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'Engendering' Eden

Volume II

Women, Gender and ICDPs in Africa: Lessons Learnt and Experiences Shared

Fiona Flintan



International Institute for Environment and Development
3, Endsleigh Street, London, WC1H 0DD.

Tel: +207 388 2117; Fax: +207 388 2826.

Email: mailbox@iied.org

Web site: <http://www.iied.org/>

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Author

Fiona Flintan directed the research project *'Engendering' Eden: Women, Gender and ICDPs* based at the International Famine Centre, University College Cork, Ireland. She is a consultant in environment and development, specialising in social equity issues; institutional capacity building; conflicts over resources and ICDPs (including project development and assessment). She is an experienced trainer in gender, NRM and PRA/RRA. She can be contacted through Email: flintan@eircom.net

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ACRONYMS

AGM	Annual General Meeting
AKRSP	Aga Khan Rural Support Programme
ASOS	Association Santé Organisation Secours
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management Project
CBD	Community Based Development
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CBS	Community Based Scouts
CEF	Centre for Forest Research
CI	Conservation International
CLA	Community Liaison Assistants
COBRA	Conservation of Biodiverse Resources Areas
CGG	Community Game Guards
CRM	Community Resource Monitors
CWM	Community Wildlife Management
DFID	Department for International Development
DGIS	General Directorate for Development Co-operation, Netherlands
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FBSSE	Forest-Based Small Scale Enterprises
FD	Forest Department
FSS	Forum for Social Studies
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GMA	Game Management Areas
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Project
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development for Nature Conservation
IUCN	World Conservation Union
KCS	Kalahari Conservation Society
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
KMNR	Kiunga Marine National Reserve
LIRDPA	Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Project
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
NCF	Nigerian Conservation Foundation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NP	National Park
NPB	Natal Parks Board
NRM	Natural Resource Management
NTFP	Non-Timber Forest Product
PA	Protected Area
PLA	Participatory Learning Appraisal
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
PRB	Population Reference Bureau
SCP	Selous Conservation Project
SGR	Selous Game Reserve
SHEP	Solar Health Education Project
SLAMU	South Luangwa Area Management Unit
SLNP	South Luangwa National Park
TANAPA	Tanzania National Parks
UG	User Group
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UMNP	Udzungwa Mountains National Park

UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Programme for Women
UNCDF	United Nations Capital Development Fund
VAG	Village Action Groups
VCCC	Village Community Conservation Committees
VDC	Village Development Committee
WDO	Women Development Office
WDF	Wildlife for Development Fund
WID	Women In Development
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

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“Women are the daily managers of the living environment and the local systems plus...they are educators...Its high time that Africa and the rest of the developing world refrain from being gender blind, instead become gender sensitive to appreciate the tremendous potential value of women by involving them fully in the processes that will lead us to arriving at our destination, that is Community Participation.”

Rihem Tibanyenda of the Tanzanian Department of Wildlife speaking at the 1996 ODA African Wildlife Policy Consultation, London (ODA, 1996).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Historically, conservation processes in Africa have been heavily influenced by male-dominated colonial powers. Even today, conservation organisations remain dominated by men. Community-based conservation has focussed on community wildlife management particularly of big game, which can link well with men's roles and relationships with natural resources but marginalises women who may have a closer relationship with other resources such as plants. The gender differences inherent in local communities have not been understood and accounted for. As such decision-making processes have failed to be inclusive and only represented the more powerful voices in the community – usually the men.

As pressures have increased for a more equitable conservation and development process, ICDPs (Integrated Conservation and Development Projects) and CBNRM (Community Based Natural Resource Management) have attempted to draw in women and other marginal groups. However there is inexperience and a lack of knowledge concerning how to achieve this.

The *'Engendering' Eden* research programme aimed to fill some of the existing gaps on issues concerned with the relationships between women, gender and ICDPs. It aimed to understand what differences and inequities exist within communities and how these affect participation and the distribution of benefits and costs in relation to conservation and development. Lessons concerning how to address gender issues and women's exclusion have been learnt and recommendations made how to incorporate them into future work to achieve more equitable conservation policy and practice.

Men and women in Africa are still highly dependent on the collection of natural resources for fulfilling household needs and food security. The collection of such resources is gender differentiated. Both environmental degradation and enforced protection and conservation have limited communities' access to resources. Due to women's greater reliance on the collection of resources on a day-to-day basis, such limitation has had a greater negative impact on them.

Women, compared to men, have less access to education and healthcare as well as security of resources such as land. Their lack of control over resources and decisions pertaining to them limits positive relationships with the environment. Poverty and the need to fulfil daily needs are major constraints for women in terms of finding time or resources to invest in conservation and environmental practices. Women tend to prioritise on a short-term basis, rather than thinking long-term. This may conflict directly with conservation and environmental objectives. However, in some cases both women and men have realised the long-term advantages of conservation and the opportunities that exist.

Inaccurate assumptions have been made about the involvement of women in ICDPs – this has been presumed to be of an equal level to men, however in the majority of cases it is not. Project staff have failed to achieve a common understanding of gender issues nor agreed on an approach to address them. There is a failure to develop strategic frameworks and policies for mainstreaming gender issues. As a result, as gender issues arise they are then, and only then, addressed, if at all. In general, gender is not approached in a knowledge- or experience-based, strategic and organised manner, but has relied more on a haphazard 'muddling through', and the use of skills and resources available at the time.

Many ICDPs in Africa focus specifically and/or mainly on women in their support of income-generating activities. Many women tend to be more easily mobilised and have a greater entrepreneurial spirit than men. Women's groups have proved an important factor in the implementation of such activities. Micro-credit and savings schemes are also supported. Such schemes are seen as an entry point to other activities. They can bring social cohesion; build up mobilisation; and open up other opportunities. Several ICDPs have recognised the importance of working with local NGOs and/or governmental structures. Non-monetary based schemes are also

being encouraged and proving successful. Training elements within ICDPs have increased. It has been realised that, particularly for women due to a lack of education and capacity, training is vital and must accompany other activities.

Despite these more successful elements it remains the case that the majority of ICDPs in the region have failed to benefit women to any great degree. Though today ICDPs are indeed focussing on a more inclusive, integrated approach and have recognised the need to address gender issues, they still have a long way to go before they achieve more gender equitable conservation and development. Only a handful of ICDPs identified during this study showed really positive results.

There is still a lack of understanding about the differences that exist between men and women in relation to natural resource use and conservation. As a result, ways to overcome such differences or take account of them in conservation and development processes have not been initiated. Women, more than men, have failed to understand the link between conservation and development. In addition there is little recognition of the linkages between rights to resources and conservation responsibilities. Mutual concerns and support are being replaced by individualism and selfishness. Short-term priorities override long-term perspectives. A dependency on 'outside' support has been cultivated.

In addition women's lack of education is a debilitating factor that limits their participation in many elements of ICDPs and natural resource management. Women are often very aware of this. As a result they can lack confidence and self-esteem and feel incompetent and diffident. The social position of a woman and the household from which she comes from can also be important in understanding the ways in which women participate in community life and activities.

Increasing women's security and reducing the time that they spend fulfilling basic needs can be a critical factor in providing time for women to focus on more conservation-oriented activities. Support should be concentrated on empowering women to improve their ability to negotiate their rights and influence management decisions. Women in particular often 'miss out' because they are not able to attend meetings and decision-making forums. If women feel that their knowledge is of value and it can contribute to conservation and development processes then they are more happy and confident to share it. Such sharing draws women into the conservation process and increases their 'ownership' over it and its impacts. This can then increase their sense of responsibility.

National policies in support of women and more gender equitable society can be a useful entry point and reference for the promotion of such issues in ICDPs. In addition projects should work more closely with local NGOs addressing equity issues and women's networks. The strengthening and empowering of women can be supported through education. This can go hand in hand with the promotion of more gender-equitable rights and policies.

Questions still arise as to whether a 'gender' or a 'women's' approach should be the focus of ICDPs. In most cases a mixture of the two is likely to be beneficial. In addition gender issues should be more strategically approached and incorporated from the very design and planning of projects rather than being 'added on' as the need is perceived. This should continue throughout the life of the projects with time for adequate monitoring and evaluation, followed by reflection, adaptation and re-strategising as required. Local communities, including women, should be a part of this process.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE 'ENGENDERING' EDEN PROGRAMME

In recent years there has been an increasing emphasis on linking conservation and development through CBNRM (Community Based Natural Resource Management) and ICDPs (Integrated Conservation and Development Projects) (Hughes and Flintan, 2001). At the same time NGOs and donors have realised that to achieve this social issues, such as gender equity and the marginalisation of women, need to be addressed. However there is inexperience and a lack of knowledge concerning how to do this. This is particularly true for conservation organisations who, due to their technocratic and natural science-based roots, have struggled with an integration of social issues.

The '*Engendering*' *Eden* research programme aimed to fill some of the gaps on gender, women and ICDPs¹. It aimed to achieve a better understanding of the linkages between gender issues and ICDPs and indicate ways forward to achieve a more equitable and 'successful' conservation and development process. The central objective was to provide an assessment of the role of gender for enhancing the social and environmental sustainability of ICDPs, and to develop a more empirical understanding of how gender shapes the ways local people participate, invest in and benefit from them.

The programme focussed on six sets of key questions:

1. What gender differences/inequities exist in local communities involved in ICDPs? What other social divisions are important in relation to natural resource use and its conservation?
2. How do these differences/inequities affect the way men and women participate in, contribute to, and benefit from ICDPs?
3. To what extent, and how, are these gender differences being addressed and accounted for in the planning, implementation and evaluation of ICDPs?
4. Where gender issues/inequities have been addressed, which methods have been successful and which have not? To what degree are other social divisions important? What lessons can be learnt?
5. Where gender issues/inequities have *not* been addressed, what are the implications for project 'success'? What lessons can be learnt?
6. How successful is the ICDP model in addressing gender inequities in relation to poverty alleviation and biodiversity conservation? Should changes or adjustments be made to achieve more successful links between conservation and a more *equitable* development of local communities? How can the ICDP process be more effectively guided and achieved?

The research programme was carried out over two years, 2000-2002. Two regional studies were made – Africa and South and South-East Asia. A number of ICDPs were visited and gender

¹ A distinction is made between ICDPs (integrated conservation and development projects) and CBNRM (community based natural resource management). ICDPs are viewed to be project-oriented and more conservation focussed – usually linking local development with the conservation of a National Park or other protected area. CBNRM is more of a movement or process of increasing community 'ownership' over and use of natural resources in a sustainable manner and which contributes to their development. This includes resources that exist outside protected areas and thus is less geographically defined. Enabling legislation must exist for CBNRM to work. This research project focussed on ICDPs though important lessons were learnt from CBNRM.

assessments carried out. The results are published in two volumes: this volume and *'Engendering' Eden Volume III. Women, Gender and ICDPs in South and South-East Asia: Lessons Learnt and Experiences Shared*. The overall experiences and lessons learnt from the regional studies, plus examples from other parts of the world, are synthesised and analysed in the summary document: *'Engendering' Eden. Volume I. Women, Gender and ICDPs: Lessons Learnt and Ways Forward*. **It is suggested that this volume be used in conjunction with the summary document.**

1.2 'ENGENDERING' EDEN IN AFRICA

This volume, *'Engendering' Eden Volume II: Women, Gender and ICDPs in Africa Lessons Learnt and Experiences Shared*, describes in some detail the relationships between gender, women and ICDPs. Section 2 focuses on the gender differences and inequities that exist in local communities in relation to natural resource use. Although some similarities were found between communities, there are also some differences that are dependent on cultural, social, economic and geographical contexts. Thus, the importance of understanding gender differences within local contexts is emphasised.

Sections 3 and 4 focus on the impacts of conservation and ICDPs on the gender differences and inequities that exist in local communities. Though there are certainly impacts - both beneficial and detrimental - on men and women, because of women's marginalisation from conservation and development processes and their greater dependence on natural resources for fulfilling daily household needs, the impact on them tends to be more negative than on the men.

Sections 5 and 6 describe some of the experiences of ICDPs on the continent and their variable degrees of focus on gender issues and the inclusion of women. Despite a growing recognition that such issues are important for the success of ICDPs and conservation processes, few projects have achieved any ground in addressing gender inequities or in promoting a higher degree of women's inclusion and participation. ICDPs, their process and impacts, are still gender differentiated, with men participating to a greater degree and gaining more direct benefits.

The final two sections, 7 and 8, focus on lessons learnt from the more development-oriented CBNRM projects found in Africa as well as the ICDPs. Reasons are suggested as to why women are not participating to a greater degree in ICDPs, and ways to increase their participation and benefits are highlighted.

Case study fieldwork that contributed to this research programme was carried out on the following projects:

- Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Programme (LIRD), Zambia
- Bale Mountains National Park ICDP, Ethiopia
- Borana Collaborative Forest Management Project, Ethiopia
- Jozani Forest and Chwaka Bay Conservation Project, Zanzibar
- Udzungwa Mountains National Park ICDP, Tanzania
- Kiunga National Marine Reserve ICDP, Kenya
- CBNRM Programme in Namibia

2. GENDER DIFFERENCES AND ENVIRONMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS

Differences and inequalities between the sexes exist in all sections of society and all communities within Africa. Some of these are more directly linked to natural resource use and the environment than others. There can be a wide variation between countries and regions. The following describes some of the more prominent differences and inequities.

2.1 FUELWOOD COLLECTION AND SALE

The collection and use of wood in Africa exemplifies simple gender differences that are heavily embedded in cultural, social and historical contexts. Men dominate collection of large timber for buildings, boats and ploughs. Women and often children are almost exclusively responsible for fuelwood collection. In many areas, due to forest degradation, this now takes up excessive amounts of valuable time that could be used more productively for other activities. In Sudan for example, deforestation in the last decade has led to a quadrupling of women's time spent gathering wood (PRB, 2002).

Where conservation legislation has restricted the collection of natural resources including firewood, both women and men will take large risks to continue unless alternatives are provided or found (Tapia and Flintan, 2002; Abbot and Mace, 1999). In Malawi it was shown that despite patrolling by wildlife authorities and the imposition of penalties or fines, 83.5% of the women who collect wood in the Malawi National Park do so illegally: i.e., without a permit. It was concluded that:

“even with increased patrolling effort or more severe penalties, law enforcement polices alone are unlikely to protect the woodlands because they fail to provide alternative supplies of fuelwood for resident households” (Abbot and Mace, 1999:421).

Though fuelwood is mainly collected for subsistence purposes, it also provides an important source of household income and may be sold in both local rural and more distant urban areas. In Mali it is suggested that such trade is dominated by wealthy women or women from the civil service. They control the trade from the capital and buy or rent new equipment, hire young villagers living in the city to cut trees for one or two weeks and rent trucks to carry the wood to the urban areas for sale (Kanoute, 1990).

Conversely, in Uganda, the fuelwood trade is dominated by established groups of predominantly low-income women who sell the wood outside the local area. They may operate under informal 'licensing arrangements' with local law enforcement officers, and the earnings from their trade may represent a substantial percentage of their income (Blomley, 2001).

Men tend to be solely responsible for charcoal production, though for example, in Zanzibar women can also be involved, particularly in its trade. Charcoal tends to be used by more affluent groups in communities or sold to urban dwellers.

2.2 COLLECTION OF NTFPS

Both men and women collect NTFPs (Non-Timber Forest Products), though women's collection may be seen to be of a lower profile or of less importance than that of men's (Otto and Elbow, 1994). Though women collect predominantly for subsistence purposes, they may also benefit financially

from the exploitation of NTFPs such as fruits and plants used for medicinal purposes or food and can be highly active traders (see 2.6.1). Women tend to collect closer to home than men.

Although this might suggest that women are 'minor' forest users, they may in fact use a high proportion of their labour within the forest. As a labour analysis undertaken in the Mt. Elgon area of Uganda showed, more than 40% of the total household labour time spent within the forest is by women. As a result:

“there is no substantial difference between the intensity of forest use by men and women”
(Scott, 1998).

Such use of forest products (including bark and seeds) will often increase during times of drought (Abuquah, undated). In non-forest areas women will collect other wild foods such as grass seeds, fruits, water lilies, tubers and leafy greens. These may be collected whilst going about other chores or on longer trips which may become something of a social event. The poorest of households tend to make greater use of wild plants, as found in DRC (Tshombe *et al.*, 2000).

Due to women's high use of local plants and flowers, their knowledge of them tends to be thorough. In a survey in Sierra Leone, women proved able to name 31 products that they gathered or made from local flora, while men were able to name only eight. Women in rural areas often use traditional medicine to cure ailments (for example in Mali see Kanoute, 1990 or South Africa see Kepe *et al.*, 2000). They have the charge of gathering necessary ingredients that may be required to prepare and transform roots and leaves into medicine. Elderly women are particularly renowned for their knowledge on natural resources.

The collection of forest products for cultural purposes is dominated by men. For example, in Uganda many of the ceremonies related to circumcision and manhood have very close ties with the forest and these connections are upheld by the males of the community (Scott, 1998). However, this does not prevent culture influencing women's relationship with the environment. For example in the Kakamega District of Kenya there are taboos that prevent married women from planting trees, such as eucalyptus, for the construction of houses. It is said that if a married woman is allowed to plant a tree that will be used for timber, the roots will grow towards the house and overturn it (Mwangi & Houghton, 1993 in Aguilar *et al.*, 2002).

Both women and men are involved in processing natural resources, though it is usually women who provide a greater labour input. For example, in Mali processing shea nuts into butter is an income generating activity exclusively performed by women. The women tend to work cooperatively in groups, because the process requires high input of time and labour (Kanoute, 1990).

Honey production is a major source of revenue for many communities living in and around African forest areas. The production of honey tends to be dominated by men, not least because it usually relies on the collection of honey from hives placed in trees that are physically difficult for women to access. However, it is often women who will sell the honey, through local markets or traders, and in areas where honey production is less physically challenging, women may also be apiculturalists. In Cameroon, for example, women have been trained to plant 'bee trees' on their farms that contribute to a well-established honey trade (Abuquah, undated). In a study of views and perceptions of conservation in the Bale Mountains National Park, Ethiopia, honey production was the only development oriented activity that local women linked with the conservation of resources: the trees were needed to supply flowers for the nectar and for the honey, which was an important source of household income (Flintan, 2000).

2.3 WETLAND AND COASTAL-RELATED ACTIVITIES

Both women and men are involved in wetland and coastal related activities, with gender differences depending on the geographical and social contexts. In most fishing communities in southern Africa, deep water fishing in dugout canoes is usually carried out by men and young boys, while women are heavily involved in the post-harvest activities such as processing and marketing of fish and fish by-products, as well as shell collection and seaweed farming (Flintan, 2001c). A debilitating factor for women's involvement in coastal activities, both from a productive- and conservation-oriented perspective, is that the majority of women cannot swim (Flintan, 2002a).

In Ethiopia, while women's principle interaction with wetlands is in the form of water collection, they also contribute substantially to agricultural production. However, it is often the case that despite this, women's productive contributions go largely unrecognised by local, national and international institutions (Shields, 2001).

