

**Women, Wood and Wildlife -
The Role and Involvement of Women in
CBNRM in the Luangwa Valley, Zambia**

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1. Background to the Study

1.1 Introduction

The Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Project (LIRDIP) operating in eastern Zambia, has been introducing CBNRM to the people of the Lupande Game Management Area (GMA) which surrounds the South Luangwa National Park (SLNP) established in 1972. The GMA was set up to act as a buffer to the National Park, extending the area of land under some form of protection, but not excluding human habitation. As such, it intended to provide opportunities for local communities to gain benefits from efforts to conserve resources and thereby encourage community investment in such efforts. Initially the LIRDIP, set up in 1983, promoted development, such as improved health and food security, to enable local people to consider the long-term prospect of resource conservation rather than short-term daily survival which poverty demands. LIRDIP has since evolved to provide the support and structure necessary for CBNRM to be implemented in the Lupande GMA, where revenue from wildlife, and decision-making about how it is used, is devolved to the village level.

The aim of this research was to explore the involvement of women in CBNRM in the Luangwa Valley, with a view to identifying appropriate methods that would improve the participation of women in the conservation of biodiversity. Within this broad aim the study had several objectives. Firstly, to identify women's current natural resource management and their roles and responsibilities in CBNRM. Secondly, to understand how the policies and practices of LIRDIP affect women's involvement in CBNRM. Thirdly, to identify the constraints on women's greater involvement and consequent better outcomes. And fourthly, to suggest opportunities and activities to address those constraints which can realistically be overcome. Finally, developing an appropriate methodology for data collection is itself an important objective of the research.

Research took place in Zambia between July and October, 1999. Four main methods were used - key informant interviews, key interest group interviews (eg with female VAG - Village Action Group - Committee members and women's groups), participant observation and participatory workshops. Participatory techniques used included resource-rating matrices; historical resource availability matrices; mapping; problem tree analyses; picture drawing and discussion; and role play. Much effort was spent building up a rapport with women informants and for example, creating a relaxed atmosphere for interviews and data collection. One useful activity at the beginning of a workshop was the sharing of photos and descriptions of the researcher's home community, so encouraging the participants to perceive the workshop to be a two-way exchange of information. Quotations from the women interviewed are presented in italics.

1.2 Background to the Study Area and Project

The Lupande GMA covers approximately 5,000 km sq with a population of 35,000. 78.9% of the population is from the Kunda tribe who migrated from the Luba area in Congo in the early 19th century. The Kunda people are governed by six chiefs whose

positions are matrilineal and held for life. Indunas are appointed by the Chiefs as advisors, and each of the villages has a headman (or headwoman - about 13%), usually a senior male of the village's founding lineage. This position is also matrilineal, passing to the eldest son of the previous holder's sister, or if there are none suitable, the eldest daughter may become headwoman (Strickland, 1995). Women in the community are traditionally subordinate to men (see Box 1).

Box 1 Women's Status in the Kunda Tribe

'Following the jobs of their mothers is one way in which girls and young women give respect to their mothers', (Strickland, 1995). 'Fulfilling the 'birth-jobs' of women such as collecting firewood, preparing food, washing clothes and utensils', means that girls are removed from school at an early age. When a woman becomes married - as early as 13 years old - her household is usually based at the village of her husband and 'the subsistence activities of her house are directed primarily by her husband for the benefit of the husband's lineage and village' (Strickland, 1995).

During meals a woman sits with her children on a mat separate from her husband and when addressing him or presenting him with something she must show respect to him by kneeling. At village meetings women gather on mats whilst the men are seated on chairs or benches. This tradition of submissive behaviour, along with the poor education that girls receive, means women lack self-confidence in the presence of men, particularly those to whom they are related. In the company of other women they are much freer with their tongues and more relaxed in their posture.

However, this is a generalised picture of a very diverse society - until relatively recently lead by a female Senior Chieftainess - which includes some more confident women who have received a good education and are confident in expressing their opinions. 'Active practices...are subject to revision and reassignment by elders to keep pace with changes in village circumstances. That is why it is possible to find women cutting poles, tending fields or engaging in waged employment in ways that men are supposed to do', (Strickland, 1995). This provides opportunities for women to take on new roles and raise their status in the community.

1.3 The Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Project (LIRD) and Women

Plans were initiated in 1983 for the LIRD covering the South Luangwa National Park and Lupande GMA - a total area of 14,000 km sq - for the integration of local communities into sustainable wildlife management through the opportunities provided by recent changes in legislation. For more details on the project see Lungu & Bell, 1990; Child, 1999; LIRD, 1993; LIRD, 1998. The present structure of the organisations within LIRD and how and to whom the revenues are currently distributed are illustrated in Figure 1.

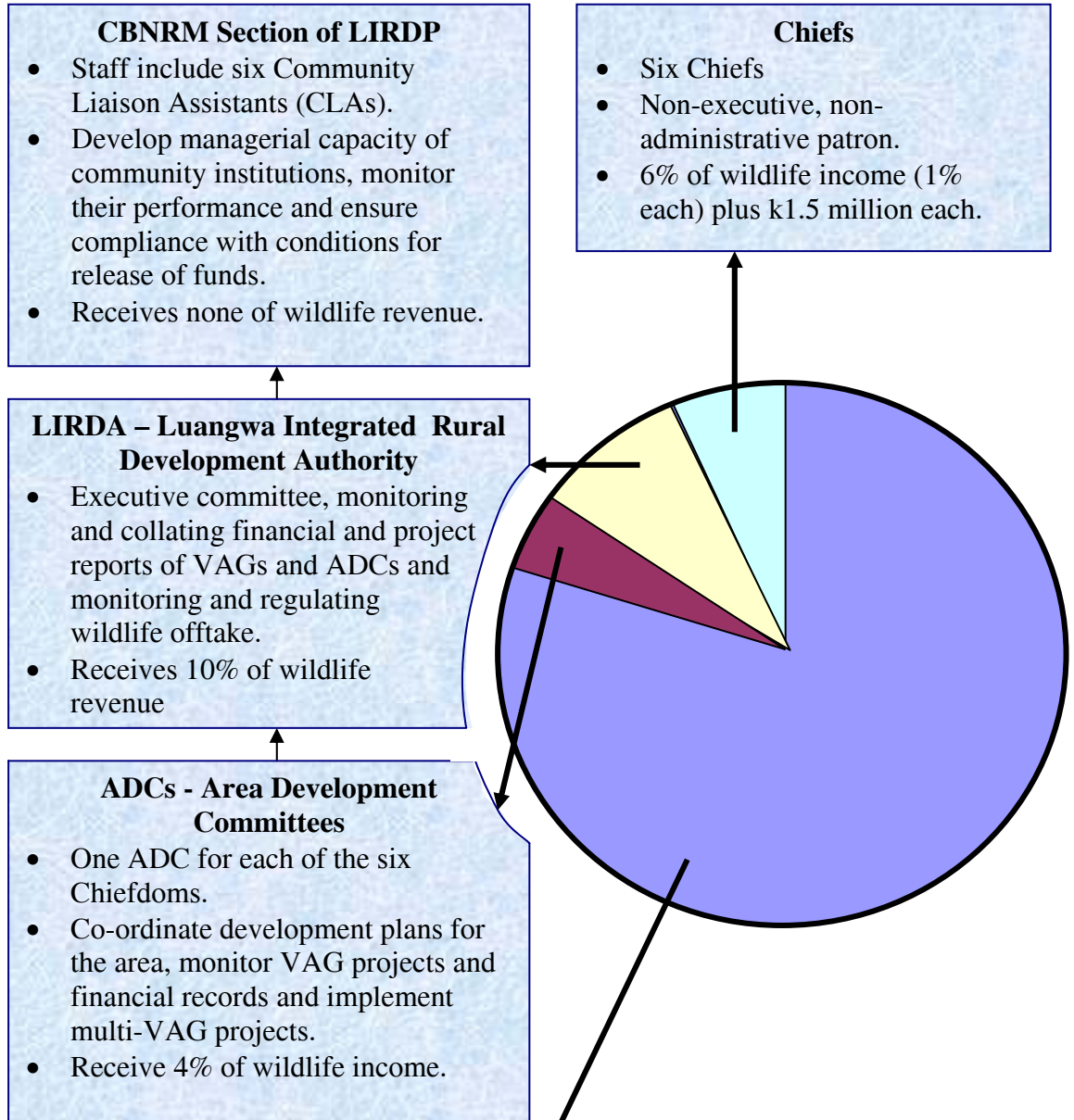
During the initial stages of the project a Women's Programme was initiated, a large part of which was conducted through women's clubs. Although not accessible to all women (due to workload and/or attitude of both men and women towards them), the women's clubs provided opportunities more appropriate to women than whole community meetings for dissemination of information and provision of support specific to women's needs. This included literacy development, vital to women's effective participation in both Education Days and AGMs (discussed further below), and skills and knowledge development for income generation, family health and nutrition. However, by 2000 (the time of this study) there were no specific activities incorporating gender issues within the programme (see Table 1).

