descend from Ximabani. The destination locations of Mapai and Gazankulu, therefore, directly correspond to the historical locations of Maluleke territory.

Access to Resources in Mapai

I found that 37% of war-induced mobility events in which residents left the Makandezulu region involved internal dislocation within Mozambique. All but one of these 16 cases involved movement to villages in the Mapai region of the Limpopo River³⁴, namely Mapai, Mapai Ngala, Panhame, and Kabowane. In these villages, 100% of Makandezulu dislocatees established access to homesteads, 90% established access to fields, and 56% established access to trees in the bush. Like in Makandezulu, trees products are extremely significant to Mapai residents and particularly during times of drought and hunger. In light of the importance of tree products to Makandezulu residents particularly in times of increases vulnerability, I was initially surprised that access to trees in the bush was significantly lower than access to homesteads and fields. However, further analysis showed that where dislocated residents did not obtain access, violence, more so than the rules and norms of the location was to blame.

During Gaza rule, the Xihimo line maintained resource control in the Mapai region. Under Portuguese colonialism, a descendent of Xihimo, the first Chief Mapai, managed to maintain leadership in that region (Rodriguez Maluleke, 11 April 2007). Mapai was followed

³⁴ The odd event involved a FRELIMO soldier who married a resident of Makandezulu A. After having been stationed in Xipwelwine he was restationed with his family to Massingir.

first by Madamissi and next Tsanwissi who lead up to the current leader Rodrigues Mapai. All three of these men are also referred to as "Mapai chiefs" (Rodriguez Maluleke, April 11, 2007). As in the rest of the country, at Independence the Mapai chiefs and headmen were presumably banned from formal leadership positions and replaced by FRELIMO secretaries.

Of interest, residents reported interacting with neither the traditional chief nor a FRELIMO representative to gain access to resources in Mapai. However, even as the chiefs went underground and no doubt focused on security issues along with the newly appointed FRELIMO administrators, the traditional mechanisms for establishing access to resources persisted. Makandezulu "refugees" dislocated in the Mapai region had to recognize local resource institutions and negotiate local authority to establish access to resources. To achieve this, most residents sought the refuge of immediate and extended kinship networks and either moved into or borrowed temporary shelters within the homesteads of these "local owners" (Interviewees 130, 133, and 137).

In a similar fashion, residents also gained access to fields by either borrowing from or sharing with their hosts. By borrowing or sharing homesteads and fields of relatives who were the local owners in the Limpopo River villages, Makandezulu residents tapped into the authority of local owners in order to negotiate local resource institutions. They may have done this with explicit permission; for example, as one resident recalled, "I asked and the owners' gave a part of their field" (Interviewee 112). Or the permission may have been implied through membership, if temporary, in the homestead and the family.

Makandezulu residents also explained their ability to access resources in the villages along the Limpopo River through a "bundled" mechanism, often iterated in combination of "refugee"-identity and, in turn, the generosity of their hosts. That Makandezulu residents were referred to as "refugees" both by themselves and by their host populations, signaled their involuntary flight and their pressing need for help. Recognizing this need, the host populations - themselves victims of RENAMO violence and *displaced* socially and economically, if not geographically by RENAMO - shared their homes and fields and forests with displaced Makandezulu residents. The extenuating circumstances brought on by Civil War opened the regime to looser access restrictions. As one Makandezulu B resident explained, "as we were running, they gave us land" (Interviewee 104).

In villages along the Limpopo River, despite the diminished level of access to trees evident in my data results, this openness was particularly salient with respect to access to trees in the bush. In the Mapai region, as in Makandezulu, it was prohibited for "outsiders" to access the bush (Interviewee 112). As one resident explained with reference to access during the war, "[when] it is someone else's land, you cannot use the trees..." (Interviewee 105). She went on to explain, "....but we were refugees" (Interviewee 105). Therefore, as with establishing access to homesteads and fields, in order to negotiate these rules, norms, and practices comprising access to trees, Makandezulu dislocatees depended on the interrelated mechanisms of their kin-based connections to the host populations, their ability to gain permission from local owners, their identity as refugees and the generosity of local hosts. As three former dislocatees described it, "in Panyame, it was someone else's land, but they let you use the trees" (Interviewee 106); although officially it was not allowed, in Mapai "we could use fruit

trees; it was a hunger year" (Interviewee 104); and "We collected... Nkanyi, Makwakwa and even firewood with the residents....They were good to us. These trees helped us as the enemies chased us" (Interviewee 133).

In light of the ability for Makandezulu residents use their relationships with Mapai residents and the generosity of the receiving community to establish access to trees. Access to trees was diminished, however, due to ongoing violence. As one resident explained, "the war was changing things. No one was going to the bush. Who could go to the bush when they were killing people there?" (Interviewee 137). Therefore, while violence associated with the war, in effect, loaned residents their identity as refugees, it also, of course, restricted their access not only in Makandezulu region but also in villages along the Limpopo River. To avoid violence, dislocatees traveled with local owners to gather tree products in places known to be safe (Interviewee 133) or they avoided going to the bush all together (Interviewees 131 and 137).

That local owners made exceptions to the rules and norms of resource access was a salient component of my research findings. Implicit in the host population's generosity, however, was an assumption on the part of both the dislocatees and the host population that the need brought on by the extenuating circumstances of war would be temporary. As one displacee in Mapai explained it, "it was not a real homestead, just a place to hide and rest your head" (Interviewee 130). Another Makandezulu resident formerly displaced in Panyame pointed to the temporality implicit in Limpopo River hosts generosity with, "We were refugees; we had a place, but the owners took it back" (Interviewee 105). The temporary nature of the move both extended and constricted resource access.

In addition to violence, environmental insecurities and the perception that their stay would be temporary also worked to undermine it access. Therefore, despite borrowing land from a local owner to open a field in Mapai, one interviewee (130) bemoaned that due to a lack of rain, however, "we did not eat anything from there".

Access to Resources in Gazankulu

From 1987 to 1992 between 250 to 500 thousand Mozambicans sought refuge in South Africa (Azevedo 2002: 139; Frump 2006) including the majority of Makandezulu residents. 28 of 43 (65%) events associated with moving outside of the Makandezulu region during the Civil War involved movement to South Africa. This includes four cases wherein residents traveled first to villages along the Limpopo River and later abandoned these to move to South Africa. In most of these cases, residents travelled directly through Kruger National Park to "Giyani" or the Gazankulu homeland³⁵. While 100% of dislocated residents established access to homesteads in Gazankulu, interviewees fared far worse with respect to access to fields and trees in the bush. Makandezulu residents established or borrowed fields in only 10% of cases and they established, often extremely limited, access to trees in the bush in 38% of the cases.

Despite the enormous numbers of Mozambicans who flocked there, "South Africa never became a safe haven for Mozambicans fleeing the war" (Azevedo 2002: 138). In fact there is a certain amount of irony in describing Makandezulu residents' "refugee experience in South

³⁵ In the same way that Makandezulu residents referred to the whole of Kruger National Park by the name of its capital, Skukuza, they also referred to the whole of Gazankulu homeland by its capital, Giyani.

Africa," because throughout the 1980s and into the early 90s, the South African apartheid government did not recognize Mozambicans fleeing into their country as "refugees" (Rodgers 2001; Polzer 2007). Instead, they were "illegal aliens" who, if caught alive, would be deported (Rodgers 2001: 69; Azevedo 2002: 138).

Directly related to South Africa's illegal immigration policy most Makandezulu residents, among other Shangaan speaking Mozambicans, fled to Gazankulu a former homeland of South Africa (Polzer 2007). In the early 1960s, Matshangana Territorial Authority was established to govern the Tsonga-Shangaan homeland that was created in the context of the rise of ethnic identity and territoriality described in the previous chapter. By the early 1970s, the Territorial Authority of this Tsonga-Shangaan nation became the Gazankulu homeland with Giyani as its capital. The following decade, the semi -autonomous Gazankulu homeland opened its territory to thousands of Mozambican Tsonga-Shangaan refugees.

The consequences of not recognizing internationally dislocated Mozambicans as refugees prevented Mozambicans and their host communities from receiving aid from the UNHCR (Golooba-Mutebi and Tollman 2004; Polzer 2007)³⁶. In effect, therefore, the South African apartheid government managed to increase the vulnerability of both the mobile and host populations. As articulated by Polzer (2007: 7)

the policy of confining the refugees to the homelands was an expression of the government's dual marginalisation of the refugees and the 'homelands', placing both outside the territorial ambit of national immigration law... (As a result, these policies) excluded South African-born Shangaans from the national body politic almost as much

³⁶ Because other nations did not recognize Gazankulu as an independent state, the international power of the "refugee" was still not accorded them.

as the refugee Shangaans.

Yet, still refugees came, and, as a result, homeland governments, and particularly Gazankulu, took matters into their own hands (Polzer 2007). To get around apartheid ethic of South Africa's immigration policy and the international human rights void it rendered, Mozambican refugees negotiated South African laws from the bottom up, starting with the Gazankulu local authorities (Polzer 2007)³⁷. Therefore, the webs of access that characterized Makandezulu dislocatees' tenure in South Africa's Gazankulu homeland were comprised by mechanisms for negotiating the layered levels of "local" authority.

To get to South Africa many Mozambicans had to negotiate an electric fence and/or travel through Kruger National Park where the danger of wild animals, river crossings, and police were all potentially mortal. While Azevedo 2002 cited a four-day crossing through the park; Makandezulu residents noted doing it in a day and a half, travelling all through the night. Once they arrived in Gazankulu, Shangaan ethnicity and the common experience of being subjugated by a white minority opened the homeland to Mozambicans of Shangaan ethnicity and thus formed the first strands in web of access refugees would forge there.

South Africans used Shangaan identity to carve out a place of their own on the ethnic landscape. They united in competition for resources with other ethnic groups and against whites³⁸. Therefore interrelated with Shangaan identity was the common experience of being

³⁷ Polzer (2007) illustrated how Mozambican refugees succeeded in being naturalized because they negotiated system through Gazankulu local authorities rather than starting at the State level where they would have certainly been denied if not worse.

³⁸ A common heritage in "Mozambique" is also recognized by South Africans (Polzer 2007: footnote 12).

subjugated by a white minority. While in practice this "common experience" was narrowed, of course, to the specific experiences of Tsonga-Shangaan people, it nonetheless worked to facilitate the acceptance of Shangaan-speaking Mozambicans in the homeland.

Again, as described by Polzer (2007: 28)

"The then Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Hudson Ntsanwisi, argued that Gazankulu's acceptance of the Shangaan refugees was directly parallel to the assistance which the apartheid Republic of South Africa had given white Mozambicans fleeing Mozambican independence in 1975."

Refugee identity (and access to homesteads)

In interviews, however, Makandezulu residents named neither Shangaan identity nor the common experience of white subjugation as a factors which determined their access to resources. Instead, and much like the experience of being internally dislocated in Mapai, displaced Makandezulu residents explained their ability to establish access to homesteads in terms of their refugee identity (Interviewees 111, 114, and 117). I found that 86% of Makandezulu residents who moved to South Africa started their own homesteads in areas designated for Mozambican refugees by local leaders. The remaining 14% established access to homesteads in South Africa by moving in with or borrowing homesteads of relatives or other. Therefore, although Gazankulu was a place of Maluleke territory and more broadly a place of Shangaan ethnic identity, unlike in Mapai, dislocated Makandezulu residents did not move in with family in Gazankulu. In contrast to access mechanisms along the Limpopo River, therefore, the role of kinship was severely diminished.

Interviewees explained their ability to access resources in Gazankulu with such phrases as "we were received as refugees" (Interviewees 102 and 141) and "as we were refugees, we had a proper place we could live." While there was mention of other local authorities (Interviewees 121 and 125), to access this proper place, most dislocated residents gained permission directly from the chief (Interviewees 113, 115, and 142). As one interviewee explained, "we went to the royal home and they showed us the land... we started to build" (Interviewee 101) and another, "the chiefs were showing us the land where we could stay". After receiving permission, residents would build their homes, "starting with sand and stone" (Interviewee 141). These homesteads were located in areas designated exclusively for refugees by local authorities (Rodgers 2001; Polzer 2007). Though separate from the resident population, these areas "were never institutionally separated from South African settlements" and they remained within the jurisdiction of homeland chiefs and other authorities (Polzer 2007: 7-8).

Whereas local authority proved effective in gaining access to homesteads, it was much less so with regard to establishing access to fields and trees in the bush.

"Gazankulu constitutes a geographically defined and poverty-stricken colony within the borders of South Africa. Influx control and resettlement schemes have caused a gross overcrowding; the average population density per square kilometre is 76 in Gazankulu and 17 in 'white' South Africa". (Harries 1989: 107)

This racially devised resource shortage was evident in descriptions of resource access in Gazankulu. As one dislocated Makandezulu resident observed, "They told us we are free but we did not have enough land" (Interviewee 107). In light of this shortage of resources, there was little to spare for refugees. As one interviewee explained "The owners ploughed but we as

the refugees did not" (Interviewee 133). A resource shortage, however, did not apply to refugees alone. Some residents recalled not having fruit trees in their destination locations (Interviewees 125, 130, and 136), and another explained that even the local owners were not using the trees there (Interviewee 131). Another explained, that in South Africa, "only whites have fields. (One must) use the Rand to buy the land" (Interviewee 109).

In addition to a shortage of resources, strict land tenure rules were often pointed to by interviewees as severely restricting access. For example in one of three cases wherein Makandezulu residents did establish access to fields, a resident explained that "the King would measure the land. Using a rope and tie it to trees in fields" (Interviewee 101)³⁹. Rules restricting access restrictions were even more evident with reference to trees in the bush (Interviewees 114, 102, 116, 140, 141, and 142). While the specifics of these rules and regulations appear to have shifted based on the location or the circumstances, a few trends emerged.

If present, fruit could generally be collected from trees in the bush without permission from local authority (Interviewees 108, 113, and 119). Access to firewood was significantly more variable. In some places it was the only type of forest use that was allowed (Interviewee 111). In others it was prohibited (Interviewee 108) and had to be purchased (Interviewee 133), and in others only dried wood was allowed to be used as firewood (as is the convention in Makandezulu) (Interviewee 113, 125, 130, and 136). The issue of cutting trees for building was

³⁹ In the second case, "owners of the tiko" showed a resident where to start a field (Interviewee 119). In the third case, an individual borrowed a space in fields from local owners to plant when it rained (Interviewee 121)

particularly contentious. There was a general consensus that cutting trees was prohibited (Interviewees 114, 119, and 125) unless refugees received official permission in the form of written permission paper (Interviewees 107, 108, 113, and 121) and there was a limit to how much could be cut (Interviewee 115). The consequences were extreme with people mentioning getting attacked (Interviewee 136, 107, and 142) or fined (Interviewee 141). Finally, as in Mapai, host population also made exceptions to the rules. As one Makandezulu resident explained it "As we were suffering, yes we could use the trees in *mananga*" (Interviewee 101). In general, however, there was much less indication that this was the case.

Alternatives to Environmental Resources

As result of these limitations in resource access combined with UNCHR's inability and the South African government's unwillingness to provide humanitarian assistance, alternatives were extremely important for livelihood security. In this context, people's local ingenuity and ability to etch livelihoods together was remarkable (Golooba-Mutebi and Tollman 2004). This was the case for both the host and refugee populations of Gazankulu.

In the early 1980s, only six percent of Gazankulu's population could subsist from farming in the homeland, and as a result, "there were at least twice as many Gazankulu citizens working as migrant laborers outside the Bantustan (over 40,000) as there were wage earners within its borders (21,000)" (Harries 1989: 107). Therefore, whereas outside of the homelands, economic development in white South Africa remained dependent on black labor, within the homelands, resource restrictions necessitated seeking work outside.

Already familiar with the labor landscape of South Africa, many refugees including Makandezulu residents became migrant laborers. As explained by Polzer (2007: 9),

Given the lack of employment opportunities in the homelands, labour migration to the cities was one of the only viable livelihood strategies. In 1992, between 46 percent and 58 percent of male refugees aged 19 or over were migrant labourers (dependent on household composition and settlement type), and a larger proportion of refugees migrated for work (13.1 percent of total refugee population) than locals (10.7 percent).

In the context of my interviews labor was cited as the most important alternative to establishing access to fields and trees. As one explained, "We did not have fields; we were just working" (Interviewee 114).

During the Portuguese colonial period, work had been a male endeavor, and in the South African refugee context, this gendered division of labor continued to predominate. For example, one interviewee explained that instead of starting a field in Gazankulu, "the women were planting gardens. We (the men) were working in the farms" (Interviewee 140). However, in the late 1980s and 90s women also began to join the laboring ranks including work picking tomatoes (Interviewees 115 and 139) and processing tobacco (Interviewee 141). In addition to working on large private farms owned by whites Makandezulu refugees also engaged in peace work (Interviewee 138), stonework - drilling and making gravestones (Interviewee 132 and 136), lawn maintenance (Interviewee 115), janitorial work (Interviewee 108) and work in the mines (Interviewee 107).

The primary benefit from labor was, of course, capital which would be used to support the household and extended family (Interviewee 129, 102, and 127). Specifically interviewees noted working to get money in order to buy mealie meal or corn porridge (Interviewees 133

and 116). However, residents also mentioned receiving food on the farms (Interviewees 107, 125, and 130) and, in at least one case, stealing from farms where worked (Interviewee 131).

In addition to labor, several residents noted the importance of establishing homegardens for subsistence (Interviewees 113, 117, 139, 140, and 142); one dislocated residents mentioned buying firewood instead of gathering it (Interviewee 139) and another admitted to outright stealing it (Interviewee 141). Resident interviews also illuminated the importance of charity in the refugee displacement context. According to Rodgers "the poverty, suffering and terror" associated with homeland refugee settlements attracted the attention of numerous church groups and NGOs (Rodgers 2001: 69, see also Golooba-Mutebi and Tollman 2004). These groups as well as some employers according to Makandezulu residents, provided food, pots, clothes, and soap (Interviewees 198, 111, 125, and 139). Like in Mapai region, that the move was temporary was an important aspect for promoting generosity based access to resources. As one resident explained it, "we were refugees and they knew that we should leave after the war" (Interviewee 125).

The territory they left behind

In the early 90s, before the signing of the 1992 Peace Accords that would bring the Civil War to a close, Tim Otto began to survey the Coutada 16 Hunting Concession with the intent of establishing a hunting lodge. Otto's accounts of an aerial survey conducted in 1991 and a follow-up trip to the Makandezulu region in 1992 portray the degree to which Makandezulu was cut off from FRELIMO-strongholds in the region, like Massingir; hint at the devastation and violence wrought by RENAMO; and illustrate how deterritorialization provided opportunities for

other types of access including a purported FRELIMO- associated poaching unit and Otto's own project, the establishment of Gaza Safaris Hunting Concession at Xipelwine.

The excerpts below begin with a description of Otto's correspondence with the Mozambican government concerning conducting the initial aerial survey of Coutada 16.

The Mozambican government said to me that since they haven't had anyone on the ground here except for their military personnel and so on, they had no idea what the status of these concessions were so they asked me to do an aerial survey of the whole area and they gave me a man by the name of Chambal [who was from the organization that became DNFB]... to do this aerial survey with me because he had a degree from the University in Tanzania in Game Management and he was going to write the report.

And I had my own airplane and, you know, I was a pilot. So I got clearance from the Mozambican Government and from the South African Government to be able to base myself in Phalaborwa (on the western border of the Kruger National Park) since there was still major conflict going on there. There was no fuel available here, and they gave me clearance to be able to fly over the border from Phalaborwa which on a tank full of fuel on my CS 972, that gave me four hours of survey. So I did this for about 3 weeks....while the war was going on and I was shot at a few times and at Massingir.

On that airstrip at Massingir, they had a big FRELIMO military base there and the first time I flew over Massingir Dam, which was my first leg because I was going to start, you know, in the south and work my way north through the area.... I flew over Massingir Dam and when I got to Massingir itself, I could see these SAM 7 missile launchers sitting on a little hill, right next to Massingir and they were all tracking me and I said to Chambal, "Look these guys are going to shoot us down"..... And I dropped the plane on the water and I saw the runway and I just went and landed while these things were tracking me. Because that SAM 7, it needs a bit of distance to be able to hit you. And as we landed, there were just AK-47s against our heads and [Chambal] spoke... "We are allowed to be here!" And they said, "Our radio has been out for two months. We've had no communication and we are under instruction to shoot any aircraft down that flies in the area."

