

Policies to support local management of natural resources

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Background

- Historically conservation initiatives entrenched poverty in southern Africa
 - Land dispossession
 - Curtailment of rights and access to resources
 - Threats to livelihoods
 - Cultural threats

Background

- Political economy of environmental and conservation initiatives associated with control of poor people
 - Unequal distribution and access to land
 - Social inequities in access to resources

Background

- Post colonial economic policies have compounded environmental and social Problems
- Land distribution, poor tenure reforms, poor environmental management policies

Background

- While the region is richly endowed with natural resources, it has limited capacity to transform the natural capital into goods and services
- Environmental degradation is a serious and growing challenge

Background

- The causes of resource degradation include:
 - Population growth
 - Agricultural expansion
 - Declining agricultural productivity
 - Inequitable patterns of resource distribution
 - Unsustainable resource extraction
 - Increased land degradation
 - Climate change
 - Corruption

Introduction

- The motivation for local management in most of sub-saharan Africa is historical
- post-independence policies motivated by the search for solutions to the “national question”
- Policy making has focussed on
 - land ownership,
 - land tenure and access to natural resources,
 - local government and local participation in governance,

Introduction

With regard to natural resources management the policy focus has been on

- Devolution/decentralization
- Natural resource use and tenure
- Access and benefit sharing
- Institutional arrangements for resource management
- Micro and macro-political dynamics of resource use and management

Introduction

New policies are being implemented in a context of environmental insecurity characterised by:

- The resurgence of unresolved historical claims over national-boundaries and land including the natural resources which are embedded in them;
- Conflict over the definition, security and realisation of rights to land, water and other natural resources; and

Introduction

- Conflicting authority and relations of governance between the state and civil society groupings.
- Application of extra-economic regulations that render agriculture inefficient, especially on customary land

Patterns of Natural Resource Use:

Agriculture

- Total land area under cropping in the region increased from 394.8 million ha in 1994 to 396.7 million ha in 2001
- The two primary causes of the increase are growing internal demand and demand for export cash crops
- Expansion has been mostly into marginal agro-ecological zones, with disastrous consequences
- While land under cultivation has been increasing, overall per capita food production in SADC has declined by 25% since 1980

Patterns of Natural Resource Use:

Agriculture

Land under Cropping in Southern Africa: 1994 and 2001 (000 ha)

Country	1994	2001
• Angola	57,500	57,300
• Botswana	26,000	25,973
• DRC	22,900	22,880
• Lesotho	2,329	2,334
• Malawi	3,810	4,090
• Mauritius	113	113
• Mozambique	47,800	48,235
• Namibia	38,750	38,820
• South Africa	99,000	99,640
• Swaziland	1,340	1,390
• Tanzania	39,600	39,950
• Zambia	35,273	35,280
• Zimbabwe	20,370	20,550
• TOTAL	394,785	396,655

Source: FAOSTAT data (2004)

Patterns of Natural Resource Use:

- The bulk of the region's population is directly dependent on subsistence agriculture
- This tends to be mostly very low productivity
 - Low levels of investment and capitalization
 - Low value addition
 - Limited human and financial capital, including credit
 - Limited access to water and dependence on rainfall
 - Land quality

Patterns of Natural Resource Use:

Energy

- Except for South Africa and Mauritius, wood fuel is the primary source of energy for the SADC region
- 50% of the region's energy is met from wood fuel
- Total wood fuel consumption in SADC in 2000 was estimated at 159 million cubic meters
- Of this, 41% was consumed in the DRC alone

Patterns of Natural Resource Use:

Energy

Estimated fuel wood consumption in Southern Africa (2000) (000m³)

Country	Consumption
• Angola	3,740
• Botswana	745
• DRC	72,707
• Lesotho	2,754
• Malawi	6,131
• Mozambique	31,278
• Namibia	872
• South Africa	2,183
• Swaziland	947
• Tanzania	20,787
• Zambia	8,773
• Zimbabwe	7,894

Source: FAO (2001)

Patterns of Resource Use: Water

- Access to water and sanitation
 - Water distribution is uneven spatially and temporally
 - Wetland ecosystems comprise an important part of the water subsystem
 - Region is host to freshwater ecosystems of international significance (Zambezi, Okavango, St. Lucia, Etosha pan)
 - Access is highly skewed and limited
 - Region generally water scarce
 - Prone to erratic rainfall
 - Becoming progressively drier over time
 - Alternative water sources polluted

Patterns of Resource Use: Water

- Water is allocated for many different and sometimes conflicting purposes.
- Major uses of water in the region include:
 - agriculture,
 - electricity generation,
 - recreation,
 - fisheries,
 - industry,
 - human consumption, and
 - ecosystem maintenance.

Patterns of Resource Use: Water

- Inequitable distribution of water also occurs between countries in the region
- Some countries extract more water than they have within their own boundaries.
 - e.g. South Africa consumes 80% of the region's water resources yet it contributes only 10% to renewable water resources.
 - In Lesotho, Zambia, Mozambique, Malawi, Swaziland and Angola, between 38% to 69% of the population lack access to safe drinking water,
 - In Botswana, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, between 10% and 21% are without access to safe drinking water.