Table 1

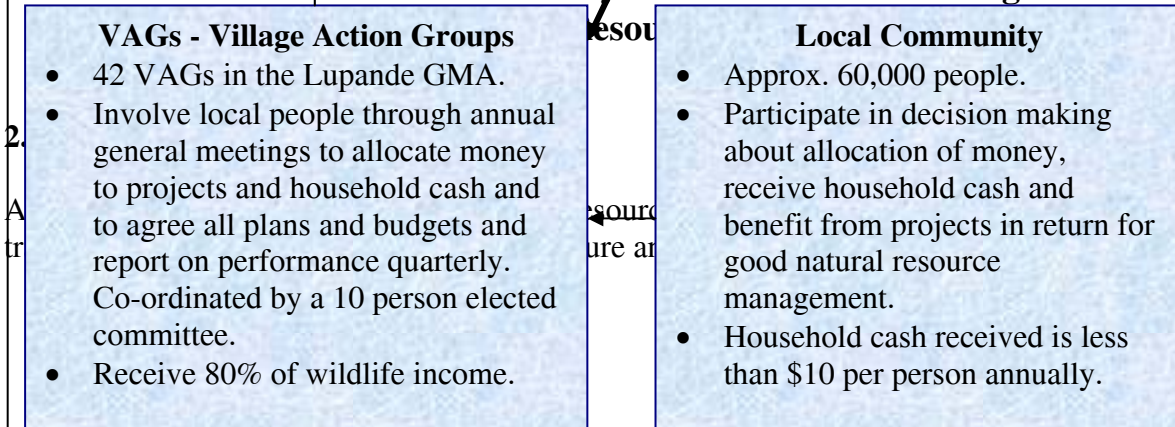
Project Stage	Establishment (1986)	Implementation and Review (1986-96)	Rationalisation and Refocussing (1996)	Transition to SLAMU*
Activities relating to women	<p>Women's Programme initiated in 1987</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nine female extension workers. - Focussed on crop, poultry, vegetable production & home economics. - Over 50 women's clubs with over 1,000 members. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 68 women's clubs providing forum for family planning info, credit schemes for agriculture, adult literacy classes, siting of wells etc. - Workshop on integration of women into all LIRD P programmes recognising problems of working separating with women. 	<p>Mainstreaming of the participation of women through the policy that all sections of the project incorporate gender considerations into all aspects of their activities. Particularly the Community Liaison Section in local level institutional development and administration to employ 30% females.</p>	<p>No specific activities, responsibility for incorporating gender considerations remains with individual sections of LIRD P.</p>

* **SLAMU** - South Luangwa Area Management Unit

Figure 1 Structure of CBNRM Stakeholders and Institutions and their Share of Wildlife Income from the Lupande GMA
(after Child, 1999 & LIRD, 1998)



2. Women's Role in the Community and as Users and Managers of



community. These factors may provide her with the knowledge and incentive to manage resources sustainably, but also present constraints on her knowledge and understanding of, attitude towards, and ability to take action for, sustainable natural resource management.

Women in the Lupande GMA perform the three traditional roles: reproducer - having up to 15 children (WM2); producer - spending 3-4 hours twice a week collecting fuel-wood (WK1, WM1), pounding maize, drawing water, collecting grass, preparing food and working in the fields; and managers - sending children to school, maintaining stable family structures and secure homes. By understanding the driving forces of the cycle of poverty, population growth and environmental degradation in the Lupande GMA and utilising the opportunities which the LIRDPA provide, CBNRM can go some way towards creating a virtuous circle of sustainable resource management, healthy community development and poverty alleviation.

2.2 Sustainable Resource Management

Forest conservation is of key importance to natural resource management and to the daily life of a woman. Within the community collection of fuelwood, for example, is entirely her responsibility, and the majority recognise the need for sustainable principles of forest management. For example, some women stated - *'it is better to cut branches so they sprout, and not burn trees'* (WK3), and *'we use dead and dry wood, and do not burn trees [in-situ] so Mopane trees sprout again'* (WN1). Women also have an incentive to manage forests due to the many different uses of wood - *'trees are used for houses, firewood, medicines, stop soil erosion, stop evaporation, feed wildlife and provide shade'* (WM1), and wood was considered the second most important natural resource, after water (WN1).

LIRDPA promotes natural resource management by incorporating Education Days into the Annual Revenue Distribution General Meetings, led by the Community Liaison Assistants (CLAs). Only 40% of local women attend these meetings who made up 48% and 47% of those attending in 1998 and 1999 respectively. If women do not attend they cannot be made aware of their potential role in CBNRM. Failure to attend may indicate a lack of motivation or time for putting into practice sound natural resource management. LIRDPA does little to address the non-attendance of women and uses the traditional structure of community meetings as their model. The meetings do not include all topics relevant to women's involvement in CBNRM.

CLAs are not formally trained for their roles which include the delivery of information, the support of groups trying to improve their socio-economic status, and the creation of a sense of partnership between local people and LIRDPA. All CLAs are male and as a result the particular needs of women cannot be fully understood nor met. There are cultural constraints on male and female interaction due to traditional attitudes and their different characteristics. Many women would prefer to have some female CLAs. As one put it - *'if a woman was able to do the job, we would prefer a female CLA as they would understand us better'* (WN2).

Additionally, Community Based Scouts (CBS) are employed by the local community from their wildlife revenues to implement active wildlife management including the education of the local community. Only 3 out of the 78 CBS are women which presents a similar barrier for the dissemination of information to women. Constraints to women's employment as both CLAs or CBS are discussed further below.

As a result there is little encouragement for women to play an active role in the conservation and management aspects of LIRD. In addition, generally in the Lupande GMA, the sense that mutual long-term benefit is possible through joint responsibility and co-operation in carrying out sustainable management of the forests has been lost. The increasing demands placed upon women for their time and effort mean that they have become self-centred with long-term consequences for the community. In addition, the position of women in the community, the influence of many external agencies attempting to implement projects, and changes in the community which appear beyond their control, mean that women feel helpless in the face of forest destruction. Women believe that initiative and ability to improve their quality of life only comes from others – men, extension workers, NGOs and donors. This means that women do not take responsibility for, or believe that they have the ability to, manage natural resources well. As a result, improved management does not occur unless it is strictly enforced by those with the power to do so (ie Chiefs, LIRD), or if an outsider with new resources and ideas arrives.

2.3 Healthy Community Development

A strong traditional value is placed on high fertility rates in the Lupande GMA. This is due to the importance placed upon children assisting in daily tasks such as farming, water and firewood collection; still relatively high death rates; and the perceived status that children represent, particularly for the father. As one woman remarked, *'he wants more children - a sign of his strength'* (WK3). This has a large impact on women's lives and their management of the environment. Women recognise this - *'we need money for school fees, medical bills, feeding, having less children will mean less burden and more strength'* (WK1) and in some cases, a strong desire for *'education about having a smaller family'* (WM2), was expressed, including birth control. As another woman suggested, a woman *'wants family planning so she can space her children better so they can grow strong and be well cared for'* (WM1). To achieve this, women require education and knowledge about the methods available, the confidence to use them and the ability to obtain them.

Family planning is taught and available to women who attend the ante-natal clinic, it is not effective for a number of reasons. Firstly, for many women it appears that the education given at the clinics is not appropriate to their understanding or education level - *'some are taught but don't listen or do it'* (WM2). Information exchange appears more effective through women networks. In addition, because women do not fully understand the issues, there is a lack of trust of these 'western' medicines. For example one woman explained that *'there is fear about the pill, that it will leave them barren'*, (WM2).

Secondly, women's sub-ordinate position in society means that they require their husbands' permission to use contraceptives. Due to the status that large numbers of children give to a man, and the suspicion with which people are treated - *'men think you are a prostitute if you want family planning'* (WM1) - many women are forced into having large families despite their knowledge and desires not to. In addition, education about family planning is only targeted at women through the ante-natal clinic. However, it is clear that husbands must receive education too - *'husbands with knowledge want less children but those without, demand many children'* (WM2).

Thirdly, the cost of using contraceptives is also a major factor precluding their use - *'it used to be free, but when we can't afford k500 for relish, how can we buy the pill, so instead we have another child'* (WM2).

2.4 Meeting Basic Needs

A woman's working day begins at 6 am and her numerous responsibilities are time-consuming and involve hard physical labour - firewood collection may require several hours walking just to reach the forest and *'water has to be drawn from far..[and it is] hard work drawing water without a hand pump'* (WM1). The different responsibilities of men and women translate into great disparities in their workload - *'after working in the field, the man will go back home while the woman goes to collect firewood, draw water and prepare the meal for him'* (WK1). Even if labour-saving devices are available, because of the demand for their use, women have to spend precious time queuing to use them - *'there is only one grinding mill so many people want to use it'* (WK3), *'it takes a whole day to get maize ground'* (WK1). These difficulties that women face in providing food for their families have several consequences.