...We sorted it out, and they said, "okay, just beware of Renamo at the confluence of the Olifantes and Limpopo River because they've got a strong-hold there and they will shoot at any aircraft that flies over there." So I took cognizance of that.

Anyway, we progressed with the survey... and by the time we came to Machamba and Chimangue, the villages were empty. What had happened, Renamo was taking their cattle and their goats and that is what they were living off and they actually had a few firefights here in which I actually found places where they had a battle and where I actually found skeletons that were still lying on the ground. In a few places, one next to the Shingwedzi just below Chimangue and one up here (in the Makandezulu region)...Anyway, we completed the aerial survey, and there was quite a bit of animals and game to be seen, so I gave in my report to the Mozambican government...

The following year Otto decided to follow up on what he had learned doing the aerial survey with another visit to the region, this time travelling on the ground. In Maputo Otto received permission to conduct the survey and he was provided with a game scout. Otto then met with the Administrator at Massingir who provided an additional guide and very explicit instructors: "You can go as far as Chimangue, but beyond Chimangue towards Makandezulu, there are landmines there and we don't know what the situation is. You are not to go further". Having heard this advice, Otto and his team loaded up in a Land Cruiser,

and we made our way up to Chimangue. Now when we went through Machamba - Machamba is a fairly large village- there wasn't a soul in it. The village was completely deserted. When we got to Chimangue we found about 2 or 3 villagers...the rest were all gone.....how they were surviving, I don't know.

Re-emphasizing the Administrator's instructors, the Chimangue holdouts informed Otto's team that there was still fighting going on in the region and warned, "if you go further north of here, you are looking for trouble".

In the meantime, however, the guide from Massingir had informed Otto that the game was good where the Shingwedzi River turns a corner and flows into the KNP. This is Xipelwine

and near the site of the FRELIMO Army base that had already pulled out of the area. So, in Chimangue, Otto decided

look, you know, either I've got to do it or I've got to leave it. So I said, "Let's go," even though the administrator had said to me don't venture further....I mean, I wanted to get on and, you know, start a business...I wanted to start developing the area.... what are we waiting for? I am not fighting with either side....I am going to give these guys employment, and we are going to have a decent life here. So I continued on from Chimangue, and I got to Makandezulu. In Makandezulu B, there wasn't a living soul. It was just old, dilapidated shacks and stuff and there wasn't anybody there.

As Otto continued to travel towards Xipelwine he saw tracks and signs poaching. He also met Million Casamuela Maluleke, current resident of Makandezulu A. Million had stayed in the Makandezulu region as the fighting escalated. He lost his wife, Sara, and when the rest of his family evacuated, he stayed behind to fight. While speaking with Million, "AK firework" rang out and Otto's team decided to check it out.

We proceeded very cautiously by foot... And we came upon 8 guys that had just shot two buffalo. And each one of them had an AK-47. But they were now busy skinning these buffalo and the AKs were standing next to a tree.... So we apprehended 8 of them and we found their camp which was not far from there and where they had the remains of another 2 buffalo, a zebra and a kudu. They had these mountains of meat...

Later that day, Otto and his team reconnected with Million who informed them that a lot of wildlife moves through the area and that the group Otto apprehended would "shoot the hell out of anything that came through."

And it turned out that they were in cahoots with a FRELIMO army (unit) who would send their military vehicle up here, load this dried meat and cart it back to Maputo (where) they'd have a good market for it.... (Interview with Tim Otto, 7 June 2007).

In 1993, Otto founded Gaza Safaris in the Xipelwine. Among the first of several Makandezulu residents Otto would employ in the 1990s and 2000s was Million Casamuela Maluleke (Figure 7.2) , who like his counter-parts had also worked as a game scout in the KNP.

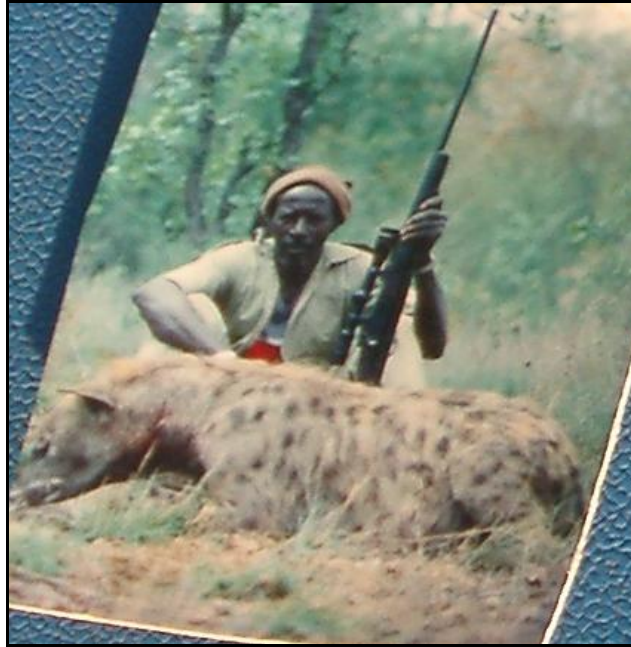


Figure 7.2: Million Casamuela Maluleke as a guide for Gaza Safaris Hunting Concession

"And then, Rebecca, the people started coming back." (Tim Otto, June 7, 2007).

"In Gioyani we heard it on the radio that they were free" (Lucinda Mapue Chuma, November 18, 2006). Following the war, national post-war attempts to reclaim former homelands and to establish homes in new places constituted "the largest reintegration of refugees and displaced persons in the history of Africa" (Unruh 2001: 3). The return home of the migrant population was complicated by the resource claims of the private sector (Meyers 1994; Unruh 2001), drought (Azevedo 2002), and landmines (Unruh 2003), and many migrants

claimed new lands. These issues also characterized the return home for Makandezulu residents. For example, the family of Derick Finius Maluleke and Lucinda Mapue Chuma returned to the region in 1993 during a drought period. Due to the lack of water and because all of the homes in Makandezulu A were burned, they decided to stay first in Xipelwine where for six months they resided in tents provided by South African refugee assistance programs. During that time, Derick and other men worked for Gaza Safaris building roads while Lucinda and other women carried water between Xipelwine and Makandezulu A preparing the village for occupation. Mine removal did not occur until years later.

Even more detrimental to Maluleke territory, however, was the fact that as many as half the population of Makandezulu B and two-thirds of the population in Makandezulu A did not come home at all. This trend was evident throughout Gaza Province as, by the turn of the century, tens of thousands of refugees from Gaza remained in South Africa (Kreike 2004: 108). As a result, in the 1990s Maluleke territory was diminished not only by protracted, post-repatriation villagization and competing claims on land and resources made by Gaza Safaris but also because the most important component of Maluleke territory, people, have yet to return to the region, though current residents still await them.

8.

Conservation-Related Resettlement: Elephants, Inducement, and the Perception of Choice

The Resettlement Meeting in Makandezulu B

On the morning of June 10, 2007, Reginaldo and I joined Makandezulu B residents under a large shade tree that serves as the site for community meetings. Chief Sebastião William Maluleke had called the meeting to discuss, among other topics: recent visits, first to Chicualacuala where he had attended a talk by President Guebuza, and later to Pafuri where he delivered the gifts Makandezulu residents had donated to the victims of the recent Zambezi River flooding; upcoming provincial elections; unpaid taxes; the system for borrowing bicycles in the village; and ongoing problems regarding a youth dance recital. Two topics *not* intended for formal discussion that morning were conservation related resettlement and elephants. However, the agenda was abruptly amended to include these when halfway through the meeting a park vehicle containing resettlement managers, a resettlement consultant, and a representative from the German Development Bank funding the resettlement project pulled into the village.

Sebastião and a handful of other village leaders greeted the visitors privately then invited the resettlement group to join the village meeting, already well underway. The visitors intent had been to meet with village leadership to gauge potential interest among Makandezulu residents about the prospect of being the next Shingwedzi Watershed village to be resettled from the park. The first village "in-line" was Nanguene, and Nanguene was to be followed by Macavane. After Macavane, it was uncertain as to which village might be best prepared to be next.

I have included an excerpt from the conversation that ensued below.

Resettlement manager 1: "We greet you, mothers and fathers. We came to visit you because we have not seen you. We have seen the leaders but not you. We come with a visitor here from Germany....The objective of our visit is to hear your ideas about the resettlement."

Resettlement manager 2: "We were not planning to speak with the villages [residents] but we have luck here today. We were passing here to visit the fathers [leaders] but I am happy to see you gathered. We speak with all of you....You have chosen the place [the resettlement destination] and some your leaders saw... the [model resettlement] houses. Next month, we will build houses for the Macavane people. Next year, we hope to see some other village offering itself to move. If you are to be after Macavane, you must say so.... Your places are already chosen. What we are waiting for is for you to choose [when to move]. This is one point I am to talk to you about. The year is near to an end and it is good to have the place ready for next year. We want to know who is to leave first after Macavane."

Chief of Makandezulu B: "Whoever has something to say, must say."

Resident 1: "Our resettlement is not a desire; it is an obligation. And you are saying we must choose, that it an obligation."

Resident 2: " ...we are suffering with the animals here. We are telling you the animals drink our water and eat our maize. We are suffering! "

Resident 3: "I want to repeat. It doesn't mean we accept to leave! Do not jump [meaning, do not come to us next]. You must follow the sequence of the villages... You came here and speak about resettlement only but you don't come to solve our problems. Only the resettlement."

Resident 4: "My heart pains. I am a [park] ranger. My daughter is sick here, and I transported her to the hospital. And when a [park] car passed here, I asked [for help] to take my daughter to the hospital. We agree with you to have a relationship with you, and you do not help us. I walked to the hospital and had to stop in Makandezulu A because there was an elephant on the way, and my baby died that night. One of the park drivers refused to come. I am very angry!"

Resident 5: "I want to support what they say. I thank the leaders and the visitors. There is nothing we can say that is new here, only the same things. The elephant ate the maize there and our squash. We don't want to leave here. Our ancestors are buried here. We need help from you, help us stop the suffering! "

Chief: "You brought some good questions here but there is something I do not understand. I will speak as someone from the village, not the chief. At the beginning [with] the first big elephant, we asked you to help us... Now you are here not to solve the problem but to do something else. You want to work with us for the future and not solve our problems now. When we came to your offices, we told you [about the elephants] and you did not come. Our maize is gone....and you are sitting there quiet."

Resident 6 (a traditional leader in the village): I thank you for the information you are bringing....We have been in your office.... Can you accept to go with me to see where we get water? We drink elephant urine because they drink our water and they pee there. I want to show you! Sometimes we do not believe that our chief actually spoke with you, because you do not come! The elephant does not sleep and you do not come....

Resettlement manager 2: First, I am saying sorry about the bad things that we do. The problem of the elephant - you have a reason to talk, I heard about this last year. I was told it was solved, and I am sorry that I did not come to confirm that. Last month, most of the rangers were not here in the villages, they were in Mapai. Now that they are in the villages, it should be solved. The elephant cannot be the center of conversation every-day!

Shortly thereafter, the meeting ended, and the traditional leader persuaded the visitors to accompany him to the hand-dug well where the village has been collecting water for the season. They see the extensive damage and the elephant excrement there.

Several important themes emerged in this impassioned exchange related to, for example, accountability, participation, communication, and territory. For the purposes of this

chapter, I highlight divergence, choice, and displacement, themes which underline the main arguments of this chapter.

Divergence: During the meeting, residents' frustrations with elephants ignited all the while park managers tried to discuss the resettlement. The sense of divergence evident in this dialogue between what I refer to herein as the "conservation" and "community" groups was not unique to this meeting. On the contrary, and as will be illustrated here, divergence was a common theme in nearly all exchanges I witnessed between these two groups. After defining these groups and their stated goals for conservation implementation, I discuss each groups' conservation development aspirations and the mechanisms through which they hope to achieve these goals. Whereas conservation-related resettlement is a mechanism for achieving the development goals of the conservation group, staying in the park is a mechanism for achieving community development goals. Resettlement from the LNP is indicative of a high level of incongruity between conservation and community concerns for park development.

Choice: The resettlement managers began their dialogue with Makandezulu B residents by highlighting resident choice. From the perspective of the managers, Makandezulu residents had already *chosen* a resettlement destination, and now they had the opportunity to *choose* to be the next to be resettled. By contrast, residents' exclamations that they are suffering signaled that they are making such decisions in a displacement context in which they, in fact, have little choice and instead are being induced to comply with the resettlement. In this chapter I show that despite conservation managers intention to realize a voluntary project,

according to both World Bank policies which guide the LNP resettlement guidelines and data on Makandezulu residents' perspectives about leaving the park, the resettlement program has fallen short of this objective. That conservation-related resettlement in the LNP is occurring in a displacement context wrought, in part, by elephant conflict further undermines the notion that the LNP resettlement is voluntary.

Displacement: Finally, the dialogue above draws, even demands, attention to the contested role elephants and elephant relocations play in conservation implementation and resettlement. As it became evident that the visitors' objective was to encourage residents to volunteer to become the next village to be resettled, residents used the topic of the elephant to change the subject, to plea for help, and to show that the park was not fulfilling their commitment to local communities. On this day, residents managed to use their concerns about the displacements wrought by elephants to undermine the objective of the resettlement managers. However, as will be illustrated in this chapter, elephant relocations, perhaps more than any other conservation tactic like, for example the promises of resettlement compensation, are inducing Makandezulu residents to comply with the resettlement.

Divergence

The dichotomy I employ between "conservation" or "park" and "community" or "resident" objectives and concerns, while grounded in conservation theory and policy, is notably coarse. A wide gamut of actors with diverse viewpoints and experiences influence the human dimensions of protected area conservation from local residents and local governments, development practitioners, NGOs, and researchers, to private land and game ranch owners,

conservation organizations, and civil society. In drawing this specific dichotomy between conservation and community, my intention is neither to perpetuate nor strengthen the differences between these two categories inappropriately, nor do I wish to imply that either of the groups is homogenous (see Li 1996; Brosius et al. 1998; Agrawal and Gibson 1999).

Rather, I wish to make very clear that there are significant differences between community and conservation aspirations for Limpopo National Park implementation and development that have very direct consequences for conservation-related resettlement and, more broadly, the political ecology of access and mobility in Makandezulu. Therefore, my references herein to a "conservation group" includes the conservation practitioners, international donors, and governmental representatives who have been instrumental in conservation decision-making and the establishment of national and transfrontier conservation in this region. By contrast, the "community" group refers park residents, specifically those of the Shingwedzi Watershed who are the target of resettlement efforts, and, in particular, of course, residents of Makandezulu A and B.

The Mozambican State is ultimately responsible for national protected area conservation implementation projects including conservation related resettlement. However, it is important to note that conservation development and implementation has been distributed throughout several organizations that attempt to link village, district, provincial, national levels of formal governance with international and multilateral organizations that have also shaped Mozambique's conservation agenda. Protected area conservation in Mozambique falls under the auspice of the Ministry of Tourism's (MITUR) National Directorate of Conservation Areas

(MITUR 2007). Park implementation is overseen by the South African based Peace Parks Foundation and funded by the German Government, Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) (MITUR 2007). The resettlement project is directly guided by the World Bank Involuntary Resettlement Sourcebook as well as the World Bank Operational Policies and Bank Procedures (known respectively as OP 4.12 and BP 4.12) (MITUR 2007).

The Project Implementation Unit (PIU) oversees day-to-day management and co-ordination of park implementation and is comprised of the Director of the LNP, a Project Coordinator, and a Financial Coordinator (MITUR 2007: 1; David Hayward, June 23, 2007). Members of the Peace Parks Foundation have also been appointed to serve in the PIU Steering Committee (MITUR 2007: 1; Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008). The PIU oversees the Community Support Program which oversees the Resettlement Sub-Program. A primary component of the Resettlement Sub-Program is the Consultative Committee for Resettlement (CCR), otherwise known as the Resettlement Working Group (David Haryward, June 23, 2007). Appointed in 2004, this group is populated by the Provincial Director of Tourism, the Director of the LNP, elected village representatives, and representatives from a coalition of local and regional NGOs (MITUR 2007).

The joint vision of the park, which recognizes and seeks to integrate the visions of community, donor/technical, NGOs/churches, and government groups, is:

"Limpopo National Park forms part of a greater Transfrontier Conservation Area, in which ecological processes are effectively maintained and which contributes to the welfare of the people of Mozambique through sustainable eco-and cultural tourism development and resource use which is compatible with the conservation objectives of the Park". [MITUR 2003: 25]

The joint vision is operationalized by the following park objectives taken directly from the

Limpopo National Park Management and Development Plan:

- "To maintain the current 'wilderness' (in the sense of natural or near-natural, largely un-transformed) character of LNP, and to manage it as a globally important conservation area within a framework of minimum management intervention, whilst ensuring the maintenance and natural evolution of ecosystem structure and function.
- To ensure the LNP's integration into the greater TFCA planning and development framework, thereby contributing to the judicious and sustainable natural resource management of the region.
- To ensure the participation of local communities in the development and management of the LNP, and to ensure an equitable flow of benefits to these communities. Such benefits should include equity-sharing in tourism developments and operations, human resource development and capacity building, employment creation, the development of SMME opportunities and improved natural resource management leading to improved livelihoods.
- To manage and develop the LNP in the interests of the people of Mozambique, both with respect to biodiversity conservation and with respect to making a contribution to the sustainable socio-economic development of the region and the country.
- To promote responsible tourism as a means of generating income for the LNP and as a means of driving sustainable socio-economic development in and around the Park."
[MITUR 2003: 26]

I have derived community objectives for transfrontier conservation from a speech made by Chief Sebastião William Maluleke at the World Park's Congress in Durban South Africa in 2003 where he was invited to speak on behalf of Shingwedzi Watershed villages. According to this speech, the community objectives include:

- "To receive "by two hands" both conservation of the animals and the economic development of Mozambique
- To not be moved from the land of their ancestors

- To have a part of the development of the park
- To create partnerships with the government and private investors,
- To earn profit from the park's development
- That nothing prohibits their rights to use the land of their ancestors
- That "the residents' rights to use this land must be the means to create partnerships with the government and private investors" [Maluleke 2003]

While these two sets of objectives are not incongruous at every level, the means through which each group aims to achieve these ends - conservation actors generally seeking resettlement and community actors generally seeking to stay on their land - certainly are.

Such divergence was evident at a meeting of transfrontier conservation stakeholders which took place in Massingir on March 6, 2007. The meeting brought conservation managers and government officials from local to state levels together with representatives from national and international non-governmental agencies, local villages, and district businesses to discuss the relationship between transfrontier conservation and economic development in Gaza province. I attended the meeting with Sebastião and a local leader from Machamba village.

The conservation group's concerns centered around the development of the gates and entrance points to the park, access to these gates, and the creation of business opportunities outside of the park, near to these gates. Like the conservation groups' objectives, community goals included readying the park for tourists by improving infrastructure and creating local business opportunities. The means to achieving these goals, however, were extremely divergent. The community development aspirations, while diverse, were well summarized by a

village representative from Chimangue. The representative began his commentary to those assembled by explicating, on behalf of his tiko, his gratitude to the park for the new roads in the region. He then pointed out that, in order to use the roads, the residents would need increased access to transport. The Chimangue representative also noted that people from his village wanted to provide food sources for the park in the form of fishing and agriculture. To make this happen, some among his constituency had suggested seeking employment with the park to open or prepare fields. The Chimangue representative's final suggestion was that residents would need banks inside the park for tourists and electricity. He summarized his points saying, "We need a chance to start projects in our district" (6 March 2007).

Switching gears, one village representative addressed the meeting with the following,

"About development and this idea of business inside the park: We understand that these can happen within the park but there are people inside the park that want to create their own business but there is the problem of animals destroying our fields."