2.4 HUNTING

Men dominate the hunting of wild game. In fact a male bias in hunting appears to be a universal feature for most cultures with women, in general, excluded from the activity. The reasons for this differ from culture to culture however. For example, in Guinea a primary reason is that it is believed that women cannot keep secrets and therefore might give away locations of secret hunting grounds (Leach, 1999).

However, women's exclusion is not always the case and the Ituri forest in the DRC provides an example of women's active participation in hunting and enjoyment of the cultural and economic benefits of it. Mbuti communities hunt collectively using nets, and all able bodied members tend to be involved, even children, mothers with infants and the elderly. They all receive an equal share of the benefits (Tshombe *et al.*, 2000). In addition there are examples of women collecting smaller wildlife such as snails (Abruqah, 1998); tortoises, small antelope and monitors in Botswana; and rats in West Africa (Hunter *et al.*, 1990). In addition the collection of mopane worms is common throughout southern Africa.

Bushmeat collection also tends to be dominated by men, and often those who are more affluent. In DRC, for example, it is suggested that the poorest members of the community rarely have access to bushmeat; they do not possess the capital to buy the rifles or snares required to hunt animals, and do not have a sufficient income to purchase meat at the market. On the whole, wealthier households consume and trade in bushmeat and fish much more than poorer households (Tshombe *et al.*, 2000). Protected areas are a major source of such resources.

2.5 CONSTRAINTS ON WOMEN'S TIME

Women are constrained by burdens of housekeeping and raising families, being almost totally responsible for household work and meal preparation. In addition, women's work tends to be consistent all year round, whereas men's peaks and troughs at certain times throughout the agricultural year.

Some African meals require a tremendous preparation time. In areas of Mali for example, local women cook varieties of groundnuts (*tiganikourou*) that are rich in protein, but entail cooking for 10 to 14 hours. These particular meals not only require time but also large quantities of water and

firewood (Kanoute, 1990). In Ethiopia the traditional coffee-making ceremony carried out by women can take up to six hours a day for preparation and serving (two hours per meal-time). However, despite constraints, food preparation does allow them 'time-off' from other activities and usually involves women coming together as a group, providing opportunities for an exchange of information and support (Flintan, 2000).

As such, it is recognised that women may have less time to become involved in conservation and environmental protection processes. Furthermore, the constraints and limits that influence their relationship with the environment may cause them to compromise long-term sustainability for short-term needs.

2.6 DIVISION OF LABOUR

Within Africa, gender still plays a dominant role in defining the roles of men and women and the division of labour. Essentially, men dominate agricultural production, especially that for sale, and women dominate labour activities focussed on the household. In Zimbabwe, it is suggested that gendered divisions of labour have arisen from men's incorporation into wage labour and women's responsibilities for remaining on the land and managing it on a daily and seasonal basis. Such divisions in turn have filtered perceptions of the local landscape and resources and the different relationships that men and women have with them (Moore, 1996a).

In pastoral societies, men are generally responsible for herding the larger livestock such as cattle and camels, while women are responsible for smaller animals such as calves and goats. The sale of animals, charcoal production and marketing, and off-farm employment are generally undertaken by men. Women perform sales of dairy products, firewood and, where necessary, purchase grain for household consumption.

In Muslim societies, traditionally, women are not expected to 'work', that is, beyond their household duties and for economic returns. However, in recent years many societies now acknowledge and support women's role in economically productive activities, though their participation tends to be limited to culturally acceptable roles such as teaching.

2.6.1 Trading Activities

Women often play an active role in trading activities. For example, a study in Cameroon found that 89% of the estimated 1,100 NTFP traders in 25 markets in the Dense Humid Zone were women. Here, a 'Cheftaine' controls the markets. The Cheftaine is a woman, usually elected by the traders from the local area, who is responsible for the smooth running of the market place, including conflict resolution (Ruiz Perez, 1998 in Abbot *et al.* 2000:22). Similarly, in DRC it is suggested that women's participation in the bushmeat trade appears to be greater than that of men. Women are prominent traders in the markets, both at the village level and in supplying urban markets. Extensive observations of people's activities at a Sunday market in a local village suggest that though the market is a social forum for men, it is more of a commercial centre for women; while the men congregate at the periphery of the market, women manage most of the stalls (Tshombe *et al.*, 2000).

A study in South Africa concludes that the women involved in such activities tend to share certain similarities: they are usually *de facto* heads of their households for various reasons; tend to be stronger, more active and to have young children. They are willing, or in a position to travel to, distant markets to sell their products. But for most of these women, the heavy labour and time demands of their trade increases the burden imposed by their domestic duties (Kepe *et al.* 2000).

Other trade activities that women are becoming increasingly involved in are beer production, bread baking and small grocery sales (Flintan, 2001c; Flintan, 2000). Many of these can be carried out from home or in conjunction with other commitments and tasks. It is more likely that poorer women, often widowed or unmarried, also do jobs like weeding, house cleaning and so forth for cash or food, whilst also being dependent on support from kin.

In Tanzania it is suggested that economic hardships have led to changes in gender roles particularly in those areas close to cities or towns. Women, particularly those who are single (see Box 2.1) are increasingly expanding their roles, away from traditional domestic activities to income-generating activities such as exploitation and sale of forest products, casual labour and petty business. In some cases men may be gradually taking up activities which have traditionally been the domain of women (Monela *et al.*, 2000). The position women face is by no means uniform, and their ability to negotiate access to the resources they seek depends on social contacts, economic power and their capacity to gain political support.

Box 2.1 Socio-Economic Divisions In Petty Business Trading.

A study of the use of *miombo* woodlands in Tanzania showed that petty business trade is very much influenced by socio-economic factors. Education, marital status, area of land and sex were found to be strongly correlated with petty business. While only 65% of respondents were married, a strong relationship was observed between marital status and petty business. Single (unmarried, divorced, widowed or separated) women were more often left alone with their children and thus increasingly faced economic and other pressures that lead them to engage in petty business.

(Monela *et al.*, 2000)

2.7 DECISION MAKING PROCESSES AND POWER DYNAMICS

Women's share of decision-making power at both macro and micro levels remains low: it is dominated by men. Traditionally they have had little role in decision-making processes, particularly at the community level. Women are compromised by a power structure, which in rural communities is heavily biased in favour of the male. Women may be farmers, but they are rarely field managers. This is particularly true in Islamic regions where culture and religion often deny women participation in public life (NCF & WWF-UK, 1998; Otto and Elbow, 1994; Flintan, 2000; 2001b).

A question often raised is the extent to which cultural and social inequities should be influenced or encouraged to change. Even where equitable participation is a given objective, culture can compromise the situation. For example at a meeting for a CBNRM project in Namibia all the women attending the meeting were physically excluded from participating and obliged to sit outside the shelter in which the meeting was being held. This was justified by the meeting organisers – the Ministry of Tourism – on the strength that they were working within the constraints of the traditional male leadership. As suggested:

“this is somewhat ironic given that the whole purpose of the meeting was to try and begin a process of new institution-building, enabling better representation and participation in the decentralisation of decision-making power” (Sullivan, 1999:16).

Although women are most active in the household they still do not tend to control household resources, particularly cash transactions. In addition, some men have undermined women's use of resources as they have attempted to increase participation in the cash economy.

Indeed, though women may be strong traders in commodities such as bush meat it is unclear whether women benefit from the distribution of market profits. This point is raised by MacGaffey (1991), who suggests that Congolese commercial society, for example, is exceptionally male biased. The bias is enshrined in the Family Code of DRC (Decret 87-010), which states that a wife must relinquish her belongings to her husband if he can show that her ownership of assets '*portent atteinte à l'harmonie et aux intérêts pécuniaires du ménage*' [goes against the household's harmony and monetary interests]. In practice, this gives men the legal basis to control their wives' assets. So while women may have a prominent role in the trading of bushmeat commodities, they comprise a small minority who are tied into highly restrictive client-patron relationships with male military officers or high ranking administrators as well as inequitable arrangements with their husbands (Tshombe *et al*, 2000).

Box 2.2 Mountain Societies Have a Higher Level of Gender Equality.

In mountain societies there is generally a higher degree of gender equality. Life is harsh, intensified by altitude, steep terrain and isolation. Men and women support each other to overcome the constraints. In Uganda for example, the nature of guiding and portering work takes the men away from their farms and families, yet the women still welcome the opportunities it brings. The women perceive that on the mountain the men cannot drink, and in the words of one guide:

"I wouldn't befriend a tourist woman, don't know her history in America...not going to stray from the path, unlike traders going to other towns."

(Scott, 1998).

2.8 LAND AND LAND TENURE INEQUITIES

Gender inequality in access to land is widespread. Many African societies, regardless of whether they are patrilineal or matrilineal, confer only secondary, usufruct rights in descent group land to women. Women are normally entitled to cultivate land controlled by their husband's lineages, but not to alienate or inherit it.

In Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Burkina Faso and Cameroon, for example, women have the legal right to 'own' land and trees (PRB, 2002; FSS, CEF & University of Sussex, undated), and in Niger to own cattle (Otto and Elbow, 1994) but, in practice, men control nearly all of the property and women only have use rights. Indeed, in Zimbabwe since 1994 women do not have the right to communal land (Gambill, 1999). And in general, tree planting by secondary rights users such as women is not encouraged as it is a widely recognised way in which a land user may stake a long term claim to land. In Cameroon for example, some men will only allow women to plant short-lived trees, such as papaya, to prevent women from gaining land tenure.

Because land tenure is not secure, women have little incentive to invest in conservation practices. In Zimbabwe, researchers found that women are also significantly less likely to plant trees for food, medicine and fuelwood in areas where future access is uncertain. Restrictions on women's land rights hinder their ability to access other resources and information. Unable to use land as collateral to obtain loans, women have difficulty in adopting new technology and hiring labour when needed (PRB, 2002).

In Kenya men reserve the right to make final decisions about how the land is used. A woman must therefore secure the approval of her husband before she can build a terrace to conserve the soil. Situations have been encountered where this approval was not given, and despite the woman's better judgement and understanding of the problem she was powerless to act (Mwanduka and Thampy, 1995).

Another example of how women's relationship with land is controlled by external factors is given in Box 2.3. Here, in Kaerezi, Zimbabwe, the production of *tjenja* by local women hinged on access to cultivable plots. This access was mediated neither by patriarchal nor state conceptions of land rights, but by the women defending their rightful inheritance to 'free cultivation' (*kurima madiro*) without intervention from state officials or conservation regulations. Many still recalled the 'suffering for the land' (*kutambudzikira nyika*) during the 1972 evictions from Gaeresi Ranch when women were beaten by police and stripped of their clothes (Moore, 1996a).

Box 2.3 External Factors Affecting Women's Relationship with Land.

In Kaerezi, Zimbabwe, married women have to contend both with patrilineal notions of land rights and a state policy of allocating permits within resettlement schemes to male household heads. Women here cultivate one crop in particular: *tjenja* (*Coleus esculentus*). It is usually grown outside of the fields allocated to 'households' because resettlement is officially prohibited in the scheme, ostensibly because the crop is thought to poison the soil and erode steep slopes. Its cultivation also challenges the Government's ordered pattern of regulated land use. Despite these 'restrictions', in practice cultivation of *tjenja* is widely tolerated.

Cash from selling the crop, more than from any other marketable produce, is most likely to be subject to women's discretion within their household budgets. It is therefore an important source of relatively autonomous cash income in an area where few women engage in formal wage labour, and improves their bargaining position within the 'conjugal contract' through which household economic decisions and provisioning responsibilities are negotiated. Women feared that the establishment of a protected area close by would encourage greater attention to land-use prohibitions elsewhere in Kaerezi, endangering their *tjenja* fields.

(Moore, 1996a).

In many parts of Africa as competition for land has increased, migration of male members of the household to urban areas to find work has grown. For example, in Zimbabwe research reveals that the labour force in the Communal Areas is heavily female-based with as many as 32% of males spending less than three months at home per year (Patel, 1998). This can lead to specific problems for women. For example, in Ethiopia women are often 'encouraged' to give up their land or enter into sharecropping arrangements (FSS, CEF & University of Sussex, undated). In Ghana it is suggested that, due to the lack of male labour for clearing thick bush, longer cropping rotations occur on land that should have been left fallow after one or two years. As a result, land fertility and yields decline and soil erosion increases (PRB, 2002).

A number of other factors constrain women's productive use of land. Often women do not have access to inputs or tools, for reasons of lack of money, market access and credit. Time pressures are also important.

2.9 LACK OF ACCESS TO EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Women, more than men, suffer from poor health and a lack of education. The amount of physical tasks expected of the women exacerbates this poor health. In addition, women bear children early and often have no access to antenatal care. Heavy workloads often make education impossible and when it is available, it is usually offered to males first.

In Gashaka-Gumti NP, Nigeria, a correlation was found between health status and educational level, and the continuing illiteracy in Park villages is thus considered a serious limiting factor in improvement of health status (Nadia McDonald, 1994).

2.10 COOPERATIVES AND MOBILISATION

Women tend to be keener than men to form cooperatives and self-mobilise as a group to share responsibilities, provide support, and perhaps to initiate change. Women have seen the advantage of 'group power'. They will often attend meetings *en masse* and sit together in a group where they feel less vulnerable and supported by the presence of their contemporaries. Single women, particularly those divorced or widowed, tend to be more mobile, confident and able to participate in activities.

In many countries there are strong networks of women's groups or 'self-help' groups or government-supported Women's Associations (for examples: in Nigeria see McDonald, 1994; Zanzibar see Flintan, 2001b; and Ethiopia see Flintan, 2000). In Ethiopia there has been an extensive growth in the 'self-help' groups (*iddir*) throughout the country. The groups provide their members with support in times of need, such as weddings and funerals. Though they offer great opportunities as a foundation for more formal institutions that could be involved in conservation activities and provide 'space' for a focus on women's interests and needs, their contribution has yet to be recognised and utilised.

Such groups are often of an informal nature and may not be readily visible. However, they can provide a strong basis on which to build stronger cooperation and a good entry point for mobilising women into more formal or active institutions.

3. IMPACTS OF CONSERVATION ON THESE INEQUITIES

3.1 RESTRICTIONS ON RESOURCE USE

Conservation often focuses, at least in the short-term, on a restriction of resource use through protective measures such as the establishment of protected areas and the formation of groups of enforcers. Because both women and men living in rural areas are often heavily reliant on the local natural resources, such conservation measures can immediately have a detrimental impact. For women who rely on such resources for fulfilling the everyday needs of the household – such as fuelwood and food – they can experience the negative impacts more and bear the costs to a greater extent through having to make an increased effort to gather the resources from alternative sites or risk being caught whilst attempting to continue collection illegally. Table 1 details the different impacts of the establishment of the Rwenzori National Park, Uganda on local social groups and their livelihoods.

	Labour	Time	Resources	Culture
Women	More agricultural work. More trips for fuel.	More time for fuel & agriculture	Decreased access to medicine; quality of fuelwood declining; loss of farming land; increased income from tourism in Ibanda.	Loss of traditional practices eg medicine collection; threats from rangers; risks when collecting fuelwood deep in forest.
Men	More labour in looking for building materials (bamboo).	More time spent looking for building materials.	Loss of animal meat, poles, honey, smilax, bamboo, fuelwood, mushroom, ropes, craft material; loss of income.	Loss of hunting traditions/practices, honey hunting skills, knowledge of when to collect resources, cultural sites, ability to pass NRM traditions to sons.
Youth (up to 25 years)	Increased labour while gathering building materials; and to chase vermin away from crops.	Loss of time in vermin control.	Income, jobs, skills from tourism increased in 3 areas.	Loss of above skills; take more risks through illegal activities; get new skills from alternative technologies.
Parish Community		Loss of time (doing all of the above).	Increase in price of resources from park eg baskets. Future potential: tourism income; revenue sharing; resource security; aesthetic value of park maintained; donor funds; new skills.	Traditional ownership not recognised – threats from rangers; loss of cultural sites; frustration over lack of control.

Table 1. Impact of the Establishment of the Rwenzori National Park, Uganda on Rural Livelihoods.

In the 1990s, Kaerezi women in Zimbabwe (Box 2.3) were particularly concerned about the potential impact of the local National Park on their access to two critical resources: firewood for daily use and reeds woven into handicrafts to be marketed in Nyanga's tourist centres. In poorer households, these handicrafts represented an important source of income. Women also gathered wild fruits and herbs within the park estate, supplementing the local diet and selecting plants with healing properties (Moore, 1996a).

Similarly, a study of the impacts of the Mkomazi Game Reserve in Tanzania showed that local communities had become poorer since its establishment because they had been forced to reduce their migration patterns due to the Reserve's protection of vital grazing and watering areas. Many are now being forced to adopt more sedentary ways of living and the Maasai women have become increasingly dependent on opportunistic selling of goods such as milk, wild vegetables and traditional medicine (Brockington and Homewood, 1999).

However, not all impacts have been negative. Resettlements of people from inside to outside Mt. Elgon Park due to increased protection policies produced a number of social advantages. These included greater opportunities for children to see their fathers more often and more easily, and living more closely together has enabled the establishment of women's clubs. The attitude to the Park and the ban on hunting is, in general, positive for both men and women (Scott, 1998).

3.2 INCREASED CONFLICTS WITH WILD ANIMALS

In a number of instances the establishment of protected areas has increased the incidence of conflicts between local communities and wild animals. For example, after the establishment of the Selous National Park, Tanzania, there was an increase in conflicts with animals, and women had trouble collecting water because of fear of being attacked by buffaloes (Songorwa, 1999). In Ethiopia around the Bale Mountains National Park, a commonly cited problem is the loss of livestock to hyenas which increasingly venture from within the core areas of the Park (Flintan, 2000).

3.3 IMPACTS DUE TO INEQUITABLE PARTICIPATION

Where consultations have been carried out with local communities concerning the development of protected areas and conservation policies, the discussions tend to have been dominated by those with more voice and power in the communities: the men. Women and their views and needs have been marginalised. As a result, such views and needs have not been incorporated into conservation developments, leading to a more adverse impact on women than men. In addition, support for related activities tends to be focussed on male activities rather than female: most jobs produced as a result of conservation are male dominated such as community game guards and scouts (Flintan, 2000; Barnes, 2000a and b).

In CAMPFIRE areas (see Section 8.1) women are generally most affected by activities at the local level as a result of their minimal participation in program-related activities. For example, the construction of a fence to keep wildlife away also cut off the path used by the women to fetch water and gather firewood and grass (Patel, 1998). Around Kilum Ijim NP in Cameroon, restrictions on use of the forest area included a ban on the grazing of goats. This caused major problems for local women who claimed that it resulted in increased raiding of their crops by stray goats in non-restricted areas (Abbot *et al.*, 1999).

CWM (Community Wildlife Management) in particular has, in general, been biased towards men. Women's projects remain marginalised from 'mainstream' male-focussed projects such as capacity building of scouts and tour guides (Matiza, 1993; Flintan, 2001c; Sullivan, 1999). In some countries this is also the case with forestry management, where donors are supporting existing male-dominated local institutions that revolve around hunting and male-focussed activities. For an example from Guinea see Box 3.1.