Firstly, women's priorities focus on providing for the next meal rather than planning for the next generation. Insecurity of food supplies (due to low income levels and the vulnerabilities of subsistence agriculture) and the heavy workload of women mean that they must focus all their efforts on day-to-day access of resources. This is at the expense of action to secure their long-term availability and to minimise the time and effort required to collect the same resources in a year's, or in ten years' time. Rather than taking dead and dry wood and cutting branches enabling trees to sprout again as is the traditional practice, *'trees are being burnt rather than cut because it takes less power'* (WM2) and *'we take charcoal from the roots of trees'* (WM1), knowing that this means *'there will be a lack of firewood in the future'* (WM2). Despite knowing that trees will be in short supply in a generation's time, women are not working to change this by planting new trees. As one woman commented *'planting trees for firewood will take many years to grow and we will be dead before we can use them'* (WK3).

Secondly, natural resources are destroyed due to the increasing need for fertile land to grow sufficient crops to feed large families. The practice of shifting agriculture, commonly on a 10 year rotation, coupled with a tendency towards larger fields means

that, as one woman described, the *'forest has decreased and moved further away, so we have to walk further to get firewood'* (WK1). This further reduces the time that women have for investing in more conservation-focussed practices.

Thirdly, because women are so concerned about providing the next meal, other responsibilities or concerns are often neglected, for example, ensuring children receive an adequate education (women who have had no education are very aware of the advantages) and taking part in health education schemes. Income generation is traditionally one of the responsibilities of the man, however *'there are few means to create income'* (WK1). One way is to poach, and despite their knowledge of the risks and the impact it will have on their long-term source of income from wildlife *'some wives send their husband out to poach to get money for grinding fees'* (WK3). Providing women with the ability to generate income de-couples their interests from wildlife.

2.5 Negative Perceptions of Development

The women in Lupande have seen development projects initiated by external organisations who have brought new technology, techniques and knowledge, but who have failed to transfer appropriate skills in leadership, maintenance and management. As a result when the outsiders leave, so too does the initiative and ability on which the project is dependent. Indeed, this was the case with the setting up and later discontinuation of the Women's Programme marking the end of most of the 68 women's clubs that had been established (see Section 1.3).

Such experiences create perceptions that for projects to succeed they depend upon the involvement of people external to the community. Women's attitudes of apathy and dependency are compounded by their traditionally marginalised positions and expected behaviour. They are not accustomed to initiating change in their situation. Women are also concerned about how others will react to them if they behave differently from the norm and take on roles or activities which are not usually perceived as being those of a woman's.

2.6 Opportunities and Actions to Overcome Constraints

Clearly, the policies and practices of LIRD, the traditions and expectations within the community and the attitudes of women, have all contributed to the difficulties women face in utilising information relating to natural resource management and in accessing opportunities to improve their quality of life. Four key activities, which make use of the opportunities provided by the existing CBNRM project and staff, and the skills and talents of the local community have been identified to address current constraints on women's greater involvement in natural resource management.

Firstly, opportunities should be created for charismatic local women to take on roles within the project and for liaising and working with local women on a broad range of topics. This is important for creating role models, providing information, support and

points of contact and co-ordinating activities which will affect women. This could be achieved by encouraging women into existing roles which are currently filled by men such as CLAs and CBS. However, due to the constraints on women in fulfilling such roles, it might be more successful and appropriate if positions were created which were specifically intended to be filled by women and tailored to their capabilities to, for example addressing women's issues. Such positions could include the dissemination of a wide range of information and skills (eg sustainable harvesting, income generation skills and family planning); awareness and self-confidence raising amongst women; and advocacy. It is essential that through this work, women are encouraged to learn how to co-operate with each other and become greater self-thinkers and motivators.

Secondly, greater efforts should be made by project staff to educate and enable women to manage natural resources more effectively. It is important that relevant information is provided and that such information is given in a format and setting which is appropriate to women and which encourages their understanding and desire to act upon it. This requires new techniques to be developed for education to be conducted in the most appropriate way, rather than the most often used community meeting situation. Also, CLAs must be given training in natural resource management techniques appropriate to women's resource use and in communication skills, particularly with women. As one CLA confirmed, *'we need training in how to conduct workshops with women'* (IBB).

Thirdly, a co-operative and supportive spirit needs to be established amongst women by encouraging them to get together as a 'stakeholder group' within their community with a common purpose such as income generation. Income generation, for example, could act as an incentive for attendance and commitment to the group and a justifiable reason for women to come together and leave their daily household tasks. Such meetings provide forums and opportunities for the transference of skills and information exchange on a wide number of subjects. They can be used to further literacy and inform on issues of family planning and natural resource management. They can also be used as the means of mobilising women for other activities, such as tree planting and project development eg grinding mills, as well as generating a community spirit amongst themselves and the confidence that they are able to manage successful enterprises and activities. Promoting the formation of such groups requires initial inputs of training, initiative, ideas and possibly finances, however, enthusiasm and commitment must come from the women themselves in order that these groups are likely to succeed and remain sustainable.

Fourthly, the opportunities that women have to improve their quality of life, in particular increasing their food security and reducing the time they have to spend providing for the basic needs of their family, should be maximised. For women the absence of such opportunities is probably the most important factor in determining their natural resource management. Without the availability of labour-saving devices such as grinding mills and pumped wells in close proximity to their village, no matter how great their knowledge, women will remain unable and/or unwilling to manage natural resources sustainably.

3. Women's Involvement in Incentives Schemes

3.1 Introduction

Incentive schemes can only be successful in promoting sustainable wildlife management if they match benefits to costs and cost bearers. Men and women are likely to bear different costs from wildlife management practices and perceive the benefits provided differently. In order to ensure that both 'coupling' and 'de-coupling' incentives are effective, the relevance of LIRDPA wildlife management incentives must be considered for all members of the community. This includes the costs of wildlife management, the value of the benefits provided relative to the cost, the ability of all community members to appropriate benefits and the extent to which they induce sustainable management practices.

3.2 Revenue Distribution

The principal way in which LIRDPA is attempting to create incentives is through revenue distribution which couples (or re-couples) the interests of local people with sustainable natural resource management, so that it is seen as a valuable land use in the Lupande GMA. Community-based institutions - Village Action Groups (VAG) - have been created to facilitate the use and distribution of revenue (from wildlife in the region), with the ultimate goal of enabling communities to manage natural resources.

It is intended that the revenue allocated to the VAGs every year will provide cash for individual households and for community development projects. The way in which decisions are made to determine how much is used for each purpose and what projects are carried out will be described. Below, questions related to the appropriate use of the money, whether it benefits all those who suffer costs and whether it provides appropriate incentives is discussed.

3.3 Matching Benefits to Costs and Cost Bearers

Maintaining wildlife in the Lupande GMA at levels which are attractive to safari hunters creates costs to the local people in terms of risks to human life and the damage of crops by animals. As one woman described, *'crop damage leads to starvation and hunger...villagers want to be compensated for the damage or be allowed to kill the animal and get the meat'* (WK3). Animals are also considered to be in competition with local people for natural resources, in particular trees. Restrictions on natural resource use, such as firewood collection and the size of nets that can be used for catching fish, by local communities also creates costs for them. It is likely that due to a woman's family responsibilities, the burden of many of these costs falls, to a larger extent, on her.

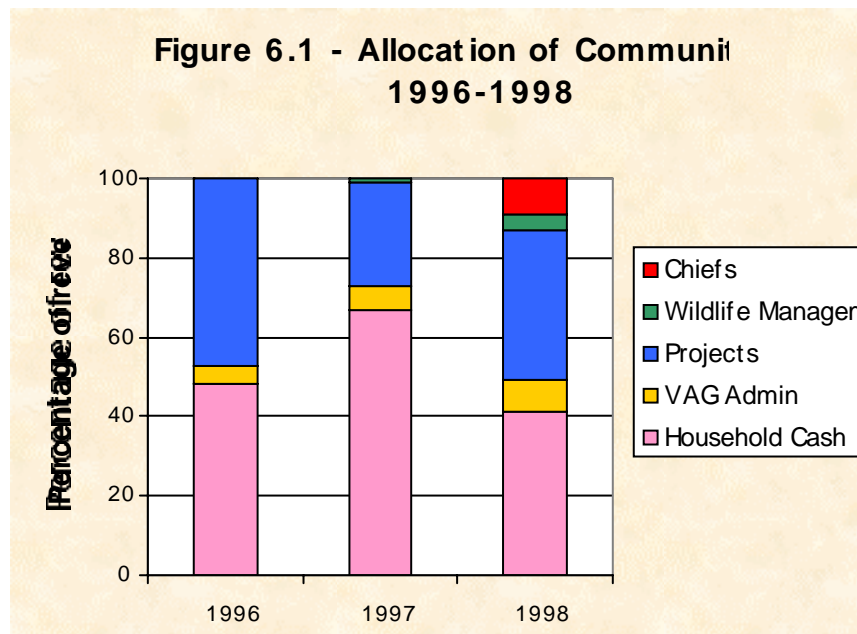
The benefits of wildlife management which are most likely to create suitable incentives for women are those which address their priorities. Clearly these are determined by their

community responsibilities, and centre upon the nutrition, health and education of their family. As one woman suggested, *'we want to send our children to school but fees are expensive, k9,000 grades 1-7, k12,000 grades 8 and 9, and exams to get into grade 8 are k6,000 per subject'* (WK1). And, *'income means we can educate our children and improve our diet'* (WM3). Many of the activities which used to be organised by the Women's Programme (see Section 1.3) were identified as addressing women's priorities, such as gardening, poultry, sewing, cooking, crafts, grinding mills, and storage sheds. As one women confirmed - *'we would spend less time on grinding maize so we could spend time on preparing meals and child care'* (WK1). In addition, the group spirit and support which such clubs created also provided many benefits for women - *'unmarried women have a source of income, they teach each other how to sew, get together as a group and work for themselves'* (CWC).