With this, the latter part of resident commentary on the topic of development was consumed by concern with lack of protection from elephants. In agreement with the preceding comment, a representative from Macavene asserted,

"The park, (for) about 5 years has been with us, but we have not seen anything helpful... we are not happy because of the animals. First thing the park can do is give protection, protection against the animals...And regarding future ideas about opening and creating our own businesses. We have ideas, but we are stopping now because the park says that we must move, so we are only waiting... The animal problem makes us suffer; we are asking protection against the animals."

An additional representative implored the meeting participants: "Help us fight against these animals that are killing our domestic animals!" One final statement from an LNP resident was:

“We must be allowed to use the land; we are working; using our own force in our fields, but there are wild animals destroying are crops...”

In summary, community concerns for economic development included owning their own businesses inside the park and contributing to other businesses by, for example, growing food or supplying automatic teller machines (ATMs) for banking. To achieve these objectives, they needed improved transportation and protection from the animals, and these two issues were particularly salient among community representatives.

While the topic of resettlement was not on the agenda of the stakeholders meeting, this topic remained close at hand, silently underscoring many of development decisions taken by the conservation group. For many in the conservation group, resettlement has become the well established key to development. After all, conservation concerns for development - gates, entrance points, the creation of business opportunities - focused on those things that they envision *after* the resettlement. In other words, for the conservation practitioners, park managers, district and provincial level administrators and others in that room, the communities are in the way of the development. To some, the notion of residents remaining inside the park, supplying food, increasing transportation, and accessing ATMs was simply too incongruous with what many in the conservation group considered to be the reality of the resettlement.

Those park managers who have been active in the communities for years had, no doubt, heard these and other sentiments. However, as the community members spoke, it became evident that this meeting was the first opportunity for several non-resident stakeholders to engage the extremely well articulate village leaders. Such individuals stood out, because as the

community representatives spoke about contributing to tourism development and tapping into the infrastructure, a look of utter disbelief - expressed through widened eyes, sideways glances and furrowed brows- crossed their faces.

The talk of the community leaders was clearly *not* the talk of a group of people seeking to be resettled. Notably, communities were excited about the infrastructure that was finally coming to their area, and they wanted to tap into services such infrastructure could afford. Based on the comments of villages representatives, many residents want to be involved in activities leading to economic growth in the park. Community representatives and their constituents understand, if sometimes begrudgingly so, that wildlife is key to developing the park as a tourist destination. However, wildlife and the fact that residents are able neither to benefit from nor control it, diminishes their own development opportunities. That conservation objectives seem to be winning out over community objectives is due in part to displacement context in which conservation related resettlement was conceived and is being implemented.

Choice

Despite the geopolitical unbalance whereby resident resource rights are not recognized by the Land Law (see Chapter Four), the intent of LNP resettlement managers was to realize a voluntary program. It was with reference to this intention that a consultant for the resettlement program differentiated between the displacement context of conservation implementation and the choice to move out of the park. Explaining that LNP residents were

"displaced", by which he meant they had "effectively lost all their rights, ...on the day the park was officially proclaimed" (June 23, 2007), it was the resettlement consultant's contention that while the displacement context - park creation and implementation- was by no means voluntary, the relocation aspect of the resettlement was voluntary. In making this distinction the consultant was evoking World Bank policy and terminology. According to the World Bank,

"Involuntary Resettlement refers to two distinct but related processes. Displacement is a process by which development projects cause people to lose land or other assets, or access to resources. This may result in physical dislocation, loss of income, or other adverse impacts. Resettlement or rehabilitation is a process by which those adversely affected are assisted in their efforts to improve, or at least to restore, their incomes and living standards." [World Bank, N.d.]

As I hope to have made clear by now, my research findings certainly support the conceptual practice of uncoupling displacement from mobility. That the consultant did so in order to maintain that the geographic aspect of the resettlement is voluntary, however, is problematic. First, it ignores the negative consequences residents will endure if they decide to stay, thus undermining one defining aspect of voluntary resettlement, the right to refusal. Second, it undermines the reality that residents are making their choice to resettle within a displacement context. They are, in other words, being induced to comply. Here I am also evoking World Bank policy and terminology on resettlement.

According to the World Bank,

The operative principles in voluntary resettlement are *informed consent* and *power of choice*. "Informed consent" means that the people involved are fully knowledgeable about the project and its implications and consequences and freely agree to participate in the project. (World Bank 2004: 21).

The LNP fell short of this standard on several fronts.

Research conducted in the LNP during the early stages of park implementation indicated a lack of meaningful resident or community participation and, therefore, undermines the notion of informed consent (DeMotts 2005). While it is clear that conservation managers attempted to create information dissemination, it is also clear that there was little capacity to invest substantial time in the villages, not to mention recognizing and negotiating intercommunity politics and inequity (DeMotts 2005). For example, the process of appointing committee members was haphazard, inconsistent, and often neglected customary resource institutions (DeMotts 2005: 229). Of particular relevance to my argument that elephants are inducing residents to comply with the resettlement, the creation of a participation structure for community engagement in the LNP also “lagged behind wildlife translocation and conservation planning to the detriment of those still resident in the park” (DeMotts 2005: 173).

“Power of choice” means that the people involved have the option to agree or disagree with the land acquisition, without adverse consequences imposed formally or informally by the state. By definition, power of choice—and thus voluntary resettlement—is only possible if project location is not fixed. The route of a rural road, for example, could be changed if a landowner objected. The area of a reservoir behind a local dam, by contrast, is immutable. The former instance would allow for voluntary resettlement; the latter would not. To have only informed consent is insufficient without the power of choice (World Bank 2004: 21).

The LNP resettlement project does not meet the standards for power of choice, first, because the LNP is a fixed project. Due to its strategic location adjacent to conserved areas in both South Africa and Zimbabwe, its former management regime as a Coutada 16, and its relatively low human population densities, this particular site has been targeted by conservationists since the first half of the 20th century (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009; Duffy 1997). Second, as this chapter will show, there are clearly negative consequences for remaining inside the park.

In order to gauge resident volition across the population of Makandezulu A and B, I posed the question, *Do you think about leaving here?*" to 42 Makandezulu residents in both villages⁴⁰. In response to this prompt, two residents indicated that they *do* think about leaving the park, one explaining that she thinks about leaving the park "when I feel hungry" (Interviewee 101). While these cannot be likened to the desire to resettle; they do illustrate that some Makandezulu residents indeed wonder if life might be better for themselves and their families after leaving the park. In semi-structured interviews this aspect of decision-making proved far more common than my standardized data revealed.

Seven Makandezulu residents responded with "I don't know" when asked if they think about leaving Makandezulu. Taken together, the remaining 79% of responses indicated that while they too wonder about life outside the park, most Makandezulu residents clearly do not want to leave the park. For example, three interviewees responded with by explaining that "I don't think in leaving here because I am born here" (Interviewees 119, 124, and 138). One further elaborated, "It is difficult when someone comes and tells me to leave " (Interviewee 138). Another resident responded, "No, I don't. I am thinking to stay here forever" (Interviewee 137). Even more significantly for my purposes here, one- third of these respondents indicated that while they do not desire to leave, they sense having little choice but to resettle.

⁴⁰ I had previously tested the seemingly more direct question, "Do you want to be resettled?" and found that it provoked anxiety, suspicion, and sometimes seemed to close residents off from discussing the topic. Because the details of the resettlement are extremely sensitive and contested and access to information cannot be taken for granted (see Demotts 2005), this question also prompted some residents to turn the question back to me. Because I had brought the resettlement up, the assumption was that I knew something specific about it. By contrast, the question "Do you think about leaving here?" was akin to asking "Do you plan to leave?". In most but certainly not all cases, Reginaldo and I found asking residents about their intentions was a more gracious and effective way to enter into conversation about this sensitive topic and generally seemed to invite more open commentary and reflection.

Specifically, in response to my question "*Do you think about leaving here?*", these interviewees explained,

"No, I will as the park says we must leave" (Interviewees 102, 104, and 107).

"According to our tradition, it was not possible, but the government wants to use this as a park. So we will go. They came to us and we talked to them" (Interviewee 106).

"Naturally, we don't think in leaving but as they will open the park, we are thinking about leaving (Interviewee 110).

"If they remove us, it is an obligation. If not, I'll stay" (Interviewee 120);

"It seems to be an obligation; if one goes, we all go. No one will remain here alone" (Interviewee 121)

No, we don't think but we will leave because of the government (Interviewee 122)

I will leave; I am a woman, where will I go? (Interviewee 125)

To go where? If others leave, I will. If not, I will not (Interviewee 128)

Leaving to where? This should not be my plan; it's another person's plan (Interviewee 129) Leaving here? I don't but as they are saying, we have to, we are forced (Interviewee 130)

Even if I am not thinking about it, when they say I have to leave, I will (Interviewee 133) No, according to my desire, I won't leave. If I am forced, I will go (Interviewee 135)

We don't think in leaving, no. Really. But we have heard that we might be moved. We don't know who these people are! (Interviewee 136)

Further indication that residents are not "thinking of leaving the park" is reflected in the way in which things are moving forward in the village. In contrast to what Milgroom and Spierenburg (2008) found with respect to some of the southernmost villages in the park, Makandezulu residents continue to make significant investments in their villages. Residents continue to clear new and expand existent fields and to improve their homesteads.

Additionally, when I left the field in June 2007, Makandezulu B residents were building a new

school. As will be illustrated below, further indication of resident volition can be derived from an analysis of community objectives for conservation development.

Displacement

"While they live in relatively isolated areas and have limited access to services there is currently little pressure on them to move. This may, however, change in time as the wildlife population in the area grows and poses an increased threat." (Impacto 2005: 1).

"Are those who reluctantly take up World Bank sponsored relocation packages being compelled into moving by a deliberate ratcheting up of the push factors in their decision-making?" (Schmidt-Soltau and Brockington 2007: 2185).

To close the resettlement group's meeting to Makandezulu B, one resettlement manager exclaimed, "*The elephant cannot be the center of conservation everyday!*" My own knee-jerk reaction to the statement, which I kept private at the time, was "or can it?". This challenge stemmed from the fact that my own observations would certainly point otherwise. In my time in the LNP, the topic of elephants was an emergent and strikingly unavoidable research theme which, very often indeed, assumed a central position in everyday conservation.

As fascinated and intimidated by elephants as Reginaldo and I were, we rarely initiated the topic of elephants. The comments and conversations of local residents, however, steered us to it repeatedly. For example, the following is one farmer's description of *gwadi*, a type of pumpkin grown in the LNP: "Gwadi is a type of big gourd. You cook it. It comes when there is rain. One elephant can eat 100 of them....." (Makandezulu A resident, September 16, 2006). In other contexts, the topic was spurred on by signs of the animals – elephant tracks, elephant dung, and broken trees – which were common to seen all along the road from Massingir to Makandezulu A. In September 2006, for example, another research assistant, Levi and I were

shown a mark - a large circle of cornmeal placed around an elephant hoof print located along a path leading directly into Makandezulu A. A resident made the marking to indicate to other residents where a male elephant or bull had come less than half a kilometer away from the village.

While initially only the topic of elephants was pervasive; as the year progressed, so too were the actual elephants. By February, elephants had begun to enter the villages, attracted first by the nkanu fruit harvest in February, then by the growth of fresh corn in the fields and thereafter, the relatively persistent water sources of human dug wells. Such elephant conflict did not cease by June, when we left the region. One particularly memorable encounter occurred in my final days in Makandezulu B. The following is an excerpt from my field notes:

"Reginaldo went for water and just came back sweating profusely. There are 3 elephants in the old well (so where we got water last month). He saw 2 big ones. Reginaldo reported that the children are playing there. Salomon and some of the older children have told them to leave but they do not. They say that they *always* play with the elephants!" [June 12, 2007]

Nights, like this one, when elephants were known to be close by, residents in Makandezulu B would drum into the early morning hours to try to keep the elephants at bay. The following mornings sobering stories spread quickly through the village of drunken encounters the night before. In interviews, residents named elephants as one of the phenomena - along with death, drought, witchcraft, and the park - making life at this time inexplicably bad (4 March 2007; also 4 May 2007).

In the Makandezulu region, conflict between humans and wildlife are neither new nor limited to elephants in to the Makandezulu region. For example, decades ago, well before the establishment of the LNP, Sebastião's grandfather and great grandfather were killed by a lion on the same day (Sebastião William Maluleke, June 10, 2007). In the 1960s Johannes Mwangwiyani Matuki, the father of a current Makandezulu B resident and employee of Gaza Safaris was attacked and killed by a buffalo when the family was residing in Nwetini (Fernando Johannes Matuki, June 9, 2007). More recently, in the last decade in a lion attacked a resident, Joao Maluleke (known as Jowawa) in Makandezulu A, injuring him badly, but not killing him (June 10, 2007 interview). In other incident on January 9, 2007 a lion killed six cows in Makandezulu B (Sebastião William Maluleke, March 3, 2007). More common than animal attacks on humans are raids on fields, and numerous animals ranging from birds to porcupines to impala to elephants are blamed for such intrusions.

While there is a history of conflict between residents and wildlife in Makandezulu, over the last decade, such interactions and in particular conflict with elephants have taken on new meanings of disempowerment and displacement. A variety of factors have contributed to this situation. First, in recent years, there has been a significant increase in elephant populations (PPF 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004) . Second, according to Makandezulu residents and corresponding with elephant population increases, resident interactions with elephants have skyrocketed. Third, residents are not able to defend themselves, their family, and their resources against these protected animals. Fourth, in most but not all instances residents have found the park's response to resident complaints about wildlife have been highly unsatisfactory. As a result, elephants and their displacement effects have become symbols of

the park moving forward with support from State and the international community inspite of resident livelihoods, aspirations and the pleas, and their claims to territory.

While there appears to be little to no quantitative data regarding elephant populations and wildlife management in the LNP region during much of the 19th and 20th centuries, qualitative data derived from scholarship in environmental history suggests that elephant populations waxed and waned. For centuries, the international ivory trade, established as early as the 13th century, determined elephant populations in southern Africa (Alpers 1975). Throughout the 19th century, as European hunters moved in from the south, elephants, in turn, moved north (Murray 1995). As a result, in 1850s the heart of the ivory trade was at the junction of the Nkomati and Olifantes River and from there the “ivory frontier” moved into and through the Great Limpopo region (Murray 1995; Mavhunga 2003). There, diverse groups of people including international European sportsmen, Boer settlers, Portuguese colonialists, long-term African residents and recent Tsonga migrants engaged in wildlife extraction (Carruthers 1995; Wagner 1980). As a result, by the 1870s, the best elephant hunting had already moved north of the Limpopo River (Murray 1995: 381). At the turn of the century, while elephants remained in the Great Limpopo region (Bulpin 1954), their populations had been diminished (Murray 1995).

As discussed in a previous chapter, Kruger National Park was established in 1926 out of the Sabi and Singwitsu game reserves and additional lands (Carruthers 1995). After its establishment, conservation managers predicted that wildlife residing in the KNP would not travel over the border to Mozambique where it remained unprotected by the Portuguese

Colonial State (though no doubt managed by customary institutions) (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009). However, wildlife continued to move back and forth across the political boundary particularly during the dry season (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009: 11). This momentum prompted a request from the Union of South Africa for the Portuguese Colonial Government to protect what they considered to be “union elephants” residing in the LNP region (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009).

Further indication of 20th century elephant populations in the LNP can be derived from colonial hunting records for this region. In the 1930s, and in response to requests from the KNP, the region currently comprised by the LNP began to be managed as a hunting reserve or *coutada*, which the Portuguese administration preferred over game reserves (Mavhunga and Spiereburg 2009). “Given that the files containing hunting permits for foreigners in the years 1930-1939 were thick as fists,” we might infer that the wildlife populations were healthy enough to draw foreign hunters, mainly British and South African nationals, into the region (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009: 15).

Recall from the previous chapter, that the LNP region was officially proclaimed the Coutada 16 hunting concession in 1969. Following Mozambican Independence in 1975 a fence was built on the eastern edge of the KNP. As a means to legitimizing the transfrontier conservation implementation, which necessitated the transformation of the Coutada into a national park, and in particular the uninhibited movement of wildlife across political boundaries, the Acting Director of the Kruger National Park, remarked that before the construction of the fence on the eastern edge of the KNP, “the animals moved freely between

the two countries following their age-old migratory routes." (PPF 2003a). Others have noted that in the 1960s and 70s, and before Mozambique's Civil War, elephants in particular "used to wander across into the KNP" (Whyte *et al.* 2003 cited in Edkins *et al.* 2008: 121). These accounts provide further indication of elephant populations in the LNP during the 20th century.

A final indication of elephant populations in the LNP might be inferred from the existent data on elephant populations in other Portuguese East African conserved areas. According to Hatton *et al.* (2001: 43), before the Civil War, large mammal populations were reported to be healthy and even increasing in protected areas and hunting concessions throughout Mozambique; however, during the armed conflict, elephant populations were severely diminished. For example, in Gorongosa National Park, there were 3000 elephants before the armed conflict and 108 following the close of the war (Hatton *et al.* 2001). In Coutadas, where restricted hunting was permitted, it may be safe to assume that elephant populations were lower than in Gorongosa. However, because protected areas in the rest of country including Gaza Province, experienced similar trends, the trend in Gorongosa might serve as an indication for elephant declines throughout protected areas and hunting concessions in Mozambique like Coutada 16.

The overall decline elephant populations suffered during war coupled with a reported elephant over-population in the KNP - not to mention the draw elephants have for tourists - contributed to making elephant relocations a major component of GLTP and LNP implementation and development. Such translocations helped to boost elephants populations, but they also seem to have provided the park with a sense of momentum, that transfrontier

conservation was moving forward. This is evident in the fact that wildlife translocations from the KNP, and elephant translocations in particular, were timed to coincide with public events coordinated to build support for the park.

Quantitative data on elephant populations in the 21st century indicates that in 2001, an estimated 30 to 50 elephants were living in the LNP (Gilberto Vincente, February 19, 2007; Anderson and Pariela 2005: 16). The first wildlife relocation occurred in conjunction with a groundbreaking ceremony for the transfrontier project. It was attended by the leaders of South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique as well as by Nelson Mandela, who famously joked that the elephants for Mozambique were part of the lobola for his wife, the Mozambican heroine, Graca Machel (PPF N.d.).



Figure 8.1: Nelson Mandela opening the fence between the LNP and the KNP
(Photo source: PPF N.d.)



Figure 8.2: Elephant Relocations from the KNP to the LNP
(Photo source: PPF N.d.)

While these initial "releases" brought a lot of attention, and I contend, momentum to the park, they also received some negative press due to the fact that many park residents were unaware of the translocations, unable and unprepared to negotiate the terms of translocations, and ultimately left unprotected against animals incursions. By August 2002, 48 elephants had been translocated into the LNP. In 2003 a wildlife sanctuary was constructed in the southwestern corner of the LNP and in the territory of Massingir Velho among other groups, ostensibly to protect wildlife from local people, but no doubt also to protect park managers from the potential of more bad press related to releasing wild animals into the inhabited park.

On July 6, 2003 a family of 7 elephants were translocated in conjunction with a visit of 85 delegates from the African Union to the LNP. A description of these in an online press release from Peace Parks Foundation read,

"June, July and August will see all sorts of animals, including giraffe, impala, wildebeest, zebra and waterbuck being captured and translocated to the 35 000 hectare animal sanctuary within the confines of the Limpopo National Park (LNP) in Mozambique. This massive translocation, estimated to include more than 1 000 animals, will culminate in a large group of four families of elephant, approximately 40 animals, being moved to the LNP during the first week of September. The timing of this final translocation fits in with the World Parks Congress (WPC), which will be held in Durban at this time." [PPF 2003b]

In the first week of September 2003, 40 additional elephants were moved. In total, between 2001-2003, 111 elephants were moved from the KNP to the LNP (PPF 2003c). This was a small part of the 4660 animals translocated between 2001-2008 (PPF N.d.). Animals have also migrated to the LNP (2004). By 2005, there were at least 150 elephants not only in the wildlife sanctuary but throughout the LNP (Anderson and Pariela 2005: 16). Estimates in 2006 and 2007 pushed the number up to over 600 (Gilberto Vincente, February 19, 2007).