Box 3.1 Men and Masculinities in Guinea

In Guinea, donors such as the EU and forestry agents are supporting a new type of protected area where there are to be no park guards. Instead, protection will be given by hunters' brotherhoods that are now respected for their knowledge and authority as custodians of the bush. Working through such 'traditional organisations' supports the self-representation of donors and governments as part of a new era of conservation and 'sustainable development' which is 'participatory', and respectful of 'culture' and 'tradition'. Thus the approach adheres to modern development discourses that developed in opposition to, and eschew the repressive approaches, of the past. Equally, and in line with modern discourses about governance in Africa, the approach encourages organisations of 'civil society' to work in synergy with the state, while curtailing what have been seen as 'predatory' elements of state control.

As this has occurred, the revitalisation and reinforcement of hunting brotherhoods in these new political contexts plays powerfully into the construction and reconstruction of gender domains. A particular version of masculinity – the macho, gun-phallus bearing killer – is being reinforced in its hegemony over other possible masculinities. Ideologies of gender separation and stereotypes of feminine character are equally reinforced, emphasising the need to control female speech and sexuality. Furthermore, male-controlled institutions of African governance and rural control seem to be acquiring new support, resources and legitimacy at the expense of those through which many women exert power, agency and material resource control. Women's fishing groups, agricultural labour co-operation, village co-ordination for managing fire, and everyday practices for enriching soils and vegetation are among the institutions further formalised, and rendered more illegitimate in the eyes of the state, by the exclusive formalising of hunters' societies as ecological custodians.

(Leach, 1999).

3.4 LONG-TERM BENEFITS RECOGNISED

Though women may be adversely affected through conservation policies and practices, and show negative reactions to restrictions on resource use such as the closure of forests, over time they can realise the long-term advantages of conserving them. Conservation and development projects can aid this: in Cameroon, it was shown that those involved in livelihoods programmes had more positive attitudes towards restrictions (Abbot *et al.*, 1999).

In some areas, protected areas and the benefits they bring may be seen as the only opportunities for development open to local communities. In Nigeria, for example, people living on the borders of the Cross River NP:

“have pinned their hopes on the Park as the only institution that can and should assist them in gaining a better quality of life as a trade off for the Park's establishment and continued maintenance and existence. At this point in time, the Park may in fact be the only means through which the people can gain those improvements in [for example] health which have eluded them so far.” (Nadia McDonald, 1994b:22).

In addition there are instances where women have identified opportunities open to them as a result of conservation, and have utilised those opportunities for their benefit. For example, in South Africa a group of women mobilised themselves to approach the conservation authorities and gain their support for an income-generating project (see Box 3.2).

Box 3.2 The Siyabonga Craft Cooperative.

In 1995 a group of women approached the Natal Parks Board requesting help with establishing an outlet from which to sell their crafts, rather than along the roadside as they had previously done. The NPB provided assistance to the Dukuduku women by allocating the land near to where tourists left cars whilst visiting the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park. External funding to a total of R141,000 was accessed with help of the Board, enabling a permanent shop to be built on the site. A 10% commission is placed on all items to cover shop expenses, and profits are sometimes used to support women with young children who do not have a husband to provide for them.

The organisation of the Cooperative is well structured with a membership system and a committee. A roster is implemented to organise staffing. The NPB allows harvesting of selected natural resources from protected areas under their jurisdiction at certain times of the year, which keeps the cost of raw materials low for Cooperative members. The access to natural resources is particularly important to women because it was they who traditionally harvested and controlled the use of many plant products. In the case of *ikhwani* grass, two women were trained by the NPB to monitor the off-take to ensure it was at a sustainable level. Mats made from recycled supermarket plastic bags are also sold at the Siyabonga shop.

The income, though small, gives the women, many of whom are the poorest members of the community, a source of independent income. It also gives women opportunities to come together, network and build solidarity. Pride and confidence have increased. Organisational and entrepreneurial skills have been built up. Local leaders also suggest that residents have now been shown the value of conserving the environment.

(Scheyvens, 1999).

4. IMPACTS OF FAILING TO ADDRESS GENDER WITHIN ICDPS

The move to community-based conservation and ICDPs has been welcomed throughout Africa where conflicts between conservation and local communities, and competition over resources and opposing priorities, have increased. However, in the past, the gender issues and differences described in Chapters 2 and 3 have not been incorporated or accounted for within ICDPs and other conservation and development processes.

Some projects have recognised in hindsight that costly mistakes could have been avoided if gender issues had been better understood and taken into account during project design, rather than after implementation. (Larson and Nzirambi, 1996; Jacobsohn, 1993 in IIED, 1994). Gender analysis should have been applied to all project components as they were designed. Some projects plan to rectify the situation by redoing some of the initial feasibility studies to address gender issues (Larson and Nzirambi, 1996).

The negative impacts that have resulted due to a lack of consideration of gender differences are explained below.

4.1 DIFFERENT NEEDS, PREFERENCES AND PRIORITIES

Because of the failure to recognise that men and women may have different needs, preferences and priorities, ICDPs have tended to be biased towards men, who are more able to articulate and promote issues relevant to them. In many cases this has directly compromised project success.

For example in Kenya, local men involved in planning a fuelwood tree planting project assumed that women would fulfil their traditional role of providing water for seedlings. After the seedlings were distributed, the men discovered that the women were unwilling to invest the extra hours of water-collection required by the project. Furthermore, the women were not particularly interested in the species being planted. The failure to consult the women in the planning phase of the project meant that their concerns and preferences had been ignored. Not surprisingly, they were indifferent to its success, and the seedlings died for lack of water. Realising this, the second phase of the project incorporated women's interests by providing the tree species they preferred. The women then agreed to help, and this time the project was successful (USAID Office for WID Website, 2001).

In Uganda, a CARE-supported ICDP set up in the Queen Elizabeth NP shows that because tree planting and species selection was presumed to be a predominantly male activity, women were marginalised from activities. Commercial species were chosen over those providing subsistence benefits (Blomley, 2001).

Making assumptions about the needs, roles and priorities of men can be equally detrimental to a project. This was found through an evaluation of environmental projects in five African countries, which showed that projects tended to target a greater number of environmental strategies towards women because they appeared a more willing or reliable audience. There was a tacit assumption that men were less willing and/or able to change their environmental behaviours and this meant that no effort was made to include them in community action or other interventions. This compromised the success of the strategies (USAID Office of WID Website, 2001).

4.2 LACK OF PARTICIPATION, LACK OF BENEFITS

Inaccurate assumptions have been made about the involvement of women in ICDPs, which has been presumed to be of an equal level to men. Often, however, it has been realised after project initiation

that this is not the case. Continually staff have failed to achieve a common understanding of gender issues or agree on an approach to address them (Larson and Nzirambi, 1996; Matiza, 1993:5).

It remains the case that many ICDPs in the region have failed to benefit women to any great degree. This is particularly true where projects have focussed on wildlife and wildlife management. For example, as described in Box 4.1, the USAID funded COBRA (Conservation of Biodiverse Resources Areas) Project has not increased women's incomes or employment substantially and projects remain biased in favour of male-dominated activities.

Box 4.1 Inequities in COBRA, Kenya

An evaluation of the COBRA Project found that although 35% of WDF (Wildlife for Development Fund) funds should directly benefit women's incomes and employment, in practise this was not the case. Indeed, while there had been some targeted investments for women's groups - especially the cultural *bomas* and curio shops - the majority of activities remained skewed toward financing male-dominated activities. An examination of funded activities in the four focal areas during 1995 showed that less than 15% of funds were disbursed for projects that directly benefited women's incomes and employment.

Occasionally, the largest activities excluded strong participation by women. In the case of bursary disbursements in Kajiado District (totalling more than Ksh 5 million in 1995), for example, it was estimated that only 20% of funds were allocated to females. The disbursement of about Ksh 5 million to fishermen and boat operator groups in Shimoni was solely for use by men. This represented more than 75% of WDF funds allocated to Kwale District during 1995. There seemed to be little knowledge amongst staff that a certain percentage of WDF funds should be directed to women; nor was there much stated concern that women were not included in many of the WDF activities. It was concluded that an immediate action should include gender as a priority in defining and developing social investments and activities, and if necessary a WID consultant be employed.

(Hall *et al.* 1996 - evaluation team of USAID-funded COBRA project).

In Tanzania, within the Selous Conservation Project (formulated to promote the sustainable use of resources by local communities in the buffer zone) women failed to benefit or become involved. The projects were supported on the precondition that the beneficiaries contribute 50% of the cost, and many villagers, especially women, failed to raise the required amount. As a result the programme favoured those who already had a considerable amount of income: the well-off or local elites (Songorwa, 1999).

In addition, the project involved the use of local communities as village scouts, who were male and generally aged between 25 and 35 years old. The majority were married with large families. They went on patrol for at least 10 days per month, attended a 40-day training and numerous committee meetings. Their participation in the programme deprived them of the opportunity to look after their families and in their absence the responsibility was left to their wives (*ibid*).

5. EXPERIENCE OF ICDPS

5.1 GENDER, WOMEN AND ICDPS - POLICY

The policies of individual conservation and development organisations involved in ICDPs are discussed in the summary document *‘Engendering’ Eden. Volume I*. Of the conservation organisations, only IUCN has developed a worthwhile gender policy and this influences the work of the regional offices to some degree. However, even here gender is not fully institutionalised and the enthusiasm and concerns of key individuals can be seen as the most important factor in taking gender forward to become an issue of concern at project level. ICDPs that are implemented by more development-oriented organisations such as CARE tend to have a greater emphasis on the inclusion of gender.

For organisations such as WWF, who have no organisation-wide gender policy, there is little pressure on projects to address gender issues, especially in the initial stages of planning and implementation. Generally, gender issues are addressed only when they arise, if at all. As a result, gender is rarely approached in a knowledgeable, strategic or organised manner, but relies more on haphazard ‘muddling through’ and the use of skills and resources available at the time.

In the few cases where gender is approached in a more strategic way, benefits have arisen. Even where gender strategies have failed to reach or be applied in the field, they have encouraged a greater emphasis on gender issues overall, and a focus on women.

5.2 RATIONALE

Projects in the past have tended to emphasise a ‘welfare approach’ focussing on women in their capacity as mothers and carers - seen as central to both social and economic development. It identifies women, as opposed to their lack of resources or access to them and decision-making processes, as being the problem. As a result projects have tended to target women's perceived practical needs as opposed to their strategic needs.

“Efforts to empower women as a means to encourage their participation in programmes, whether through literacy, home improvement or income generation campaigns, whilst undeniably benefiting women, still operate within a welfare approach and therefore within a male dominated, patriarchal agenda...” (Shields, 2001:155).

This has developed into the involvement of women being seen as a means of achieving an end: the success of ICDPs. For example, in 1990 WWF-US (Kanoute, 1990) suggested that increasing the participation of African women in conservation projects would:

- Save women time so that they could participate in sustainable income generating activities.
- Reduce or progressively eliminate the dependence of women on the wildlands for their needs.
- Improve women's income by enabling them to afford possible alternative sources of energy.
- Strengthen education programs in relation to the conservation concepts and actions.
- Allow the promotion of the production of natural resources as a business.

Such an approach has evolved into a greater emphasis being placed on women's empowerment believing that as their involvement in rural development processes progresses, their reliance on natural resources will decrease. As such women's empowerment is a growing objective of some

ICDPs (Mount Elgon Website, 2002; Flintan, 2002a). However, such empowerment is seen to be mainly a numbers game – the number of women on committees, the number attending schools and the number involved in project planning and design. Rarely are more qualitative goals aimed for, for example improved status, increased self-esteem and the quality of women’s participation. These may be more important achievements or needs for local women than those needs perceived by ‘outsiders’.

Some projects have taken a much stronger stance on the promotion of gender equity than others. For example, gender equity is a guiding principle within the strategies that define the Mt. Elgon ICDP in Uganda. The promotion of gender equity is seen to be one of the most important means open to the Project of introducing fundamental social changes that are necessary for sustainable development. It is suggested that current social traditions are not conducive to women realising their full economic and social potential. Therefore in a culturally sensitive manner, the Project seeks means of improving the social and economic empowerment of women. It is suggested that there are many ways to achieve this and even outside those activities designed explicitly to promote gender equity. For example, the Project can aim to ensure that women are equitably represented in all activities that are supported, and that these activities are designed to address the needs of women as well as men.

“By adopting gender equity as a guiding principle for project strategy, it is intended that all opportunities arising during project implementation will be fully exploited for the promotion of gender equity” (Mount Elgon Website, 2002).

More recently some organisations have focussed on a ‘rights-based’ approach to conservation and development with an emphasis on social justice. Indeed, together with the belief that ICDPs can alleviate poverty, this is now the central rationale upon which CARE’s involvement in ICDPs is justified (CARE, 2001) (discussed in more detail in the summary document – Flintan, 2003a).

5.3 PROJECT PLANNING

Despite a growing emphasis on ‘participation’, ICDPs generally still fail to involve local communities within project planning and implementation. Where they are involved the inequitable social and power dynamics found in many rural areas compromise women’s contribution in favour of men’s.

Significant gaps in terms of addressing gender issues have been identified within ICDPs. As a result, gender specialists have been hired in a small number of projects, to train staff, incorporate a gender perspective into the ICDP and develop indicators and data collection methods for tracking project performance (Larson and Nzirambi, 1996; WWF-US, undated; Muderis Abdulahi, 2000; Tapia and Flintan, 2002). However there is little evidence that gender issues have been strategically incorporated into ICDPs from the planning to the implementation and through to the monitoring and evaluation stages.

A CARE-supported ICDP based in Awash NP in Ethiopia is one of the few projects identified that emphasised the inclusion of both women and men in the planning stages.

“In both the planning and implementation phase of the project...gender issues and the role of women empowerment and participation has been taken into account at all steps of the project cycle...Both male and female groups were properly consulted and empowered in appraising and planning the project implementation phases” (Muderis Abdulahi, 2000:4).

These included separate women's meetings, needs analyses, focus groups and individual interviews. Women were also encouraged to join the Community Development Committee and Water Users Committee etc. Muderis, the Project Officer continues:

"at the beginning it [was] very challenging to overcome socio-cultural barriers to approach women and discuss development issues. It has been necessary to convince men (elders, religious leaders, husbands) and get permission to discuss with women. The project put more effort [into] this aspect and the problem was gradually resolved".

5.4 MONITORING AND EVALUATION

There is a lack of adequate monitoring and evaluation within ICDPs, particularly during project implementation. In addition, the formal structure allows little room for flexibility and adaptation. Where evaluations do take place, time is rarely provided for good reflection and stakeholder input.

The collection of disaggregated data is now reasonably common when surveys are carried out within local communities. However not enough effort is made to provide more comfortable spaces for women to contribute such as in focus groups. Often information is collected in the presence of men so women may be wary of speaking out, and lack confidence to express their views. Although many ICDPs do carry out such surveys on project impacts, for example, the information is rarely analysed properly and used constructively.

Although some ICDPs state that they use participatory approaches for data collection, these usually extend little further than activities such as community mapping. A number of projects suggest that they use PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) when they clearly do not: though participatory research techniques may be used, the process does not support the true elements of PRA such as long-term empowerment, community control or 'ownership' and the initiation of a process of reflection and change. Where project analyses have been of a more participatory nature, they appear more successful in including, and taking account of, women's views, perspectives and knowledge (for example, see Abbott *et al.*, 1999; Tapia and Flintan, 2002).

6. PROJECTS IN PRACTICE

Those ICDPs that do include a focus on women in an attempt to address gender imbalances include a variety of elements. These range from health and population projects to capacity-building to reforestation. These main areas of focus are discussed below.

6.1 HEALTH PROJECTS AND POPULATION FOCUSED PROJECTS

The support of health projects is an element of several ICDPs (for example Gashaka-Gumti, Nigera see Nadia McDonald, 1994; the Zambezi Basin Wetlands Project, see Beaudet and Nash, 2000; the Awash NP, Ethiopia see Muderis Abdulahi, 2000; Zanzibar, see Flintan, 2001c). This has included the installation of wells, growth monitoring, where women are trained to recognise the symptoms and causes of malnutrition in their children and to implement corrective diets, as well as providing training for volunteer birth attendants (Beaudet and Nash, 2000). Regular health education programmes have also been designed and implemented (Muderis Abdulahi, 2000).

To address the pressure of high fertility on biodiversity and to initiate better health access in local communities, WWF has in some instances (e.g. Madagascar and Congo) formed partnerships with health NGOs to increase communities' access to reproductive health care services, including family planning information (see Box 6.1). In other settings, including in the Udzungwa Mountains National Park in Tanzania, staff have linked with health professionals to provide training in family planning, birth spacing, HIV/AIDS awareness and sanitation for local communities.

6.2 REDUCING WOMEN'S WORKLOAD

It has been suggested in Section 2.5 that women have little spare time to invest in environmental and conservation activities. To try to counteract this some ICDPs have focussed on ways to reduce women's workload. This has included the provision of diesel powered grinding mills (Kaounde, 1990) and the establishment of wells (Beaudet and Nash, 2000; Muderis Abdulahi, 2000).

Alternatively, in the Awash NP in Ethiopia, CARE supported a project where haymaking was introduced. Not only did this reduce women's workload because that they did not have to travel so far to cut the grass, but the hay was also more nutritious and stored better after drying (Muderis Abdulahi, 2000).

6.3 CAPACITY BUILDING AND SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GROUPS

Capacity building is an important part of promoting more gender equitable decision-making processes and the participation of women. Too few ICDPs have invested resources in this, and few have taken the opportunities opened up by the presence of women's groups (see section 2.10).

Some women's organisations in the region are already involved in environmental protection activities. In Cameroon they are engaged in tree-planting and in spreading the environmental message. For example the Korup NP commissioned women to disseminate information and educate the local people on the conservation of the environment (Abuquah, undated).

Box 6.1 Contrasting Health Initiatives in Madagascar

In Madagascar three ICDPs received grants from a USAID funded five year project, 'APPROPOP', which aimed to increase the number of Malagasy practising modern family planning. The aim was to implement family planning programmes in buffer zone communities. One partner, Conservation International (CI), worked around the Zahamena Reserve and another, WWF, collaborated with a health NGO, Association Santé Organisation Secours (ASOS), to start a health programme near the Andohahela Reserve.

The health programmes of each ICDP were managed by mobile health teams comprising doctors, nurses and certified mid-wives. These teams made regular visits to remote buffer-zone villages to provide preventative and curative health care as well as health education.

Key assumptions:

- Implementing a family planning programme in the context of an overall health programme could increase the trust of the target populations in the ICDP by addressing their often pressing needs for contraceptives, vaccines, health care and health education. This trust would then enhance the likelihood of acceptance and success for the ICDPs other programmes such as resource management.
- Family planning services in the context of health programmes were important development activities for these remote rural populations.
- Family planning programmes in the buffer zones of parks and reserves could be part of a long-term strategy to decrease demographic pressures on protected areas.