A particularly important priority for women is the desire to become self-sufficient in meeting their needs, rather than being on the receiving end of large handouts of money to buy end products. As one woman suggested, *'in the future we would like sewing machines to make money because we are not getting money from wildlife'* (WN1). Health care is also a priority - *'the existing clinic is too small with too few medicines and only one male nurse, pregnant women are sent 50kms away which means they need transport to the hospital'* (WN2). In addition women want agricultural extension provision, such as loans, the use of a plough and training in agriculture - all of which had previously been part of LIRD in the past.

Through the bottom-up institutional structure of Village Action Groups (VAGs), the local community receives 80% of the revenue from safari hunting. In 1998 this amounted to approximately k240 million (US\$100,000) to be shared between the six Chiefdoms, giving an average of k6 million (US\$4,000) to each VAG, (CBNRM, 1998). Since 1996, varying proportions of money have been allocated to household cash and projects. In 1996 46% was allocated to projects, but following poor implementation of projects and fear that Chiefs would extract money assigned for projects for themselves, only 20% was allocated to projects in 1997. In 1998 37% of revenue went to projects, but a further 9%, on top of that agreed, was extracted by the Chiefs (See Figure 6.1) (CBNRM, 1998).

Currently, revenue is distributed equally between the six Chiefdoms which is split



equally between the VAGs within a Chiefdom. Each Chiefdom has different numbers of VAGs and each VAG is composed of different numbers of people which creates inequities between VAGs in the revenue which people receive. It also means that the revenue received by a VAG is not matched in any way to the degree of cost borne, nor the extent to which efforts have been made to conserve natural resources. Some communities may bear a particular cost more than others, such as those areas where animals are more frequent and therefore present more of a danger and a threat to crops, or where they have no source of income other than from selling natural resources. It is the policy of LIRDPA to work towards the distribution of revenue based upon 'producer communities' (the communities that produce wildlife ie where animals are actually shot, receive a differential benefit that relates to and encourages their productivity eg wildlife populations as measured by the number of trophies shot, (LIRDPA, 1998)) so that costs and benefits are more closely matched and the effectiveness of the incentive is enhanced. However, considerable ground work is required to ensure that each community has adequate opportunities to 'produce' natural resources for revenue before this can be implemented.

Benefits which women receive through household cash and projects which the community implements cover many of the priorities which women have – wells, school renovation, teachers' houses, clinic improvement - and they value the improvement made to their community. Despite the constraints created by the lack of women's involvement in decision-making and the imposition of Chiefs' decisions on the way communities spend the money (discussed in Section 4), benefits do generally appear to be relevant to the whole community, including women.

3.4 Linking Benefits to Natural Resource Management

As described in Section 1.3 Education Days are used in each Chiefdom to encourage an understanding of the link between the distribution of wildlife revenue money and the community's sound wildlife management. The failure to involve many women in these Education Days, both in terms of attendance and participation, reduces the effectiveness of the incentive schemes that aim to encourage natural resource management. In order to promote a better understanding and appreciation of the reasons for certain laws or management practices, the style and setting for information dissemination must be conducive to women's meaningful participation.

Wildlife is recognised as an important source of income, and women link the amount of wildlife and the amount of money they receive – '*we want more wildlife so more tourists will come which will bring us more money*' (WM3). However, the source and availability of revenue is not directly linked to the full range of natural resource management practices encouraged. Negative impacts on wildlife populations, are seen by women as resulting mainly from poaching (carried out mainly by men), rather than from other resource use practices, carried out by themselves. There is a poor understanding of the effects of forest removal for example, on wildlife populations.

3.5 Providing Sufficient Incentive for Natural Resource Management

The amount of money available as revenue from safari hunting is determined by the quotas provided for legal 'off-take' of animals and the cost of the licences. Although a larger revenue from hunting could provide a greater incentive for natural resource management for some members of the communities, it is likely that it would not provide a significantly greater incentive to women if used in the same way as today. As several women suggested - *'VAG money does not encourage people to stop poaching'* (WM3), *'wildlife is less important because it eats crops, damages trees and kills people, these problems outweigh the benefits of meat, skins and money from wildlife'* (WN1).

Indeed, several factors mean that the full value of the benefits resulting from the Project are not felt by women and therefore are not considered by women when judging whether the incentives are sufficient to justify more sustainable natural resource management.

Firstly, although allocating a large proportion of revenue to household cash means that community members (including women) have control over what they use it for and it cannot be extracted by Chiefs for their own use, the amount that people receive as individuals is minimal. Amounts vary between and within VAGs (although in some Chiefdoms all community members receive equal amounts) - for example, in 1999 community members received between k4,031 (Kalonga A VAG in Jumbe) and k17,000 (Chembe VAG in Nsefu), equivalent to between US\$2 and US\$9. For women this would pay for them to go to the grinding mill between one and four times a quarter. *'I don't see it as a benefit the small amount that it is'* stated one woman (WK3).

Women who receive cash (some VAGs only give household cash to household heads, not all community members) are able to control what they use the money for. It is usually used for household basics such as grinding fees, soap, salt, or school or medical fees and therefore benefit the whole family. However, the money which men receive is often spent on beer which provides no benefit to the rest of the family. In some cases ways to prevent this have been devised. For example, one woman explained that *'if the distribution is at the school, then the headmaster immediately deducts the school fees from the husband's money. Some women try to get their husband's money as well to stop him from spending it on beer'* (WN2).

Despite these problems with cash payments the majority of community members, including the women, do still prefer the distribution of revenue through these cash dividends rather than through the less direct benefits resulting from community projects. Indeed, for many community members the only benefit from wildlife management which they recognise as a worthwhile one is household cash. Beneficial community development projects are not seen as directly related to natural resource management despite being funded by wildlife revenue - *'the only benefit of wildlife apart from meat and skins is money'* (WN1).

In addition, much of the benefit which could have been gained through the implementation of projects has not been seen due to poor financial management by the VAG Committees — and in some cases, expropriation by the Chiefs of money from the

VAGs for their own use. Indeed, a lot of suspicion exists concerning VAG and ADC Committees and their management of revenues. As these views from women express - *'money is not used properly, the VAG get a big amount of money but make small changes, we think money gets shared between the committee members'* (WM3). *'We were told wells would be built but they are not done'* (WN2) and *'we would like a grinding mill but the Chief is using money to stay in expensive hotels in Lusaka'* (WK1).

Finally, although some of the community projects do address the priorities of women, there remain some projects to which women give a high priority (particularly education and income generation opportunities for women, wells and grinding mills) which have not been allocated money. Also money is allocated to projects which the women do not see as a priority such as football clubs and Community Based Scouts (CBS). *'Money goes to CBS, but we don't want CBS, they are no use and the money is wasted and should be used for projects'* (WK1). This is largely due to the continuing marginalisation of women in the decision-making processes that result in revenue distribution and expenditure. This will continue unless a more concerted effort is made to include women. As is confirmed - *'women may want a well but unless they are able to put forward the idea they will continue having to walk far for water'* (ILT).

3.6 Employment

Through the generation of employment, LIRD P provides some alternative to income generation through the exploitation of natural resources. In recognition of the need for both men and women to benefit from these opportunities, LIRD P has a policy of actively promoting the employment of women with a target of 30% of all employees - *'the project is fully aware of the cultural inequity of women in Zambia and is making every effort within its organisational structure to hire and promote women'* (LIRD P, 1998).

However, few sections of LIRD P attain this target and the nature of the jobs means that *'women employed in the project have moved into the area...so local women have not benefited'* (ILM). Education levels and experience of local people are insufficient for the permanent jobs available, for both women and men, excluding that is the six male CLAs who are all members of the local community. The work that is available for local people is often not culturally acceptable nor is it logistically possible for women to take part in. There are also embedded perceptions as to what women want to do and do not want to do. As these comments verify - *'commercial services includes road construction which is a job with general tasks which women are able to do and usually reaches 30%, however hippo culling employs no females'. "We have only nine scouts who are women, it is not a job they are suited to, they always want office posts or standing at the [National Park] gate'* (IHK). *'Women wouldn't want to go out in the bush for days'* (ILM).

