

LACKING CONFIDENCE?

**A Gender-Sensitive
Analysis of CAMPFIRE
in Masoka Village**

**Nontokozo
NABANE**

IJED

In association with
The CAMPFIRE
Collaborative
Group

Preface

The first eight papers in this series are a linked set which focus on Zimbabwe's *CAMPFIRE* programme. The views presented are those of the authors, not of IIED.

The Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) is an exploration of rural development and conservation in Africa. It seeks to restructure the control of Zimbabwe's countryside, giving people alternative ways of using their natural resources. A wholly African initiative, *CAMPFIRE* emerged in the mid-1980s with the recognition that, as long as wildlife remained the property of the state, no one would invest in it as a resource. Since 1975, Zimbabwe has allowed private property holders to claim ownership of wildlife on their land and to benefit from its use. Under *CAMPFIRE*, people living on Zimbabwe's impoverished communal lands, which represent 42% of the country, claim the same right of proprietorship.

Conceptually, *CAMPFIRE* includes all natural resources, but its focus has been wildlife management in communal areas, particularly those adjacent to National Parks, where people and animals compete for scarce resources.

Since its official inception in 1989, *CAMPFIRE* has engaged more than a quarter of a million people in the practice of managing wildlife and reaping the benefits of using wild lands.

Produced and Published by the International Institute for Environment and Development,
3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD, UK.

Sub-editor: Dilys Roe

Design and Production: Eileen Higgins

Printed by Russell Press Ltd, Radford Mill, Norton Street, Nottingham NG7 3JN.

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ISSN 1361-8628

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Introduction

Twentieth century African wildlife policies have varied greatly over time and place. While agricultural interests sometimes sought the extermination of wildlife, preservationists often argued for its complete protection. These seemingly irreconcilable interests were accommodated by the development of policies to separate human settlement from wildlife habitat. Starting with the establishment of East African game reserves under German rule, and gaining momentum with the 1925 set-aside of the continent's first national park in the Belgian Congo, the "separate spaces" approach to wildlife conservation was firmly established by the end of Africa's colonial era.

The transition to Independence was a time of special concern for conservationists as they feared a diminution in attention to their concerns. Much to their surprise, the expansion of protected areas accelerated after Africa's decolonisation. While 772,500 ha of protected area were set aside prior to Independence, 10 times this figure was set aside after the "winds of change" had swept the continent.

The post-Independence expansion of designated game estate was accompanied by a parallel expansion in para-military forces devoted to arresting "poachers" in

the manner first pioneered by colonial regimes. In spite of this, wildlife populations have declined drastically throughout much of their former range. Just as colonial governments failed to attain legitimacy in the eyes of the populace a generation ago, so their legacy of wildlife protection by land confiscation and law enforcement faces similar problems today.

The shift from colonial to post-colonial governance was unaccompanied by any major paradigm shift in resource management philosophy. Belatedly, the need to realise the economic potential of wildlife in the context of rural development has forced a re-examination of many tenets of the old conservation model. The old model, based on central government initiatives forced upon the local people, is evolving towards a new "participatory paradigm" which places local citizens in the centre of conservation decision-making. This approach calls for attention to the role of local institutions and involvement of local communities in the management of natural resources. The elements are still controversial but several countries have made major commitments to community-based wildlife management. Foremost among them is Zimbabwe through its Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) scheme.

Common Property Resource Management

CAMPFIRE aims to promote rural development and sustainable land use based on the use of wildlife in agriculturally marginal rural areas. It empowers local communities to manage wildlife resources in defined areas and to determine how benefits from them should be distributed. CAMPFIRE has been spreading rapidly in Zimbabwe's communal areas, starting with only two authorised districts in 1989 and extending to 26 districts by 1994.

CAMPFIRE is a common property resource management approach, but not an open access one. To succeed, CAMPFIRE sites must have well delineated management regimes with exclusive access provisions limiting access of resources to particular groups of users operating under community controls. When operating correctly, communities stand to reap substantial rewards.