The project mainly focussed on the first two assumptions because of the problematic nature of the third, which is controversial and difficult to measure. Clearly, family planning can only be a sustainable intervention if the local populations feel that it is a resource for *them* to improve the health and economic well-being of their families: not the tool of the conservation community.

As the programme proceeded it became clear that the WWF/ASOS partnership was far more successful in meeting its objectives (estimated at 69%) than CI (estimated at 28%). There were notable differences among the approaches. For example, WWF/ASOS employed local rural outreach workers trained in broad-based development; this training included outreach techniques as well as technical proficiency in conservation, agriculture, animal husbandry and health. Conversely, the CI project did not use a community based distribution aspect at all.

Lessons learnt:

Populations like those targeted are isolated, far from services and perhaps not even aware that such services exist. Thus education and demand-creation activities should be factored into the design of any programme addressing their needs. Development programmes for such populations must therefore build in greater lead-time before success can be measured and achieved. The following elements emerged as important for the success of the grant programmes:

1. The value of a CBD programme cannot be underestimated. Targeted populations are more responsive in general to their peers than to public health workers or ICDP health teams who may not be from their area or ethnic group.
2. Family-planning users associations provide an excellent means to increase the number of users and to reduce drop-outs through peer counselling as well as group assistance.
3. While perhaps unsustainable in the long-term the use of field-based rural outreach workers is an effective way of ensuring accurate reporting and the availability of contraceptive stocks to actual and potential clients.

(Whyner, 2001)

One ICDP was identified as providing training and support to enhance women's leadership (WWF-US, undated), and another is attempting to overcome the heavy male bias of existing power structures. This latter project, based at Gashaka Gumti NP in Nigeria is working with women's groups in the support zone and enclaves to help them register legally with the local and state governments (Dunn *et al.* 2000:143). In other instances women, often lead by particularly influential, educated or strong role models, have mobilised themselves to an extent that they have forced government authorities to recognise them and involve them in conservation practices (see Box 6.2).

Box 6.2 Involving Women's Groups in Conservation in Senegal

The Popenguine National Park was the first experiment of community wildlife management in Senegal. Upgraded in 1986 from a forest reserve, the park includes both forest and marine habitats. A conservation education programme in the late 1980s caught the imagination of one particularly influential woman at Popenguine who established a women's group dedicated to wildlife conservation. The women co-opted the assistance of young men to help with reforestation activities, which have extended around the park as more communities have set up their own groups and merged with a co-operative group. This multi-village institution has now been officially recognised by the park authorities and has the authority to be involved in maintaining and guarding the reserve, as well as economic activities including tourism and rights of entry.

(Abbot *et al.*, 2000:38).

6.4 EDUCATION AND LITERACY

A number of ICDPs see literacy initiatives and girls' scholarships as long-term investments in women's capacities, with the conservation pay-offs coming over both the short and long term (Flintan, 2002; Barnes, 2000). These may include increased, effective participation of girls and women in conservation activities and management; better understanding and acceptance of conservation messages and sharing of these messages with children, male partners and others in the community; and for young women, the likelihood of smaller, healthier families. At the same time they can build up women's self-confidence and self-esteem to a degree that they feel more comfortable and confident to participate in community and conservation decision-making processes. In addition, such initiatives can provide important entry points to the community and useful spaces to disseminate environmental messages. Literacy and scholarship initiatives clearly linked to conservation messages and activities seem to hold the most promise for positively impacting conservation (McDonald, 2002) (see Box 6.3).

6.5 REFORESTATION AND FUELWOOD ALTERNATIVES

A number of projects have focussed on setting up nurseries, distributing seedlings in local communities and replanting forest areas (for Ghana see Abruquah, undated; for Kenya see Mwanduka and Thampy, 1995; for Tanzania see WWF-Tanzania, 2001). Women have been very much involved within these with several projects focussing entirely on women's participation.

Box 6.3 Combining Education and Conservation

The WWF Girls' Scholarship program extends beyond the provision of scholarships to broader education and conservation actions and activities. For example, in Kiunga Marine National Reserve (see Appendix 1) WWF Girls' Scholarship recipients are exposed to WWF conservation work first-hand (through a week-long, mandatory conservation camp) and encouraged to learn more about environmental issues and consider environmental careers. During the camp, they participate in marine conservation work (such as surveying turtle nests), attend environmental education sessions, experience biodiversity by snorkelling and repairing coral (many had never before seen live coral in the ocean) and join in the creation of eco-friendly crafts.

A 19 year old scholarship recipient in Kenya made a strong case for the programme:

"In our area people were eating turtles. Now I know the importance of conserving turtles. I've educated the whole community by telling them it is not good to eat turtles... WWF has helped our lives (and), our parents lives who depend on the resources".

(McDonald, 2002; Flintan, 2002).

In Cote d'Ivoire a decision was taken in preparation of the Forestry Master Plan 1998-2015 to encourage sub-contracting for a greater part of the nation's forestry activities that do not require a high technical input. Taking advantage of this opportunity, many women established organisations to participate in forestry at a grass-roots level. These included the formation of cooperatives of, generally, illiterate women who carry out tasks such as seed collection, production of nursery plants and agroforestry. The income received by certain groups through contracted work has been substantial (Abruquah, undated).

Reforestation programmes, including reforestation of mangroves (Beaudet and Nash, 2000) and dryland areas (Williams, 1992) have also been developed and agro-forestry encouraged (WWF-UK, 2001). In addition, women have been trained in nursery management and disease control (*ibid*).

Box 6.4 Promoting Sustainable Woodlots

In Sudan, because women were not allowed to mix freely with men outside the household, the SOS Sahel-supported project trained young women from the region to work as forestry assistants with local women. In addition, a separate women's section was established in the village woodlot and constraints related to mobility were overcome by promoting women's home nurseries. In 1988, over 2,000 women in 18 villages had grown trees in home nurseries. It is noteworthy that the focus on women also permitted the resolution of problems faced by both men and women. For example, one problem was insect (particularly termite) damage to the nurseries. The women overcame this constraint by putting neem (*Azadirachta indica*) leaves in and near the seedling beds. This was both safer and cheaper than the use of commercial pesticides. In 1990, the project was working with women in 29 villages. The project has a well-developed extension programme which also features puppet shows.

(Williams, 1992:44)

The use of solar cookers has been introduced to a number of local communities as part of ICDP interventions and in an attempt to reduce fuelwood use (Mwanduka and Thampy, 1995; WWF-Tanzania, 2001; Flintan, 2002). McDonald (2002) suggests that through these initiatives in Kiunga Marine National Reserve (KMNR), Kenya (see Appendix 1) and a similar Project in the Spiny Forest of Madagascar, the use of wood has been reduced.

However, on visiting the KMNR Project (as a case study for this research) there was little evidence to suggest that this was the case in the Kiunga context. The solar cookers were rarely used due to the length of cooking time; a need to protect the cookers from disturbance such as wandering livestock; and a lack of enthusiasm from the local women. They can also be expensive to make.

6.6 INCOME GENERATION

Many ICDPs on the continent focus specifically on women in their support of income-generating activities. Many women tend to be more easily mobilised and have a greater entrepreneurial spirit than men (Flintan, 2001a). For example, CARE International's Women's Cooperative Enterprises Project in northern Cameroon began as a pilot subproject within a larger village agroforestry project. In the first two years, women extension agents helped 200 women in 18 villages to form women's cooperatives for income-generating activities. They produced fruit-tree seedlings for sale and have since expanded into vegetable production (Williams, 1992:46). McDonald (2002) suggests in the Udzungwa Mountains, Tanzania (see Appendix 1) that forest cover has been kept intact as a result of such livelihood interventions.

Those ICDPs that focus on the utilisation of large wildlife tend to focus on the raising of funds from tourism and big game hunting which is then distributed to local communities. In the more development-oriented CBNRM projects (see Section 8) the community (in Namibia) or the local

governmental authorities (in Zimbabwe) control the process. In the majority of ICDPs the decentralisation of control has only been partial, and usually involves Park or other authorities as well as the ICDP itself. Though women have a smaller role in the decision-making processes that initiate the projects and determine the distribution of income, it would appear that in general, the households or community as a whole do benefit. Where income is allocated to community projects women often find that their priorities are not taken into account and thus projects tend to be more focussed on men's needs rather than those of the women (Barnes, 2000).

A number of projects in Botswana aim to improve the living standards of the local communities through the sustainable and equitable use of natural resources. Activities focus on sustainable management and indigenous use of veld products including the integration of women in veld resources management (Jones, 1999). Examples are given in Box 6.5.

Other activities that are supported include basket making, pottery and embroidery (Beaudet and Nash, 2000; Flintan 2001a, 2001c; Ngece and Nafuna, 2002); seaweed farming (Flintan, 2001c); beekeeping (Ngece and Nafuna, 2002); chicken rearing (WWF-Tanzania, 2001; Flintan, 2001c); livestock and livestock products such as butter making; petty trading and vegetable farming (Muderis Abdulahi, 2000).

Box 6.5 Sustainable Utilisation of Resources

A USAID funded NRM project in Botswana provided financial and technical support to establish an NGO-operated revolving fund to buy *Devil's Claw*, a veld product collected by over 2,500 household members in Southern Kgalagadi and Kweneng districts. The income predominantly goes to women, who are the primary collectors.

The development of a long-term strategic marketing plan for the NGO was also financed to enable them to market the product in international markets, enhancing economic returns to women (PACT-Website, undated). A primary objective of the NRM project was to:

"improve the participation and role of women in resources management programmes, thereby improving their incomes."

A similar project has been set up by the Botswana Kalahari Conservation Society (KCS), which is working with local community groups to develop sustainable use activities in order to promote an improved conservation ethic. Again a revolving fund was set up and a salaried liaison position with the aim of supporting women in the utilisation of *mopane* worms. Through organising themselves into a management group, the women are able to harvest up to twice the annual number of these caterpillars for wholesale and retail trade. Groups of collectors are given credit to allow them to store their harvest for sale once the peak production season is past. Improved storage will be provided in the form of containers supplied to retailers on a twelve-month repayment scheme. There is also a savings component of the project to help women keep their earnings. However:

"one informant believed the project carried some risks as he thought the strengthening of the women's groups to improve their position in the mopane industry were challenging vested interests within the industry".

In addition,

"the increased income earned by the women and relative economic independence they are gaining threatened to upset gender relations within the community, particularly between husband and wife. Socio-economic research is being carried out to monitor the situation. A representative of the KCS did not agree with this analysis, pointing out that women were not threatening existing markets and that their earnings were not a threat to relations between husband and wife, as the project was not changing existing relationships within the market, but assisting women to be more productive".

(Jones, 1999)

The establishment of a grain store and milling allows women to add value to the products: flour can be sold for a higher price than grain. Handicrafts such as basket making have the added advantage that they can be completed at times when domestic labour is not critical, as at night. This may, however, have the indirect impact of encouraging more fuelwood burning to give light.

In Zanzibar it has proved necessary to formally register women's groups such as those that produce handicrafts, in line with legislation. This has also had the advantage of encouraging the groups to formulate plans, strategies, membership guidelines and a constitution. Though this was not easy and took time to achieve, these more formal structures have improved the sustainability of the groups (Flintan, 2001c). Similarly in the Kiunga National Marine National Reserve, Kenya, women's groups have been supported and mobilised through WWF's 'eco-friendly' handicraft project (see Box 6.6).

Box 6.6 Eco-friendly Handicrafts in Kenya

The WWF-supported Kiunga Marine National Reserve ICDP has established an 'eco-friendly' handicraft project for women. It focuses on the collection of washed-up flip-flops from the beaches in and around the Reserve from which key rings, necklaces, bracelets, cushions, mosaic pictures and other innovative items are made.

The women make these handicrafts at home and, generally, to order. Once made, the crafts are checked for quality and 'finished off' by a core group at the Project base camp which consists of one woman from each of the participating villages. Such finishing touches are vital to maintain a sufficiently high quality for sale. If the crafts are considered to be of too poor quality they are returned to the women who made them with an explanation.

Each woman is paid individually and the money is spent on schoolbooks, household items, the repair of houses, food, clothes, cosmetics, earrings etc. All the women are very happy to have this extra income and as a result feel more empowered to take a more active part within community life. However, no money is given to the community as a whole despite encouragement by the Project staff to do so. By giving money to their villages, the women may be better supported in their work.

In 2001 a small group of women attended a craft fair, held in Nairobi, where potential contacts and new outlets were identified and some crafts sold. In addition WWF-Switzerland bought 15,000 key rings for distribution to its members. The crafts are also sold from the Reserve Education Centre, in local hotels and in craft shops in Nairobi. The Kiunga Marine Eco-friendly Handicraft Team participated in the UNEP organised 'Plastic Fantastic' fashion show, June 4th, 2001 by making a flip-flop dress worn down the catwalk by a top model. After the show the dress was auctioned. In the first last six months of 2001, 'Eco-friendly' sold over 3,000 USD worth of items.

However, marketing the products has proved problematic and is an area that the Project will be prioritising in the future. A number of women who have been actively involved in the handicraft production for a year or so complained that they needed more work and higher sales. Furthermore, they somewhat resented the fact that more women were being encouraged to join the handicraft production despite there being insufficient work for everyone. They also suggested that they would feel capable of continuing the work should a time arise when WWF was no longer able to support them.

(Flintan, 2002a) [For more details see Appendix 1].

The importance of transportation to markets and the marketing of the products have been taken into account in some projects. However many projects still fail to contribute significantly to the resolution of the problems that arise, mainly due to the lack of knowledge, power and connections that local people hold outside their close vicinity, and the scattered and non-cooperative nature of production. Box 6.7 describes how one project funded by UNIFEM overcame some of these problems.

Some projects may take time to establish, especially in communities unused to economic and trade activities. For example, in the Zambezi Wetlands it was found that though women have traditionally made clay pots for domestic use, producing them for markets can be a completely unfamiliar concept. Under such circumstances, it takes time for new entrepreneurs to decide whether they want to continue the activity and to learn the requisite skills, such as record keeping and billing. Only

time will tell which community members find sustained entrepreneurial activity suitable for themselves (Beaudet and Nash, 2000).

Box 6.7 Shea Butter Production in Burkina Faso

UNIFEM has been supporting the production of shea butter in Burkina Faso amongst women's groups. Liberalisation policies have opened up new market opportunities. However, when production is scattered and producers are not well organised, producers are less able to get a good price for their goods and are more vulnerable to price fluctuations. To deal with this problem, UNIFEM pioneered the development of a marketing strategy to link producers more directly to markets through five marketing centres. Here, women organise sales collectively, setting prices and negotiating directly with exporters. These sales points are linked to a marketing centre in the capital city, Ouagadougou.

To strengthen women's bargaining power, UNIFEM organised Shea Butter Trade Fairs, providing an excellent forum for product promotion, marketing and discussions with various partners. In addition, the producers organised themselves into a network that empowers them as a group to access larger markets and negotiate better prices. The cosmetic industry has been targeted as the key customer, breaking through the monopolistic pricing imposed by the large foreign food industries. By 1999 in the course of organising around better marketing strategies, the women upheld a common basic price, which together with quality improvements, enabled them to sell the butter at twice to three times the price obtained in 1998.

(UNIFEM, 2000).

6.7 RURAL CREDIT AND SAVINGS SCHEMES

Micro-credit and savings schemes are often supported in conjunction with income generating projects. The schemes are seen as an entry point to other activities: they create social cohesion, increase mobilisation; and open up opportunities. Women are more often targeted than men because women generally have less access to financial resources and loans. Thus, micro-credit is seen as the necessary support for women to create opportunities to diversify their livelihoods, move away from a reliance on natural resources and enable them to afford alternatives for unsustainable commodities such as local fuelwood. Furthermore, women tend to be more readily mobilised than men and their cooperatives are therefore easier to establish and maintain.

Some ICDPs have seen the value of working with local government institutions or NGOs that support micro-credit and loan schemes. For example the USAID funded NRM Project initiated the establishment of rural women's Natural Resources Users Association through a Botswanan NGO in which women operated a group micro-lending and micro enterprise development programme. The Association brings together over 400 active resource users who, on average, increased veld resources-derived incomes by 500% per year in two years by working together to pool production, introduce new product lines and make changes in their marketing strategies (PACT-Website, undated).

Similarly, within CARE's project in Awash NP, Ethiopia, groups of pastoralist women have been organised to form credit and savings groups. They have started a rural savings system through regular monthly contributions. They use the money to discharge their social commitments such as those resulting from marriage and funeral ceremonies (Muderis Abdulahi, 2000). Micro-credit and savings projects have the added advantage of providing a reason for women to meet on a regular basis – a forum for the sharing of problems, exchanging ideas and supporting each other as well as maintaining control over the loan process.

However, micro-credit schemes can often be problematic. The poorest of the poor are likely to miss out; banking principles and their application are often impractical and are alien to many people; economic impacts are not very positive; and livelihood integration must be linked to the savings and credit scheme (Flintan, 2000). Problems may also arise where the money borrowed is invested in

livestock. This can be risky as livestock can die before producing offspring, leaving the borrower with a loan that cannot be serviced. An alternative scheme has been introduced by WWF in the Udzungwa Mountains, Tanzania: the 'borrow a cow, give a cow' scheme, described in Box 6.8.

Box 6.8 'Borrow A Cow, Give A Cow' Zero Grazing Scheme

Around the Udzungwa Mountains National Park, WWF have supported a 'borrow a cow, give a cow' scheme. It has been designed to increase the standard of living of local communities and their nutrition through increased protein consumption in the form of milk. It is also seen as a way of reducing poaching and poverty by offering alternative sources of income.

WWF 'loans' a group of women a cow (a Friesian-indigenous cross breed) from which they breed. In addition, some financial support and technical assistance is provided for veterinary services and the construction of the shed or pen. The cow is fed on cut grass and salt.

Milk is taken from the cow and either used for household consumption or sold. Earnings can be high. For example from July to December 2000, Msolwa women's group was able to raise a profit of Tshs. 337,840/= (equivalent to US\$ 422 00). Half of this profit was distributed to members of the group (10 in all) and the remainder was reinvested.

Once the cow has produced a female calf, the calf is given back to the project in 'payment' for the 'loan' of the cow. The calf is passed on to another group who starts a new initiative. The original cow remains the property of the first group who can continue to breed from it and can either keep the successive calves or sell them.

Some women are now planning to introduce biogas production from the cow dung, and one group has also branched into poultry production.

(WWF-Tanzania, 2001; *personal observation*, 2001).

6.8 TRAINING

Training elements within some ICDPs have increased. It has been realised that, due to a lack of education and capacity, training is vital and must accompany other activities such as income generating schemes or environmental protection. Training is particularly important for women, who are generally less educated than men. It is slowly being realised that the education of girls is as important as that of boys, if not a basic right, and, increasingly, it is being considered a worthwhile investment for future household security. Some ICDPs have initiated girl scholarship schemes for local secondary schools in an attempt to encourage girl attendance (Flintan, 2002a).

However, it is often difficult to find women to carry out the training and this compromises their success because there is less interaction between the teacher and pupil, and men are less likely to understand women's problems and needs. Even women extension workers have been found to work with men rather than women, following cultural norms. Unless women are specifically targeted or special efforts made to include them, it is likely that they will not receive training and technical assistance (Larson and Nzirambi, 1996).