Elephants and their displacement effects

Elephants are at the center of conversation in Makandezulu not only due to their growing numbers, but also because they undermine water and food security, destroy trees, disturb practices associated with work and ceremony, and instill fear and frustration. Characterizations of elephants as “destructive” animals are not unique to the LNP (see Adams and McShane 1992). From one point of view, elephants are simply keystone species who contribute to converting forest into grassland (see Edkins et al. 2008). From another, such landscape transformation corresponds with water and food insecurity. Particularly in drought conditions, animals compete with humans for the same water and food supplies. In my time in Makandezulu region, there were several reports of elephants in fields incurring crop damage, and, as illustrated in the excerpt beginning this chapter, elephants seriously compromised the

water supply in Makandezulu B by damaging the human-dug wells. The focus of this discussion, however, is on elephant damage to trees.

As discussed in Chapter Five, trees are crucial components both of resident subsistence and ceremonial practice. Elephant fondness for trees draws them into contact with residents not only in the bush, but also in fields, *mafusi*, homesteads, as well as the along the roads. In each of these places, elephants damage, disturb, and destroy environmental resources and disrupt subsistence and ceremonial practices. One Makandezulu A resident accounted for the elephant damage incurred in his field the preceding year with a healthy dose of dark humor: “After (the elephant) eats my corn, it goes here to the edge of the field and knocks over the trees” (Makandezulu A resident, December 14, 2006). A second resident showed us tree damage in *mafusi*, emphasizing the size of the culprit by sitting in its track.

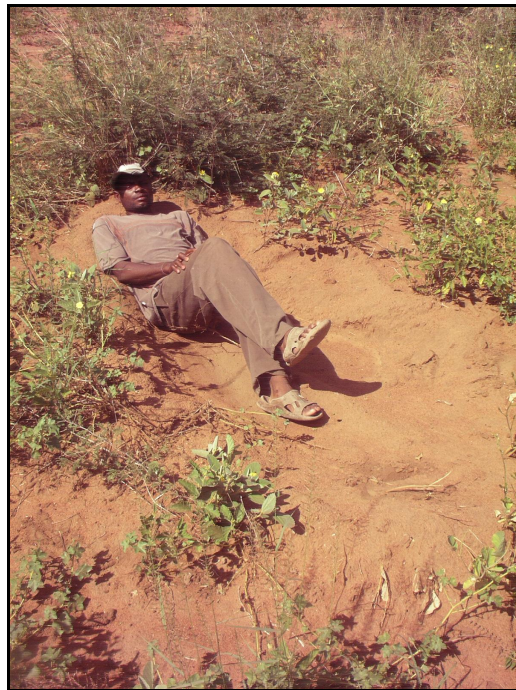


Figure 8.3: Makandezulu A resident illustrating an elephant track in *mafusi*

With considerably less humor, other residents showed us the elephant damage incurred at arboreal grave sites, including that of Maxavele, founder of the Makandezulu A tiko.

In addition to damaging and destroying things and resources, elephants also disrupted processes and practices. For example, elephants interfered with and disturbed the *nkanu* ceremonies, which took place in both Makandezulu villages on March 4, 2007, in several ways. In preparation for the ceremony, residents collected massive quantities of *nkanu* fruit with the intention to make *nkanu* beer. In Chapter Five I described *nkanu* collection among Priscina, Nora, and Julietta, three residents of Makandezulu A. These women had been gathering fruit for the production of beer that would be shared and consumed at a village-wide ceremony in honor of the ancestors, in particular Maxavele, the village founder and descendent of Xololo. Simultaneously and in a parallel fashion, women in Makandezulu B were also gathering fruit which they would use to prepare the beer requisite for this seasonal honoring of the ancestors. In Makandezulu B, however, the focus of the festival was Ngatsone and his forefather Miyamissi. In preparation for the festivities, most homesteads attempted to brew separate batches of *nkanu* beer, a sweeter younger brew for women and a stronger more bitter brew for the men. At the ceremony, each beer would be judged, praised and critiqued accordingly, and then consumed communally.

The beer made from the fruit is a crucial aspect of this annual village-wide ceremonies, during which residents affirm their relationships to the ancestors and with one another; give thanks to the ancestors for that which has gone well; and ask for help for that which has not. Elephants, however, share residents' affinity for *nkanu* fruit, and *nkanu* season (generally February and March) marked the beginning of a prolonged increase in elephant activity near and

within both Makandezulu villages. Due to the elephant consumption of the fruit, residents complained that this year there was a particularly low yield. Harvested fruit was stored in homesteads and *kraals*, where it began the fermenting process. Therefore, adding insult to injury, a second way in which elephants interfered with the *nkanu* fruit consumption was by entering both homesteads and *kraals* to eat the fruit where it lay. As a result, residents reported much less beer at the ceremony than in previous years.

Elephants also interfered with the *nkanu* festivals by evoking fear and restricting resident mobility, both diminishing residents' capacities both to harvest the fruit and to travel between villages. The culmination of elephant conflict at this time was manifest in the amount of attention elephants received at the *nkanu* ceremony in Makandezulu where elephants were prominent in long speeches about the suffering in the village. The following is an excerpt from the traditional leader's, Salomon Maluleke, plea to the ancestors, on behalf of the residents, during the *nkanu* ceremony:

Salomon Maluleke: "Where(ever) we go, there are elephants, what is happening?"

Group: "I-A"

SM: "The animals don't eat in the forest; they are eating here at our homes"

Group: "I-A"

SM: Send away the elephants, you, Vanhanyi is angry

Group: "Teka"

SM: Send away the elephants

Group: "Teka"

As previously illustrated, the pervasiveness of the topic was further heightened in resident interactions with the park officials. To some conservation practitioners, elephant conflicts were perceived as an act of pure geography and not human decision-making - as the simple result of living in and refusing to leave the park. At least informally, reports of elephant conflict were used as further indication that the resettlement is a good deal for residents.

The Perception of Volition (and why it endures)

"If the affected people do not have the option to refuse resettlement, their willingness to accept the provisions of the resettlement plan does not make the resettlement voluntary" (World Bank 2002: 4).

"Your places are already chosen. What we are waiting for is for you to choose when to move" (Resettlement Manager B; June 10, 2007)

This chapter supports the findings of other researchers that have, in one way or another, undermined the notion that conservation-related resettlement from the LNP is voluntary (Makuleke 2005; Nhalidede 2002; Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008; DeMotts 2005; RRP 2002; Lunstrum 2007; Norman 2004). In this section, I argue that the perception that the resettlement project is voluntary continues to endure, in part, because conservation managers have conflated resident willingness to 1) choose a resettlement destination location and 2) discuss the details of the resettlement houses with residents' desire to move.

In December 2006, Makandezulu B leadership chose Salane as their proposed destination location. The chief and four other leaders accompanied resettlement managers to visit the villages along the Limpopo River to decide which village they would prefer for their destination location (Henrique Massango, February 27, 2007; Sebastião William Maluleke, March 3, 2007). That the choice to move to Salane was interpreted by resettlement manager

to indicate volition was evident in the questions of the representative from the German Development Bank funding the resettlement project, on his visit to Makandezulu B on June 10, 2007 described in the introduction of this chapter. Upon hearing resident indications that they do not want to move, he asked, why residents had chosen a destination location. Taking this question to mean why they chose Salane over other destination locations, residents explained their choice with reference to other Limpopo River villages of Chicumbane and Panyame. One resident explained, "In Chicumbane, we don't have enough land and many people are robbers" And another, "We did not chose Panyame because they drink beer with us while waiting to rob our cattle". In Selani, "The ground is good for grazing and there is land for fields" (June 10 2007).

Failing to achieve the clarity he sought regarding why Makandezulu leadership had chosen a destination location if the residents did not want to resettle, the visitor took another approach, "How did you get there to choose the place?" Matter of factly, the residents replied, "The park brought the car to take us there". After months in the field, I could still empathize with the resettlement donor's confusion. Following the meeting, I asked the chief about Makandezulu leadership having chosen a destination location. The following conversation ensued.

RW: "Did the leaders from here choose a destination location?"

SM: "It is confirmed. We chose 4 men to see that place. We are still waiting to see if the houses are ready. However, it is not the people's desire, but is the park's desire."

RW: *The people do not want to go?*

SM: They will go, but it is hard to leave the birthplace.

RW: *I have read that the resettlement is supposed to be voluntary.*

SM: It is voluntary, but all of us have to leave because the crops are destroyed. We don't have protection [from the elephants]. [June 10, 2007].

In the displacement context wrought by elephant relocations, among other park development strategies, choosing a destination location indicates the desire among village leaders to position oneself and one's constituents in the best possible position in a situation where the move seems inevitable, not the desire to resettle.

Following the stakeholders meeting in Massingir in March 2007, discussed above, meeting attendees were given the opportunity to tour the destination location (Chinhangane) of the first Shingwedzi Watershed village to be resettled (Nanguene). Nanguene's move to Chinhangane serves as the pilot project for all Shingwedzi Watershed resettlements. Visiting the two model resettlement houses built at the site gave community representatives the opportunity to comment on the structures, and they were encouraged by conservation representatives to do so. As illustrated below, village leaders vocalized numerous observations and complaints regarding the size, orientation, organization, and construction of the house.

Community Representative 1: "If I knew (we would be moved), I would not have built my house there (in the village). I built my house there in vain."

Community Representative 2: "If I want to increase (the size of) the house, how do I do this? If I do not have conditions to improve and increase the house, I will suffer here."

Community Representative 3: "It is beautiful in front, but behind it, it is a compound house; not a resident house."

Community Representative 4: "The big room is very small; I can't (even) put my table in there."

Community Representative 5: "The plan of the house is very beautiful but the living room is too small; I have many things."

Park representative 1: "What if we cancel the veranda to extend the living room?"

Community Representative 5: "No, the veranda is good; you can't cancel it, just open it over there [instead]"

Community Representative 6: "The paint is not dry yet." [March 6, 2007]

Despite these concerns, resettlement managers asked village leaders and representatives to bring descriptions of the homes back to their contingencies. They hoped that, with the support of the villagers, the leaders would eventually approve the houses.

The commentary presented here is indication of the problem of choice that is so pervasive in the LNP context. The decision about whether or not to move rests primarily outside the village in the sense that is outside of resident control. The decision about the details of the move including where to move and the details of the house rests to some extent within resident control. However, as stated by the World Bank guidelines which frame the LNP resettlement project, willingness to accept cannot be equated with the desire to move (World Bank 2002: 4).

Conclusion

This chapter provided an analyses of the displacement context in which conservation related resettlement in the Makandezulu region, and the LNP more broadly, is occurring. My data and the data of other researchers indicates that while residents are certainly struggling to maintain their livelihoods in the face of conservation implementation, many residents do not of

their own accord desire to move from the park. Specifically, Milgroom and Spierenburg recently argued that while

the Mozambican government and donors funding the creation of the park have maintained that no forced relocation will take place... the pressure created by restrictions on livelihood strategies resulting from park regulations, and the increased presence of wildlife has forced some communities to 'accept' the resettlement option. [2008: 435]

Additionally, in March 2002, the Refugee Research Programme (RRP) of the University of the Witwatersrand surveyed 84 heads of household in 11 villages affected by the park. When asked "in the event that you would be forced to move your household, where would you choose to go and why," 84% of respondents asserted that they would refuse to leave (RRP 2002). Of note, the RRP team did not visit include either Makandezulu village in this survey.

As for research conducted within the Makandezulu region, Makandezulu B region, Makandezulu B has been described as one of the few villages that is particularly argumentative against the park and suspicious of unconfirmed reports that a someone was "designing a resettlement plan for them without their knowledge" (Nhalidede 2002: 5). Finally, Lamson Makuleke found that while Makandezulu B residents,

fully appreciate ecological and economic reasons for establishing the Trans-frontier Park. However, they do not want to be evicted from their ancestral land, and hence they want to be active participants in the development and management of the park. [Makuleke 2005: 47]

Despite data to the contrary, the perception that the resettlement is voluntary continues to endure, in part because conservation managers have conflated resident willingness to discuss the details of the resettlement with their desire to move. Aside from resident desires - and as my data has only begun to show, these are by no means homogenous - due to the displacement

context in which conservation-related resettlement is occurring, they see little other choice but to move. To conclude, this chapter adds credence to the argument put forth by Schmidt-Soltau and Brockington (2007: 2183) that while mainstream conservation policy has undergone a shift from involuntary to voluntary resettlement, this shift does not necessarily indicate “a significant step toward more equitable conservation,” because in practice it is questionable as to whether or not those resettlements labeled voluntary are in fact worthy of this label.

9.

Conclusion

I began this dissertation by stating that the Makandezulu region of Mozambique's Limpopo National Park is Maluleke territory. That is, the populations of Makandezulu A and Makandezulu B, which are dominated by the Maluleke *xibongo* or clan name has control over environmental resources here and, more importantly, people's relationships with respect to them (see Bohannan 1963; Shipton and Goheen 1992). In recent years, however, the Makandezulu region has also become national and transfrontier conservation territory. Following park implementation and having concluded that resident aspirations for the park were not compatible with conservation goals, conservation managers with support from international donors have developed an extensive voluntary resettlement program which includes the villages of Makandezulu A and Makandezulu B, where this study took place.

To conclude this dissertation I will highlight the theoretical and practical significance of my research findings as they relate, first, to other scholarship and, second, to the question of how Makandezulu residents will establish access to resources when and if they are resettled from the park. In the context of impending resettlement, this dissertation tracked the history of complex interactions between resident displacement, mobility, access, and control in the Makandezulu region of Mozambique's Limpopo National Park. Dissertation research was guided by three overarching questions: *What is the history of resident mobility in the Makandezulu of Mozambique's LNP? How did Makandezulu residents establish access to and*

control of resources both within this region and when they moved? What is the relevance of this relationship between access and mobility in the context of conservation related resettlement?

For two centuries, residents of what has become the Limpopo National Park have moved across and between southern African national boundaries to hunt; secure water and food; escape national authorities; trade in ivory, slaves and guns; find work in South Africa; make room for Kruger Park; comply with National Villagization schemes; seek refuge during war; and concede to the resource claims of protected area conservation and the private sector. Recognizing, first, that displacement and mobility are common experiences of the human condition and, second, that understanding cultural difference demands transcending the presumption that people's political connections to place are "rooted" in sedentarization (Malkki 1992), I place the question of territory central to central to human mobility, rather than describing it only in terms of a location to be left behind. Analytically, I build from Ribot and Peluso (2003) who describe a set of access mechanisms which serve as a heuristic for understanding the range of ways in which benefits from resources can be achieved in different contexts. This dissertation shows that in addition to being a consequence of that political economic forces that both pulled and pushed Makandezulu residents across the landscape, mobility has been a primary mechanism through which residents negotiated and escaped "displacement contexts" and, in turn, established access to resources in other places.

These relationships between access, control, displacement, mobility, and territory constitute what I refer to as the political ecology of access and mobility in Makandezulu, which I have described according to three broad arguments. First, for Makandezulu residents, mobility

was a means to avoiding the displacement context of external or non-Maluleke groups.

Second, both within the Makandezulu region and when residents moved, residents established access to resources through a variety of mechanisms; however, there was an important difference between establishing access and control. Third, the establishment or loss of group level resource control was synonymous with establishment or loss of territory.

In addition to tracking displacement-induced mobility events and mechanisms for establishing and articulating access and control, this dissertation has shown that understanding the political ecology of access and mobility in Makandezulu has much to do with translation. In recent years, political ecologists have examined a) the discursive and material ways in which powerful groups, often states and non-governmental conservation and development organizations have produced, territorialized, re-territorialized, and reconstituted space and nature and b) how, in so doing, these groups have displaced, rendered invisible, or obscured local and indigenous relationships with the environment have become central to inquiry in political ecology (Neumann 1995; Zerner 2003; Moore 1998; Castree 2001; Scott 1998). While wilderness is a relatively new way of seeing the Mozambican side of the Great Limpopo region, preceding this new form of territorialization, other ways of seeing this region have significantly shaped the political ecology of access and mobility in Makandezulu. While Portuguese colonialists saw the region as labor reserve for South Africa, for FRELIMO the region was a place for the development of a new integrated citizenry (Lunstrum 2007) and for, RENAMO, a place to institute violence (Lunstrum 2009). The current, post-colonial way of seeing the region is, of course, as national and transfrontier conservation territory and, for Makandezulu residents, Maluleke territory.

Translating between the view of the Makandezulu as wilderness versus the view that it is Maluleke territory articulates with a host of other explicit and implicit translations in this dissertation: power over land vs. power over people (Chapter Three), property vs. access (Chapter One), that which is recognized by law vs that which is recognized by local residents (Chapter Four), the customary rules vs. every-day practices of resource control (Chapters Four and Five), maps which feature the park vs. maps which feature Maluleke territory (Chapters Three and Four), resource use vs. resource meaning (Chapters Five and Ten), monetary value vs. local value (Chapter Ten) , and volition vs. inducement (Chapter Eight).

Chapter Two provided an overview of my data collection and analysis. The core period of data collection occurred from July 2006 to July 2007 when I lived in Mozambique. Participant observation, semi-structured and oral history interviews, standardized interviews, and site visits comprised the core components of data collection, though I also conducted some archival research. With assistance from Reginaldo Soto I traveled to the Makandezulu region, among other sites in the LNP, monthly from September 2006 thru June 2007. I analyzed data in Nvivo, Excel, and ArcGIS using thematic data analysis, pattern level analysis, and overlay analysis.

In Chapter Three I described Maluleke settlement in the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions. By focusing on the Makandezulu region of the Maluleke region, this dissertation extends scholarship on the social history of Maluleke people, most of which has focused on a South African branch of the Maluleke clan referred to as *Makuleke* (Harries 1987;

Steenkamp 2001; Fay 2007)⁴¹. The **Makuleke** name is well known in conservation scholarship and policy because of the 1969 removal of Makuleke villages from the KNP and subsequent, successful post-apartheid land case against Kruger National Park (Steenkamp 2001; Fay 2007). My dissertation research, therefore, has contributed to recording what has become a one-hundred year history of conservation-related displacement among Maluleke people.

Makandezulu residents' oral history accounts, many of which extended at least eight generations back, back provides important links, as well as counter-narratives, to the historical accounts of Maluleke settlement and leadership provide by Junod (1962) and Harries (1987). One particularly exciting potential gap in Maluleke written history relates to Maxavele, who as described in Chapter Three, Four, and Five is the celebrated founder of Makandezulu A. Harries (1987: 108) recorded a song sung by members of the South African **Makuleke** group wherein the name, Maxavele, appeared. In the song Maxavele was described as "as a crook"; however, the singers were unable to identify this character (Harries 1987; 108 and 132, footnote 32). If this is the same Maxavele, then it provides an interesting link and potential lead into the lineage fissures that describe Maluleke settlement throughout the Great Limpopo region.

The central argument in Chapter Three was that preceding the 20th century, Maluleke ancestors took their territory with them when they moved. As they settled the Great Limpopo and Makandezulu regions, they established a collective sense of resource control in new places through the combined mechanisms of broadcasting power over people, fissure and mobility,

⁴¹ The "**Makuleleke**" derivative of the Maluleke xibongo denotes this group's allegiance to Chief Makuleke, who was the younger brother of Chief Mhinga (Harries 1987).

and war and incorporation. In making the argument that Maluleke ancestors took their territory with them when they moved, I highlight, not only the need to understand the "portability" of resource institutions, but also the need to recognize a notions of territory not bound, literally, by the confines of modern State political organizations of space (Malkki 1992; Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Sack 1987; Winichakul 1994; Vandergeest and Peluso 1995; Scott 1998).

Instead, in Chapter Three I began to advance a notion of territory that is not only mobile, but also human-centric, in which people are more important components of territory than land. My analysis, therefore, contributes to scholarship on the relationship between territory and mobility that seeks to transcend the pervasive presumption of sedentarization (Malkki 1992). It also provides a specific example of the way in which pre-colonial southern African politics, themselves "chronically mobile and routinely displaced" (Malkki 1992: 24) and concerned with power over people rather than land, maintained control of resources (Kopytoff 1987; Hughes 2006; Herbst 2000), and the way in which territorial control might look when it is not conceived consolidated block of sovereign terrain but instead as contracting, shifting, and somewhat sporadic (Hughes 2006; Kopytoff 1987; Herbst 2000). Applying the perspectives of both research on African land tenure systems and political ecology more broadly to the question of territory seems to demand recognition that territory is a relationship not only between area and group but also between groups.