Population density and distribution

- The SADC population in 2002 was about 110 million, growing at 2.8%/annum.
 - This is higher than the average rate of growth for Africa (2.4%),
 - and the average world rate (1.3%)
- Average population density is 92.8/km²
- Densities range from very low in Botswana (2.7/km²), to very high in Malawi (109.2/km²)

Debt, Trade and Natural Resources

Current trade relations and indebtedness have created many challenges for the region's economies

- The prohibition of investment measures and subsidies which has made it harder or impossible for the state to encourage and promote the domestic sectors
- Import liberalization in agriculture threatens the viability and livelihoods of small farmers whose products face competition from cheaper imported foods, many of which are artificially cheapened through massive subsidy
- The effects of a rigorous intellectual property rights regime include exorbitant prices for medicines and other essentials, patenting by Northern corporations of biological materials originating in the South, and higher costs for and lower access by developing countries to industrial technology.
- Increasing pressures on developing countries to open up their services sectors, which could deny the poor access to essential services.

Debt, Trade and Natural Resources

- SADC countries have high external debt burdens.
 - e.g. debt service as a percentage of GNP for Angola and Zambia was well above 166% in the late 1990s.
- This means that most of the governments' earnings go to debt servicing instead of physical and infrastructural development.

Development Assistance and Investment

Africa has been the recipient of significant amounts of ODA.

- ODA inflows have not had any significant impact on the continent's development prospects.
- Moreover, the levels of ODA from the traditional OECD major donors have been declining in real terms.
- In 2006, the 22 member countries of the OECD provided USD103.9 bn in aid, 5.1% less than in 2005, in constant 2005 dollars. This figure includes USD 19.2 bn of debt relief as well as exceptional relief to Iraq and Nigeria. (Rena, 2007).
- Rich nations are increasingly concentrating more on the exploitation of the continent's resources through FDI than providing development aid.

ODA and FDI

- Since 2002, FDI inflows into Africa have increased more than those into any other region, surging to record levels as a result of large investments in oil rich countries.
- In absolute terms, however, Asia remains the top target for FDI in the developing world (Deutsche Bank Research, 2007).
- African countries attract FDI mainly for their natural resources and the size of their domestic economy (Nigeria, Egypt, and South Africa).
- FDI still flows mainly into extraction business, with manufacturing coming second.
- FDI has also been supported by better governance and improvements in the business environment.

ODA and FDI

Asia's trade share with Africa is increasing steadily.

- In many cases this is tied to resource extraction, particularly in the case of China.
- Half of the USD 79 bn bilateral trade between Africa and Asia is trade with China, and this is expected to increase to USD 60 bn, (or > 10% of total African trade) in 2007 *(Deutsche Bank Research, 2007)*.

As Flavin and Gardner (2006:3) observe:

“The nearly simultaneous arrival of China and India to places of prominence on the world stage represents a tectonic shift in global affairs with few parallels.”

Natural Resource Use Governance

Resource use governance in the region is still generally weak

- Many of the region's natural resources are subject to some degree of unregulated and unsustainable use.
- Although the region generally tends to have strong robust laws regarding natural resource exploitation, institutional mechanisms to ensure effective implementation of existing regulations tend to be extremely weak.
- Resource challenges, especially financial resources and skilled personnel, make enforcement difficult.
- In cases where countries have experienced recent conflicts, such as in the DRC and in Angola, the incidence of unregulated resource use tends to be much higher.
- These countries are also richly endowed with high value natural resources such as oil, minerals and timber.

Devolution

- Policies have been implemented that purport to devolve control over resources to local communities
- These have largely been failures
- The apparent failure of devolution has been ascribed to imperfect policy processes
- However, the real cause of this apparent failure may be in the focus of the policies.

Devolution

- Communities typically not legal entities
- Most communities do not have proper institutional capacity to undertake resource management
- Challenges of multiple authority structures
- Devolution tends to be promoted by intermediary organizations without creating appropriate community processes

Ownership

- Most policies are minimalist and are implemented in the context of unresolved colonial property rights.
- Typically implemented in so called communal areas with unclear tenure systems, and degraded resources.
- Most local management projects are devoid of political content

Institutional arrangements

- Legal rights to resources are devolved to communities, without any real focus on how communities will exercise those rights
- Most community capacity building efforts focus on managerial capacities, and ignore the critical variable - power
- Communities not capacitated to participate directly in the policy process

Institutional Issues

Other essential institutional features

- Skills
- capability
- access and control over resources,
and
- opportunities

Resource Use

- Policies have not resolved the spatial dimensions of resource tenure, use and management
- Poor understandings of the spatial dimensions of resource rights.

Resource Use

- Fixation with cadastral approaches to mapping, which do not coincide with community understandings and regulation of space
- Little integrated with technology e.g. GIS, to enable local communities to interact more effectively with policy processes at all levels.

Resource Use

- Most policies do not critically address the underlying causes of unsustainable resource use.
 - E.g. unequal terms of trade
 - Institutional failures
 - Debt and debt servicing
 - Valuation of natural resources
 - Bio prospecting

Some Conclusions

- Under conditions of weak proprietorship, the financial benefits from resource use need to exceed agricultural income (Murphree, 2000)
- If agricultural revenues cannot be improved with natural resource use then the best option for farmers would be to eliminate natural resources and encourage agriculture (Jansen et al (1989) and Muir et al (1996, pp17))

Some Conclusions

- In financial terms, the contest between natural resources and agriculture reflects a contest between conservation and livelihoods for poor farmers.
- The disjunction of incomes of people intimately tied to biodiversity resources from the market value of those resources means that these people have little or nothing to gain from sustaining the stocks of these resources.

Some Conclusions

- Institutional design for local management should be undertaken with the participation of local communities
- New resource management policies should build upon and strengthen existing knowledge and institutions, and not seek to replace them
- Devolutionary policies should address historical equity and resource distribution issues

Thank You