6.8.1 Training in Environmental Issues

The WWF-funded Lake Nakuru ICDP has given training in environmental issues both within the communities and at residential courses. Training in the field is open to all members, but a selection committee chooses the participants for the residential courses. No records have been kept of attendance levels at training sessions that take place within the communities, but staff suggest that there is a higher attendance by women. However, at the residential course only 16% of participants were found to be women (Mwanduka and Thampy, 1995). Additionally environmental education

may form an element of ICDPs which may be encouraged, for example, through the setting up of 'nature clubs' in schools (Ngece and Nafuna, 2002).

Agricultural extension is also supported by some ICDPs, though this tends to be targeted at men rather than women. In the Zambezi wetlands, training and demonstrations about increasing agricultural incomes were given with the aim of enhancing women's participation in environmentally sound agriculture, including inter-cropping and agroforestry. It is suggested that as a result food security in the area has increased (Beaudet and Nash, 2000).

6.8.2 Training in Income Generation and Production Methods

Training in income generation, production methods and micro-enterprise is a feature of a number of ICDPs in the region. In Burkina Faso UNIFEM provides training on how to preserve shea nuts in order to postpone the processing work until after the agricultural season. Training also helps them ensure that the quality of the local butter meets international standards, even if it is produced in scattered, home-based or village-based units. By 1999, over 300 women in 25 associations had been trained in improved production techniques to meet the quality standards of international markets (UNIFEM, 2000).

Within the CARE-supported ICDP in Awash, Ethiopia, one women's group collected palm tree leaves, locally known as *Unga*, for sale to traders. However, they had not learnt how to increase the value of the leaves by processing them, and asked the project to give them training in handicrafts. Approximately 30 women were selected and trained for 15 days, in collaboration with the district's Economic and Social Development Office and the regional Women's Affairs Office (Muderis Abdulahi, 2000:8).

It has proved useful to initiate a training programme where village 'mobilisers' are trained and who then return to their villages to train others. The Kiunga Marine Reserve ICDP carries out its support for handicrafts in this manner. Women spend 3-4 weeks at the Project HQ being trained and practicing their skills. This promotes a feeling of cooperation and solidarity between them. They are then more confident to return home where they initiate further trainings and mobilise and encourage women to become involved (Flintan, 2002a, Appendix 1).

6.9 BIODIVERSITY AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Some projects, particularly forest projects, have made constructive attempts to involve women as well as men in natural resource management. Those projects that have realised the need for increased community ownership of, and involvement in, the management processes tend to be those projects that have also recognised that 'community' is not equitable and heterogeneous, that a contribution from all the community is important, and that special efforts must be made to include marginal groups, including women.

In Cameroon, the Kilum-Ijim ICDP began by organising meetings with specific groups, such as men, youth and women in order to discuss their ideas regarding community forest management. It was found that each group tends to defend its own interest. For example, men tend to support the notion of traditional systems of management, while women and youth often advocate new forest management institutions (Hakizumwami and Fuchi, 2000).

In order to address the male dominance in natural resource decision-making, women, as well as other traditionally under-represented groups such as the youth and marginal ethnic groups, are represented in the new forest management institutions. The position of women on the committees is not tokenism: in almost all cases women take the role of treasurer and, in one case, a vice-president. By having women in these key positions, it is recognised that the committee 'can work'. Thus the new forest management institutions offer a first opportunity for women to take responsibility for natural resource management decisions (Hakizumwami and Fuchi, 2000:69).

Women are constrained by time and therefore find it difficult to attend meetings. A study in Zimbabwe showed that less than one third of women attended meetings in the area. Reasons for this included the dominant cultural ideology which posits men as spokespersons and decision-makers in public forums; 'sexual policing' involving husbands forbidding women to attend meetings without them because of a fear of adultery; and women's heavy workloads: in many cases they are expected to take on men's tasks when meetings are held so that their husbands can attend (Moore, 1996b in Scheyvens, 1999c:130). It is therefore important that more effort is put into organising meetings at times and places suitable for women, or providing alternative fora or 'spaces' that encourage their inclusion.

In Senegal, a project on the Popenguine Reserve was actually initiated by a Women's Association called 'Regroupement des Femmes de Popenguine pour la Protection de la Nature' (RFPPN) supported by the Senegalese Government and the EU. The main focus of the project is the promotion of community management within the Reserve. Activities include the restoration of biodiversity, scientific research, reforestation and co-management of village natural resources and the creation of a training centre in community management of protected areas (Zeba, 1998).

6.10 OTHER PROJECTS

Other elements of projects that have focussed primarily on women include:

- Nature clubs (Flintan, 2002a; Mwanduka and Thampy, 1995)
- Urban and beach clean-ups (Flintan, 2002a; Mwanduka and Thampy, 1995)
- Soil conservation (Abbot *et al.*, 1999; Mwanduka and Thampy, 1995)
- Provision of meat from culled or legally hunted game (Barnes, 2000)
- Provision of wells and other water supplies (Flintan, 2001c)
- Provision of infrastructure necessary for electricity supply (Flintan, 2001c)
- Ecotourism (Ngece and Nafuna, 2002)

7. LESSONS LEARNT FROM CBNRM PROGRAMMES IN THE REGION

The CBNRM programmes described here: CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources) in Zimbabwe and CBNRM in Namibia are more development-focussed than the ICDPs that have formed the central focus of this study. CBNRM programmes can be perceived as a movement or process initiated nation-wide to allow a greater level of community control over natural resource use in rural areas, supported by enabling legislation. Conversely, ICDPs tend to be more 'project' based and are usually linked to a specific National Park or other protected area. Despite their differences important lessons can be learnt from CBNRM that are extremely relevant for ICDPs and their success.

7.1 CAMPFIRE

CAMPFIRE is often cited as the most successful CBNRM programme. However it has been suggested that the participation of women within the programme continues to be limited despite donor and central government requirements that women constitute an integral part of it (USAID, 1994a; Patel, 1998). Household revenues are distributed to household heads – mainly men – and men dominate positions of authority. As a result women are constantly marginalised both in involvement and from benefits resulting from the Programme (see Box 7.1; 7.2). This is despite the fact CAMPFIRE revenues are used most efficiently, resulting in expanded employment opportunities for the benefit of the *whole* community, where women have been actively involved (Patel, 1998).

Box 7.1 A Lack of Respect

'As old women, we do not feel respected, so we fail to help solve problems. Rather than listen to us, leaders listen to young people who have been to school. Major problems that affect everyone in our community are addressed by only a few people who are friends of government workers and elected leaders'.

Statement by Tonga elder.

CAMPFIRE literature claims that the programme faces constraints mainly because wildlife management has traditionally been male dominated (CAMPFIRE, undated). Indeed, the focus of CAMPFIRE on singular wildlife-related activities (trophy hunting) with singular goals (financial) sharply contrasts with the wider focus of natural resource management in which women play an integral role.

However, it is suggested that the problem lies deeper in the very structure of CAMPFIRE, which failed to actively involve rural communities in the planning and design process (Patel, 1998). In addition, where communities or households were involved, they were viewed as homogenous. As a result, the implementation process neglected the important and different socio-economic roles played by men and women within the patriarchal communities and at the household level in natural resource management. Such gender-blind programmes failed to capture an important part of ecologically sound, traditional resource management knowledge. Furthermore, development interventions perpetuated and strengthened traditional relations of patriarchy to the disadvantage of women (Nabane, 1995).

More recently the programme has tried to expand the activities to include those more related to women such as fuelwood, the collection of plants and mopane worms, and handicrafts. Indirect benefits have included the building of roads, which have increased marketing opportunities.

Box 7.2 Inequalities Faced Through CAMPFIRE

Research in Masoka showed that due to CAMPFIRE, the village had experienced enhanced crop protection resulting from construction of an electric fence; increased employment opportunities; involvement in wildlife management; a village school and increased incomes. However, many of these benefits were experienced on an unequal basis, with women being disadvantaged in the majority of cases. For example, the electric fence meant that, on a daily basis, women experienced difficulty in accessing resources needed for food preparation, particularly firewood and water. Employment opportunities realised from the fence were almost exclusively a male domain: of 98 households interviewed, 32 men had jobs on the fence compared to only two women. Of the total CAMPFIRE-related jobs in the area, comprising nearly 80% of wage employment, only 3% of these were women. The CAMPFIRE wildlife committee was composed entirely of men, though the other committees did include both men and women. The grinding mill committee, originally supposed to be composed only of women, hired a man to be the secretary because the women members were illiterate. Women were clearly disadvantaged in both education and in training activities. Furthermore, income distribution from CAMPFIRE to the households was most likely to be controlled by men, whereas matters concerning agricultural activities, which previously dominated household income, were more traditionally a joint male-female decision.

(Nabane, 1995).

In addition other problems have been addressed. For example, at the beginning of the programme divorced women were not considered as heads of household and thus received no income from CAMPFIRE: this has since been resolved (Child and Peterson, 1991 in IIED, 1994). In many wards, all the Ward Wildlife Committees now have at least one female member. And, as Nabane (1995) suggests, though CAMPFIRE in Masoka (as described in Box 7.2) has gender-differentiated effects that seem to favour men rather than women, the Programme has created opportunities for women which were not previously available. In the future this should be used as a starting point to further enhance women's participation in CAMPFIRE activities.

7.1.1 Lessons learnt

- Supportive legislation and the influence of donors have been important factors in promoting gender equity. However, cultural and social constraints have prevented the full inclusion of women.
- A failure to understand women's views, needs and priorities has meant that some of the impacts of conservation protection have detrimentally affected women more than men. In addition, opportunities for women to contribute to, and benefit from, the CAMPFIRE programme have been missed.
- Traditionally the focus of the programme has been on CWM and big game, which has biased the elements of the programme towards men, marginalising and devaluing women's roles and relationships with other natural resources.
- It is suggested that the root causes of the problems that now exist in CAMPFIRE – a lack of decentralisation to the community level and inequitable distribution of costs and benefits – are founded in the very structure of CAMPFIRE. Firstly, it failed to actively involve rural communities in the planning and design process and secondly, where communities were involved, they were wrongly viewed as homogenous entities.
- Despite its difficulties and failures, CAMPFIRE has opened up opportunities for women that previously did not exist.

7.2 CBNRM AND CRM (COMMUNITY RESOURCE MONITORS) IN NAMIBIA

In Namibia legislation provides opportunities for local communities to establish 'conservancies' that provide them with rights to use the resources within defined geographical boundaries and existing

law (see Appendix 1, Case Study 4, and Flintan, 2001a). An NGO: 'Integrated Rural Development for Nature Conservation' (IRDNC), with support from USAID, DFID and WWF, has initiated a CBNRM programme that supports community participation within the conservancy process.

The initial focus of CBNRM was an all-male Community Game Guards (CGG) programme. However, it was soon realised that women were being marginalised from participation and benefits. As a result attempts were made to involve women in the conservation of natural resources, particularly those resources that they used. After support was gained from tribal authorities, meetings were held with women to find out which resources were used by them and why. An initiative was then launched that employed women as Community Resource Monitors (CRMs). It was anticipated that this would give women the opportunity to access information and a forum for influencing decision-making. This would then evolve into the actual management of natural resources.

The CRM programme was initiated in 1994. Initially the women were employed to address problem animal concerns (in conjunction with the CGGs) as well as the natural resource management issues faced by women. However, it soon became clear that the primary roles of a CRM should be to organise communities and women's groups to better exploit natural resource management opportunities and to facilitate the flow of information between local users, decision-makers (at both local and regional levels) and the 'external' world, such as tourist companies and craft sellers.

Participatory techniques proved useful in the collection of information about who had tenure and use rights to the resources; what veld products were being used, by whom and why; the availability of markets; and the importance of the products to the household economy. The information was then used in the planning and continuing development of the project.

As the programme developed it aimed to raise the capacity of women in CBNRM activities rather than just promote gender balance and satisfy quotas for female participation within community organisations. It promoted the active participation of rural women in natural resource management by their appointment as facilitators within IRDNC and by encouraging conservancies to appoint women as CRMs or Community Activators (CAs). The diverse role of CRMs is described in Box 7.3.

7.2.1 Lessons learnt

A number of important lessons can be learnt from the Namibian CBNRM Programme:

- Strong links between conservation and development have been promoted and achieved. In addition, women's rights to use resources have been linked with responsibilities to maintain and use those rights in a sustainable manner.
- The advice of an 'external' consultant on gender issues in the initial stages of the Project was useful. As a result there has been a clearer emphasis on mainstreaming gender issues. However, since this initial input there has been a lack of gender expertise within the organisation so that gender and women's issues have been addressed only when problems have arisen and in a somewhat haphazard way. With a more planned and structured addressing of such issues, some of problems that have arisen may have been avoided.
- The programme proved to be flexible enough to adapt to the different geographical and cultural contexts found. Change has not been forced but opportunities facilitated that provide space for women to initiate change if they wish to. The programme has exposed women to modern life skills, roles, responsibilities and functions without forcing them to take up such things against their will.

- Information flow was a vital and successful component achieved through the CRMs. As women became more drawn into the conservation processes they took on greater roles in and responsibilities for sustainable natural resource use.

Box 7.3. Community Resource Monitors (CRMs)

In Namibia female CRMs have been supported as a part of the CBNRM programme. Their role has developed over the years and they are now involved in a wide range of activities in connection with natural resource management. These include:

- Forming, and working with, crafts groups as part of craft sales outlets.
- Monitoring use of resources used for crafts, food, building and medicines.
- Sourcing markets for products.
- Developing a resource inventory that can be identified and recorded.
- Mapping resources.
- Providing data and information on resources through ecological and social surveys.
- Planting and propagating gardens of priority resources under heavy use - such as palms - by enterprise related activities.
- Giving training in more sustainable harvesting and use of natural resources; craft quality control business techniques, and other capacity building.
- Developing social maps to aid conservancy formation and management.
- Liaising between community, committees, IRDNC, MET (Ministry of Environment and Tourism), professional hunters and other organisations & passing on information.
- Assisting with problem animal control.
- Promoting conservancy and conservation awareness.
- Assisting with conservancy applications.
- Assisting with benefit distribution.
- Assisting with conservancy membership registration.
- Assisting with committee formation.
- Assisting with drawing up a constitution.
- Discussing and helping with land use planning.
- Promoting AIDS awareness and family planning.
- Providing a link between women, community leaders and CBNRM partners so that their needs, views, perspectives and priorities can be voiced.
- Involving women in decision-making and ensuring that they are represented.

Flintan, 2001a [For more information see Appendix 1]

- Attitudes did not change immediately and it took time to convince users of the benefits of more sustainable harvesting practices, etc. In addition, for the CRMs, being employed and holding responsibilities was somewhat alien to them. Amongst some there was a lack of enthusiasm and commitment to work and many had difficulties communicating conservancy concepts and information with IRDNC management and outsiders. This was partly due to a lack of managerial capacity to provide enough guidance and supervision to CRMs, particularly in the initial stages.
- Time and resources were invested in finding solutions to the problems encountered and adaptations made to the Programme where possible and appropriate. The motivation and enthusiasm of the staff and key community individuals were vital for Project success.
- Community participation was a key component of the Programme and a variety of means were used to promote this, including community workshops, theatre and PRA. Women's problems were listened to and, where possible, addressed.
- Exchange visits were a particularly useful way of encouraging information flow, exchanging experiences and building up solidarity and cooperation between women's groups in different areas. However, between some women's groups, deep-seated prejudices and language barriers caused as yet irreconcilable conflicts.
- It is important for the success and sustainability of the Programme that CRMs are progressively integrated into the conservancies, who are given guidance on planning and directing the CRMs in carrying out their duties, dealing with disciplinary issues and paying salaries. However, once the CRMs have left the relative 'protection' of IRDNC and its direct support, they have found

themselves less valued and supported by the conservancies. Salaries have been reduced and it has been more difficult for them to influence resource management processes and practices.

- A well organised and supported handicraft programme has formed a central focus of the project. This has included a strict quality control process; a mix of tradition and modern techniques of production; the establishment of sustainable sources of primary products needed; 'ownership' of the programme by the CRMs and handicraft members; and an emphasis on sourcing and developing sustainable markets.
- The support of linkages between the different components of the programme has proved important. Sustainable use of resources has been combined with monitoring initiatives and income-generating activities such as handicrafts, thatch-grass collection and tourism. Many of the components have been built on traditional roles of women.
- An integrated and holistic approach has been taken, and shown to be of value.
- There are still a number of problems and constraints that compromise the success of the CRM Programme. These include a continuing male domination in societies and institutions; conflicts between local food security and commercial enterprises; the handing over of responsibility for CRMs to conservancies; continuing problems with elephants and other wildlife; and international and local ethnic conflicts.

8. CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS LEARNT

8.1 DIFFERENT NEEDS AND PRIORITIES

It has been consistently shown that men and women have different needs and priorities in relation to natural resource management and ICDPs. Gender analyses are important in identifying these differences so that a more equitable process can be initiated.

For example, a gender analysis of the USAID funded Rwenzori ICDP, Uganda (Larson and Nzirambi, 1996) determined that:

Men's NRM Priorities	Women's NRM Priorities
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Agroforestry/tree planting 2. Soil conservation 3. Beekeeping 4. Zero grazing 5. Improved stoves 6. Tourism 7. Women's activities 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contour bunds 2. Off-farm activities 3. Agroforestry/treeplanting 4. Beekeeping 5. Zero grazing 6. Conservation education

If these differences are ignored it can have an adverse impact on natural resource management (see Section 4.1) and create a divide in the support for conservation projects. Box 8.1 describes different views and perceptions found around the Selous Game Reserve, Tanzania. Women possessed less knowledge than men concerning conservation and the ICDP – Selous Conservation Project. In addition they were less aware of benefits from the project and, consequently, were less supportive of it. Women's relationship with wildlife and natural resources was more determined by everyday interaction and direct costs and benefits, than by any perceived long-term benefits and/or cultural or aesthetic linkages.

Critical factors related to the differences between men and women, in relation to natural resource management and conservation, are:

- Gender divisions of labour and responsibilities mean that men and women have different relationships with natural resources and their use.
- The different relationships that men and women have with natural resources and their environment produces different views and perceptions of the value of resources, the environment and landscape, and the costs or benefits of using and/or protecting them.
- Gender differences related to natural resource use are heavily embedded in cultural, social, geographical and historical contexts. However, they are not static and are continuously being renegotiated and restructured to different degrees.
- Environmental change impacts on engendered roles and responsibilities. Often women bear a heavier cost due to environmental degradation.
- Other social divisions such as age, status and ethnicity are also important for defining who has access to resources and power over their use.
- Though women's use of natural resources may be considered to be 'minor' because it has a lower profile than men's, in reality this is not the case. Although women normally collect for subsistence purposes they can be heavily involved in processing and trading too.
- Women are more restricted by time than men because of a heavy and consistent workload.