An implicit assumption in much of the literature surrounding common property resource management in general, and CAMPFIRE in particular, is that good management will improve the quality of access and benefits for all members of the community. This assumes a homogeneous society in which equity is the organising principle, and runs contrary to advice which warns of the need to differentiate between users under conditions of common property. The homogeneity assumption has to be examined in more detail if CAMPFIRE is to meet its potential as a mechanism for rural development and community empowerment.

A second assumption is specifically made

by CAMPFIRE. It is that successful resource management is facilitated in those instances in which the size of the user group is small, reasonably homogeneous in important socio-economic characteristics, and residing in close proximity to the resource. However, research is demonstrating that neat, homogeneous groupings do not occur in practice. There are important socio-economic differences between, and within, even small communities managing their own resources. In non-CAMPFIRE contexts, it is clear that gender is very much a differentiating factor in natural resource based communities throughout Africa. There is no reason to expect gender is any less important as an organising principle of communities managing wildlife under CAMPFIRE.

Similarly, the development literature often assumes the household to be a static unit of production and consumption, without differentiation between individual members. This may distort the real situation. The household homogeneity assumption is implicit in the practice of CAMPFIRE when programme-generated revenues are distributed to household units through payments to a household head, rather than to individual household members.

This paper was motivated by such assumptions. It examines some development consequences of the CAMPFIRE initiative in one location with reference to differential participation and outcomes for both women and men. It does so within the theoretical framework of broader common property resource management.

Conceptual Framework

The incorporation of gender considerations in natural resource management in Africa is a fairly recent phenomenon resulting from general concerns about women in development. Research on women in development suggests that development policies do not often take into account the gender nature of work and access to resources. The notion that development automatically improves women's position relative to men is increasingly challenged. In recognising that the position of women could actually worsen as a result of development practice, attention has been drawn to issues of equity in more recent studies of "women-in-development".

Interest in such issues related grew out of discontent with the inequitable distribution of benefits resulting from technological change and development projects in developing countries in the 1950s and 1960s. The major argument was that development schemes generally hurt rather than helped women. There were calls for the deliberate integration of women into the development practice.

Gender analysis is different from women-in-development in that it considers both men and women, and goes beyond equity issues. Gender is used to analyse roles, responsibilities, constraints and opportunities of the people involved in the development effort.

Planning and implementation of projects often take the household as the unit of analysis. Focus is thus on the household head and the roles of other household members are often ignored. The assumed

homogeneity of the household, with the male head being the principal decision-maker and source of information, is, however, challenged by intra-household dynamics. Gender analysis recognises existing differences between men's and women's roles in development efforts. This recognition highlights diverse and complex relationships among members of households that must be considered in the design, implementation and evaluation of development projects. In most societies, gender relations profoundly influence an individual's decision-making ability and access to natural resources. Variation in the individual's access to, and control of, resources from one society to another demonstrates that such activities are socially defined and not biologically determined. As a social construct, gender roles are malleable and potentially responsive to changes in natural resource activities.

The gender analysis framework is based on the premise that success of development programmes is enhanced if efforts have specifically targeted beneficiaries while, at the same time, issues of equity are addressed. It examines differences in activities, access to resources, differential benefits to members within the household, patterns of obligation, and co-operation or conflict between household members. The application of a gender-analysis conceptual framework to CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe might help avoid the inefficiency or inequity in outcomes as observed in other development programmes.

Women and Natural Resource Management

The roles women play in agricultural production and natural resource management are critical to the economies of developing countries, yet the value of these roles has often been ignored. Recent interest in people-oriented development approaches has begun to sensitise planners to the necessity of deliberate attention to the work and roles of women in targeted communities. Traditional, gender-based subordination has typically limited women's access to, and control over, productive resources such as land and natural resources.

Despite the lack of control over natural resources, women in Zimbabwe's communal areas are the main producers and providers of food for families and depend on the environment for the daily necessities of life. Degradation of natural resources has a direct impact on women and on their ability to care for their families. Women's direct dependence on the environment is one reason why natural resource management programmes like CAMPFIRE should take gender into consideration in planning, implementation, and evaluation. Ignoring the importance of gender may undermine the success of interventions.