In Chapter Three I also introduced the first of several displacement-induced mobility events in this dissertation. That the Maluleke ancestors settled the Makandezulu region in a

displacement context wrought by the Gaza Nguni polity problematizes the ethnic categorization of Makandezulu residents as Shangaan, which is a category derived from the Gaza King, Shoshongane, and applied to people throughout southern Mozambique. Thus, this chapter supports scholarship which has shown that ethnically categorizing people throughout the interior of southern Mozambique as Shangaan is historically inaccurate (Harries 1989; Liesegang 1977), and introduces the contested history of Shangaan identity, which, in the 20th century, became an important access mechanism for Makandezulu residents.

In Chapters Four and Five I confined my focus to the political ecology of access within the Makandezulu region. A defining characteristic of the political ecology of access in Makandezulu is that local ways of seeing and doing territory is neither recognized by nor incompatible with the state territoriality. In southern Africa, among other places, conservation has been grounded by the pursuit of wilderness which since colonization has contributed to misinterpretations of the human-environment relationship and contributed to alienating people from their land (Fairhead and Leach 1996; Boserup 1965; Beinart 1990; Adams and McShane 1992; Afikorah-Danquah 1997; Ribot 1999; Colchester 1994; Neumann 1995; Broch-Due 2000; Anderson and Grove 1987; Carruthers 1995). In the LNP, the pursuit of wilderness, is evident in the maps and GIS that represent the park to conservation managers and donors and appears to be backed by Mozambican law.

Another way of seeing the Makandezulu region is a lineage landscape. Chapter Four illustrated how Maluleke settlement history is evident in the political organization of space in Makandezulu today, because the descendents of Xololo have resource control in Makandezulu

A, those of Miyamissi have control in Makandezulu B, while the descendents of Xihimo are the resource controllers in Mapai. To describe the Makandezulu region as a lineage landscape, I drew from scholarship that has illustrated the importance of social relations in determining land and resource tenure in Africa (Bohannan 1963; Shipton 1994; Berry 1989a, 1993; Shipton and Goheen 1992; Colson 1971; Kopytoff 1987). Through membership, which frames the ethic of access in Makandezulu (see Peluso 1992, 1996), all members of the *tiko* have access while those who are born of the lineage have resource control (Shipton and Goheen 1992).

Describing the political ecology of access means translating, not only between external and resident ways of understanding access, but also between the formal rules and every-day practices through which residents "do" access (Gegenbach 1998; Peluso and Vandergeest 2001). In Chapter Five I contrasted the view of Makandezulu as a lineage landscape with that of a niche landscape. An examination of resident tree use across a variety of tenure niches: homesteads, former homesteads, fields, *mafusi*, and the bush, illustrated the breadth of the Makandezulu subsistence and ceremonial profile and the range of different access regimes that comprise Maluleke territory. Drawing from Gegenbach (1998), I argued that there are variety of means through which residents establish resource control. Despite the importance of social relations in determining control in Makandezulu, most residents legitimize their control over fields with reference to work. Through their appeals to the Maluleke ancestors at arboreal trees sites often located in former homesteads, male lineage authorities articulate and secure their control over resources in Makandezulu on behalf of the *tiko*. In homesteads throughout each village, however, non-Maluleke residents also worship their ancestors and articulate their own level of resource control. In the mafusi and the bush, women articulate resource control

by appealing to extended kinship networks and to the ancestral ways of doing things. Through these day-to-day practices of access, women extend the relations conventionally defined by the confines of marriage, birth, and homestead; they insert themselves into the lineage; and more importantly open the lineage so that it is a more inclusive net through which all residents of the tiko, through time, have the potential to articulate resource control.

My examination of trees use in Makandezulu makes a modest contribution to important recent efforts to add an ethno-ecological dimension to the study of trees, among other the geophysical components, in the LNP (Stallmans et al. 2004), GLTP (Schmidt et al. 2002), as well as throughout southern Africa (Shackleton and Shackleton 2004). These findings also contribute to theorizing the specific linkages between landscape and tenure (Soja 1971; Peluso 1996) by illustrating how access to trees varies by social group and location (Peluso 1996; Fortmann et al. 1997; Schroeder 1993; Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997); the often invisible means through which women articulate tenure relations (Gegenbach 1998; Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997; Schroeder 1993; Fortmann et al. 1997), and how human-arboreal relations articulate meanings that extend well beyond use (Unruh 2006; Schroeder 1993; Wilson 1989). Finally and without fixing people to geographic location, I have shown how trees very much indeed tie people place (see Malkki 1992).

Chapters Six through Eight brought this dissertation back to the assessment of the way in which external groups displaced Makandezulu residents and how, when they moved residents, established access to resources. These chapters also began to illustrate that is as much memories of displacement in the past and anticipation of resettlement in the future, as it

is the arboreal birth and gravesites, the act of establishing new fields, and the breaking of makwakwa, that emplace people here (Malkki 1992; Read 1996; Feld and Basso 1996). During southern Mozambique's colonial period, which effectively extended from the fall of the Gaza Nguni in 1895 to Mozambican Independence in 1975, Makandezulu among other Great Limpopo residents were displaced by early conservation measures, an extensive suite of labor laws, and the transformation of southern Mozambique into a labor reserve. Male Makandezulu residents engaged in migrant labor to the South African mines and Skukuza (the Kruger National Park). They established access to labor not only through their mobility but also by appeals to national and Shangaan identity.

In Chapter Seven, I examined the displacement contexts wrought first by FRELIMO and later RENAMO. I illustrated in particular how Makandezulu residents resisted FRELIMO initiated villagization (reterritorialization) schemes until RENAMO induced violence (deterritorialization) forced them to gather together for protection from FRELIMO soldiers stationed in the area. The movement to be protected, however, was temporary as residents eventually abandoned the Makandezulu region all together to seek refuge in villages along the Limpopo River or South Africa's Gazankulu homeland. In these locations Makandezulu residents established access to resources predominantly through Shangaan, national, and refugee identity. As for the territory left behind in the Makandezulu region, perhaps even more detrimental than villagization and Civil War was the fact that half the population did not come back following the war.

In Chapter Eight I examined the displacement context in which conservation related resettlement is occurring, particularly how elephants are restricting access by undermining food

(agricultural and tree products) and water security and destroying cultural sites. In addition to data undermining the notion that LNP residents desire to be resettled, that conservation related resettlement is occurring within a displacement context further undermines the notion that the resettlement is voluntary. Nonetheless, the impression that conservation related resettlement is voluntary endures, because resident willingness to discuss the details of the resettlement are being conflated with the willingness to move.

By examining the diverse displacement contexts in which resident mobility took place, I untangled displacement from mobility. As noted in chapter one, in recent years there has been a shift in the definition of displacement which defines displacement as restrictions in resource access and not only human movement (Cernea 2006). The policy consequences of this re-conceptualization are significant, because it mandates compensation for people displaced by conservation and development projects regardless of geographic relocation. Theoretically, this shift enables displacement scholars to better trace the very different stands that characterize two disparate processes: a) the way in which access to resources were restricted and b) the decision for people to move (Lubkemann 2008). For example, in the Makandezulu case, differentiating between displacement and movement has enabled me to illustrate the role of external groups in displacing residents while still illustrating the role of Makandezulu residents as active agents in the decision to move. That Makandezulu residents undertake the decision to move does not negate the responsibility of outside groups in inducing residents to move. On the contrary it shows the different degrees to which Makandezulu residents had power of choice (see Lubkemann 2008).

By shedding light on the displacement context of mobility events, my dissertation also makes a contribution to the underlying problem for resettlement policy, the issue of resident volition (see Schmidt-Soltau and Brockington 2007; Brockington and Igoe 2006; and West et al. 2006). Makandezulu residents will hold out as long as possible, but eventually and as the push factors of animal conflict among other processes become too much, they may indeed flee. That they accept the resettlement package in so doing, however, should not then be conflated with voluntarily leaving the park. As a result, the language of voluntary resettlement which has characterized conservation implementation in the LNP should be dispensed with. More importantly, conservation efforts should focus on protecting residents from the displacement effects of the park and realizing community development goals.

Establishing Access to Resources when they go

The ability for social scientists to affect change in protected area conservation policy has been negligible (Mascia et al. 2003) despite significant contributions to advancing understanding of human-environment interactions and increased interaction between social scientists and conservation practitioners (see Brosius 1999; West 2001; West and Brockington 2006). In seeking to inform protected area conservation policy, I situate this dissertation in a space of critical engagement, a phrase some will find to be contradiction in terms. Engaged social scientists incorporate themselves into the public sphere by means of participating in planning, information dissemination, advocacy, theory building, and policy critique and

refinement (Rappaport 1993: 302). As such, critical theory-building and applied research need not be contrasting trends; instead they are integrated parts of problem solving.

Specifically, integrating social science and conservation practice cannot be achieved through the solo aim of feeding social science data into existent policy measures. While some findings can and should be used to bolster policy, others should be applied to assessing, developing, and reforming it. It is with this frame of mind and intention that offer the following observations on the ongoing political ecology of access and mobility among Makandezulu residents and specifically how they will establish access when they go.

Herein I discuss how the potential for Makandezulu residents to establish access to and control of resources in their proposed resettlement destination location, Salane, may be shaped, by resettlement compensation, the customary institutions that define resource access and control in Makandezulu and Salane, and additional development projects that may occur in the region. The importance of resource access for resettled populations is highlighted by scholarship which shows that combating impoverishment and lowering social vulnerability during resettlement necessitates recognizing and re-instating the resource management and tenure systems of those being moved (Cernea 2000; Kelly and Adger 2000). In particular, Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model for resettling displaced populations points to 8 potential processes of impoverishment induced by resettlement, among them: landlessness, homelessness, food insecurity, and loss of access to community resources (and services) (Cernea 2000, 2005). Additionally, Kelly and Adger (2000) identified loss of common property management rights as one of four factors that contribute to an individual or

group's social vulnerability. According to both frameworks then the inability for Makandezulu residents to establish access to resources when they are resettled from the LNP may lead to impoverishment and increased vulnerability to ongoing displacement in the resettlement site.

Resettlement Compensation

In August 2005, the "voluntary" relocation of 16 families residing in the Shingwedzi Watershed village of Nanguene, located 10 km north of the Massingir Dam, to Chinhangane, which is approximately 12 km downstream from the Massingir Dam along the Olifants was approved (MITUR 2007: 7-8). As mentioned in Chapter Eight, Nanguene's resettlement to Chinhangane in 2008 was undertaken as a pilot project for the other Shingwedzi Watershed villages. Thus, the Resettlement Action Plan or RAP for Nanguene serves as my point of reference here. Following World Bank policy, a major component resettlement compensation will be access to environmental and cultural resources. Extend beyond the promise of cement houses, the Nanguene RAP includes access to agricultural fields, water, forests, trees and grazing land as well as access to businesses, schools and health care facilities.

In this respect, the pilot plan seems to provide a thoughtful overview of resource use in the region. However, this compensation framework would be insufficient for providing Makandezulu residents with resource access, not to mention control, in their destination location. This problem exceeds the fact that the specifics of resource use, for example the types of trees in homesteads, may be different between the two villages. The RAP allows for these types of variations. Instead the RAP provides an insufficient framework for recognizing and valuing resource use in Makandezulu A and B, among other villages, because it undermines

first the extent of resident resource use and, second, the diversity of tenure configurations that comprise local territory. Third, it fails to account for the meaning of people's relationships with resources beyond use. Herein I suggest that these shortcomings are emblematic of the an apparent trend in transfrontier conservation of extending State control rather than devolving control to local communities.

Resettlement managers have attempted to soften the sting of the loss of resource control by couching transfrontier conservation, including conservation-related resettlement, in the discourses and practices of, not only protected area conservation, but also sustainable development and market integration. These objectives feature strong moral economies which conceal inequality, marginality, and lack of participation and free prior and informed consent (see Neumann 2004; Hughes 2001). They also help to legitimize conservation interventions by mobilizing resources to support these initiatives (Büscher and Dressler 2007) all the while appearing to place them outside of the realm of politics (Ferguson 1994; Büscher 2010).

For example, the compensation guidelines discussed below reflect the minimal provisions that will be provided for resettled residents. Additional compensation will be provided for vulnerable people and both resettled residents and the host populations will benefit from socio-economic infrastructure provided in the destination location (MITUR 2007). This includes access to irrigated plots, improved latrines in homesteads, and seeds for a community woodlot, each of which is in addition to the standard compensation for specific losses to resources. In fact these programs are "not considered to be compensation for losses incurred but rather support for enhancing sustainable development" (MITUR 2007: 37). My

intention here is not to undermine the potential of these important components of the resettlement effort nor do I suggest that resettled residents will not be interested in such programs. Instead I wish to explore the paradoxical nature of the assumption, evident in interviews with conservation managers, that Shingwedzi Watershed residents will be better off in their destination locations, where they will be further integrated into the market economy.

Aside from the important points that such assumptions "betray a thinly veiled assumption of evolutionary determinism" (Funk 1985: 125, cited in Koenig and Diarra 2000) and residents' future aspirations need to be recognized on their own terms, the RAP's use of market-based measures to value resources in the LNP is paradoxical on several levels. In making this argument I draw from recent scholarship which "places conservation policies in the broader social and economic changes that define neoliberalism" (Igoe and Brockington 2007; see also West 2006; Büscher and Dressler 2007; Büscher 2010a, Büscher 2010b). I am specifically interested here in how market-based valuation and commodification of resources contributes to reshaping the political ecology of access and mobility among Makandezulu residents and reconfiguring the Great Limpopo region into conservation territory. West (2006: 183) described the commodification of resources in the context of a conservation and development intervention in Papua New Guinea as the process by which things are "drained" of their social significance, "infused with monetary, and inserted into a social and economic system premised on hierarchies of value". In the LNP context, as new is added to land and resources (see also Igoe and Brockington 2007), local valuations are being neglected and severely diminished.

A key component of the resettlement program is *not* to pay cash in kind to compensate for loss of resource but instead to replace these resources with comparable or better ones in the destination location. This apparently widespread resettlement ethic is reportedly due, at least in part, to a level of distrust among donors of what local people will do with the money and the way in which the money might be spent. In the LNP case in particular, it is suspected that male heads of household in particular might spend compensation money on, for example, motorbikes and alcohol rather than school uniforms and food. This mistrust is evident in the following excerpt from a conversation that ensued while representatives from Shingwedzi Watershed villages were touring the model houses built for Nanguene residents in Chinhagane.

Community Representative: Where will you get the grass to roof the houses? Look for the best grass! There is some that isn't strong enough. But the zinc is very good. If you don't get the grass, just divide the zinc between us."

Park Representative: "If we divide the zinc, you will sell it for beer."

Community Representative: "Even if I do sell it, you are to blame. I was quiet in my house before you came to touch me. You have to do everything I say!"

Park representative: "Be quiet please, don't talk money. Let's talk reality." [March 6, 2007]

This exchange was sparked by a village leader who was concerned that resettlement managers will not find the grass residents prefer to use for roofing the additional structures most residents, not accustomed confines of one house, anticipate building in their resettlement compounds. The village representative suggested that if the right kind of grass is not found, then park managers should divide the zinc⁴² used to roof the cement resettlement houses being built by the resettlement project. Residents could then sell this material in order to buy the

⁴² Presumably, the village representative was referring to galvanized steel, which is colloquially referred to as "zinc".

best grass. The conversation was light in tone. There was an evident sense of ease as village representative and resettlement managers joked about the anticipated marital strife that would ensue as polygamous families moved into one house. Further that Shingwedzi Watershed men might spend money acquired through the resettlement unwisely is a common tale, perhaps especially Shingwedzi Watershed women.

This excerpt introduces the paradoxical role money and more specifically privatized land valuation and market integration plays in the resettlement program. First, many LNP residents are economically marginalized; yet they are no strangers to money, privatized systems of land, and the market economy. Livelihood strategies are historically grounded in subsistence farming, gathering, and herding; however, as illustrated in Chapter Six, for over two centuries at least Great Limpopo residents have been integrated into international trade and migrant labor. Second, while residents themselves may not be trusted with money, the system used to value their access to land and resources other assets is grounded in commodification and market-based valuation measures based on money.

This is particularly evident with respect to fields. According to the RAP, for the loss of fields, "Each family will be provided with a replacement field for rain-fed crop production. The area of the replacement field will equal or slightly exceed the total area of the land abandoned in Nanguene Village" (MITUR 2007: 37). Resettlement managers identified the value of fields that would be replaced according to the following World Bank guidelines:

For rural or agricultural land WB OP 4.12 defines "replacement cost" as the pre-project or pre-displacement (whichever is higher) market value of land of equal productive potential or use located in the vicinity of the affected land, plus the cost of preparing

the land to similar levels to those of the affected land, plus the cost of any registration and transfer taxes (MITUR 2007: 27).

Because all land belongs to the State in Mozambique and, therefore, cannot be traded, the market value of land in Mozambique is low (MITUR 2007). As a result, the replacement value of land will also be low:

All land belongs to the State and cannot be sold, mortgaged or otherwise alienated. Rural family sector households and communities are usually able to obtain land from the State or traditional authorities at no or minimal cost. There is, therefore, no or only a very weak land market in rural areas and the land itself has no or minimal market value despite its productive potential and any locational advantages. The replacement cost of rural land for a household living in areas such as Nanguene is thus usually limited to the cost of clearing, preparing and protecting the land and this cost is relatively low." (MITUR 2007: 27)

To equate the value of land and other resources in the LNP with the weak market of land in Mozambique is extremely problematic. First it fails to recognize the potential for conservation implementation to increase the monetary value of land in the LNP. In some cases, such potential is already being realized. Promoted by the Peace Parks Foundation as the LNP's "first luxury" wilderness camp, Machampane Wilderness Camp is a privately run tourist lodge set just above a small dam on the Machampane River and overlooking the Lembobo Ridge and Kruger Park to the east which opened on December 7, 2005 (PPF 2005)⁴³. While there are "budget" options costing less than \$10/night to stay in the LNP, in 2007 a night at Machampane camp was approximately \$200. Both prices are high considering that the average Mozambican earned less than \$40/month in 2008.

⁴³ During the Civil War, the camp site served as a RENAMO base and during the first years of park implementation, a ranger base.

Second, this type of valuation commodification neglects and displaces the way in which local residents value environmental resources. For Makandezulu residents, the value of their territory is measured through collective social history, experienced-based knowledge, work and other investments, and inheritance potential; this is where their links to ancestors legitimize their resource control here. Of course, local valuation systems also recognize the development and market potential inherent in transfrontier conservation and, as was illustrated in Chapter Eight, residents very much want to position themselves to benefit from this potential.

Some specific means through which the RAP may overlooks Maluleke local territory is illustrated in the framework for tree compensation trees. According to the RAP:

- **For the loss of trees,** "Affected families with perennial crops and/or fruit trees growing around their houses or on the fields will be paid cash compensation at full replacement cost for their losses. Families will be permitted to harvest perennial crops or fruit trees before leaving Nanguene Village. Eligible families will also be provided by the project with planting material and seedlings for each perennial crop or fruit tree lost in order to assist them to re-establish the perennial crops and fruit trees that are abandoned in Nanguene Village" (MITUR 2007: 37).
- **For the loss of access to forests,** "resettled families will be provided with access to the forest resources surrounding Chinhangane Village.... However, to decrease pressure on these forest resources the project will provide the resettled families with tree seedlings to establish a one hectare community woodlot near to the resettlement village (MITUR 2007: 42).

Inventory of projected tree losses in Nanguene revealed that of the 16 families, 9 families will lose some fruit trees, specifically nine amarula (nkanu; *Sclerocarya birrea*); one wild fig (nkuwa; *Ficus Sycomorus*); eleven m'wambo (*Manilkara mochisia*); one amoreira (tsumbula; *Maclura*

africana) (see Schmidt *et al.* 2002: 86); twelve papaya trees and seven banana plants (MITUR 2007). It may very well be the case that tree use is a more important component of livelihoods for Makandezulu residents than other villages, like Nanguene. Even so, based on my research and observations throughout the LNP, the number of families who have fruit trees in their homesteads and the number of fruit trees in the homestead in Nanguene seems low.