- Men still dominate decision-making processes despite legislation and informal support for women's participation. In addition women have less control over resources and less access to them. This is particularly true where land is concerned.
- Women have less access to education and health services than men. This has a debilitating impact on their potential input to conservation and development processes.
- Women, rather than men, tend to be more easily mobilised into groups and keen to cooperate with others. Women have realised the advantages of 'group power'.
- Though conservation restrictions impact both men and women detrimentally, they can affect women more because women's responsibilities for fulfilling everyday needs depend on natural resources.
- Many women continue to be marginalised from participation in conservation processes and practices. Their views and priorities fail to be incorporated and their relationships with natural resources are ignored.

Box 8.1 Gender Differences and the Selous Conservation Project

A study carried out within the Megata River Buffer Zone of the Selous Game Reserve (SGR) highlighted the different views and perceptions between men and women of conservation, the Selous Conservation Project (SCP), and the use of natural resources.

For example:

- 52% of women, compared to 20.3% men, did not know why the SGR was established.
- Only 27.8 % of women, compared to 47.8% men, preferred the SGR to be kept for wildlife conservation.
- 22.2% of women, compared to 10.3% men, wanted the area to be converted to cultivation and grazing.
- Only 40.3% of women, compared to 50% of men, had experienced problems with wildlife.
- 70.2 % of women, compared to 91.1% of men, felt that it was important to protect wildlife for their children.
- 40% of women, but only 19% of men stated that villagers should be allowed to hunt as many animals as they need for food.
- Equal numbers of men and women felt that people who poach wild animals should be punished, but that wild animals that caused crop damage should be shot.

Regarding the perceived benefits of wildlife and the SCP:

- More women than men gave 'don't know' answers to the question of perceived benefits of wildlife for Tanzania as well as perceived benefits for communities and households.
- 36.6% of women, compared to 64.6% of men, felt that wildlife benefited those living around the SGR.
- 34.7% of women, compared to 53.9% of men, felt that wildlife benefited them.
- A greater number of women did not know about the activities of the SCP, and those that did gave more negative responses than those given by the men.

Age and status also influenced the responses. Those in the younger and older age brackets tended to be more positive about the SGR and benefits from wildlife, as did those of a higher status within the village.

It is suggested that the identified gender differences reflect the pattern of social stratification in the predominantly Muslim study villages, where public life and political activity are considered to be primarily male responsibilities. Not only is involvement in public village life considered inappropriate behaviour for women, but their heavy domestic and agricultural workload also precludes them from becoming active participants in that predominantly male domain. This, together with the lower standards of education among women than men, means that women tend to be less knowledgeable than men with regard to the wider issues of wildlife management and conservation. Accordingly, conservation attitudes among women are largely determined by the direct experience of the costs and benefits of their effects on domestic life and farm work.

(Gillingham, 1998:21.)

8.2 ENCOURAGING WOMEN TO PARTICIPATE IN CONSERVATION

It has been determined that women are still not participating in conservation and development processes and projects as much as men. Before addressing how this can be overcome it is important to understand why. Through this study a number of key areas of concern have been identified.

8.2.1 Why Women Are Not Participating in Conservation and Development

There is still a lack of understanding about the differences that exist between men and women in relation to natural resource use and conservation, as summarised in Section 7.1. As a result, ways to overcome such differences and take account of them in conservation and development processes have not been initiated.

Women, more than men, have failed to make the link between conservation and development. In addition there is little recognition of the linkages between rights to resources and conservation responsibilities. In the Kiunga Marine Reserve ICDP one woman declared that the conservation practices they now carry out, such as the protection of turtles, are highly dependent on the financial payments they receive from the ICDP for the work. If they did not get paid then they would not protect the nest. In fact, it is more than likely that they would eat the turtle! Though this may be a somewhat generalised and exaggerated statement and there is also some community pressure to protect the local resources, it does question the sustainability of conservation ethics being promoted by conservation organisations such as WWF, both here and in other situations (Flintan, 2002a).

Over the last 20 years the Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Project (LIRDP) in Zambia has initiated a number of different approaches that have focussed on women and/or gender to different degrees. 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 for dissemination of information and provision of support specific to women's needs that were more appropriate to women. This included literacy development, vital to women's effective participation in both Education Days and AGMs, and skills and knowledge development for income generation, health and nutrition. However, due to changes in staff, strategies and priorities, by 2000 there were no specific activities incorporating gender issues within the programme (see Table 8.2).

Project Stage	Establishment (1986)	Implementation and Review (1986-96)	Rationalisation and Refocusing (1996)	Transition to SLAMU*
Activities relating to women	Women's Programme initiated in 1987. Nine female extension workers. - Focussed on crop, poultry, vegetable production & home economics. - Over 50 women's clubs with over 1,000 members.	- 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 LIRDP programmes recognising problems of working separating with women.	Mainstreaming of the participation of women through the policy so 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.	No specific activities, responsibility for incorporating gender considerations remains with individual sections of LIRDP. Little evidence of women being taken into account or benefiting from the Project.

Table 8.2 Women and LIRDP, Zambia

* SLAMU - South Luangwa Area Management Unit

Today in Luangwa, the lack of participation of women in conservation activities has resulted in the loss of the sense that mutual long-term benefit is possible through joint responsibility and co-operation in carrying out sustainable management of the forests. The increasing demands placed upon women for their time and effort mean that they have become self-centred, which has 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 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 achieve, successful management of natural resources. Consequently, improved management does not occur unless it is strictly enforced by those with the power to do so, such as Chiefs or LIRD, or if an outsider with new resources and ideas arrives (Barnes, 2000).

Past experiences have also influenced the participation of women in the Kiunga Marine Reserve ICDP where resistance to join women's groups was found. This was greatly due to past experiences of a WB funded project, which focussed on the formation of women's groups that were given 'hand-outs' for activities such as income-generation. The groups tended to be dominated by 3 or 4 influential or powerful women in each village who dominated decision-making processes and income distribution. Jealousy, division and friction surfaced between the women and between the groups. In addition there was an expectation amongst some that the function of any NGO project is to provide hand-outs only, and the idea that development should be a joint effort or community-driven is somewhat alien. These attitudes and past experiences were not a good basis upon which to build further work and it has proved difficult to reform the groups. It is hoped that the 'new' groups being established will be more democratic and sustainable with each group producing a constitution and electing representatives such as Head and Treasurer (Flintan, 2002a).

Men can prove resistant to women participating in conservation and development processes and initiatives. They may feel threatened or they may feel that women's participation will result in neglect of their other duties and responsibilities. To overcome this, ways must be found to reassure men that women's involvement does not necessarily undermine men's status and is likely to benefit the whole of the household and community. This can be achieved through encouraging an inclusive effort in the process. Involving and informing men of the benefits and elements of women's involvement is important and it may be useful to have a male who is trusted and known to the community particularly the male members, on the project team, to promote women's inclusion.

Participation in ICDPs and decision-making processes requires a certain level of education, for example to understand written documentation and budgets: an often necessary prerequisite for election onto village conservation committees. Women's lack of education is a debilitating factor that limits their participation in many elements of ICDPs and natural resource management. Women are often very aware of this and as a result lack confidence and self-esteem and feel incompetent and diffident. As a result, though mechanisms and legislation may exist that support women's participation in village committees, the required quotas will often not be met, and if they are, the quality of their participation must certainly be questioned. As Box 8.2 shows, despite their physical presence women can remain marginalised and excluded. Men can dominate conversations, believing that their views are more important. Women can lack confidence and self-esteem and believe that there is little value in their contribution. Nevertheless, their presence is one step forward from their complete absence.

Other experiences also offer useful insights. Hilary Solly (1998) has explored the difficulties that confront the formation and continued functioning of community-based groups in the area of an ICDP working within the Dja Reserve, south Cameroon. People in the area found it enormously difficult to work together, largely due to lack of experience and mutual mistrust and suspicion. One woman's association there, though initially dynamic and motivated, encountered problems that included theft of group funds; local corruption; family feuds; mistrust and disagreement between the women; a lack of experience and history of such associations in the region; and the borrowing and non-repayment of loans by local men. Today the association has lower expectations and is less active

Box 8.2 Marginalisation from Decision-Making Processes

Within the LIRD in Zambia, 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 village action group to determine the projects and their budgets for the coming year. In 1998-9 attendance of women was 48-49%. However, women rarely participated in the meetings to the same degree as men. In general, they were excluded from many of the decision-making processes. As these comments from local women 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.' ... 'the woman speaking is not listened to, the Vice-Chair just carries on'.

(Barnes, 2000)

A study of community organisations on Mount Kilimanjaro showed that the NGO sector has become viewed as one of the major ways to access scarce resources and thus to finance modern, socio-economic development. At the same time involvement within NGO projects has taken on a means of gaining status within the local communities. People perceive involvement in women's groups, for example, as related to education, modernity and industriousness, and often the poorest and/or less prominent women do not participate, because they feel inferior and looked-down upon. The social position of a woman and the household from which she comes is therefore central to an understanding of the ways in which participation in local women's organisations is structured. Women are differentiated according to age, marital status, religion, wealth and social status. Hierarchies of prestige are thus produced according to local norms and values, which heavily influence a woman's opportunities to engage with the NGO sector (Mercer, 1999).

Conflicts can exist between traditional and modern institutions and structures. In most countries in Africa there is legislation and institutional backing for more equitable gender representation and participation. However, such provision often conflicts with the still predominantly male-dominated traditional institutions that exist, particularly at the community level. Change cannot be forced, but it is possible to support more equitable decision-making processes by encouraging a recognition, acknowledgement and incorporation of elements of the modern within the traditional. Traditional institutions are not static and over time have developed and adapted to different pressures, including, for a large period of their development, colonial (male-dominated) powers.

Gender still tends to be given a low priority within ICDPs and even where originally supported, can be superseded by what are perceived to be more important issues. For example in the Awash ICDP, Ethiopia, though the inclusion of women was an important objective for the project, there were more immediate problems of getting the project to function as an ICDP rather than an 'old fashioned' rural development project. Simultaneously, the ICDP was attempting to address a major conflict between the different pastoral communities living there and to build up a functioning relationship between the Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation and CARE (Dawn Hartley, *personal communication, 2001*).

8.2.2 Ways to Encourage the Participation of Women and Increase their Benefits

Many women, particularly poorer women, are most concerned with fulfilling the basic needs of the household on a day-to-day basis. Therefore, short-term needs are a priority and may conflict with the long-term objectives of conservation and natural resource management. For example, in Uganda the HIV/AIDS pandemic has increased poverty and the instances of women and child headed families. There is no way they can be convinced not to encroach on the forest when they have nothing to feed on. The family leaders, especially the women need to be empowered financially to enable them to feed their families (Ngece and Nafuna, 2002). Therefore, increasing women's security and reducing

the time that they spend fulfilling basic needs can be an important factor in providing time for women to focus on more conservation-oriented activities.

Rights and responsibilities of men and women in relation to natural resource use must be more clearly linked and defined. Communities should be encouraged to reflect on their relationship with their environment and to take responsibility for it. A culture of dependence should be avoided by methods such as avoiding hand-outs or paying community members to protect resources. A culture of reciprocity, responsibility and cooperation has been lost in many communities as competition for resources has increased and modern economic and social processes have encouraged individualism or privatisation. Such a culture must be revitalised if communities are to take responsibility for their own development in a more sustainable manner.

The importance of knowledge, awareness and information flow within natural resource management has not been sufficiently recognised. All knowledge should be valued, including women's knowledge. Women in particular often 'miss out' because they are unable to attend meetings and decision-making forums. If women feel that their knowledge is of value and it can contribute to conservation and development processes then they are more happy and confident to share it. Such sharing draws women into the conservation process and increases their 'ownership' over it and its impacts. This can then increase their sense of responsibility. In addition if they are not aware of decisions made, new legislation introduced and the opportunities that ICDPs offer, then they are not able to react and participate in them. Some ICDPs have realised the importance of providing forums for information sharing and structures or measures for information flow. Networks have been established, community facilitators supported and exchange visits facilitated.

Projects need to be better linked to the region within which they are situated and understand the ripple effects of their impacts. The greater political, social and economic contexts must be realised and accommodated. Better working and supportive relationships should be facilitated between conservation organisations and other groups working in the same region, particularly those focussing on poverty alleviation, food security and equity issues. National Parks and other protected areas do not exist in a vacuum, and ICDPs should not try to do so either. Those projects that take a more holistic and integrated approach to conservation and development are generally those that are more successful in including and benefiting a greater proportion of the community (Abbot *et al.*, 1999; Solly, 1998).

National policies in support for women and more gender equitable society can be a useful entry point and reference for the promotion of such issues in ICDPs. For example, much constitutional reforms and new legislation has been enacted in eastern and southern Africa in recent years (Flintan, 2000; Leonard & Toulmin, 2000; Larson and Nzirambi, 1996). A provision requiring that both spouses must consent to any transactions relating to land that is considered matrimonial property has been enacted in Uganda (Land Act 1988 art 40) and Tanzania (Land Act 1999 art 165 (3)). In South Africa this was provided for in 1984 under the Matrimonial Property Act (Leonard & Toulmin, 2000). In addition, women's groups are increasingly aligning themselves to broader platforms of interests such as land and politics.

Some have suggested that improved natural resource management will only take place when there is a closer link between those who control and those who use resources. Where gender issues are concerned this raises a number of difficult questions as to how women should gain more control over resources, as they are major users. Direct intervention is difficult and can cause conflict within communities. However, the strengthening and empowering of women can be supported, through education, for example, and the promotion of a more gender-equitable property rights policy.

Questions still arise as to whether a 'gender' or a 'women's' approach should be the focus of ICDPs. In many cases it has been shown that in general it is more successful to take a gender approach: an approach that focuses on the relationships between men and women and how those affect natural resource use and conservation processes and practices. It should not be assumed that gender issues will be taken care of by having a woman on the team – many women know little of women in development or gender analysis. Gender issues should be more strategically approached and incorporated from the design and planning of projects, rather than being 'added on' as the need is perceived.

However a 'women-only' component may be necessary where:

- There are strong taboos against unrelated males and females working together.
- The effects of past discrimination need to be overcome.
- Many households are headed by women.
- Women specialise in tasks that could be made more productive with outside help.
- Women and men have clearly defined roles and responsibilities in relation to natural resource utilisation.
- Where women request a measure of self-reliance to avoid conflict or competition with men.

8.3 SUMMARY OF WAYS TO ENCOURAGE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION.

- Both women's and men's knowledge needs to be valued and incorporated. Awareness building and information flow is important in encouraging participation in conservation and development processes and in encouraging a feeling of 'ownership' over the process.
- Increasing women's security and reducing the time that they spend fulfilling basic needs can be an important factor in providing time for women to focus on more conservation-oriented activities. More time should be invested in encouraging women's attendance at meetings and providing 'space' for a higher level of qualitative participation.
- Rights and responsibilities of men and women in relation to natural resource use need to be more clearly linked and defined. Communities should be encouraged to reflect on their relationship with their environment and to take responsibility for it. The rebuilding of a culture of reciprocity, responsibility and cooperation may need to be achieved.
- Projects need to link more strongly with the greater context in which they work, taking into account larger social, economic and political issues. Those projects that tend to take a more holistic and integrated approach to conservation and development are those that are more successful in including and benefiting a greater proportion of the community. Projects need to be flexible and able to adapt to change as it occurs.
- Supportive and non-conflicting ways must be identified that will support women in obtaining more power and control over, and access to, resources. To do this it is important to understand the local social and political dynamics and power relationships that exist within communities prior to intervention. It should be recognised that usually men still have 'power over' women which compromises women's 'power to' achieve or gain.
- Change cannot be forced, but opportunities can be facilitated that provide space for women to initiate change at a pace that they feel comfortable with. Women can be exposed to modern life skills, roles and responsibilities without forcing them to take up such things against their will.
- A gender approach to conservation and development should be incorporated from the outset of ICDPs. In some instances where large gender imbalances already exist or there are opportunities to support women as a natural resource user-group, it may be more successful to support 'women only' components. Attitudes do not change instantly and addressing gender issues must therefore be seen as a long-term process. For both women and men some of the concepts may seem alien and thus should be introduced slowly.

- The contribution of existing and traditional institutions and village (women) groups should be recognised. They can be strengthened and built upon. At the same time modern institutions can also provide opportunities for supporting more equitable conservation and development. A merging of the two and the opportunities that they present can be an important part of ICDP development.

ICDPs that have been particularly successful in including and benefiting women as well as men include:

- Kilum Ijim Mountain Forest ICDP, Cameroon (Abbot *et al.*, 1999).
- Kiunga Marine National Reserve ICDP, Kenya (Flintan, 2002a).
- Udzungwa Mountains ICDP, Tanzania (WWF-Tanzania, 2001).
- Mount Elgon ICDP, Uganda (Scott, 1998).
- Gashaka-Gumti ICDP, Nigeria (Dunn *et al.*, 2000).
- In the past, though less so now - LIRD, Zambia (Barnes, 2000).

8.4 ROLE OF COLLABORATORS AND DONORS

A number of ICDPs have recognised the advantages of working with a range of local partners (Abruquah, undated; Scott, 1998). This spreads the 'ownership' of the process and also allows skills and expertise to be shared. Where gender issues are concerned it opens up opportunities to link with gender-focussed or women's groups that can provide critical input into the achievement of more equitable conservation and development.

Donors have played a primary role in encouraging NGOs, particularly conservation NGOs, to include and take account of gender issues within ICDPs. For example:

"WWF has undergone significant changes in recent years...although biodiversity concerns remain paramount, it is realised that these objectives will only be achieved by linking conservation with human needs. The involvement of UK's Department for International Development (DFID) as a donor at Gashaka Gumti is also significant because of its emphasis on poverty elimination, gender-sensitive development and participation" (Dunn *et al.*, 2000:143).

However, though this has meant that 'gender' and 'equity' are commonly cited within project proposals and strategies, in reality they still tend to be marginalised by other 'more pressing' and/or less political, less resource-demanding issues. If a more equitable and sustainable conservation and development process is to be achieved gender must be a central element of ICDPs. Donors should apply more pressure on projects they fund to achieve this and promote monitoring and evaluation that measures results not only quantitatively but qualitatively too.

That is not to say that change should be forced: it should not. Indeed, one must be careful not to set men against women for the sake of pursuing abstract notions of justice. Activities that appear to stem from an externally driven agenda, not clearly shared by a substantial proportion of the population concerned, can cause resentment amongst both men and women. Local level advocacy work is very important together with the provision of discussions that begin with local concerns and address issues of practical relevance to women in the community (Leonard and Toulmin, 2000).

8.5 CONCLUSION

Historically, conservation processes in Africa have been heavily influenced by male-dominated colonial powers. Even today, conservation organisations remain dominated by men. Community-based conservation on the continent initially focussed very much on CWM particularly of big game, which linked with men's roles and relationships with natural resources but marginalised women who had closer relationships with other resources such as plants. In addition the gender differences inherent in local communities were not understood and accounted for. As such decision-making processes failed to be inclusive and represented only the more powerful voices in the community – the men.