Gender-blind development interventions may also fail to capture an important part of ecologically sound, traditional resource management knowledge. A recent study in Zimbabwe discovered that women

have a wider knowledge of tree species and their use than men, which is partly a result of their need to collect firewood, fodder, and fruit for their families (Fortmann & Nabang, 1992). A Botswana case study found that while women did not participate in hunting activities, they saw animals during firewood or fruit collection in the forests and reported these to male hunters (Hunter *et al.*, 1990). Other studies have shown high levels of direct female participation in hunting with nets when it provided a profitable alternative to agricultural labour (Bailey & Aunger, 1989). This suggests complementary gender roles in environmental activities. Again, this should not be overlooked in natural resource development initiatives such as CAMPFIRE.

Decision-making in natural resources management programmes is male-dominated as a result of the patriarchal nature of most traditional societies and the wildlife arena is no exception. There is minimal emphasis on the involvement of women in wildlife programmes. Development interventions therefore perpetuate and strengthen traditional relations of patriarchy to the disadvantage of women. If the goals of CAMPFIRE include improved standards of living, eradication of poverty, and reduction in societal inequality [as laid down explicitly in its objectives] then women must be incorporated since they constitute the majority of the poor and socially disadvantaged in rural areas.

Masoka Village

Masoka village in Zimbabwe's Zambezi Valley is situated approximately 20 km south of the Dande Safari Area and 5 km east of the Chewore Safari Area on the Angwa River, and was one of the first communities targeted to manage wildlife. Long considered a "development backwater" due to its isolation from the modern development in other areas of Zimbabwe, it has been targeted for several outsider-assisted development endeavors including the establishment of a community grinding mill and retail shop. It was, therefore, a good place to make observations, alongside other developments, on gender-related outcomes of the CAMPFIRE programme.

Under the CAMPFIRE initiative, Masoka village developed a land use plan which allocated about 400 sq km of land to leased hunting operations. A smaller portion [about 20 sq km] was encircled by a wildlife fence and allocated to cultivation and settlement. The wildlife programme and associated development activity has initiated many changes in village life. Some changes have led women into opportunities which were not formerly available.

A study was carried out to compare CAMPFIRE to other developments in the village in order to identify which gender-related consequences were solely due to the programme.

After consultations with village leaders and the CAMPFIRE-initiated wildlife committee, a scoping exercise provided an assessment of CAMPFIRE's progress and led to a research design including both participatory and survey methods.

A gender-balanced six-member research advisory committee drawn from Masoka residents provided a conduit of information to and from the villagers, social and historical perspectives on village life, and a testing ground for ideas. It aided in the selection of suitable data-gathering methods, previewed questions used in the survey, participated in the administration of a questionnaire survey, assisted in helping interpret the results, and reported research findings to the community.

Researcher attendance at village meetings during the study period provided an opportunity to observe the differing levels of participation of men and women in the formal discussion and decision-making process.

Unstructured interviews took place with key informants such as local leaders and members of the village and ward development committees. A questionnaire survey was administered to all households located within the protected fence. It was designed in part to replicate a base-line study undertaken at the start of Masoka's CAMPFIRE programme. Interviewers were matched by sex to the respondents, and husbands and wives were separately asked identical questions.

A balloting exercise to determine priorities for the use of future CAMPFIRE-generated revenues was carried out. Adult villagers voted with different coloured ballots [colour coded by sex] to indicate their priorities with reference to a range of suggested development expenditures identified as possible "next steps" during the questionnaire survey.

Research Findings

Fence Impacts

The construction of an electric game fence around the residential and agricultural areas initiated significant changes within the village. Both male and female respondents reported enhanced crop protection as a result of the fence.

Research showed a decline in total crop damage incidents even while the number of households grew by 50 per cent. There was a relative shift from incidents associated with large game like elephant and buffalo towards small nuisance game like wild pigs and baboons. Fence construction also brought a great feeling of personal safety among Masoka villagers, particularly the men. Men were more likely to perceive personal safety improvements than women because men are traditionally engaged in activities more likely to expose them to wildlife hazards. The formerly high wildlife-related death and injury rates have been reduced to zero within the confines of the fence.