In addition, where jobs are available for women - such as Community Based Scouts (CBS) - because the people for such positions are chosen by local Chiefs, it is up to them to decide on how many men and women are employed. Also women are precluded due

to their responsibilities and heavy workload at home. More often than not therefore, men are employed and as such only 3 women are included in the total of 78 CBS positions.

As a result, the policy that 30% of employees should be women has limited impact on the involvement of local women in CBNRM or the activities of LIRDPA as education levels and cultural traditions prevent local women from taking many jobs. As a result employees have limited opportunities to influence the behaviour of women's management of natural resources.

3.7 Provision of Meat

By providing the local community with the meat from safari hunting, and operating an annual hippo cull, LIRDPA is attempting to de-couple the interests of local people from the protected natural resources by providing an alternative to poaching for the purpose of obtaining meat. However, the supply of meat is sporadic and insecure. Many local people also believe that *'they are being cheated'* (WMI) and suspect that others are profiting from the sale of meat which is often overpriced. In addition, meat rarely reaches those living in the less accessible villages.

Although providing meat for the family is generally the responsibility of the man, the failure of this incentive has a particular impact on women. Without access to meat, a woman faces difficulty in providing sufficient nutrition for her family. If meat from culled animals was made more available, then a direct link with and benefit from wildlife would be attained, providing a good incentive for supporting conservation activities.

3.8 Opportunities and Actions to Overcome Constraints

Women generally have a negative attitude towards the benefits which they believe constitute the extent of the incentive schemes. This affects their commitment to conservation. Therefore there is a need for effort by those involved in CBNRM to help all resource users to appreciate, and respond positively to, the full value of incentives. Three main areas of action emerge.

Firstly, benefits appropriated by the community need to be more clearly linked to the conservation of the full range of resources in the Lupande GMA. Inequities are present in the communities between those receiving benefits, those suffering costs and the degree to which members are involved and actively contribute to conservation. There is a mismatch between cost and benefits, incentives and actions. Also, due to the source of revenues being large game, communities link the benefits of CBNRM solely to wildlife populations, rather than the full range of natural resources upon which the whole ecosystem, including large game, depends. The policy of LIRDPA to distribute revenue based upon 'producer communities' provides the opportunity to create a closer link between the costs and benefits to a community on a smaller scale. Clearly this requires

considerable work to ensure communities have the ability to gain revenue based upon the resources they 'produce'. By linking revenues to the management and state of the many natural resources upon which safari hunting ultimately depends, distribution of revenue could encourage conservation in all communities not just those where wildlife is hunted. Benefits will be more closely matched to costs.

Secondly, interest and awareness of the community's acquisition of incentives needs to be generated amongst women. This is important for ensuring that women appreciate all the benefits which comprise the intended incentive. It also improves the efficiency and accountability of project implementation through their involvement in projects, both in their physical contribution (eg carrying materials for construction) and their capacity to ensure revenue reaches its intended purpose.

Providing regular feedback from the VAG Committees to the community, through the quarterly VAG meetings, is an important way of making women aware of the different projects that are being implemented. The low attendance and the poor participation and understanding of women found at these meetings needs to be addressed. Many of the activities described in section 2.6 would be suitable for raising women's awareness and increasing their involvement in projects by creating opportunities to provide appropriate and accessible information through women's groups and female members of staff. CLAs need to be trained in providing a better delivery of information, including to women. In addition, women have demonstrated that, if given the opportunities in terms of start-up funds and training they are able to maintain projects and run businesses. However, these resources are sorely lacking. Therefore, one use of the revenue funds that would benefit a great number of women is a small-scale revolving fund for use by groups of women to start up income-generating and labour-saving projects such as grinding mills and sunflower presses. In addition, generating interest and awareness of the incentives is more likely to be achieved if women are able to participate more meaningfully in the decision-making processes (described in more detail below).

Thirdly, more efficient and effective use and distribution of benefits which are appropriate to the cost bearers and which maximise the incentives to the community to conserve resources should be ensured. The money generated by safari-hunting represents a significant sum of money as an incentive for conservation. However without proper use it can be wasted and viewed by individuals as insignificant and inappropriate. Indeed, considerable amounts of money that could benefit the communities as a whole are only benefiting a small number of selected few. Money is also being mis-used - often projects are not completed, some are more expensive than is necessary (eg due to not using local labour) and other 'unsuitable' projects are invested in despite their benefits not being realised by the main cost bearers and at the expense of more useful alternatives.

4. Women's Participation in the Decision-Making Processes

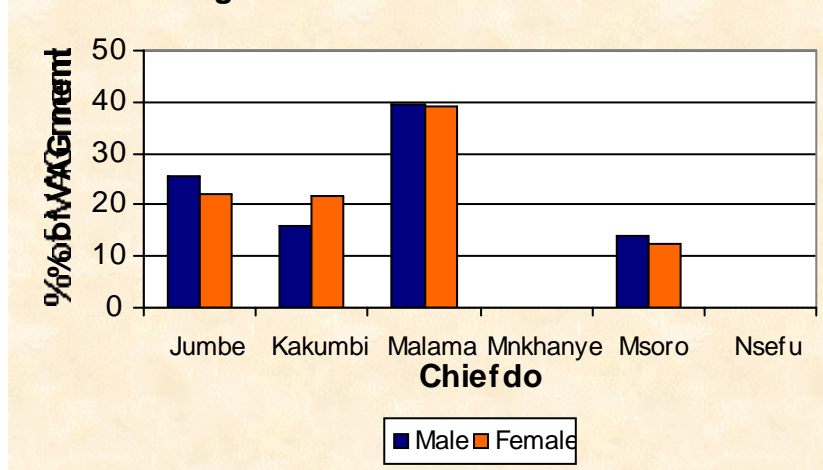
4.1 Introduction

The participation of women in the decision-making processes of CBNRM projects is important for the effectiveness and efficiency of the projects and for the opportunities it presents to women to gain skills that can improve the quality of their lives. The devolution of control over wildlife revenues (and gradually the responsibility for wildlife management) to communities through locally-elected representative committees by LIRD is the key process through which the local community is able to appropriate benefits and is empowered to manage its natural resources. As major stakeholders in natural resource management, the meaningful participation of women in the decision-making process is clearly a requisite for CBNRM in the Lupande GMA. However, in general, despite the many persuasive arguments for the democratic participation of women in CBNRM, the language and practice of 'participation' often obscures women's worlds, needs and contributions to development, making equitable participatory development an elusive goal, (Guijt & Kaulshah, 1998). 'Again and again women's participation in, and benefits from, development programmes are severely circumscribed by cultural constraints, patriarchal attitudes and assumptions and the weight of women's identification with the reproductive sphere', (Bryndon & Chant 1989). The effectiveness of the processes, structures and outcomes of decision-making within LIRD are discussed in relation to women's involvement and the constraints for more meaningful participation and potential solutions are suggested below.

4.2 Participation in AGMs

For the majority of community members their opportunity to participate in decision-making about the use of wildlife revenue is through attendance at the Annual General Meetings (AGM). These are held in each VAG to determine the projects and their budgets for the coming year. Figure 7.1 shows the attendance by males and females at the AGMs of some of the VAGs, for 1998 and 1999. With 48-49% of attendees overall being female, there is no clear gender-based difference in attendance at AGMs. However, women rarely participate in the meetings to the same degree as men. In general, they are excluded from many of the decision-making processes. As these comments confirm – *'women are not given a chance to say things at meetings, or if at AGMs they are given a chance their ideas are not discussed or considered' (WMI)...* *'the woman speaking is not listened to, the Vice-Chair just carries on' (OCV)*. At the Chiwawatala VAG General Meeting women only made two brief contributions.

Figure 7.1 - Attendance at A



* VAG Members defined as all National Registration Card Holders (Over 18)

The poor take-up by women of the opportunities for influencing decision-making processes and gaining knowledge about the benefits they are receiving from wildlife revenues in and through AGMs has impacts on the efficiency with which projects are completed, the effectiveness of incentives and the sustainability of CBNRM. As two women suggest - *'if it is men making all the decisions then projects which would benefit women will not be discussed or considered'* (ILT)... *'it would be better for us if our views were heard and taken account of'* (WM2). By being isolated from decision-making, women do not know about all the benefits the community is gaining, which affects their attitude towards CBNRM - *'they will distance themselves even further, not taking any interest in how money is used'* (ILT). Nor are the skills and resources of the whole community for implementing projects being accessed - *'women are very good at working - moving sand, bricks, water - if they know they will get something at the end, if they are not involved in the project they will not take part'* (ILT). This, combined with the attitude that CBNRM is not their responsibility reflected (and increased) by non-participation, means that the encouragement and enablement of women to manage natural resources is severely restricted.