Men and women in Africa are still highly dependent on the collection of natural resources for fulfilling household needs and food security on both a constant and temporary basis. The collection of such resources is gender differentiated in relation to socio-economical, cultural, ethnic and geographical contexts (see Section 2.0). Both environmental degradation and enforced protection and conservation have limited communities' access to resources. Due to women's greater reliance on the collection of resources on a day-to-day basis, such limitation has had a greater negative impact on them, resulting in greater time and physical input. Often women will risk danger and undergo great hardship whilst attempting to continue resource collection.

Women have less access to education and health as well as security of resources such as land. Though women are most active around the household they still do not tend to control household resources, particularly cash transactions. In addition men have undermined women's use of resources as they have been further integrated into the cash economy. Women's lack of control over resources and decisions pertaining to them limits positive relationships with the environment.

Women's share of decision-making power at both macro and micro levels remains low – it remains dominated by men. Women are compromised by a power structure which in rural communities is heavily loaded in favour of the male. Women may be farmers, but they are rarely field managers. This is particularly true in Islamic regions where culture and religion deny women participation in public life.

Women, rather than men, tend to be more willing to form cooperatives and self-mobilise themselves as a group to share responsibilities, provide support, and perhaps to initiate change. Women have seen the advantage of 'group power'. They will often attend meetings *en masse* and sit together in a group where they feel less vulnerable. Single women, particularly divorced or widowed, tend to be more mobile, confident and able to participate in activities. In many countries there are strong networks of women's groups or 'self-help' groups and/or government supported Women's Associations. They offer great opportunities as a foundation for more formal institutions that could be involved in conservation activities and provide 'space' for a focus on women's interests and needs. However their contribution has yet to be fully recognised and utilised

Poverty and the need to fulfil daily needs are major constraints for women in terms of finding time or resources to invest in conservation and environmental practises. Women prioritise on a short-term basis, rather than thinking long-term. This tends to directly conflict with conservation and environmental objectives that are more long-term in nature. However, in some cases both women and men have realised the long-term advantages of conservation and the opportunities that exist. They have become increasingly involved in project activities and even self-mobilised themselves and made demands from authoritative parties for support (see Section 3.4). While male and female interests with regard to environmental management and biodiversity conservation may be compatible,

this is not always the case. A sensitive institutional understanding of gender relations is critical. In many countries of Africa this is still rare.

Inaccurate assumptions have been made about the involvement of women in ICDPs – this has been presumed to be of an equal level to men, however in many cases it has been realised after project initiation that this is not the case. Staff have failed to achieve a common understanding of gender issues nor agreed upon an approach to address them. There is a failure to develop strategic frameworks and policies for the mainstreaming of gender issues, particularly at the country/regional level. As a result, as gender issues arise they are then, and only then, addressed, if at all. In general, gender is not approached in a knowledge- or experience-based, strategic and organised manner, but has relied more on a haphazard ‘muddling through’ and the use of skills and resources available at the time.

Projects in the past have tended to emphasise a ‘welfare approach’ focussing on women in their capacity as mothers and carers - seen as central to both social and economic development. It identifies women, as opposed to a lack of resources or access, as being the problem. As a result projects have tended to target women's perceived practical needs as opposed to their strategic ones. This has since developed into a greater emphasis on women’s empowerment and more recently, an emphasis on a ‘rights-based’ approach (see Section 5.2).

Despite a growing emphasis on ‘participation’, in general, ICDPs still fail to involve local communities within project planning and implementation. Where they are involved, the inequitable social and power dynamics found in many rural areas compromise women’s contribution in favour of men’s. In practice a number of different focal areas have been initiated to encourage the involvement of women (see Section 6).

Many ICDPs on the continent focus specifically and/or mainly on women in their support of income-generating activities. Many women tend to be more easily mobilised and have a greater entrepreneurial spirit than men. Women’s groups have proved an important factor in the implementation of such schemes. Their formalisation (for example in response to legislation) can improve their sustainability. The importance of transportation to markets and the marketing of the products have been taken into account in some projects. However many still fail to contribute significantly to the resolution of the problems that arise due to the lack of knowledge, power and connections that local people hold outside their close vicinity and the often scattered and non-cooperative nature of production.

Micro-credit and savings schemes are often supported by ICDPs in conjunction with income generating projects (Section 6.6). The schemes are seen as an entry point to other activities; able to bring social cohesion; build up mobilisation; and open up other opportunities. Women are more often targeted than men as in general women have less access to financial resources and loans. Several ICDPs have recognised the importance of working with local NGOs and/or governmental structures. Non-monetary based schemes are also being encouraged and proving successful. Training elements within ICDPs have increased. It has been realised that due to a lack of education and capacity, training is vital and must accompany other activities.

Despite these more successful elements it remains the case that many ICDPs in the region have failed to benefit women to any great degree. This is particularly the case where projects have focussed on wildlife and wildlife management. Though today ICDPs are indeed focussing on a more inclusive, integrated approach and have recognised the need to address gender issues, they still have a long way to go before they achieve more gender equitable conservation and development. Only a handful of ICDPs identified during this study showed really positive results.

Important lessons can be learnt as to why this is still the case from the increasing number of more development-oriented CBNRM programmes found in Africa, particularly southern Africa. These have been detailed in Section 7. In addition the experiences of those ICDPs that have both accounted for gender and women's issues, and those that have not, provide a good foundation for achieving more equitable results.

There is still a lack of understanding about the differences that exist between men and women in relation to natural resource use and conservation (as summarised in Section 8.1). As a result, ways to overcome such differences and/or take account of them in conservation and development processes have not been initiated. Women, more than men, have failed to make the link between conservation and development. In addition there is little recognition of the linkages between rights to resources and conservation responsibilities. In some cases, the lack of participation of women in conservation activities has resulted in the loss of a sense that mutual long-term benefit is possible through joint responsibility and co-operation in carrying out sustainable management. Short-term priorities override long-term perspectives.

In addition women's lack of education is a debilitating factor that limits their participation in many elements of ICDPs and natural resource management. Women are often very aware of this and as a result lack confidence and self-esteem and feel incompetent and diffident. Also the social position of a woman and the household from which she comes from can also be important in understanding the ways in which women participate in community life and activities. Women are differentiated according to age, marital status, religion, wealth and status. Hierarchies of prestige are thus produced according to local norms and values, and can heavily influence a woman's opportunities to engage with the NGO sector and other organisation/institutions.

Increasing women's security and reducing the time that they spend fulfilling basic needs can be a critical factor in providing time for women to focus on more conservation-oriented activities. Support should be concentrated on empowering women to improve their ability to negotiate their rights and influence management decisions, rather than focusing too exclusively on pushing through legislation to enshrine more formal rights. Women in particular often 'miss out' due to not being able to attend meetings and decision-making forums. If women feel that their knowledge is of value and it can contribute to conservation and development processes then they are more happy and confident to share it. Such sharing draws women into the conservation process and increases their ownership over it and its impacts. This can then increase their sense of responsibility.

National policies in support of women and more gender equitable society can be a useful entry point and reference for the promotion of such issues in ICDPs. In addition projects should work more closely with local NGOs addressing equity issues and women's networks. The strengthening and empowering of women can be better supported through for example education. This can go hand in hand with the promotion of more gender-equitable rights and policies.

Questions still arise as to whether a gender or a women's approach should be the focus of ICDPs. In many cases a mixture of the two is most beneficial. However, gender issues should be more strategically approached and incorporated from the very design and planning of projects rather than being added on as the need is perceived. This should continue throughout the life of the projects with time for adequate monitoring and evaluation, followed by reflection, adaptation and re-strategising as required. Local communities including women should be a part of this process.

APPENDIX 1 – CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 1: UDZUNGWA MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK ICDP

Gender has been a strong focus of the WWF-supported Udzungwa Mountains National Park (UMNP) ICDP in Tanzania since its establishment. Women living in the villages adjacent to UMNP are traditionally of low status. However this is improving slowly and with support from TANAPA (Tanzania National Parks) and WWF, women are forming working groups (there are 13 at present) to perform a variety of activities for conservation and income generation. Increasingly the groups have been self-mobilised and self-formed, and the women have seen the benefits of working together to access resources and support from WWF and donors.

Through a survey carried out by WWF and normal interaction with the community, it was realised that women were lacking skills needed for conservation, organisation, business management, leadership and decision-making as well as the capital for income generating activities. WWF and TANAPA thus considered it crucial to enhance women's capacity through training, awareness raising, and alternative income generation activities.

Before UMNP was established in 1992, it was well known that the communities around the reserve made a living through sales of firewood, charcoal and timber. The establishment of the Park meant stopping these commercial activities. Finding alternative means of income generation was seen as one of the ways to facilitate park conservation.

To address these problems, particularly those related to women, some activities were supported through the WWF Udzungwa Mountains Project. It was expected that addressing these problems would, in turn, make it possible for women to participate fully in conservation activities. These include:

Awareness Raising

The aim of awareness raising activities is to emphasise to women the link between their activities and conservation of the Park. More than twenty-five seminars and workshops on environmental education were organised for community groups in Udzungwa from 1991-2000. In all of these seminars almost half of the participants were women.

Capacity Building

Training for women through programmes, seminars, study and exchange visits focuses on environment, gender and other socio-economic dimensions. Workshops have been carried out on micro enterprise, leadership, women's rights and integrated farming techniques.

Tree Planting and Nurseries

In a bid to provide alternative sources of firewood, WWF established seven nurseries from which women have been taking seedlings to plant in their plots and home compounds. The communities now run the nurseries as commercial enterprises. A total sum of Tshs. 1,700,000/= (US\$ 2,125) was acquired last year. A bank account has been opened to save this money and the signatories are two women and two men. People can be fined for not looking after the seedlings properly. Woodlots have also been established – at present totalling nine - and are owned by nine women's groups. Women are harvesting these woodlots not only for home use but also for sale to companies such as ILLOVO Sugar Co. The money obtained is used to assist with domestic shortages and develop their groups' activities. WWF often acts as a broker between the community and such commercial companies. The woodlot is made up of the following species: *Sena syamea* (a species that sheds toxic leaves which kill the undergrowth); *Cederala odorata*; *Acacia manglum*; *Tectona grandis* (teak); *Tamrindus indica*.

Shallow Well construction

To help women with water access problems and also facilitate nursery activities, WWF has constructed five shallow wells: two in the west and three in the east of the region.

Small Short-term Loans for Zero Grazing with a 'Borrow a Cow, Give a Cow' Scheme.

The scheme has been designed to heighten the standard of living of local communities and improve their nutrition through increased protein consumption in the form of milk. It is also seen as a way of reducing poaching and poverty by offering alternative sources of income. WWF gives a group of women a cow (a Friesian-indigenous cross breed) from which they breed. In addition, some financial support and technical assistance is given for veterinary services and the construction of a shed or pen. Milk is taken and either used for household consumption or sold. For example, from July until December 2000, Msolwa women's group was able to raise a profit of Tshs 337,840/= (equivalent to US\$ 422 00). Half of this profit was distributed to members of the group (10 in all) and the remaining amount was reinvested. Once the cow has produced a female calf, the calf is given back to the project in 'payment', and is then passed on to another group. The original cow remains the property of the first group who can continue to breed from it and either keep the successive calves or sell them.

Some women are now planning to introduce biogas production from the cow dung, and one group has also branched into poultry production.

Integrated Farming Technology

One women's group is being supported in cultivating rice, maize and vegetables and poultry keeping as an intensive integrated farming project. The women contributed 20% of the total costs and WWF provided 80%.

Traditional Irrigation Improvement Scheme in Msosa-West

In 1998 TANAPA and WWF constructed an irrigation system to help women develop onion farming. The scheme is helping both men and women because the village government has established a very good system of plot distribution and water sharing.

Support for Community Initiated Projects (SCIP)

The programme is designed to support communities in implementing development projects such as schools, health centres, teachers' houses and roads. Communities normally initiate the project and approach TANAPA/WWF for technical and material support. About seventeen SCIP projects have been implemented through TANAPA and WWF support.

Village Community Conservation Committees (VCCCs)

Women were also considered in institutionalising community participation in Park management through the creation of Village Community Conservation Committees. In each of the VCCCs there are between two and four women. The representatives are elected by the community and participate on a voluntary basis. Although some of them have taken on leadership roles, others still lack confidence to speak. The role of the VCCCs is to raise awareness on conservation issues, encourage participation in activities, monitor seedling use and assist in the control of poaching and illegal logging. Some are also involved in other activities such as the protection of water sources and village-based beekeeping. The VCCCs act as the link between the people and the park authorities. As the number of VCCCs has grown the need for an umbrella VCCC to coordinate and monitor the activities and participation of all the groups has become evident. This will be established in the near future.

Impacts on the Communities and Women

- The project has reduced - if not solved - some of the communities' problems. These include health, road and education services.
- As a result of strengthened collaboration between the park and communities, forest fires that usually occur during the driest months of the year have been controlled.
- Poaching has been reduced. Records indicate that the number of poachers decreased from 58% in 1999 to 28% in 2000. In general local communities are knowledgeable about the Park and support it.
- Community members are becoming increasingly aware of environmental issues. VCCCs, youths and women groups are becoming active in conservation activities. Women are keen to take up more positions in the VCCCs.
- Training and exchange visits have exposed women and communities to various development activities and have enhanced enthusiasm for development.
- The tree planting programme has reduced the communities' dependence on the Park forest resource by more than half. Without the time-consuming chore of firewood collection, women have acquired more free time, which they now use for other income generating activities.
- People have now started to appreciate the link between conservation and development, especially after attending seminars on environmental education and income generation strategies. The seminars taught them different ways of identifying business opportunities through conservation activities.
- Women enjoy harvesting their plants using and/or selling them.
- Milk and vegetable production has helped to increase the nutrition value and incomes of families within Udzungwa.
- Women feel empowered not only at family levels but also at the society level as they have gained economic power, and freedom to articulate their problems.
- The formation of the various groups provides a number of forums for women to come together, share problems and experiences and support each other.
- The men in the communities support the involvement of women in the various activities because they have realised the benefits. However some women are concerned that as their activities become more economically successful they will be 'hijacked' by more powerful elements in the community, namely the men.

CASE STUDY 2: LUANGWA INTEGRATED CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, ZAMBIA

(Barnes, 2000a)

Introduction

The Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Project (LIRDP) operates in the Lupande Game Management Area (GMA), eastern Zambia. It acts as buffer zone for the South Luangwa National Park (SLNP). The majority of the inhabitants are from the Kunda tribe, which is governed by six chiefs whose positions are matrilineal and held for life. Women, as well as men, may hold senior positions such as heads of villages. However in general, women are subordinate to men. Early marriage is common; women eat separately from the men; they must kneel when presenting something to a man and at meetings women must sit on the floor whilst men sit on chairs. This submissive tradition together with poor education means that women lack self-confidence and take little part in decision-making processes.

In the early stages of the LIRDP 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 large workload or attitude of both men and women towards them, the women's clubs provided opportunities that were 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 - 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).

LIRDP 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. 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 LIRDP. All CLAs are male and as a result the particular needs of women cannot be fully understood or met.

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 three of the 78 CBS are women. As a result there is little encouragement for women to play an active role in the conservation and management aspects of LIRDP. 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, LIRDP), or if an outsider with new resources and ideas arrives.

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 establishment and subsequent discontinuation of the Women's Programme, marking the end of most of the 68 women's clubs that had been established.

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 that are not usually perceived as being those of a woman.

Women's Involvement in Incentive Schemes

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. The principal way in which LIRDP 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.

However, 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. Women who receive cash (some VAGs only give household cash to household heads and not to 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 benefits the whole family. However, the money that men receive is often spent on beer.

Project Stage	Establishment (1986)	Implementation and Review (1986-96)	Rationalisation and Refocusing (1996)	Transition to SLAMU*
Activity relating to women	Women's Programme initiated in 1987 - Nine female extension workers. - Focussed on crop, poultry, vegetable production & home economics. - Over 50 women's clubs with over 1,000 members.	- 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 - programmes recognising problems of working separating with women.	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.	No specific activities, responsibility for incorporating gender considerations remains with individual sections of LIRD. Lack of benefits flowing to women.

Table 9.1 Stages of Women's Projects, LIRD, Zambia

* SLAMU - South Luangwa Area Management Unit

In addition, much of the benefit that could have been gained through the implementation of projects has not been seen due to poor financial management by the VAG Committees. Furthermore, in some cases, Chiefs have expropriated money from the VAGs for their own use. Finally, funding for men's projects takes preference over women's.

Women's Participation in Decision-Making Processes

Women are under-represented on the VAGs (the main decision-making institutions concerned with CBNRM). In addition, although a good percentage of women attend important meetings such as the AGMs, their contribution and active participation is poor. They are generally excluded from many of the decision-making processes due to traditional power structures and responsibilities, which cause them to lack the confidence and ability to communicate their ideas and perspectives effectively.

The election of women onto the VAG Committees is hampered by several factors. Firstly, in order for a woman to be considered suitable 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. Women must also have time to spare from every day responsibilities, which can be rare. 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 advantages of being represented by a woman. 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. In addition a married woman would have to ask permission from her husband to become a committee member and if he thinks that such a commitment will require her time, he may refuse.

Synthesis of Findings

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 isolation of women from resource management and its benefits, reduction in the value of the stake they have in biodiversity, and 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 part in project activities, and some men can see the benefit of involving women, if only for manual help with 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.

Box 9.1 Key Measures to Promote Women's Involvement in ICDPs

Policies should:

- ~Take account of the different relationships that women and men have with natural resources.
- ~Provide clear linkages between incentives/benefits and the management of the full range of natural resources and the associated costs. Thus costs are outweighed by direct, tangible benefits that are accessible to, and appreciated by, cost bearers.
- ~Inculcate a willingness and commitment to address the broad range of issues affecting the ability of the local community - particularly women's - ability to manage their resources sustainably.
- ~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.
- ~Implement monitoring and evaluation procedures with suitable indicators to track the progress, achievements and difficulties of promoting women's involvement in ICDPs.

Institutions and management should:

- ~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.
- ~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.
- ~Identify traditions that 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.
- ~Use the most appropriate method for educational and decision-making meetings to encourage full community participation, rather than the most often used or easily replicated.
- ~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.

Support Services should:

- ~Develop partnerships with relevant agencies (donors, governments, park, NGOs) to support key activities with women.
- ~Make efforts to tackle higher-level issues of poverty, population growth, educational inequities and food security which have a direct impact on women's natural resource management.
- ~Undertake educational and awareness-raising activities.
- ~Work to create a sense of independence, self-confidence and belief amongst women.
- ~Ensure those delivering support services are well trained in working with women and aware of their needs.

Natural Resources Management should:

- ~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.
- ~Appreciate and use women's knowledge about natural resource management and be clear about which natural resource management practices should be followed.

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 ICDPs through a gender-specific programme can lead to isolation from other activities and contribute to dependency. However, integrating work that 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 ICDP 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 ICDPs and acting to address the broad range of constraints.

Recommendations

Clearly, LIRDIP would benefit from considering the measures described in Box 9.1. In addition, a number of recommendations can be made specifically for the Project.