Employment opportunities were part of the benefits realised from the fence. This, however, was almost exclusively a male domain. Of the 98 households interviewed, 31 had men employed in jobs related to the erecting and maintenance of the fence while only two had women. Although the percentage of women engaged in this fence-related employment seemed to be small, it represents a shift from the previous situation where women in Masoka had no formal employment opportunities. Although limited in extent, these few women may provide a "demonstration effect" which alters the future prospects for village women.

Thirty-three per cent of all respondents suggested that the fence had disadvantages. Men cited difficulty in accessing resources, such as poles, ropes, and thatching grass which they required on an infrequent basis. Women, on the other hand, cited difficulty accessing resources used on a daily basis in food preparation, especially water and firewood. The limited number of gates in the fence meant they had to walk further than was the case prior to construction of the fence. Although CAMPFIRE didn't initiate household role differentiation, its inattention to women's unique resource demands may have imposed an unequal burden on women through a fencing plan which included only a few gates.

School Impacts and Employment

CAMPFIRE has improved access to education within the village. Significant amounts of CAMPFIRE-generated revenues were used to develop the village school, giving both boys and girls formal educational opportunities and improving access for girls to formal primary schooling which was formerly denied them by the great distance to the nearest school. Before the village school was built, children walked approximately 30 km to school and found places to live during the week, while returning home only at weekends. This arrangement worked to the disadvantage of girls where parents feared loss of control and unwanted pregnancies. The community has continued to show its support for the school by regularly appropriating CAMPFIRE revenues to foster the school's development.

Besides improving educational levels in the village, CAMPFIRE has played a key role in the provision of wage employment. Of the households with individuals engaged in wage employment within the local area, nearly 80 per cent have CAMPFIRE-related jobs. However, only three per cent of those reporting engagement in CAMPFIRE-related employment were women. Wage employment is clearly male-biased.

Democratisation and Training Impacts

Village governance in Masoka provides opportunities for formal leadership and decision-making through its committee system. The study explored participation by both men and women in village committees, for both the CAMPFIRE initiative and other village projects including the village store, grinding mill, and research committees.

CAMPFIRE aims to empower communities to make decisions including decisions about wildlife-derived revenues. The survey of Masoka residents revealed some confusion about the community's decision-making process, but a strong tendency to believe that the village wildlife committee, together with the village meeting, held the decision-making power. The most notable gender difference in the responses was the greater proportion of females who claimed ignorance of the decision-making process.

Examination of the make-up of the development committees revealed substantial variation in participation according to sex. The CAMPFIRE wildlife committee is all male, while the other committees include both men and women. Even the grinding mill

committee, originally meant to have only women, hired a man to be the secretary since the women members were illiterate.

Research committees, which in addition to providing useful background information on village life, assisted in the preparation of questionnaires and the interpretation of responses, were the most gender-balanced of all the committees. At first, the community was reluctant to incorporate women into research committees, but persistence by project organisers provided highly visible avenues for individuals to "showcase" their research and presentation skills in village fora.

When asked why there were so few women on CAMPFIRE committees, women were more likely to suggest that people wouldn't vote for women. Men claimed women lacked confidence to participate. Both sexes agreed that women's illiteracy and men's unwillingness to have their wives travel, and serve on committees, were stifling female participation. The traditional belief held by the community is that women should not sit at meetings with other men in the absence of their husbands. Illiteracy and lack of proficiency in English language were considered likely to hinder the ability of women to deal with representatives from outside the village, an important role of the committee.

Despite having only men on the wildlife committee, both men and women indicated strong satisfaction with the decisions made. This is probably because both men and women received money from wildlife.

There was a strong male bias in workshop and training session participation outside the village. Of the

64 male respondents, approximately 30 per cent had attended workshops outside the village. Of the 96 female respondents, only two had attended workshops outside the village. Women were clearly disadvantaged when training activities were held off-site.