More importantly, research on tree use in the Makandezulu indicated a range of important tree species, tree uses, and tree meanings that are unrepresented in the framework for tree compensation in Nanguene. As a result, when applied to the Makandezulu region, this compensation features several significant limitations for properly inventorying and valuing resident tree use. First, there are other important uses of trees beyond consumption of fruit including but not limited to healing, construction, fuel, fodder, and ceremony. Further, human consumption of trees is not limited to tree *fruit*. The clearest example of this is *xikutsu* (*Boscia albitrunca*), which as indicated in Table 5.1 is the most salient tree for human consumption. Though the tree does bear edible fruit, it is the roots of the *xikutsu*, not the fruit, that makes up the most important part of residents' subsistence profile. Residents use the roots of *xikutsu* trees to make a tea. After digging the roots, residents remove the bark, then cut, grind and pound the roots to soften them. They then soak the roots in boiling water. If the root is not sweet, it is not used, and the roots are allowed a few more years to ripen. *Xikutsu* roots are generally collected during the hunger months of June to November from trees located in the bush. Among other places, *makwakwine* the place of *makwakwa* in Makandezulu A which discussed in chapter four, is also a special place for *xikutsu*. Additionally, residents gather the

roots from *xikutsu* trees located along the road. Like *makwakwa*, *xikutsu* was consistently credited for helping residents endure severe drought and food shortages in the region.

Second, in addition to overlooking the extensive uses of trees in Makandezulu, this compensation framework would undermine the fact that the most important trees for subsistence use are not planted. Homesteads in the Makandezulu region are full of wild fruit trees including but not limited to: *makwakwa* (*Strychnos madagascariensis*), *nkanu* (*Sclerocarya birrea*), *sihane* (*Grewia monticula*) *uthlangula* (*Euclea divinorum*) , and *ximuwu* (*Andasornia digitata*). None of these trees nor, however, is typically planted, nor, for that are any of the trees included in Table 5.1. In most cases, these trees are located within resident homesteads, because the homestead site was selected because of the existence of the trees. That being said Makandezulu residents do plant and transplant trees in their homesteads for aesthetic purposes and for healing. These categories of use, however, do not appear to on RAP compensation list. Additionally, fruit trees that are planted for human consumption include papaya, mango, and banana. However, these trees appear to have an extremely low survival and as revealed in Table 5.1 none were included as the most salient trees for food by Makandezulu residents.

Third, there is a bias towards trees in homesteads. As illustrated in Chapter Five, understanding tree access in Makandezulu necessitated going beyond which trees are important to examining how access to trees varies by location. Projected losses for trees in Nanguene were based on trees that were "generally planted around the homestead" (MITUR 2007: 14). This may indicate a significant gap in the inventory of trees in Nanguene. The RAP

states that residents will be compensated for "fruit trees growing around their houses or on the fields" (MITUR 2007: 37). Providing compensation for trees in fields is an important aspect of the current RAP that should be fulfilled. As discussed in chapter 4, trees kept on fields are done so strategically and such trees often are fruit trees including but not limited to nsala (*Strychnos spinosa*), nkuwa (*Ficus sycomorus*), and nyiyi (*Berchemia discolor*) .

In Makandezulu the vast majority of tree management in Makandezulu occurs in the bush where residents use wild trees daily for food procurement, home maintenance, healing and collection of firewood. Of the 21 most important trees included in Table 5.1, only nkanu is commonly gathered outside of the bush, and nkanu is gathered in mafussi. There is not mention of trees in former fields, like mafusi, or former homesteads. Instead access is seemingly implicit in the compensation of grazing land, forests, and gravesites. For loss of access to forests, Nanguene residents will be provided access to the bush in Chinhangane, their resettlement destination. Additionally, "to decrease pressure on these forest resources the project will provide the resettled families with tree seedlings to establish a one hectare community woodlot near to the resettlement village" (MITUR 2007: 42). Like forest compensation, compensation for grazing land as well as gravesites is indicative of the desire among resettlement managers to extend compensation to resource held in common.

- **For the loss of grazing land**, residents "will be provided with livestock grazing land surrounding the new resettlement village at Chinhangane. The area of land that will be made available will be sufficient for the current livestock herd and additional land will be made available for a limited amount of future increase in the herd size" (MITUR 2007: 42).
- **For the loss of graves and sarced sites**, "The replacement cost of affected graves is the cost of exhumation and re-burial at another site. This includes coffins, labour, transport,

consultations with spiritual leaders (*curandeiros*) as well food, drinks and cloth for traditional ceremonies" (MITUR 2007: 28)..... "Provision of food, fees and transport for necessary ceremonies and/or exhumation and re-burial" will be determined on a case by case basis (MITUR 2007: 32).

These other types of compensation, however, do not adequately substitute for loss of access to mafusi, abandoned homesteads or bush, because these niches have a entirely different tenure regimes.

Aside from the attention given to forests, gravesites, and grazing land, the RAP indicates a bias towards landuse types under current use and those which are held under more individual types of tenure (including family ownership), like current homesteads and active fields. This has serious consequences for the compensation of tree use and resource access more broadly. In chapter four, my discussion of tree use in mafusi illustrated that what may appear to outsiders to be abandoned fields still very much hold active claims and the important relationship between the productive and social landscapes or what Gegenbach (1998: 15) referred to as a system access based on "land-based kinship". This means that resource claims are not limited to the lifespan of individuals but passed down through generations. Such claims may become increasingly pluralistic through time and strengthened by explicit links to ancestors. This apparent bias in the RAP may have serious implications for the resettlement projects' perception of that 40% of land in Chinhangane is "unused" (MITUR 2007: 44).

The compensation of environmental resources in the RAP features a conspicuous lack of understanding or recognition concerning environmental resources mean to residents beyond subsistence use. In the context of impending resettlement and the anticipated loss of place,

the cultural significance of these material components of Maluleke territory may be even more pronounced as losing the ability to inscribe meaning begins to signify loss of resource control. Indeed if the pilot RAP fails to account for these basic social and geophysical components of access - the extent of tree use and the diversity of tenure regime- then it seems likely that it may also fail to recognize and compensate for the loss of resource control.

The Lineage Legacy

In Chapter Eight, I showed how Makandezulu residents justified their choice of Salane as a potential resettlement destination location in terms of its qualities relative to other Limpopo River Watershed villages, specifying the problem of theft in other villages in that vicinity and better agricultural conditions in Salane. That these potential locations are even within the scope of resident consideration, however, is a consequence of the way in which the ethic of access is centered around membership in the group.

As the villages of Makandezulu A and B are predominantly comprised of people with the Maluleke surname, other villages within the Shingwedzi Watershed also have a dominant xibongo or clan name. The villages of Machamba and Chimangue are predominately Nbombi while Massingir Velho, Mavodze and Bingo have a large population of Baloi (Henrique Massango, November 14, 2006). The host populations in each potential destination location also share this dominate xibongo. That is, residents from the southern Massingir district are choosing a destination location dominated by a Baloi xibongo while those with the Nbombi will likely seek out a destination location carrying this xibongo (Henrique Massango, November 14,

2006). Salane is located just south of Nyandweni where Maxakatsi moved the Maluleke clan, well before his descendents would settle the Makandezulu region (Figure 3.3). Today, Salane is incorporated within the tiko of Chief Mapai, descendent of the Maluleke male lineage authority, Xihimo (Figure 3.2).

In Salane, although Makandezulu residents will join with others all of whom are coming from the line of Guyu and although as members of this group, they will establish access to environmental resources, Makandezulu residents from both villages - descendents of Xololo in Makandezulu A and Miyamissi in Makandezulu B- predict that they will not be the controllers there. The anticipated loss of resource control in Salane among Makandezulu residents may be symbolized in the ability to convey meaning upon trees. Recall from Chapter Five that Maluleke ancestors are celebrated by Makandezulu residents at village level sites, specifically the arboreal grave sites of Maxavele in Makandeezulu A and Ngatsone in Makandezulu B. The practice of worshipping non Maluleke ancestors, however, is relegated to the homestead. In Salane, village level ceremonies will be in honor of the line of Xihimo whereas those worshipping Xihimo or Miyamissi and their descendents will have to relegate their worship to trees in their homesteads.

Other impediments to (and opportunities for) access in the destination location

In recent years several issues have arisen which may further complicate resource access for resettled Shingwedzi Watershed residents. For example, when I left the LNP in 2007, the resettlement programs for both Nanguene and Macavane were being compromised by the 32000 Hectare Concession promised by the Mozambican Government to ProCana, a private

company that is investing in sugar and ethanol production in the region (Biopact 2007). Of the 3,2000 hectares, 2,5000 will be under sugar cane for the production of ethanol (David Hayward, June 23, 2007). While the land devoted to housing and farmland will not be affected by ProCana, this project would likely compete with grazing land allocated for the resettlement (David Hayward, June 23, 2007). At the same time, ProCana may prove to be a significant source of labor for the region as it was estimated that it will provide the potential for 7,600 jobs (David Hayward, June 23, 2007).

Potential conflicts for the more northern reaches of the Limpopo Watershed resettlement destinations including Salane include the development of a dam. Gaza Province had undertaken technical studies to explore this project and any realization of it was ten to fifteen years in the future (David Hayward, June 23, 2007). A third development project that might conflict with the ability for residents to establish access in Salane is a proposed project being initiated by Maluleke kin from South Africa associated with Chief Makuleke. The development is not directed specifically at the area per se but rather "where there are many Malulekes" (Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke, June 19, 2007) and Nwanati people more generally (Henrique Massango, June 27, 2007; Sebastião William Maluleke, May 4, 2007).

This idea centers around the development of bio diesel production in the form of sunflower production or *girasol* (*Jatropha curcas*) on the western side of the Limpopo River on land that may or may not be part of the LNP but which is considered Maluleke land (Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke, April 11 2007; Arrie van Wyk March 13, March 2007). Establishing this plan means collaborating with the Nwanati Malulekes from South Africa who "have the knowledge"

(Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke, June 19, 2007) and international funding for this project (Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke, June 19 2007; Henrique Massango June 26, 2007). One objective is to re-organize the population which is currently spread out along the river into approximately four villages (Arrie van Wyk, March 13, 2007). Living "spread out" is considered to be an impediment to development. Therefore, in addition to creating the capacity to open the fields to produce biodiesel, Chief Mapai is considering building houses, schools, and hospitals; fixing roads; getting electricity; and opening wells (Rodriguez Mapai Maluleke, April 11, 2007 and June 19, 2007). Hindrances to the project include resistance among Maluleke people living along the Limpopo River to a new villagization (Chief Mapai, 19 June 2007) and that the South African Nwanati Maluleke want to develop the project according to South African rather than Mozambican land claim structures (Henrique Massango, June 26, 2007). Further complications to establishing access and control over resources in Salane include elephant conflicts which, not confined to boundaries of the LNP, are widely acknowledged to extend well into the support zone (see also Anderson and Pariela 2005: 20-21). Finally, Salane's location in the support zone of the park does not necessarily remove it from the potential to face resettlement.

Potential resettlement compensation oversight in the resettlement project may be indicative of a pervasive trend in what Zimmerer (2000: 359) referred to as "territory making in today's conservation boom". Transfrontier conservation in the Great Limpopo region was launched under the guise of devolving resource control to local people. Instead it appears to be diminishing it all the while extending control of the state (Hughes 2005; Duffy 1997, 2001; Spierenburg et al. 2008; Draper et al. 2004; Wolmer 2003).

To conclude the political ecology of access and mobility in Makandezulu is characterized by significant changes in Maluleke territory over the past two centuries. Preceding the 19th century and before settling Makandezulu, Maluleke ancestors moved throughout the Great Limpopo region. Despite political upheaval and displacement, they were able to establish and re-establish a collective sense of resource control in new places; in other words, they took their territory with them when they moved. In the 20th century, Maluleke mobility patterns shifted towards finding work in South Africa and seeking refuge during war. Under these new patterns of mobility, Makandezulu residents maintained resource access when they moved, but they failed to establish resource control. Instead their territory remained behind them in the Makandezulu region and as migrant laborers and refugees, residents returned back there to extend and reclaim it. In the 21st century, Makandezulu residents face conservation related resettlement. In their proposed destination location, Makandezulu residents are assured resource access, but they do not anticipate establishing resource control. As a result, residents anticipate neither taking their territory with them when they go, nor returning back to reclaim it. This time Maluleke territory, which has endured conditions of displacement and mobility in the past, may come undone.

References

- Adams, J. S., and T. O. McShane. 1992. *The Myth of Wild Africa: Conservation Without Illusion*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Adams, W. M., and M. Mulligan. 2004. *Decolonizing Nature: Strategies for Conservation in a Post-colonial Era*. London: Earthscan.
- Afikorah-Danquah, S. 1997. Local resource management in the forest-savanna transition zone - The case of Wenchi district, Ghana. *Ids Bulletin-Institute of Development Studies* 28.
- Agnew. 1994. The territorial trap. *Review of International Political Economy* 1:53-80.
- Agrawal, A., and C. C. Gibson. 1999. Enchantment and Disenchantment: The Role of Community in Natural Resource Conservation. *World Development* 27:629-649.
- Agrawal, A., and K. Redford. 2009. Place, Conservation and Displacement. *Conservation and Society* 9:56-58.
- Agrawal, A. a. R., K. 2009. Conservation and Development: An Overview. *Conservation and Society* 7:1-10.
- Alexiades, M. N. 2009. "Mobility and Migration in Indigenous Amazonia: Contemporary Ethnoecological Perspectives - an Introduction," in *Mobility and Migration in Indigenous Amazonia*. Edited by M. N. Alexiades, pp. 1-43: Berghahn Books.
- Alpers, E. A. 1975. *Ivory and slaves : changing pattern of international trade in East Central Africa to the later nineteenth century by Arabs*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. London, New York: Verso.
- Anderson, D., and R. Grove. 1987. *Conservation in Africa : people, policies, and practice*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, J. L., and F. Pariela. 2005. *Strategies to mitigate human-wildlife conflicts, Mozambique*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- Appadurai, A. 1988. Introduction: Place and Voice in Anthropological Theory. *Cultural Anthropology* 3:16-20.

- . 1991. "'Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology," in *Recapturing anthropology : working in the present*. Edited by R. G. Fox. Santa Fe, N.M: School of American Research Press.
- Axinn, W. G., J. S. Barber, and D. J. Ghimire. 1997. The neighborhood history calendar: A data collection method designed for dynamic multilevel modeling. *Sociological Methodology* 27:355-392.
- Axinn, W. G., L. D. Pearce, and D. Ghimire. 1999. Innovations in life history calendar applications *Social Science Research* 28:243-264.
- Azevedo, M. J. 2002. *Tragedy and triumph : Mozambique refugees in Southern Africa, 1977-2001*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Balée, W. L. 1992. "People of the Fallow: A Historical Ecology of Foraging in Lowland South America," in *Conservation of Neotropical Forests: Working with Traditional Resource Use*. . Edited by K. H. Redford and C. Padoch.
- Balée, W. L. 1998. *Advances in historical ecology*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ballard, C. 1986. Drought and Economic Distress - South-Africa in the 1800s. . *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17:359-378.
- Basso, K. H. 1996. "Wisdom Sits in Places: Notes on a Western Apache Landscape," in *Senses of place*, 1st edition. Edited by S. Feld and K. H. Basso, pp. 53-90. Santa Fe, N.M: School of American Research Press; Distributed by the University of Washington Press.
- Baumbach, E. J. M. 1987. *Analytical Tsonga grammar*. Studia originalia. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Bayliss-Smith, T., E. Hviding, and T. Whitmore. 2003. Rainforest composition and histories of human disturbance in Solomon Islands. *Ambio* 32:346-352.
- Behera, D. K., and P. Erasmus. 1999. Sustainable Development of Indigenous Populations. *South African Journal of Ethnology* 22.
- Beinart, W. 1990. Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa. *Past & Present*:162-186.
- Berkes, F. 2004. Rethinking community-based conservation. *Conservation Biology* 18::621-630.

Bernard, R. 2006. Research methods in anthropology: qualitative and quantitative approaches. Lanham MD: AltMira Press.

Berry, S. 1989a. Access, Control and Use of Resources in African Agriculture: An Introduction. *Africa* 59:1-5.

—. 1989b. Social Institutions and Access to Resources. *Africa* 59:41-55.

—. 1993. No condition is permanent : the social dynamics of agrarian change in sub-Saharan Africa. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press.

—. 2001. "Chiefs know their boundaries : essays on property, power, and the past in Asante, 1896-1996," in *Social history of Africa*, Oxford: J. Currey .

Biersack, A. 1999. Introduction: From the "new ecology" to the new ecologies. *American Anthropologist* 101: 5-18.

Biopact 2007. Pro-Cana to invest \$510 million in integrated ethanol, power, sugar and fertilizer plant in Mozambique, accessed April 25, 2001.

Black, A. R. Strand, G. Wright, J. M. Scott, P. Morgan, and C. Watson. 1998. Land use history at multiple scales: implications for conservation planning. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 43::49-63.

Blaikie, P. 1989. Environment and Access to Resources in Africa. *Africa* 1:18-40.

Blaikie, P. M., and H. C. Brookfield. 1987. Land degradation and society. London: Methuen.

Bloch, M. 1998. "Why Trees, Too, Are Good to Think With: Towards an Anthropology of the Meaning of Life," in *The social life of trees : anthropological perspectives on tree symbolism*. Edited by L. M. Rival, pp. 39-55. Oxford, UK ; New York: Berg.

Blossfeld, H. P., and G. Rohwer. 2002. Techniques of event history modeling: new approaches to causal analysis,. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Blu, K. I. 1996. ""Where Do You Stay At?": Homeplace and Community among the Lumbee," in *Senses of place*, 1st edition. Edited by S. Feld and K. H. Basso, pp. 197-228. Santa Fe, N.M. [Seattle]: School of American Research Press ; Distributed by the University of Washington Press.

Bohannon, P. 1963. "'Land', 'Tenure' and Land-Tenure," in *African Agrarian Systems*. Edited by D. Biebuyck, pp. 101-115. London: Oxford.

Bonner, P. 1978. *Factions and Fissions: Transvaal/ Swazi Politics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. *The Journal of African History* 19:219-238.

Borgatti, S. P. 1996. "ANTHROPAC 4 User's Guide." Natick, MA:: Analytic Technologies.

—. 1999. "Elicitation Techniques for Cultural Domain Analysis " in *Enhanced ethnographic methods : audiovisual techniques, focused group interviews, and elicitation techniques*. *The Ethnographer's toolkit*. Edited by J. J. Schensul. Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press.

Boserup. 1965. *The Conditions Agricultural Growth: the economics of agrarian change under population pressure*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publications.

Bowman, D. 1998. The impact of Aboriginal landscape burning on the Australian biota. *New Phytologist* 140:385-410.

Brechin, S. R., P. R. Wilshusen, C. L. Fortwangler, and P. C. West. 2002. Beyond the square wheel: Toward a more comprehensive understanding of biodiversity conservation as social and political process. *Society & Natural Resources* 15:41-64.

Breusers, M. 2001. Searching for livelihood security: Land and mobility in Burkina Faso. *Journal of Development Studies* 37:49-80.

Broad, R. 1994. The poor and the environment: Friends or foes? . *World Development* 22::811-822.

Broch-Due, V. 2000. "Producing Nature and Poverty in Africa: An Introduction " in *Producing nature and poverty in Africa*. Edited by V. Broch-Due and R. A. Schroeder. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Broch-Due, V., and R. A. Schroeder. 2000. *Producing nature and poverty in Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Brock, L. 1991. . *Peace through Parks: The Environment on the Peace Research Agenda*. *Journal of Peace Research* 28:407-423.

Brockington, D., and J. Igoe. 2006. Eviction for Conservation: A Global Overview. *Conservation and Society* 4:424-470.

Brody, H. 1982. *Maps and dreams*, 1st American edition. New York: Pantheon Books.

Brooks, D. R. 1985. Historical Ecology - a New Approach to Studying the Evolution of Ecological Associations. *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* 72:660-680.