- A woman should be appointed in a community liaison role with the responsibility of promoting the participation of women in the ICDP.
- Training and education for community and staff to improve effectiveness and efficiency of natural resource management should be provided.
- A code of conduct should be developed with the communities for the meetings. This could highlight issues that constrain women's involvement in the meetings and raise their profile as stakeholders.
- There should be more collaboration with other organisations such as NGOs to address the broader issues affecting women's involvement in LIRDIP.

CASE STUDY 3: THE KIUNGA MARINE NATIONAL RESERVE CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

(Flintan, 2002)

The Kiunga Marine National Reserve Conservation and Development Project started in 1996/7 and involves a partnership between the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) and WWF. It focuses on the Kiunga Marine National Reserve (KMNR), which was designated in 1979 and covers 25,000 ha of which about 20,000 ha is mangrove forest. A population of 15,000 people live in the Reserve, distributed on the largest of the 51 islands, and a further 100,000 live in the surrounding areas. The majority of the population are Muslim and have lived there for all of their lives. They earn a living mainly through fishing. In the past some have also relied heavily on the sale and collection of mangrove wood, though in recent years this has been severely curtailed by the conservation policies and legislation of the Reserve.

The KMNR ICDP focuses on six areas, including:

- Habitat and fisheries management and conservation.
- Education programmes.
- Income-generating projects.
- Environmental health, including waste management.

One of its central aims is to adopt a gender sensitive approach to conservation.

The remoteness and insecurity of the Kiunga area is a constraint. It limits the number of existing and potential economic opportunities, and the high illiteracy level can make it difficult to explain the need for conservation.

Those who are more mobile tend to be divorcees and some of these can be very self-confident and even 'radical'. They, as well as the unmarried and more educated women tend, to be the most active in community development and Project activities. Traditionally women are involved in shell (mainly cowrie) collection for sale to dealers, trap-fishing for subsistence purposes and collection of mangrove firewood. In addition some women weave or dress-make or are involved in petty business. Traditionally, women are not expected to 'work', though a small number are teachers. However today, many are keen to play a more 'productive' role in the household. In general, women have a large degree of control over finances, deciding how household income is spent. The sharing of other household decisions varies from household to household. There is a feeling amongst the women that their lives have improved in recent years and that their culture and society is becoming more liberal and accommodating of their views and needs.

The Project has found some resistance from the local communities. This was partly due to past experiences of an ill-advised World Bank funded project that focussed on the formation of women's groups that were given 'hand-outs' for income-generation. The groups tended to be dominated by 3 or 4 influential or powerful women in each village who dominated decision-making processes and income distribution.

Women are not able to swim and therefore cannot help in Project fieldwork as the men do. However the women are asked to make reports of turtles and their nests. In return they are paid 500 Kenyan Shillings and are expected to care for the nest through a hatchling incentive: 20 Kenyan Shillings for each successful egg hatched and 10 for an unsuccessful one. However, the reliance of paying the community to conserve resources does question the sustainability of any conservation ethic being promoted by WWF. The organisation does recognise this and is attempting to reduce the money paid and encourage the locals to carry out such work for conservation, rather than solely financial, reasons.

A gender and participatory planning workshop led to the organisation of an annual 'Environment Day'. In September 2000, five villages participated in the World Clean Up Day and over 4,000 kg of plastic waste was collected. It is now an annual event. Local villagers have also been involved in similar days held in Mombassa that have allowed them to meet other communities and share ideas and experiences.

The ICDP has established an 'eco-friendly' handicraft project. Selected women from local villages are trained in eco-friendly handicraft production. Key rings, necklaces, bracelets, cushions, mosaic pictures and other innovative items are made from pieces of old flip-flops. The women, once trained, will act as key 'mobilisers' in the villages on their return and will be expected to carry out further trainings themselves. The women enjoy coming together for the trainings that can last up to 3-4 weeks, and it has been possible to promote a more cooperative and reciprocal culture between them. Women also make crafts, such as baskets and mats, from palms.

All the women were very happy to have the extra income and consequently feel more empowered to take a more active part within community life. The income from handicrafts is seen as a supplement rather than an alternative or replacement. However, no money is given to the community as a whole, despite encouragement by the Project staff to do so. By giving money to their villages, the women may be better supported in their work.

However, despite a number of outlets, marketing the products has proved problematic and is an area that the Project will be prioritising in the future.

Despite the enthusiasm of some, it has, in general, been difficult to mobilise the women, who tend to do things because they are asked to, particularly by the female project manager with whom they have a good relationship, rather than because they want to or feel motivated to do so themselves. In addition there has been some resistance from husbands who are unwilling to let their wives be away from home for the 3-4 week training session. To overcome this it has been useful to have a trusted, local male as a key member of the Project team, who has been able to persuade the doubting husbands that the women's attendance at the trainings is likely to benefit everyone. Despite this there have been a number of cases where husbands have not allowed their wives to attend.

Other elements of the Project are:

- Health and sanitation training.
- A girl-student's scholarship scheme.

However, though women are certainly involved in Project activities and are aware of the issues and WWF's concerns such as turtle conservation, few, if any, really understand or realise the link between the support they are getting for local development and the conservation of local natural resources. Some do, however, realise that such conservation will benefit them in the long term. This is particularly the case for those who have been involved with the Project for some years. They understand the need for sustainable use of resources and that cleaner beaches and more wildlife is likely to lead to more tourists. Making such links is fundamental for the future sustainability of the ICDP – and without this link its long-term future must be questioned.

Some of the women are also involved in a WWF-supported solar project. This works in conjunction with an international NGO - SHEP (Solar Health Education Project). The project supplies solar ovens and trains the women to use them. Between one and four cookers are given to each village. Although the cookers do certainly save firewood and relieve the labour burden of women to some degree, they are not generally used on a regular basis. In fact the women need to be coaxed and encouraged to use them. Not only are they an alien way of cooking food, and some suggested that the food did not taste as good, but also they can only be used during the dry months when there is sufficient sunshine. The cookers have to be guarded from animals – domestic and wild - and some women suggested that they actually enjoyed going with others to collect firewood: a time to get out of the village and have a gossip.

Overall, the Project has experienced a number of conflicts and problems. Many of these have centred on village and regional politics. Activities such as fund-raising have been politicised and WWF's role has been misunderstood. In addition the Project has experienced funding problems. For example the Project would have liked to have been able to hire a professional adviser on production, marketing, design, packaging and new products for the 'Eco-friendly' handicraft project. Unfortunately, there were not sufficient funds available.

Ideally the Project would like the Reserve to become self-financing. However, to do so a large amount of capacity building and investment (financial, time and other resources) is needed before this can be achieved. For the time being, markets continue to be sourced for the handicrafts, the quality of them is continuously improved and new and innovative uses of beach waste are being explored. The use of the cookers continues to be promoted and the attendance of girls at secondary school supported. In addition new partnerships with local social development groups are being sought to improve the sustainability of the Project.

CASE STUDY 4: CBNRM PROGRAMME IN NAMIBIA

(Flintan, 2001a)

Namibia has a very active and reasonably well-established CBNRM programme. This is facilitated at the highest level through the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1975, which was amended in 1996. As a result of this amendment, the Ordinance now gives communal area farmers, as well as commercial farmers, the right to organise themselves into legal bodies called conservancies, with authority over the consumptive and non-consumptive use of wildlife and some other natural resources.

To date, some 15 communal-area conservancies have been registered and another 40-45 are being established. At the start of 2001, 7.5 million hectares of Namibia's communal area was established or developing as conservancies. In 2000, approximately N\$3.5 million² was generated by CBNRM for rural people. This rose to N\$6.1 million between October 2000 and September 2001.

The CBNRM programme involves a range of partners including USAID, the Namibian government, WWF-US, WWF-UK, DFID and Namibian NGOs including IRDNC (Integrated Rural Development for Nature Conservation). IRDNC is the main implementer of the programme.

When initial moves were made to promote CBNRM in Namibia, women were not taken into consideration, predominantly because of their lack of participation in traditional androcentric structures. They were not taking part in decision-making processes. Resource control was given to the men, with adverse consequences. The initial focus of the work of NGOs involved in CBNRM was the establishment of an all-male community game guards (CGG) programme concerned with encouraging communities to take responsibility for wildlife protection and facilitate control of problem animals.

It was then realised that there were large faults with such an approach: not least that women were neither receiving direct benefits from the project, nor playing a role within it. In addition it was realised that women were actually major resource users. Women were also major crop producers and therefore suffered greatly from any animal damage that occurred. At the same time, women had been educationally deprived and consequently had little access to cash and credit opportunities.

As a result a CRM (Community Resource Monitor) programme was initiated in 1994. Originally the women were employed to address problem animal concerns, in conjunction with the CGGs, as well as the natural resource management issues faced by women. However, it soon became clear that the primary roles of a CRM should be to organise communities and women's groups to better exploit natural resource management opportunities and to facilitate the flow of information between local users, decision-makers (at both local and regional levels) and the 'external' world, such as tourist companies and craft sellers.

Initially the CRMs focussed very much on gathering knowledge from local women on natural resource use, for example palms, grasses, trees and veld foods, and understanding the problems that women experienced with these resources. Women used techniques such as group discussions, resource maps, seasonal calendars, ranking exercises and trend matrices to collect information on who had tenure and use rights to the resources; what veld products were being used, by whom and why; the availability of markets; and the importance of the products to the household economy. The information was then used in the planning and continuing development of the project and the monitoring and promotion of sustainable use.

As the programme developed it aimed to raise the capacity of women in CBNRM activities rather than just promote gender balance (and quotas of women) within community organisations. It promoted the active participation of rural women in natural resource management by their appointment as facilitators within IRDNC and by encouraging conservancies to appoint women as CRMs.

The project is now based in three areas - Kunene and West and East Caprivi - between which there are many differences, both positive and negative. These are due to a number of reasons including the geographical and cultural contexts of the local women involved; the length of the presence of the project; and the use of slightly different management approaches within the different areas (see full report for more details).

² 1 US\$ = 9.57 N\$ on 14th November, 2001.

Exchange visits have been carried out between the different groups of CRMs, which, despite language barriers and friction between the groups, proved very successful, educational, and solidarity building.

Despite problems encountered the CRM programme has been very successful in many areas. Today there are over 35 CRM/CAs in both the Kunene and Caprivi regions. In East Caprivi there are 11 CRMs - five of whom are paid directly by IRDNC and six paid by the conservancies. IRDNC pays the CRMs approximately N\$600 per month: more than the conservancies pay.

In the future CRMs will be progressively integrated into the conservancies, who will be given guidance on planning and directing the CRMs in carrying out their duties, dealing with disciplinary issues and paying salaries. Minor adjustments in job descriptions are expected to allow the CRMs to conform to the management activities of each conservancy. As the role of CRMs has developed over the years, they now have the ability to get involved in a wide range of activities in connection with conservancy development (see Box 9.2).

In addition, many women, particularly in East Caprivi, are involved in making baskets and other crafts –there are 7 groups in 5 different villages. The groups also act as a forum for information exchange, coordination, marketing and training. The products are sold in a Craft Shop close to the women's villages as well as to outlets in Windhoek. Some problems were encountered with the original outlets for the products (see full report).

The women are paid by the craft market on a monthly basis, and for those products sold. Often the women will work to specific orders. For example one group recently received an order for 60 mats for which they would be paid approximately N\$1 per mat. The baskets are graded according to their quality. High quality, large baskets, that might take as long as 1 month (working part-time) to make, can sell for between N\$60-100. Dyes for the baskets are made from bark and shrubs (red-brown colours) growing in the local area, as well as from sorghum leaves (mauve), ash (grey) and very rusty tin cans (dark brown).

The development of the craft programme as an enterprise for women and other disadvantaged groups has led to the establishment of new revenue sources for the area. Today, approximately 700 people, in groups of about 30, are involved in making crafts, including children and one or two men. In addition some people have become involved in other enterprise developments through small credit loans from the Development Bank. Women making baskets earn on average approximately N\$250 per month. They continue to be trained in alternative methods of craft production. Palm gardens have been established to provide a sustainable source of raw materials for the crafts.

Thatch grass has always been used locally as a roofing material. However, it was rarely sold by the communities on a commercial basis, not least due to a lack of market. Despite initial problems, a number of markets have now been established for the grass, such as local tourist lodges. It is suggested that in three years the thatching grass project in Caprivi provided benefits of N\$400,000 to over 800 households. The CRMs monitor the process and prevent over-use.

A number of tourism enterprises have also been established, together with a Traditional Village and a campsite. Both men and women are involved in staffing and managing these. In addition income is received from levies on visitors at local tourist lodges and from activities such as sport hunting. Some of the conservancies are now in a position to begin distributing the money raised, which for some communities is substantial.

The women's increased role, and the recognition of that role, together with increased earnings, has had great social, as well as economic, benefits. Women now have greater confidence and self-esteem. More women contribute to meetings, decision-making processes and encourage others to do the same. Though in Caprivi the women are officially working on a part-time basis, they find themselves in much demand, which sometimes conflicts with their own personal responsibilities. However, most do not mind the extra work, as they know that it is valued and important.

There are a number of problems and constraints that compromise the success of the CRM programme. These include a continuing male domination in societies and institutions; conflicts between local food security and commercial enterprises; handing over responsibility for CRMs to conservancies; continuing problems with elephants and other wildlife; and international and local ethnic conflicts (for more details see full report). In addition there are a number of weaknesses – both past and present - to the Programme:

- Insufficient support and supervision in the early stages of the project to guide and train women in their expected roles.
- Insufficient emphasis on solving the problems that arose in the initial stages of the project.

- Having too high expectations of what CRMs could achieve in the complex socio-economic and political contexts in which they work.
- Reliance on a small number of women to hold the project together: without these women and their strengths, the project may fall apart.
- Promoting gender stereotypical roles through supporting projects for women that have always considered 'women's work'. It could be suggested that the project could do more to break such stereotyping, though it is agreed that such issues are very culturally sensitive.
- A lack of gender expertise within the organisation so that gender and women's issues have been addressed when problems have arisen and in a somewhat 'hit and miss' manner. A more planned, structured and strategic addressing of these issues may have prevented these problems from arising.
- The questionable sustainability of the project once it has been totally handed over to the conservancies.

Box 9.2 Summary of Roles of CRMs in East Caprivi

- 1. Monitoring** - tree, palm, grass and fire monitoring systems for other resources; training and monitoring systems.
- 2. Meetings** - find out resources being used (data collection); find out about resource problems.
- 3. Training in Harvesting** – e.g. methods, time; planting palm gardens.
- 4. Management** - fences; planting palms and trees (dye); weeding palm gardens.
- 5. To Support Conservancy Development:**
 - a) Registration of members.
 - b) Promote conservancy awareness - meetings about what is happening in conservancy; talk on radio about what is happening.
 - c) Social surveys - household surveys; community maps; find improved methods.
- 6. Promote Women's Involvement in CBNRM.**
 - a) Meetings about - becoming active in CBNRM; how to benefit from CBNRM (ideas); how to control veld fires; finding out problems; commission levels on crafts; men's and women's impact on natural resources.
 - b) Training - capacity building (pass on raw knowledge); pricing and grading of crafts; harvesting techniques; quality control; book-keeping; monitoring (trees, palms, grass).
 - c) Communication with CBNRM partners - establish contact with Women's Affairs; maintain links with national craft groups; strengthen influence in national CBNRM organisations; organise regular radio talks on women's involvement in CBNRM.
- 7. Coordination**
 - a) Report back to conservancy committees and traditional authorities; partners (MET, IRDNC).
 - b) Meetings - *kbuta*; Conservancy; CRM planning; partners (MET, IRDNC).
- 8. Promote Aids Awareness and Family Planning**
 - a) Training in protecting themselves - condoms, AIDs, one partner; family planning.
- 9. Support Caprivi Crafts Industry**
 - a) Training workshop; book-keeping; pricing and grading; quality control; market requirements.
 - b) Find markets for products (marketing); communication with CBNRM partners; advertising (radio, t-shirts, TV, signs); exchange visits (opportunities, ideas).
 - c) Meetings to place craft orders; improve quality; collect crafts (grade); feedback on sales.
- 10. Monitor Natural Resources**
 - a) Use: how much being harvested. Best practice: palms - leaves cut (number baskets); thatch - bundles cut (bundles sold and new roofs and sledges).
 - b) Health: how many are left; how healthy.
 - a) Other impacts: rain; wildlife; fire; other plants; livestock; cropping.

(Summary of Workshop at Kubunyana Campsite, 24th June, 2000).

However, considering what the Programme has achieved, its strengths override its weaknesses. In summary, the strengths are:

- The valuing of women's knowledge of local biodiversity.
- The use of participatory methods to collect information.

- The recognition of the inequities that exist in the local societies.
- Its attempts to change such inequities through supporting women and finding ways to improve their status and contribution to the community and household.
- Exposing women to modern life skills, roles, responsibilities and functions without forcing them to take up such things against their will.
- Its ability to build upon the traditional roles of women such as collecting grass and basket-making: both traditionally seen as 'women's work'
- Finding ways for women to improve their income and that of the household. Though the amount generated may not appear to be large, for the poorest amongst the communities it is certainly very beneficial. Reliance on income generation through products, such as baskets, means that the money/benefits can be easily returned to the producer. This proves more difficult when dividing out money/benefits from camp-sites and/or sport hunting.
- Its recognition of and ability to build upon the strong alliances that exist between women in their villages: this formed a good basis for working together on natural resource management issues.
- Its ability (though some might say luck) to choose women to lead the project who had strength, conviction and enthusiasm to continue despite problems.
- Ensuring that women take on responsibilities, e.g. for the sustainability of the natural resources that they use.
- The formation of a good communication network between women, the rest of the local communities and 'outsiders'.
- The exchange of ideas and experiences between the different groups within the project and with similar groups from other projects, e.g. through exchange trips.
- The emphasis on integrating the CRMs into conservancy management to encourage sustainability.
- An approach that focuses on 'gender mainstreaming' rather than quantitative measurements of numbers of women on committees etc.
- The provision of advice on gender issues to the project from 'outsiders'.
- The flexibility to adapt the programme to local contexts.
- Having faith that the programme will work despite the problems that have arisen.

These strengths and weaknesses are not exhaustive and, it should be recognised, result from a comparatively short study of the CRM programme. Also, as can be seen, some points can be defined as both strengths and weaknesses depending upon which angle they are looked from. This illustrates the complexity and sensitivities of the situation and suggests how difficult it is to address gender issues and support women and 'women's projects'.

There has been much criticism of the CBNRM process due to its emphasis, in the past, on large animals: usually considered the domain of men. As a result women had been marginalised and had generally 'missed out on any resultant benefits. The CRM programme, as it has evolved in the past ten years, has certainly changed this and though the project is not perfect, many positive aspects have been achieved. Women have now been drawn into the CBNRM process and are receiving benefits from it. Their roles and responsibilities have been recognised and continue to be built upon. In addition, their position within local communities has improved and their self-esteem and confidence has grown. Despite this, large challenges still exist that must be overcome. The most important of these is to ensure the sustainability of the programme in the future, particularly under conservancy management. Though firm foundations appear to be in place for doing so, how successfully this will be achieved is yet to be seen.

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