Women fail to enter the decision-making process due to traditional power structures and responsibilities which cause them to lack the confidence and ability to communicate effectively their ideas and perspective - *'women are shy at AGMs so their project proposals are not heard'* (IBB). The role of speaker and decision-maker in community meetings is traditionally the men's responsibility. As a result women feel uneasy in a position of influence over decisions and men feel threatened. Also, the presence of a particular male family member may dictate whether a woman can express her ideas and views (which in general are not greatly respected by men) - *'women cannot speak in certain circumstances, such as if her father-in-law, husband or brother are present'* (ILT).

In addition, women are very aware of their low standard of education and inexperience in situations such as meetings. This enforces the feeling of incompetence and diffidence - *'women's education level is much lower than men's so they feel unable to participate'* (ILT)... *'we need educated people to be able to express women's ideas'* (WM1). This is

not helped by the reliance on written rather than oral discussion of many project elements such as budgets and ideas. This excludes illiterate members of the communities.

As a result there are many reasons for women to feel discouraged from becoming more actively involved in meetings and decision-making processes. Women often find support in numbers and will attend meetings in groups. However, often they will sit some distance from the men, often on the edge of the gathering. This further excludes women from information and the discussions taking place.

4.3 Participation in VAG Committees

The focus of LIRD P since 1996 has been on ‘building the capacity of communities to manage their wildlife by having democratic, transparent and accountable committees that are legally mandated and constituted with clear legal rights and responsibilities’, (CBNRM, 1998). These Village Action Group (VAG) Committees (made up of ten democratically-elected community members including a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer and Secretary, (Child, 1999)) are responsible for planning, implementing and monitoring projects which have been agreed by the community at general meetings attended by at least 60% of household heads. Committees must maintain bank accounts and financial records, report on performance to both the community and their Area Development Committee (ADC), organise and manage community meetings and co-ordinate the actions necessary to complete agreed projects. To enable VAG Committee members to carry out their duties, LIRD P has provided training and advisory services ‘in finance, project management and meeting management’ (ILT).

Although decision-making is supposed to be based upon the wishes of the whole community, the VAG Committee members have an important role in proposing and implementing projects, providing feedback to the community and encouraging their involvement and co-operation. Figure 7.3 shows the current percentage of females on VAG Committees in four Chiefdoms (for which data was available). Clearly, women are under-represented in the Committees as a whole, and particularly in the executive posts (Chair, Vice-Chair, Secretary and Treasurer) as shown in Figure 7.4 - ‘we need more women on the committee and taking part so our ideas are heard’ (WK3).

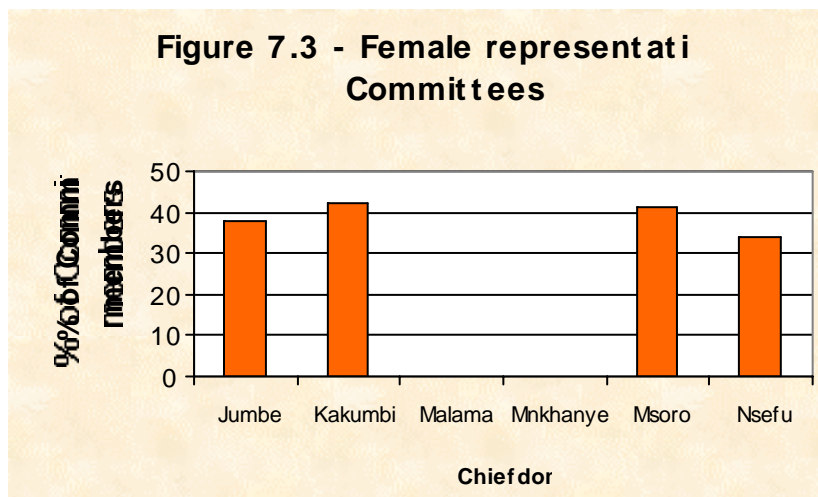
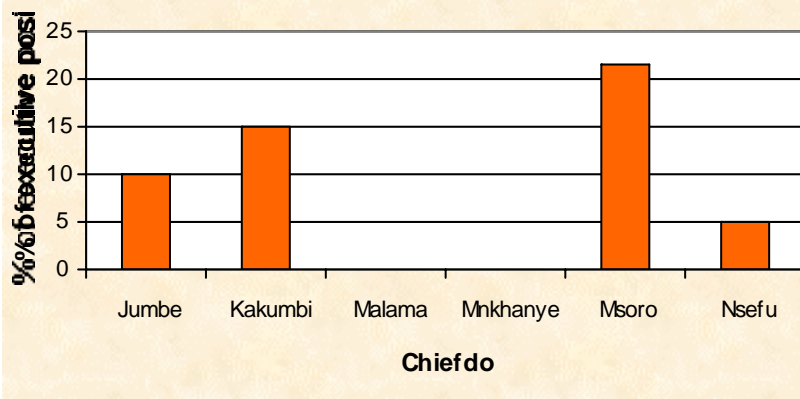


Figure 7.4 - Female representation in executive positions



However, the election of women onto the VAG Committees is hampered by several factors. Firstly, in order for a woman to be considered suitable for the position and for her to accept the position she needs to have a certain level of literacy and degree of confidence, both of which are not common amongst women. As is confirmed, *'women refuse because of illiteracy and shyness'* (WM3); *'without education women cannot serve on the committee'* (WM1); and *'women may be shy when they are proposed and refuse'* (WK3). Women must also have the time to spare from every day responsibilities. *'Women have so many day-to-day duties, women work more than men so men have time to sit in long meetings having discussions. After tending fields men are free in the afternoon, but women will be pounding maize...'* (IBB). This is a problem - *'women should take part in decision-making and activities of LIRDPA but they are always in the kitchen'* (IBB). Because time is short, women must feel that any use of it will be beneficial. Where LIRDPA activities are concerned - *'women may think it will be very time-consuming and involved so do not wish to burden themselves more'* (ILT).

Secondly, due to traditional values, women may automatically nominate a male member of the community as their representative and not think of nominating a fellow woman nor consider the desirability of being represented by a woman. As these women explain - *'when women are told to propose they always propose men and don't consider that they need women to represent them'* (WK3)... *'the community needs educating about the importance of having female representation so that women are elected and get positions with more responsibility;*' (WK1)... *'it is men who are the decision makers and the ones who take the roles of leadership and authority so women think they are unable to fulfil the role'* (IBB). In addition, the nomination of a woman by a man other than her husband may be treated with suspicion - *'if a male nominates a female - then big questions are asked'* (WN2) - and women fear reproach from other women because they are taking on a male role and acting differently from traditional ways.

Thirdly, people's votes are influenced by many factors other than who they think would be best for the position, such as their family relationships – *'women must vote for their husband'* (WN2) - and their past relationship with nominees – *'women hold grudges for a long time so may not vote for one another'* (WN2). In addition *'women will see who else is in the committee and say 'I can't take part in it because of that person''* (ILT).

Finally, *'a married woman has to ask permission from her husband to become a committee member and if he sees that her time will be taken by it he may refuse'* (WN2). This means that as well as women acting positively to have female representatives on the committees, men must also be convinced of the need to have them. *'In Lupande VAG a woman was elected as Secretary, but when she went home and told her husband, he took the materials (book, paper, pens) she had brought home and cycled to the Chairman's house, complained about her election, refused to allow her to keep the position and gave back the materials'* (WN2). Also, *'husbands will be suspicious of a women going regularly to long meetings, thinking she is spending time with another man, so women fear their husband's reaction, or the husband will stop the woman from attending'* (IBB). As a result there are many reasons why women do not volunteer themselves or others to take a place on the Committees. However, a few do succeed, yet even then there are still problems and issues that influence their participation.

Indeed, once on a VAG Committee female members are often given little respect and lack confidence. This reduces their involvement in the work of the Committee. As one woman described, *'when I was the Vice-Chair, I wasn't able to do the job because I wasn't given the powers and respect associated with that position'* (WK3). And as another confirms, *'she failed to have support from fellow women, being told she is in a man's role'* (IBB). Unlike the community meetings where men and women are represented in approximately equal numbers, in Committees women are often in the minority and so feel unsupported and are even more shy - *'even when women are on the Committee they fail to have support from fellow women, so become demoralised and do not contribute as much as men'* (IBB). Some training is available for all members of the communities and this can provide opportunities for women to gain skills and experience which are likely to improve their confidence and ability to carry out their responsibilities. However, not only does tradition mean that women *'don't participate as much as men'* but *'if there is cooking to be done they will be taken out to go and do that and miss the training'* (ILT). As a result the potential benefits of such training are not realised.

Women who have the skills and ability to participate in VAG Committees have the potential to represent their fellow women and promote the consideration of women's needs - *'we proposed a club but men said they needed k130,000 for the football club, the executive [committee] are all men and don't consider women's needs'* (WM1). In addition they can bring skills and knowledge into the decision-making and project implementation process, and to provide feedback between women in the community and the VAG Committee - *'the reporting system is poor, if we had equal men and women in active roles we would get better feedback'* (WN2). CBNRM in the Lupande GMA will not be sustainable unless all members of the local community are included in its

development and implementation. Without the participation of women who have the ability to be committee members, the involvement of the whole community cannot be achieved. In addition, participation is not meaningful unless all views are listened to and respected, and opportunities for influencing decisions are fairly distributed.