- Brosius, J. P. 1999. Analyses and interventions - Anthropological engagements with environmentalism. *Current Anthropology* 40:277-309.
- . 2004. "What Counts as Local Knowledge in Global Environmental Assessments and Conventions?," in *Bridging Scales and Epistemologies: Linking Local Knowledge and Global Science in Multi-Scale Assessments*. Biblioteca Alexandrina, Alexandria, Egypt.
- . 2006. Common ground between anthropology and conservation biology. *Conservation Biology* 20:683-685.
- . 2006. "Seeing Communities: Technologies of Visualization in Conservation," in *The seductions of community : emancipations, oppressions, quandaries*, 1st edition. Edited by G. W. Creed. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Brosius, J. P., and D. Russell. 2003. Conservation from Above: An Anthropological Perspective on Transboundary Protected Areas and Ecoregional Planning. *Journal Of Sustainable Forestry* 17:39-65.
- Brosius, J. P., A. L. Tsing, and C. Zerner. 1998. Representing communities: Histories and politics of community-based natural resource management. *Society & Natural Resources* 11:157-168.
- Brouwer, R., and J. Nhassengo. 2006. About bridges and bonds: community responses to the 2000 floods in Mabalane District, Mozambique. *Disasters* 30:234-255.
- Bruce, J. W. 1998. Review of Tenure Terminology. *Tenure Brief* 1.
- Bruce, J. W., L. Fortmann, and C. Nhira. 1993. Tenures in Transition, Tenures in Conflict: Examples from the Zimbabwe Social Forest. *Rural Sociology* 4:626-642.
- Bryant, R. 1998. Power, knowledge and political ecology in the third world: a review. *Progress in Physical Geography* 22:79-94.
- Bryant, R. L. 1997. Beyond the impasse: The power of political ecology in Third World environmental research. *Area* 29:5-19.
- Büscher, B. 2010. Anti-Politics as Political Strategy: Neoliberalism and Transfrontier Conservation in Southern Africa. *Development and Change* 41:29-51.
- . 2010. Seeking 'telos' in the 'transfrontier'? Neoliberalism and the transcending of community conservation in Southern Africa. *Environment and Planning A* 2010, 42,:644-660.

Büscher, B., and W. Dressler. 2007. Linking Neoprotectionism and Environmental Governance: On the Rapidly Increasing Tensions between Actors in the Environment-Development Nexus. *Conservation and Society* 5:586-611.

Bulpin, T. V. 1954. *The Ivory Trail Cape Town: Howard Timmis.*

Bunn, D. 2001. COMAROFF COUNTRY. *Interventions: international journal of postcolonial studies* 3:5-23.

Burgess, R. G. 1982. *Field research: a sourcebook and field manual.* Contemporary social research series; . London: G. Allen & Unwin.

Carruthers, J. 1995. *The Kruger National Park : a social and political history.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Casey, E. S. 1996. "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena," in *Senses of place School of American Research advanced seminar series*, 1st edition. Edited by S. Feld and K. H. Basso, pp. viii, 293 p. Santa Fe, N.M. [Seattle]: School of American Research Press ; Distributed by the University of Washington Press.

Cashdan, E. 1983. Territoriality among Human Foragers - Ecological Models and an Application to 4 Bushman Groups. *Current Anthropology* 24:47-66.

Castree, N., and B. Braun. 2001. *Social nature : theory, practice, and politics.* Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Caton-Thompson, G. 1970 *The Zimbabwe Culture.* New York: Negro Universities Press.

Central Africa Historical Association. 1972. "Rhodesian history : the journal of the Central Africa Historical Association." Salisbury, Rhodesia: The Association.

Cernea, M. M. 2005. "Concept and Method: Applying the IRR Model in Africa to Resettlement and Poverty," in *Displacement risks in Africa.* Edited by I. Ohta and Y. Gebre, pp. 195-239. Kyoto: Kyoto University Press.

—. 2006. Re-examining "Displacement": A Redefinition of Concepts in Development and Conservation Policies. *Social Change* 36:8-35.

Cernea, M. M., and C. McDowell. 2000. *Risks and reconstruction : experiences with resettlers and refugees.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

Chapin, M. 2004. A challenge to conservationists. *WorldWatch Magazine*:17-31.

- Cheng, A. S., L. E. Kruger, and S. E. Daniels. 2003. "Place" as an integrating concept in natural resource politics: Propositions for a social science research agenda. *Society & Natural Resources* 16:87-104.
- Christensen, N. L. 1989. Landscape history and ecological change. *Journal of Forest History* 33:116-125.
- Christie, F., and J. Hanlon. 2001. *Mozambique and the Great Flood of 2000*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Cliggett, L., E. Colson, R. Hay, T. Scudder, and J. Unruh. 2007. Chronic Uncertainty and Momentary Opportunity: A half century of adaptation among Zambia's Gwembe Tonga. *Human Ecology* 35:19-31.
- Colchester, M. 1994. *Salvaging Nature: Indigenous Peoples, Protected Areas, and Biodiversity Conservation*. UNRISD, WWF.
- Colson, E. 1969. "The impact of the colonial period on the definition of land rights," in *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960*, vol. 3. Edited by V. Turner, L. H. Gann, and P. Duignan, pp. 193-215. London,: Cambridge U.P.
- Comaroff, J., and J. L. Comaroff. 1987. The Madman and the Migrant: Work and Labor in the Historical Consciousness of a South African People. *American Ethnologist* 14:191-209.
- Cosgrove, D. 1985. Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea. . *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 10:45-62.
- Covane, L. A. 2001. "Southern Mozambique: Migrant Labour and Post-Independence Challenges," in *Transforming settlement in southern Africa*, vol. International African seminars. Edited by C. J. De Wet and R. C. Fox, pp. 48-64. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute.
- Craib, R. B. 2004. *Cartographic Mexico: a history of state fixations and fugitive landscapes*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Creswell, T. 2002. "Theorizing Place," in *Mobilizing Place, Placing Mobility: The Politics of Representation in a Globalized World, Intersecting: Place, Sex and Race*. Edited by G. Verstraete and T. Creswell, pp. 11-32. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Rodopi.
- Cronon, W. 1993. The Uses of Environmental History. *Environmental History Review*:1-22.

—. 1995. "The trouble with wilderness or, getting back to the wrong in nature," in *Uncommon ground : toward reinventing nature*, . Edited by W. Cronon. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Crosby, A. W. 1998. " Ecological Imperialism: The Overseas Migration of Western Europeans as a Biological Phenomenon," in *The Ends of the earth: perspectives on modern environmental history*, *Studies in environment and history*. . Edited by D. Worster, pp. 103-117. Cambridge Cambridge University Press.

Crumley, C. 1994. " Historical Ecology: A Multidimensional Ecological Orientation," in *Historical Ecology*. Edited by C. Crumley, pp. 1-16. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Crumley, C. L. 1993. Analyzing Historic Ecotonal Shifts. *Ecological Applications* 3:377-384.

Day, G. M. 1953. The Indian as an Ecological Factor in the Northeastern Forest. *Ecology* 34:329-346.

De Boer, W. F., and D. S. Baquete. 1998. Natural resource use, crop damage and attitudes of rural people in the vicinity of the Maputo Elephant Reserve, Mozambique. *Environmental Conservation* 25:208-218.

Delaney, D. 2005. *Territory: A Short Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

DeMotts, R. B. 2004. "Placing the Local in the Transnational: Communities and Conservation Across Borders in Southern Africa," in *African environment and development: rhetoric, programs, and realities*. Edited by W. G. Moseley and B. I. Logan, pp. 189-212. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

—. 2005. *Democratic Environments? Conservation and Development Across Southern African Borders*, University of Wisconsin.

Denzin, N. K., and Y. S. Lincoln. 1994. *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

DeWalt, K. M., and B. R. DeWalt. 2002. *Participant observation: a guide for fieldworkers*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Deweese, P. A. 1995. Trees and Farm Boundaries - Farm Forestry, Land-Tenure and Reform in Kenya. *Africa* 65:217-235.

Dove, M. R. 1999. "The Agronomy of Memory and the Memory of Agronomy, Ritual Conservation of Archaic Cultigens in Contemporary Farming Systems," in *Ethnoecology, Situated Knowledge/ Located Lives*. Edited by V. D. Nazarea. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Draper, M., M. Spierenburg, and H. Wels. 2004. African Dreams of Cohesion: Elite Pacting and Community Development in Transfrontier

Conservation Areas in Southern Africa. *Culture and Organization* 10:341-353.

Duffy, R. 1997. The environmental challenge to the nation-state: Superparks and the national parks policy in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23:441-451.

—. 2001. Peace Parks: The Paradox of Globalisation. *Geopolitics* 6:1-26.

Dzingirai, V. 2003. The new scramble for the African countryside. *Development and Change* 34:243-263.

Edkins, M. T., L. M. Kruger, K. Harris, and J. J. Midgley. 2008. Baobabs and elephants in Kruger National Park: nowhere to hide. *African Journal of Ecology* 46:119-125.

Erskine, V. 1875. Journey to Umzila's, South-East Africa, in 1871-1872. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 45:45-128.

Escobar, A. 1995. "Power and Visibility: Tales of Peasants, Women, and the Environment," in *Encountering development : the making and unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

—. 1998. Whose Knowledge, Whose Nature? Biodiversity, Conservation, and the Political Ecology of Social Movements. *Journal of Political Ecology* 5.

—. 2001. Culture sits in places: reflections on globalism and subaltern strategies of localization. *Political Geography* 20:139-174.

Fairhead, J., and M. Leach. 1996. *Misreading the African landscape : society and ecology in a forest-savanna mosaic*. African studies series. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fay, D. A. 2007. Mutual gains and distributive ideologies in South Africa: Theorizing negotiations between communities and protected areas. *Human Ecology* 35:81-95.

Feld, S. 1996. "Waterfalls of Song: An Acoustemology of Place Resounding in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea," in *Senses of place*, 1st edition. Edited by S. Feld and K. H. Basso, pp. 91-136. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press

Feld, S., and K. H. Basso. 1996. *Senses of place*, 1st edition. School of American Research advanced seminar series. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press

- Ferraz, B., and B. Munslow. 2000. Sustainable development in Mozambique, 1st Africa World Press, Inc. edition. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- First, R. 1983. Black gold : the Mozambican miner, proletarian and peasant. Brighton, Sussex New York: Harvester Press ; St. Martin's Press.
- Fortmann, L. 1995. Talking Claims: Discursive Categories in Contesting Property. *World Development* 23:1053-1063.
- Fortmann, L., and e. al. 1997. Fruits of their Labor: Gender, Property Rights and Tree Planting in Two Zimbabwean Villages. *Rural Sociology* 63:295-314.
- Foster, D. R. 2002. Thoreau's country: a historical-ecological perspective on conservation in the New England landscape. *Journal of Biogeography* 29:1537-1555.
- Fox, J. 2002. Siam Mapped and Mapping in Cambodia: Boundaries, sovereignty, and indigenous conceptions of space. . *Society and Natural Resources* 15:65-78.
- Frump, R. 2006. The Man-Eaters of Eden. Guilford: The Lyons Press.
- Gade, D. W. 1996. Deforestation and its effects in highland Madagascar. *Mountain Research and Development* 16:101-116.
- Gegenbach, H. 1998. 'I'll Bury You in the Border!': Women's Land Struggles in Post-War Facazisse (Magude District), Mozambique. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24:7-36.
- . 2000. Naming the past in a "Scattered" Land: Memory and the Powers of Women's Naming Practices in Southern Mozambique. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 33:523-542.
- Gersony, R. 1988. Summary of Mozambican Refugee Accounts of Principally Conflict-Related Experience in Mozambique. Bureau for Refugee Programs, US Department of State.
- Ghimire, K. P., M. 1997. Social Change and Conservation. London: Earthscan.
- Glaser, B. G., and A. L. Strauss. 1967. The discovery of grounded theory; strategies for qualitative research. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co.
- Golooba-Mutebi F, and T. S. 2004. Survival to livelihood strategies for Mozambican refugees in South Africa. *Forced Migration Review* 20:28-29
- Gomez-Pompa, A., and A. Kraus. 1992. Taming the Wilderness Myth. *BioScience* 42:271-279.

- Goodchild, M. F. 1996. "Geographic Information Systems and Spatial Analysis in the Social Sciences," in *Anthropology, space, and geographic information systems*, Spatial information series. Edited by M. S. Aldenderfer and H. D. G. Maschner. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Greenberg, J., and T. Park. 1994. Political Ecology. *Journal of Political Ecology* 1:1-12.
- Grove, R. 1987. "Early themes in African conservation: the Cape in the nineteenth century," in *Conservation in Africa : people, policies, and practice*. . Edited by D. Anderson and R. Grove. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gupta, A., and J. Ferguson. 1992. Beyond Culture - Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology* 7:6-23.
- Guyer, J. 1981. Household and Community in African Studies *African Studies Review* 24:87-137.
- Guyer, J., and P. Richards. 1996. The invention of biodiversity: Social perspectives on the management of biological variety in Africa. *Africa* 66:1-13.
- Hall, M. 1990. *Farmers, Kings, and Traders, the People of Southern Africa 200-1860*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hammar, A. 2002. "The Articulation of Modes of Belonging," in *Negotiating Property in Africa*. Edited by K. Juul and C. Lund, pp. 211-246. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.
- . 2002. "The Articulation of Modes of Belonging: Competing Land Claims among Fulani Pastoralists in Northern Senegal," in *Negotiating Property in Africa*, pp. 211-246. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.
- Handwerker, W. P. 2001. *Quick ethnography*. . Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Handwerker, W. P., and D. E. Wozniak. 1997. Sampling strategies for the collection of cultural data: An extension of Boas's answer to Galton's problem. . *Current Anthropology* 38:869-875.
- Haraway, D. J. 1988. Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14:575-599.
- . 1989. *Primate visions : gender, race, and nature in the world of modern science*. New York: Routledge.
- . 1991. *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* London: Free Association Books.
- Harley, J. B. 1992. Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 82 522-536

Harries, P. 1983. "Slavery Amongst the Gaza Nguni: Its Changing Shape and Function and its Relationship to Other Forms of Exploitation," in *Before and after Shaka : papers in Nguni history*. Edited by J. B. Peires and R. U. I. o. S. a. E. Research, pp. 210-229. Grahamstown, South Africa: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University.

—. 1987. "'A Forgotten Corner of the Transvaal': Reconstructing the History of a Relocated Community through Oral Testimony and Song," in *Class, community, and conflict : South African perspectives*. Edited by B. Bozzoli. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

—. 1989. "Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnicity Among the Tsonga-Speakers of South Africa," in *The Creation of tribalism in Southern Africa*. Edited by L. Vail, pp. 82-117. London Berkeley: Currey ; University of California Press.

—. 1994. *Work, culture, and identity : migrant laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c.1860-1910*. Social history of Africa. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

—. 2007. *Butterflies & barbarians : Swiss missionaries & systems of knowledge in South-East Africa*. Oxford: James Currey

Harris, L., and H. Hazen. 2006. Power of Maps: (Counter) Mapping for Conservation ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies, 4:99-130.

Harris, M. 1959. Labour Emigration among the Moçambique Thonga: Cultural and Political Factors. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 29:50-66.

Harvey, D. 1974. Population, Resources and the Ideology of Science. *Economic Geography* 50:256-276.

Hatton, J., M. Couto, and J. Oglethorpe. 2001. *Biodiversity and War: A Case Study of Mozambique Biodiversity Support Program*.

Herbst, J. I. 2000. *States and power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hertslet, E. 2008. *The Map of Africa By Treaty*. London: Cass.

Holden, C. J. 2002. Bantu language trees reflect the spread of farming across sub-Saharan Africa: a maximum-parsimony analysis. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London Series B-Biological Sciences* 269:793-799.

Holden, P. 2001. *Land Use Planning of Coutada 16: Part of the Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Transfrontier Park*. Peace Parks Foundation.

Honigmann, J. J. 1982. "Sampling in Ethnographic Fieldwork," in *Field research: a sourcebook and field manual*. Edited by R. G. Burgess, pp. 79-90. London: G. Allen & Unwin.

Hughes, D. M. 2001. Cadastral politics: The making of community-based resource management in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. *Development and Change* 32:741-768.

—. 2005. Third Nature: Making Space and Time in the Great Limpopo Conservation Area. *Cultural Anthropology* 20:157-184.

—. 2006. From enslavement to environmentalism : politics on a Southern African frontier. *Culture, place, and nature*. Seattle: University of Washington Press in association with Weaver Press, Harare.

Hugh-Jones, C. 1979. *From the Milk River: Spatial and Temporal Processes in Northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Igoe, J. 2004. History, culture and Conservation: In search for more informed guesses about whether "community based conservation" has a chance to work *Policy Matters* 13:174-185.

Igoe, J., and D. Brockington. 2007. Neoliberal Conservation: A Brief Introduction. *Conservation and Society* 5:432-449.

IMPACTO. 2005. Possible Voluntary Resettlement of Communities Living Along the Shingwedzi River: Preliminary Identification of Areas with Potential for Resettlement. MITUR.

Ingold, T. 1993. The Temporality of the Landscape *World Archaeology* 25:152-174.

Isaacman, A. F., and B. Isaacman. 1983. *Mozambique : from colonialism to revolution, 1900-1982. Profiles. Nations of contemporary Africa*. Boulder, Colo. Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Westview Press; Gower.

Johnson, S. 2004. "'The Tchumo Tchato project in Mozambique: Community-based natural resource management in transition," in *Rights, resources and rural development: community-based natural resource management in Southern Africa*. Edited by C. Fabricius and E. Koch, pp. 210-222. London: Earthscan.

Kahn, M. 1996. "Your Place and Mine: Sharing Emotional Landscapes in Wamira, Papua New Guinea," in *Senses of place*, 1st edition. Edited by S. Feld and K. H. Basso, pp. 167-196. Santa Fe, N.M: School of American Research Press; Distributed by the University of Washington Press.

Katz, E. G. 2000. Social capital and natural capital: A comparative analysis of land tenure and natural resource management in Guatemala. *Land Economics* 76:114-132.

Kelly, P. M., and W. N. Adger. 2000. Theory and practice in assessing vulnerability to climate change and facilitating adaptation. *Climatic Change* 47:325-352.

Kibreab, G. 2000. "Common Property Resources and Resettlement," in *Risks and reconstruction : experiences with resettlers and refugees*. Edited by M. M. Cernea and C. McDowell, pp. 293-331. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Kloppers, J., and H. Bornman. 2005. *A Dictionary of Kruger National Park Place Names*. Barberton: SA Country Life.

Koenig, D., and T. Diarra. 2000. "The Effects of Resettlement on Access to Common Property Resources," in *Risks and reconstruction : experiences with resettlers and refugees*. Edited by M. M. Cernea and C. McDowell, pp. 332-362. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Kopytoff, I. 1987. "The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture," in *The African frontier : the reproduction of traditional African societies*. Edited by I. Kopytoff, pp. viii, 288 p. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Leach, E. R. 1960. The Frontiers of Burma. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3:49-67.

LeCompte, M. D., and J. J. Schensul. 1999. *Analyzing and interpreting ethnographic data. Ethnographer's toolkit*, 5. . Walnut Creek, CA. : AltaMira Press.

Lefebvre, H. 1976. Reflections on the Politics of Space. *Antipode* 8:30-37.

—. 1991. *The production of space*. Oxford, OX, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1966. *The savage mind*. [Chicago]: University of Chicago Press.

Li, T. M. 1996. Images of community: Discourse and strategy in property relations. *Development and Change* 27:501-527.

—. 2002. Engaging simplifications: Community-based resource management, market processes and state agendas in upland Southeast Asia. *World Development* 30:265-283.

Liesegang, G. 1970. Nguni Migrations between Delagoa Bay and the Zambezi, 1821-1839. *African Historical Studies* 3:317-337.

—. 1977. New Light on Venda Traditions - Mahumane Account of 1730. *History in Africa* 4:163-181.

Lofland, J., and L. H. Lofland. 1996. *Analyzing social settings : a guide to qualitative observation and analysis*. Belmont, CA Wadsworth.