Income Impacts

Development activities are designed to change the status quo. In this context, CAMPFIRE is no exception and the intention is to see change at lower levels than the community level. Although most of Masoka's wildlife revenue is expended on communal projects, cash payments to households are common. The role that men and women played in decision-making at both household and community levels was examined with regard to income generated from three sources - the CAMPFIRE initiative, cotton cultivation, and vegetable sales. Decision-making for cotton and vegetable income took place only at the household level while decision-making in relation to CAMPFIRE-generated income was a process involving both households and the community.

At the household level, men were most likely to make decisions concerning the use of wildlife-generated income and as a result household authority over CAMPFIRE revenues is markedly different from the pattern for revenue resulting from agricultural enterprises where females play a much larger role. Since a portion of the decision-makers in the survey are widows holding their own households, the clear male dominance in decisions about household CAMPFIRE

revenues is even more striking than it first appears.

Vegetable gardens were predominantly managed by women and this gave women more say on income generated from the sale of vegetables. However, the amount of money generated from this source was insignificant compared to wildlife revenues.

The biggest agricultural cash crop in Masoka is cotton. Decisions on cotton revenues were evenly split between men and women at the household level. Since in most households CAMPFIRE payments now exceed cotton revenues, there appears to be a shift of crucial decision-making away from women.

Wildlife money is generally equitably distributed to households within the community and a majority reported receiving more cash from wildlife than from agricultural products, underlining the importance of whoever controls wildlife money in the household.

Future Impacts

CAMPFIRE activities in Masoka generate revenue which supports village development activities. When solicited for suggestions for future development projects that might be funded by CAMPFIRE revenues, villagers came up with a wide variety of potential projects, with a village clinic being the most favoured by both men and women. Overall, there were no wide disparities between male and female interests with regard to future development projects.

Conclusion

The 1992 Rio Earth Summit stressed that the full participation of women is essential to achieve sustainable development. Emphasis has been laid on women's participation in ecosystem management and control of environmental degradation.

As discussions of common property resource management shift towards a focus on community sub-groups, there is an emerging understanding of differentiation between resource users, one of which is women.

This paper elucidates some gender-based patterns in one CAMPFIRE context and confirms the view that CAMPFIRE beneficiaries are not a homogeneous group, and reveals that CAMPFIRE outcomes are differentiated along gender lines.

CAMPFIRE-generated revenues in Masoka have increased income diversity within the community. This provides income stability, especially when there are unforeseen natural disasters such as drought. It is important to note that both men and women benefited from household cash dividends during the drought of 1992-1993.

The game fence, a major development intervention in Masoka, has provided significant crop protection leading to a reduction in crop guarding time for both women and men. This gives them an opportunity to engage in other household and related activities.

While the game fence has positive effects for all, it has an unintended side effect of restricting access to resources, especially for women. There has been a shift in

women's labour time as a result of their exclusion from the decision-making process that led to the siting of the game fence boundary and its gates. Women now spend more time and walk longer distances to gather firewood and fetch water. This may have a significant impact on the family well being since less time may be spent on other household activities such as food preparation. This accords with the findings of other studies that have shown that development interventions that do not take gender into account tend to increase the workload of women.

The dominance of men in CAMPFIRE-related decision-making seems to be an extension of the traditional division of labour between men and women in relation to wildlife. Male dominance in employment and training opportunities and revenue distribution to household heads reinforces the established patriarchal order.

The theory of spatial gender differentiation, with the public domain being regarded as a male sphere and women relegated to the private domain [the home], is a recurrent theme in rural development literature. It places the household head, as the representative of the interests of the household as a whole, at the centre of decision-making both within and outside the home and is reflected in the male-only wildlife committee and the gender differentiation in training opportunities.