4.4 Effectiveness of VAG Decisions

The involvement of local people in decision-making is affected by the degree to which each VAG is allowed a free choice of the projects that they wish to implement. The work of the VAGs within a Chiefdom is co-ordinated and monitored by the Area Development Committee (ADC), which is made up of between 2 and 4 people from each VAG and the Chief. Of all the members of the six ADCs, only three are women. ADCs are not intended to have decision-making powers, but in practice both the ADCs and Chiefs have considerable influence on the use of revenue by the communities - *'the Chief is at the forefront of decision-making' (WM2)...* *'what the money is used for is dictated by the Chiefs, decisions are made by the community but are then rejected' (WK1)...* *'the ADC make the budget and give the ideas, and the community just agree and accept for fear that if they disagree people will say you are against the ADC and the Chairman of the ADC is the Chief' (WM1).*

As a result the exertion of power and interference by the ADCs and the Chiefs and their extraction of community-held revenue causes apathy amongst the community. As is confirmed - *'where communities were forced to give money to Chiefs their morale and commitment to the programme was weakened' (CBNRM, 1998).* If women believe that the community's decisions will be undermined by the Chief, they are unlikely to spend precious time attending meetings. Nor will they bother to put forward ideas or their wishes about how the community's money should be used - *'women may have ideas but they know that the budget has already been set so there is no point saying anything' (ILT).* In addition, without female representation on ADCs, the projects chosen are less likely to be appropriate to women. This means that the VAG is unable to ensure that through the decisions they make, the maximum and most appropriate incentive for wildlife management will be presented to the community.

4.5 Opportunities and Actions to Overcome Constraints

In attempting to redress women's often ineffectual and inequitable participation in decision-making, distinction must be made between traditions which represent cornerstones of the culture and are not easily altered, and those which are subject to change. Actions which enable women to participate more meaningfully in decision-making processes will also contribute towards the attitudinal changes and skills development which have been identified as important for women's improved

involvement in other aspects of CBNRM. Four aspects of women's participation provide a basis for discussing suitable actions to overcome the constraints identified.

Firstly, there is a need to promote effective participation by women in all parts of the decision-making process and to recognise the wider importance that such participation has for the project and the community. This includes the encouragement of women to attend General Meetings and to contribute to discussions so that female perspectives and priorities are recognised; the promotion of women as valuable VAG Committee members with particular capabilities (eg liaising with, and accessing the skills and knowledge of, other women less able to participate actively in decision-making); and a focus on enabling charismatic women with motivation and freedom to become more prominent in the decision-making structures and to be role models and advocates for all women.

Education and training for women is needed to raise their awareness of the benefits of participating in meetings so that they can influence decisions and understand how their money is being used. Women need opportunities to develop public speaking skills and confidence in communications. Men also need to be targeted to develop their support for women's participation.

Several aspects of the setting and style of General and VAG Committee Meetings require reconsideration in order that women are presented with opportunities to take part. Whilst it is reasonable to require literacy for Committee meetings, the use of written material in whole community decision-making meetings is a major factor precluding many people's, particularly women's, involvement. Although it may not be possible to eliminate the use of written material, those managing meetings should take into consideration those who are not literate and ensure that they fully understand the discussions. The setting for meetings must also be considered, in particular to ensure that people are not excluded from hearing, seeing or being heard simply by their position in the group. In addition, although the location of the meetings did not appear to present any cultural barriers to women participating, the time required and the time of day when meetings are held can be problematic. Therefore, CLAs need training to raise their awareness of the issues and to provide them with suitable techniques and examples of good practice for the setting and style of meetings, which they can then encourage the communities to implement.

Secondly, more equitable opportunities relating to decision-making structures and in pursuit of respect by all for all, should be encouraged. Respect is clearly necessary if women's views and ideas are to be heard and considered on an equal basis with men's. Opportunities, both for putting forward ideas and for training which enhance their ability to participate effectively, are essential if more women are to influence decisions and to gain high-profile roles in decision-making. This can be achieved by raising the awareness of project staff who provide training, to ensure that they do not contribute to inequities which exist and that they set a good example by valuing men's and women's contributions equally. Again, CLAs have an important role in influencing the behaviour of people and encouraging mutual respect at meetings.

Thirdly, a mutually-supportive attitude between women and a desire for equitable representation and influence, needs to be developed. For those women who are unable to communicate effectively themselves, having a representative is important. Vocal and physical support needs to be given for women and by women at meetings. This can be partly achieved by nominating and voting them onto VAG Committees and eliminating negative attitudes towards women who take on such roles. Women who become VAG Committee Members or who are able to participate more actively in decision-making, need to reciprocate the support received by gathering the diverse views of the women they represent, encouraging increased confidence and interest in decision-making, and feeding back information to the community.

Finally, attempts need to be made to reconcile the differences between traditional leadership and devolved democratic decision-making processes so that, whilst community involvement and ownership is promoted, rational objective decisions are made to maximise the benefits to the whole community. The issues surrounding this are not specific to women but are important in determining women's involvement in decision-making and the effectiveness of chosen incentives to encourage conservation. Projects which succeed in providing benefits are dependent upon the VAG Committee having the skills, judgement and exposure to ideas to be able to plan, manage and implement them. But the traditional authority of Chiefs as decision-makers means that communities are often not equipped with these attributes. Also, the setting up of democratic structures has led communities to believe that they must decide how wildlife revenue is to be used in order to benefit from it. However, Chiefs continue to want to demonstrate their 'control' and 'undermine rather than facilitate development to the extent of ignoring government policy' (LIRDP, 1998). This results in communities resenting decisions being imposed upon them and losing interest in decision-making processes.

In order for CBNRM to succeed, the conflict between traditional leadership structures and a bottom-up system for distribution of revenue needs to be resolved. Until the whole of the community has the capacity in terms of skills, freedom and motivation to participate, devolved decision-making will not be achieved. A new balance is needed so that the talents and role of Chiefs in having a long-term and broad vision for their community can productively guide decisions and all members of the community are given an equal opportunity to contribute ideas, to benefit from decisions made and to engage in the management and implementation of projects. Fundamental to establishing this balance is generating a co-operative attitude between the local community, the Chiefs and the project staff.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Synthesis of Findings

Women are key stakeholders in a quality environment and are central to its maintenance. Their daily lives depend upon the abundance of natural resources so changes in their relationship with such resources will result in positive or negative impacts on biodiversity. By enhancing the role of women and by promoting the conditions necessary for women to be able to contribute to conservation, CBNRM projects can benefit from the support and skills of a considerable, but currently under-represented and ill-considered, group of protagonists for conservation.

Poverty does not encourage long-term planning for resource management. Women give priority to daily living over activities that may provide longer-term stability and sustainability. The direct impact of poverty and population growth on a woman's ability to manage the environment as she would like, means that these factors cannot be ignored when considering women's role in conservation.

Inequality in opportunities for education is a major constraint on women's capacity to improve their lives and to contribute to conservation. Education provides the skills and confidence to take advantage of, and understand, information and advice - from family planning to farming techniques and credit schemes. This empowers women to take more control of the factors that affect their lives. Education of men also effects women's participation - a woman whose husband understands the advantages of her involvement in a particular activity is more likely to be given the freedom to participate. For information activities to be effective at improving natural resource management, research and training is needed in techniques which are appropriate to women with a poor level of education.

In a patriarchal society and a community in receipt of various externally designed, funded and managed 'development' projects, women do not tend to be self-reliant or to have the confidence to take control of their lives. Women's submissive dependency on men in the community for leadership and reliance on external agencies for initiative and new opportunities to improve aspects of their lives, are not conducive to their involvement in conservation. Men's dominance in decision-making results in the isolation of women from resource management and its benefits, reduction in the value of the stake they have in biodiversity, and the poor use of women's knowledge, skill and labour resources. Without participation women will not understand and support the resource management practices promoted, nor will management regimes be sustainable without the input of the resource's everyday users. Benefits provided to encourage the conservation of a resource are only effective if they match the cost in value, reach the cost bearer and represent a benefit to the recipient. Clearly, this can only be achieved if the cost bearer's views are represented and considered in decision-making processes. If control over the resource and the ability to gain from its good management is limited, so too is the incentive to maintain it.

Some women do have the freedom to take a more active role in participation and some men can see the benefit of involving women, if only for manual help in construction projects. By promoting and supporting the involvement of charismatic local women in male-dominated arenas such as decision-making, and in the development of projects for

the benefit of women and the dissemination of information, all the women in the community are more likely to co-operate.