- Lubkemann, S. 2008. Involuntary Immobility: On a Theoretical Invisibility in Forced Migration Studies. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21:454-475.
- Lubkemann, S. C. 2005. Migratory coping in wartime Mozambique: An anthropology of violence and displacement in 'fragmented wars'. *Journal of Peace Research* 42:493-508.
- Lund, C. 2002. "Negotiating Property Institutions: On the Symbiosis of Property and Authority in Africa," in *Negotiating Property in Africa*. Edited by K. Juul and C. Lund, pp. 11-44. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.
- Lunstrum, E. 2007. *The Making and Unmaking of Sovereign Territory: From Colonial Extraction to Postcolonial Conservation in Mozambique's Massingir Region*, University of Minnesota.
- . 2008. Mozambique, Neoliberal Land Reform, and the Limpopo National Park. *The Geographical Review* 98:339-355.
- . 2009. Terror, Territory, and Deterritorialization: Landscapes of Terror and the Unmaking of State Power in the Mozambican "Civil" War *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99:884-892.
- Mackenzie, J. M. 1987. "Chivalry, social Darwinism and ritualised killing: the hunting ethos in Central Africa up to 1914," in *Conservation in Africa : people, policies, and practice*. Edited by D. Anderson and R. Grove. Cambridge University Press.
- Malkki, L. 1992. National Geographic - the Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees. *Cultural Anthropology* 7:24-44.
- Maluleke, G. L. 2005. *Effects of the Great Limpopo Trans-Frontier Park (GLTP) on Communities: A Case Study of Makhandezulu Community in Mozambique*, University of Witwatersrand.
- Maluleke, S. 2003. "The Ideas of Residents about the Establishment of the Great Limpopo Park," in *World Park's Congress Durban*, South Africa.
- Martinez-Alier, J. 1991. Ecology and the Poor: A Neglected Dimension of Latin American History. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 23:621-639.
- Mascia, M. B., J. P. Brosius, T. Dobson, B. Forbes, L. Horowitz, M. McKean, and N. Turner. 2003. Conservation and the Social Sciences. *Conservation Biology* 17:649-650.
- Mavhunga, C. 2003. Firearms Diffusion, Exotic and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in the Lowveld Frontier, South Eastern Zimbabwe, 1870-1920. *Comparative Technology and Society* 1:201-232.

- . 2008. *The Mobile Workshop: Mobility, Technology, and Human-animal interaction in Gonarezhou (National Park), 1850- Present*, University of Michigan.
- Mavhunga, C., and M. Spierenburg. 2009 Transfrontier talk, cordon politics: the forgotten history of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park in Southern Africa, 1925-1940. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35:715-735.
- Mbembe, A. 2000. At the edge of the world: Boundaries, territoriality, and sovereignty in Africa. *Public Culture* 12:259-284.
- Meinzen-Dick, R. S., L. R. Brown, H. S. Feldstein, and A. R. Quisumbing. 1997. Gender, property rights, and natural resources. *World Development* 25:1303-1315.
- Meyers, G. 1994. Competitive Rights, Competitive Claims: Land Access in Post-war Mozambique. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20:603-632.
- Milgroom, J., and M. Spierenburg. 2008. Induced volition: Resettlement from the Limpopo National Park, Mozambique. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 26:435-448.
- Minter, W. 1994. *Apartheid's contras : an inquiry into the roots of war in Angola and Mozambique*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- MITUR. 2003. *Limpopo National Park Management and Development Plan*. Maputo: (Ministry of Tourism).
- . 2007. *Resettlement of People Living in the Shingwedzi River Valley: Resettlement Action Plan for Nanguene Village*. Maputo: (Ministry of Tourism).
- Moore, D. S. 1993. Contesting Terrain in Zimbabwe's Eastern Highlands: Political Ecology, Ethnography, and Peasant Resource Struggles. *Economic Geography* 69:380-401.
- . 1998. Clear waters and muddied histories: Environmental history and the politics of community in Zimbabwe's eastern highlands. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24:377-403.
- . 2005. *Suffering for territory : race, place, and power in Zimbabwe*. Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press.
- Nayak, R. 2000. "Risks Associated with Landlessness: An Exploration Toward Socially Friendly Displacement and Resettlement," in *Risks and reconstruction: experiences with resettlers and refugees*. Edited by M. M. Cernea and C. McDowell, pp. 79-107. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Nazarea, V. D. 2006. Local Knowledge and Memory in Biodiversity Conservation. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35:317-335.

Neumann, R. 1995. Ways of seeing Africa: Colonial recasting of African society and landscape in Serengeti National Park. *Ecumene* 2.

Neumann, R. P. 1992. The political ecology of wildlife conservation in the Mount Meru Area, northeast Tanzania. *Land Degradation and Rehabilitation* 3:85-98.

—. 2000. "Primitive ideas: Protected area buffer zones and the politics of land in Africa " in *Producing nature and poverty in Africa*. Edited by V. Broch-Due and R. A. Schroeder, pp. 220-242. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

—. 2004. Moral and discursive geographies in the war for biodiversity in Africa. *Political Geography* 23:813-837.

Newitt, M. D. D. 1995. *A history of Mozambique*. London: Hurst & Co.

Nhalidade, A. 2002. *Community Mobilization and Organization Report*. Direccão National de Areas de Conservação (DNAC), Ministry of Tourism, Mozambique.

Niehaus, I. 2002. Ethnicity and the boundaries of belonging: reconfiguring Shangaan identity in the South African lowveld. *African Affairs* 101:557-583.

Norman, W. O. 2004. *Living on the Frontline: Politics, Migration and Transfrontier Conservation in the Mozambican Villages of the Mozambique-South Africa Borderland*, London School of Economics and Political Science.

Nyerges, A. E., and G. M. Green. 2000. The ethnography of landscape: GIS and remote sensing in the study of forest change in west African Guinea savanna. *American Anthropologist* 102:271-289.

Okoth-Ogendo, H. W. O. 1989. Some Issues of Theory in the Study of Tenure Relations in African Agriculture. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 59:6-17.

Peet, R., and M. Watts. 1996. "Liberation Ecology: Development, sustainability, and environment in an age of market triumphalism," in *Liberation ecologies : environment, development, social movements*. Edited by R. Peet and M. Watts. New York: Routledge.

Pels, P. 1997 *The Anthropology of Colonialism: Culture, History, and the Emergence of Western Governmentality*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26:163-83

Peluso, N. L. 1992. The Ironwood Problem: (Mis)Management and Development of an Extractive Rainforest Product. *Conservation Biology* 6.

—. 1993. "Coercing Conservation: The Politics of State Resource Control," in *The State and social power in global environmental politics, New directions in world politics*. Edited by R. D. Lipschutz and K. Conca. New York: Columbia University Press.

—. 1996. Fruit trees and family trees in an anthropogenic forest: Ethics of access, property zones, and environmental change in Indonesia. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38:510-548.

Peluso, N. L., and P. Vandergeest. 2001. Genealogies of the Political Forest and Customary Rights in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60:761-812.

Pickles, J. 1995. "Representations in an Electronic Age: Geography, GIS, and Democracy," in *Ground truth : the social implications of geographic information systems* Edited by J. Pickles, pp. 1-30. New York: Guilford Press.

Pigg, S. L. 1992. Inventing Social Categories through Place - Social Representations and Development in Nepal. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34:491-&.

PPF (Peace Parks Foundation) 2003a. Wildlife Translocation. <http://www.ppf.org.za/News>, accessed April 25, 2010.

PPF (Peace Parks Foundation) 2003b. Seven Elephants Released. <http://www.ppf.org.za/News>, accessed April 25, 2010.

PPF (Peace Parks Foundation) 2003c 40 Elephants move to Mozambique. <http://www.ppf.org.za/News>, accessed April 25, 2010.

PPF (Peace Parks Foundation) 2004. Elephant Migrate. <http://www.ppf.org.za/News>, accessed April 25, 2010.

PPF (Peace Parks Foundation) 2005. LNP (Peace Parks News). <http://www.peaceparks.org/News>, accessed April 25, 2010

PPF (Peace Parks Foundation) N.d. Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. <http://www.ppf.org.za/Stories>, accessed April 25, 2010.

Polzer, T. 2007. "Adapting to Changing Legal Frameworks: Mozambican Refugees in South Africa," Oxford University Press.

Proctor, J. D., and S. Pincetl. 1996. Nature and the reproduction of endangered space: The spotted owl in the Pacific Northwest and southern California. . *Environment and Planning D-Society & Space* 14:683-708.

Pyne, S. L. 1998. "Forged in Fire: History, Land, and Anthropogenic Fire," in *Advances in historical ecology*. Edited by W. L. Balee, pp. 61-103. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rappaport, R. A. 1993. Distinguished Lecture in General Anthropology: The Anthropology of Trouble. *American Anthropologist* 95:295-303.

Read, P. 1996. *Returning to nothing: the meaning of lost places*. Cambridge, UK: : Cambridge University Press.

Redford, K. H., and S. E. Sanderson. . 2000. Extracting humans from nature. *Conservation Biology* 14:1362-1364.

Ribot, J. C. 1999. A history of fear: imagining deforestation in the West African dryland forests. *Global Ecology and Biogeography* 8:291-300.

Ribot, J. C., and N. L. Peluso. 2003. A theory of access. *Rural Sociology* 68:153-181.

Rival, L. M. 1998. *The social life of trees : anthropological perspectives on tree symbolism. Materializing culture*. Oxford, UK ; New York: Berg.

Rocheleau, D. 2005. "Maps as Power Tools: Locating Communities in Space or Situating People and Ecologies in Place?," in *Communities and conservation : histories and politics of community-based natural resource management*. Edited by J. P. Brosius, A. L. Tsing, and C. Zerner, pp. 327-362. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Rocheleau, D., and D. Edmunds. 1997. Women, men and trees: Gender, power and property in forest and agrarian landscapes. *World Development* 25:1351-1371.

Rodgers, G. 2001. "Structuring the Demise of a Refugee Identity: The UNCHR's Voluntary Repatriation Programme for Mozambican Refugees in South Africa," in *Transforming settlement in southern Africa*, vol. *International African seminars*. Edited by C. J. De Wet and R. C. Fox, pp. 65-78. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute.

—. 2002. *When Refugees Don't Go Home: Post-War Mozambican Settlement across the border with South Africa* University of the Witwatersrand

—. 2009. The Faint Footprint of Man: Representing Race, Place and Conservation on the Mozambique–South Africa Borderland. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 22.

- Rodman, M. C. 1992. Empowering Place - Multilocality and Multivocality *American Anthropologist* 94:640-656.
- Roesch, O. 1991. Migrant Labour and Forced Rice Production in Southern Mozambique: The Colonial Peasantry of the Lower Limpopo Valley. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 17:239-270.
- . 1992. Renamo and the Peasantry in Southern Mozambique: A View from Gaza Province. . *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 26:462-484.
- Roseman, M. 1998. Singers of the landscape - Song, history, and property rights in the Malaysian Rain Forest. *American Anthropologist* 100:106-121.
- Russell, D., and C. Harshbarger. 2003. Groundwork for community-based conservation: strategies for social research. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Ryan, G. W., and H. R. Bernard. 2003. Techniques to identify themes. *Field Methods* 15:85-109.
- Sack, R. D. 1986. Human Territoriality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Said, E. W. 1994. Culture and imperialism. New York: Vintage Books.
- Sanjek, R. 2003. Rethinking migration, ancient to future. *Global Networks-a Journal of Transnational Affairs* 3:315-336.
- Sauer, C. 1925. The morphology of landscape. . University of California Publications in Geography 2.
- Schafer, J., and R. Bell. 2002. The state and community-based natural resource management: the case of the Moribane Forest Reserve, Mozambique. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28:401-420.
- Schama, S. 1995. Landscape and memory. New York: A.A. Knopf
- Schlager, E., and E. Ostrom. 1992. Property-Rights Regimes and Natural-Resources - a Conceptual Analysis. *Land Economics* 68:249-262.
- Schmidt, E., M. Lotter, and W. McClelland. 2002. Trees and Shrubs of Mpumalanga and Kruger National Park. Johannesburg: Jacana.
- Schmidt-Soltau, K., and D. Brockington. 2007. Protected areas and resettlement: What scope for voluntary relocation? *World Development* 35:2182-2202.

- Schroeder, R. A. 1993. Shady Practice - Gender and the Political Ecology of Resource Stabilization in Gambian Garden Orchards. *Economic Geography* 69:349-365.
- . 1999. Geographies of environmental intervention in Africa. *Progress in Human Geography* 23:359-378.
- Scoones, I. 1999. New ecology and the social sciences: What prospects for a fruitful engagement? . *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28:479-507.
- Scott, J. C. 1998. Seeing like a state : how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed. New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Shackleton, C., and S. Shackleton. 2004. The importance of non-timber forest products in rural livelihood security and as safety nets: a review of evidence from South Africa. *South African Journal of Science* 100:658-664.
- Shipton, P. 1994. Land and Culture in Tropical Africa: Soils, symbols and the metaphysics of the mundane. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23:347-377.
- Shipton, P., and M. Goheen. 1992. Introduction. Understanding African Land-Holding: Power, Wealth, and Meaning. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 62:307-325.
- Sivaramakrishnan, K. 1999. Modern forests : statemaking and environmental change in colonial Eastern India. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- . 2000. State sciences and development histories: Encoding local forestry knowledge in Bengal. *Development and Change* 31.
- Smith, A. K. 1973. The Peoples of Southern Mozambique: an historical survey. *Journal of African History* 4:565-580.
- Soja, E. W. 1971. The Political Organization of Space. *Commission on College Geography Resource Paper* 8:1-54.
- Soule, M., and J. Terborgh. 1999. "The Policy and Science of Regional Conservation," in *Continental conservation: scientific foundations of regional reserve networks*. Edited by M. Soule and J. Terborgh, pp. 1-17. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Spierenburg, M., C. Steenkamp, and H. Wels. 2008. Enclosing the Local for the Global Commons: Community Land Rights in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area. *Conservation and Society* 6:87-97.

- Sponsel, L. E., R. C. Bailey, and T. N. Headland. 1996. Tropical deforestation: the human dimension, Methods and cases in conservation science. . New York Columbia University Press.
- Stallmans, M., W. P. D. GERTENBACH, and F. C. CARVALHO-SERFONTEIN. 2004. Plant communities and landscapes of the Parque Nacional do Limpopo, Moçambique. *Koedoe* 47:1-21.
- Steenkamp, C. 2001. The Makuleke Land Claim: An environmental conflict, University of Witwatersrand.
- Storey, D. 2001. *Territory: The Claiming of Space*. London: Pearson, Prentice Hall.
- Tanner, C. 2002. Law-Making in an African Context: The 1997 Mozambican Land Law. *FAO Legal Papers Online* 26.
- Tsing, A. L. 2003. "Cultivating the Wild: Honey-Hunting and Forest Management in Southeast Kalimantan," in *Culture and the Question of Rights*. Edited by C. Zerner, pp. 24-55. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Turner, M. G. 1989. Landscape Ecology - the Effect of Pattern on Process A Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics 20:171-197.
- Unruh, J. 2001. Postwar land dispute resolution: Land tenure and the peace process in Mozambique. *International Journal on World Peace* 18.
- Unruh, J., N. Heynen, and P. Hossler. 2003. The political ecology of recovery from armed conflict: the case of landmines in Mozambique. *Political Geography* 22 841-861.
- Unruh, J. D. 2006. Land tenure and the "Evidence landscape" in developing countries. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96:754-772.
- Van der Horst, S. T. 1942 (1971). *Native labour in South Africa*. London,: Oxford University Press.
- Vandergeest, P., and N. L. Peluso. 1995. Territorialization and State Power in Thailand. *Theory and Society* 24:385-426.
- Velásquez Runk, J. 2009. Social and River Networks for the Trees: Wounaan's Riverine Rhizomic Cosmos and Arboreal Conservation. *American Anthropologist* 111:456-467.
- Velásquez Runk, J., et al. *forthcoming*. Landscapes, legibility, and conservation planning: multiple representations of forest use in Panama. *Conservation Letters*.

Wadley, R. L. 2003. Lines in the forest: internal territorialization and local accommodation in West Kalimantan, Indonesia (1865-1979). *South East Asia Research* 11:91-112.

Wagner, R. 1980. "Zoutpansberg: the dynamics of a hunting frontier, 1848-67," in *Economy and society in pre-industrial South Africa*. Edited by S. Marks and A. Atmore, pp. 385 p. [London]: Longman.

Walker, P. A., and P. E. Peters. . 2001. Maps, metaphors, and meanings: Boundary struggles and village forest use on private and state land in Malawi. . *Society & Natural Resources* 14:411-424.

Weller, S. C., and A. K. Romney. 1997. *Systematic data collection. Qualitative research methods*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications.

West, P. 2005. Translation, Value, and Space: Theorizing an Ethnographic and Engaged Environmental Anthropology *American Anthropologist* 107:632-642.

—. 2006. *Conservation Is Our Government Now: The Politics of Ecology in Papua New Guinea*. Durham: Duke University Press.

West, P., and D. Brockington. 2006. An anthropological perspective on some unexpected consequences of protected areas. *Conservation Biology* 20:609-616.

West, P., J. Igoe, and D. Brockington. 2006. Parks and Peoples: The Social Impact of Protected Areas. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35:251-277.

Western, D., and M. Wright. 1994. "The Background to Community-based Conservation," in *Natural connections: perspectives in community-based conservation*. . Edited by D. Western, R. M. Wright, and S. C. Strum. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

Westing, A. H. 1998. Establishment and management of Transfrontier reserves for conflict prevention and confidence building. *Environmental Conservation* 25:91-94.

Westphal, E. O. J. 1963. The Linguistic Prehistory of Southern-Africa - Bush, Kwadi, Hottentot, and Bantu Linguistic Relationships. *Africa* 33:237-265.

White, R. 1995. "Are You and Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?: Work and Nature," in *Uncommon ground : toward reinventing nature*, . Edited by W. Cronon. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Whitehead, N. L. 1998. "Ecological History and Historical Ecology: Diachronic Modeling Versus Historical Explanation," in *Advances in historical ecology*. Edited by W. L. Balee. New York: Columbia University Press.

Whyte, I. J., R. J. van Aarde, and S. L. Pimm. 2003. "Kruger's Elephant population: its size and consequences for ecosystem heterogeneity," in *The Kruger experience : ecology and management of savanna heterogeneity*. Edited by J. T. Du Toit, K. H. Rogers, and H. Biggs, Washington, DC: Island Press.

Wilson, F. 1972. *Labour in the South African gold mines 1911-1969*. African studies series,, Cambridge [Eng.]: University Press.

Wilson, K. B. 1989. Trees in Fields in Southern Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15:369-383.

—. 1994. *Internally Displaced, Refugees, and Returnees from and in Mozambique*: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Winichakul, T. 1994. *Siam mapped : a history of the geo-body of a nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Witter, R. 2004. "Agroforestry, Trees, and the Cultural Landscape of the Limpopo National Park, Mozambique," in *A preliminary research report for the World Agroforestry Centre and the Transboundary Protected Areas Research Initiative*.

Wolf, E. 1982. *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wolmer, W. 2003. Transboundary conservation: the politics of ecological integrity in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29:261-278.

—. 2007. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*. Oxford: James Curry.

Wolmer, W., and C. Ashley. 2003. Wild resources management in southern Africa: Participation partnerships, ecoregions and redistribution. *Ids Bulletin-Institute of Development Studies* 34.

World Bank N.d. FAQs. Frequently Asked Questions. <http://web.worldbank.org>, accessed April 25, 2010.

World Bank 2002. *The World Bank's Environmental and Social Safeguard Policies*.

World Bank 2004. *Involuntary Resettlement Sourcebook*.

Worster, D. 1988. "Doing Environmental History," in *The Ends of the earth : perspectives on modern environmental history*. Edited by D. Worster, pp. 289-308. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zerner, C. 2000. "Introduction: Toward a Broader Vision of Justice and Nature Conservation," in *People, plants, and justice: the politics of nature conservation*. Edited by C. Zerner. New York: Columbia University Press.

—. 2003. *Culture and the Question of Rights*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Zimmerer, K. S. 2000. The Reworking of Conservation Geographies: Nonequilibrium Landscapes and Nature-Society Hybrids *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 90:356-369