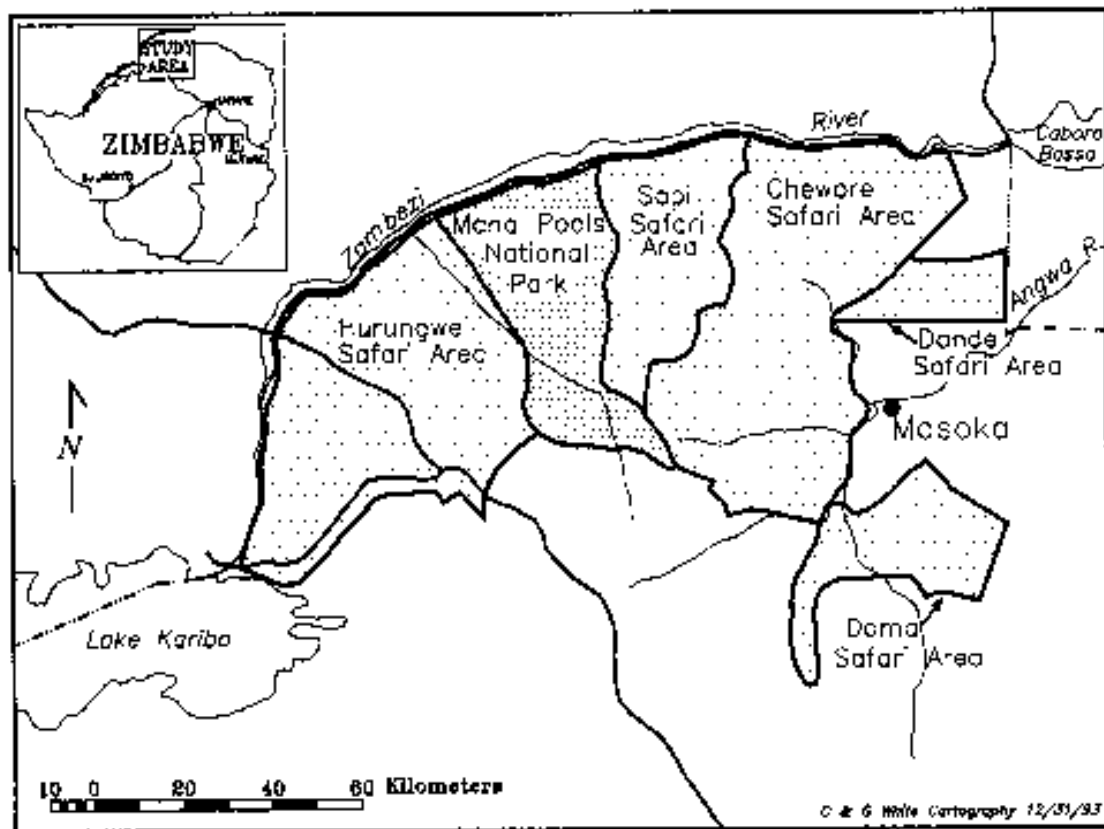
As a result of poor representation in the public sphere, women are less able to exercise power and influence for their well-being. If the importance of the

gender variable is not taken seriously in CAMPFIRE, the existing polarity between gender roles will increase. This may jeopardise the programme's chances of success, while undermining the autonomy and self-sufficiency of women both within the household and at community level.

Although CAMPFIRE in Masoka has

gender-differentiated effects that seem to favour men rather than women, the programme has also opened up opportunities for women which were not previously available. This gives women some room for manoeuvre which was previously non-existent. This may be used as a starting point to further enhance women's participation in CAMPFIRE activities.

Masoka District



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The Wildlife and Development Series is produced by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) to highlight key topics in the field of sustainable wildlife use. The Series is aimed at policy makers, researchers, planners and extension workers in government and non-government organisations world-wide. This Series arises from two sources. First by invitation of IIED to others working in this field. Secondly from IIED's own work.

This is an Invitation paper. It is one of a series that reviews a selected feature of contemporary importance from Zimbabwe's Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). It was arranged and edited by the Africa Resources Trust on behalf of the CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group supported by the Biodiversity Support Programme (a consortium of the World Wildlife Fund, the Nature Conservancy and the World Resources Institute) with funding by the United States Agency for International Development.

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Please note that:

- With the introduction of the Rural District Councils Act in 1988, all Rural Councils and District Councils in Zimbabwe were amalgamated to form Rural District Councils. The two terms are interchangeable in the CAMPFIRE papers.
- The Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management has been referred to as the Wild Life Department in this series of papers.

1995

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