As key stakeholders valuing a particular set of resources, having specific impacts on resources and with certain needs, women demand special consideration. Attempting to enable and encourage women to be involved in CBNRM through a gender-specific programme can mean isolation from other activities and contribute to dependency. However integrating work, which is aimed at promoting women's participation, into all activities means responsibility is given to everyone, but is taken by no-one. The importance of bringing the perspectives of women into CBNRM activities and promoting their meaningful participation demands more focussed attention (such as through the use of women in roles similar to CLAs) dedicated to promoting the participation of women in CBNRM and acting to address the broad range of constraints on women.

5.2 Limitations of the Research

The involvement of women in CBNRM is a complex issue with many different resources, attitudes and practices forming part of both the problems and solutions. In order that the data which was gathered was valid and reliable some prioritisation had to be made about which aspects of the topic would be investigated in detail and through which informants.

Women's natural resource management involves many natural resources, however due to the great importance to women and wildlife and the considerable effect its destruction has on both, forest management has been highlighted. Although many of the issues which arose from these discussions are relevant to other natural resources, a full exploration of women's natural resource management would need to consider these more explicitly.

More detailed information, about the extent of women's workload; the degree of natural resource depletion; what practices represent good management for a full range of natural resources; and the cost to women in carrying these out, would mean that discussions with women about CBNRM and the identification of opportunities to address constraints could be better informed. In addition, more observational data from community meetings could provide detail about who is excluded and how and why they are excluded, and help in suggestions to overcome this.

Although men in the local communities clearly play a decisive role in women's involvement in CBNRM, time in the field did not permit the researcher to hold discussions with them. Also, workshops with women were held with only a small number in only three of the six Chiefdoms, but throughout the discussion the results from these were assumed to be representative of the total female population. Women cannot be considered a homogenous group of stakeholders, and gaining data from a larger proportion of the population and from the other Chiefdoms where women have different experiences of household cash, projects, wildlife and Chiefs could provide greater insights into the factors which influence women's attitude and how their involvement can be more successful.

5.3 Recommendations

Recommendations arising out of the opportunities and activities highlighted in the discussion chapters which can realistically be implemented and which are directly relevant to women, both for CBNRM projects and LIRD, are suggested in the following sections. Also areas for further research particularly in the Luangwa Valley are identified.

5.3.1 CBNRM Projects

Frequently, time and resource constraints mean that the agencies responsible for planning and implementing CBNRM do not have the freedom and opportunity to place a significant focus on policies and practices (and all the research and dedicated effort which accompanies this) which enable the full and effective participation of women. However, awareness of the need to consider the specific qualities and needs of women is growing. This needs to be supported by providing well-researched, easily-understood, recommendations of the measures which need to be considered and included in any plans for CBNRM projects. Suggestions of such measures are given in Box 5.1.

5.3.2 LIRD

Clearly, LIRD would benefit from considering the measures described in Box 5.1. However, detailed research about a specific project means more specific actions can be identified. These include the following.

Firstly, a woman should be appointed in a community liaison role with the responsibility for promoting the participation of women in CBNRM. Initially a trial could be carried out in one Chiefdom. The role should include direct work with women to address the broad range of issues which constrain their involvement in CBNRM including their socio-economic welfare and liaison with others to ensure the consideration of women in the activities of LIRD, such as equal opportunities for training. Particularly important is the dissemination of information to women through new and established networks and the development of a confident and supportive attitude among women to enable their meaningful participation.

Secondly, training and education for community and staff to improve effectiveness and efficiency of CBNRM should be provided. Investment in the people who determine the success of the project is essential. CLAs require training so that they are able to pass on useful information, such as sound resource management and the link between this and the full range of benefits provided, in an appropriate format for the target audience to understand and become motivated to act upon it. They also need to have increased awareness about potential constraints to women's involvement and techniques to

overcome these. Committee members require training in accountability and project management, to improve the efficiency with which projects are implemented. Women with the potential to become committee members require training in order that they have

5.1 Key Measures to Promote Women's Involvement in CBNRM

Policies should:

1. Work to understand, and take appropriate policy measures to embrace, the different roles and responsibilities men and women have and the different attitudes and responses, needs and skills and relationships with natural resources, into which these translate.
2. Provide clear linkages between incentives/benefits and the management of the full range of natural resources and the associated costs, so that costs are outweighed by direct, tangible benefits which are matched and accessible to, and appreciated by, the cost bearers.
3. Inculcate a willingness and commitment to address the broad range of issues which affect the local community's (particularly women's) ability to manage their resources sustainably.
4. Provide guidelines of good practice for staff and meeting managers to enable and encourage women's participation and to promote respect for all members of the community (Points 6-10 indicate the substance of such guidelines).
5. Implement monitoring and evaluation procedures with suitable indicators to track the progress, achievements and difficulties of promoting women's involvement in CBNRM.

Institutions and management should:

6. Recognise that women's greater involvement leads to: their better appreciation of the benefits provided; development of their skills; and potentially more valuable and sustainable community projects. This should be promoted within male-dominated decision-making structures.
7. Build on local community structures (which include interest groups of women) for: management of natural resources; dissemination of information; and distribution, and decision-making about use, of benefits. They should ensure that institutional structures used are not dominated by male contributions, ideas or traditions so that the skills of women are fully utilised.
8. Identify traditions which hamper women's participation and work with women to overcome the constraints they present or find alternative approaches to participation, by building capacity, confidence and co-operation amongst groups of women.
9. Use the most appropriate method for educational and decision-making meetings to encourage full community participation, not the most often-used or easily replicated. This includes the setting, seating arrangement, timing, use of language and materials, requirements for certain skills (eg literacy), to diminish the sense of isolation, and to make participation a positive experience.
10. Ensure that institutions are inclusive of all community members without demanding their attendance at traditional-style meetings, through representation and feedback by charismatic local women.
11. Encourage communal use of benefits at a level which matches benefits to cost bearers so that communal responsibility for the sustainable management of the complete range of natural resources is promoted.

Support Services should:

12. Develop partnerships with other relevant agencies (donors, governments, park agencies, NGOs) to support key activities with women such as the provision of labour-saving technology and opportunities for income generation which are essential to the success of CBNRM, ensuring that they are empowered to manage their own affairs rather than become dependent on outsiders.
13. Make efforts to tackle larger-level issues of poverty, population growth, educational inequities and food security which have a direct impact on women's natural resource management.
14. Undertake educational and awareness-raising activities aimed at men to attempt to overcome some of the constraints felt by women.
15. Work to create a sense of independence, self-confidence and belief amongst women that they can turn things around and improve their quality of life.

16. Ensure those delivering support services are well-trained in working with women and aware of their needs and vulnerabilities, and where possible employ women.

Natural Resources Management should:

17. Build on the powerful incentives for conservation that women have due to their role in the community, by working to enable them to manage natural resources well and reducing their need to exploit them.

18. Appreciate and use women's knowledge about natural resource management and be clear about what natural resource management practices should be followed.

19. Promote natural resource management through education, incentives and community empowerment and ensure attention is paid to all natural resources managed by the community, not just big game.

the confidence to participate effectively and they can provide a reliable two-way channel for information.

Thirdly, a code of conduct should be developed with the communities for the meetings. This could highlight issues which constrain women's involvement in the meetings and raise their profile as stakeholders. This should include agreement about the use of material which requires skills such as literacy, the location and times of meetings, the arrangement of people within the meetings, the opportunities for speaking and the respect to be given by listening. It is important that the CLA and the Committee members take on responsibility for showing by example the observance of agreed principles.

Fourthly, there should be more collaboration with other organisations such as NGOs to address the broader issues which affect women's involvement in CBNRM. LIRDIP does not have the capacity to work in all areas, but should encourage opportunities for meeting its broad objectives through the work of others. By being involved LIRDIP can ensure that other work contributes to CBNRM and does not have negative impacts on the community such as intensifying the dependency of the communities.

5.3.3 Further Work

There are a number of opportunities for enhancing the contribution that women are able to make to CBNRM and the quality of their lives (eg tree planting schemes, grinding mills and income generation initiatives such as sewing, poultry and oil making), but these require research into their viability and methods of implementation. Careful consideration is needed of the sustainability of such schemes and the resources required as well as the impact which they may have on the conservation of biodiversity, in order that implementation can be informed, wastage of resources minimised and benefits maximised.

Use of the concept of 'producer communities' for encouraging community responsibility for conservation provides the opportunity for costs and benefits to be more closely matched. Research into the different costs felt by different members of a community and by different communities, could contribute to a more effective introduction of 'producer communities'.

This research has explored women's natural resource management in the Luangwa Valley, the influence that LIRD policies have on their involvement and the constraints on women's participation in CBNRM. It has demonstrated that communicating with women effectively requires special skills and techniques, different from those traditionally used in community meetings. A key need in order to improve the involvement of women in CBNRM and successfully implement measures to overcome constraints and exploit opportunities, is for good practice techniques for working with women to be researched and demonstrated to CBNRM practitioners such as LIRD. By empowering women to contribute to conservation in their daily lives and to participate in the incentives and decision-making for natural resource management the outcome can only be positive for women, wood and wildlife.

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