

A GENDER SENSITIVE ANALYSIS OF A COMMUNITY-BASED
WILDLIFE UTILIZATION INITIATIVE IN
ZIMBABWE'S ZAMBEZI VALLEY

by

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ABSTRACT

Zimbabwe's Communal Areas Management Program For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), is a grassroots natural resource management initiative that promotes utilization of natural resources as an economic and sustainable land use option in Zimbabwe's rural areas. Currently the program focuses on wildlife utilization as a development intervention to improve the economic livelihood of the rural communities. Under CAMPFIRE, The village of Masoka developed a plan which allocated a large portion of the land under its control to leased hunting safari operations. A smaller portion was protected by a wildlife fence and allocated to cultivation and settlement. This study examines the development consequences of this initiative with reference to the differential outcomes for men and women. Both sexes reported less crop damage, less time spent guarding crops, and the total elimination of animal caused human injuries/deaths within the fence. The village's wildlife committee was all male, but women said it represented their interests very well. The study reveals that the program has gender differentiated benefits as well as disadvantages. The study also shows that the program and associated development activity, has initiated many changes in village life. Some of these have led women into opportunities which were formerly not available including formal education, cash payments, and paid employment. Although the process of change points to greater inclusion of women, there is still substantially different access to money generated in favor of male dominance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of figures.	4
List of Tables	5
INTRODUCTION	6
THEORETICAL CONCERNS	10
Conceptual Framework for Gender	
Analysis in Natural Resource Management. . .	10
Women and Natural resource Management. . .	13
THE STUDY	15
Study site	16
Data Collection	17
RESEARCH FINDINGS	19
Fence Impacts	19
School Impacts	24
Employment	26
Training Impacts	26
Income Impacts	31
Future Impacts	35
DISCUSSION	36
CONCLUSION	39
REFERENCES	40

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The Location of Masoka and its landuse plan .	16
Figure 2. Fence Crops Protection	20
Figure 3. Personal Safety Improvement by Fence.	21
Figure 4. Household Fence Employment	22
Figure 5. Fence Disadvantages	23
Figure 6. Gender, Education, & Age	25
Figure 7. Composition of Committees	27
Figure 8. Reasons for male only Wildlife Committee	28
Figure 9. Wildlife Committee Decisions	29
Figure 10. Workshop/Training Opportunities	30
Figure 11. Decision Making on Use of Money	32
Figure 12. Community Wildlife Money Decision Makers	34
Figure 13. Future CAMPFIRE Funded Developments	35

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Households interviewed by household type .	19
Table 2.	Pattern of wage labor in Masoka	26
Table 3.	Wildlife, Cotton and Vegetable income by households	34

INTRODUCTION

Twentieth Century African wildlife policies have varied greatly over time and space. While agricultural interests sometimes sought the extermination of wildlife, preservationists often argued for complete protection. These seemingly irreconcilable interests were accommodated by the development of policies to separate human settlement from wildlife habitat (Mackenzie, 1988). Starting with the establishment of East African game reserves under German rule (Matzke 1976) and gaining speed with the 1925 set-aside of the continent's first national park in the Belgian Congo (Coolidge 1972), the "separate spaces" approach to wildlife conservation was firmly established by the end of Africa's colonial era (Ilunga 1992).

The transition to independence was a time of special concern for conservationists as they feared a diminution in attention to their concerns. Much to their surprise, the expansion of protected areas accelerated after Africa's decolonization (Barnett and Conover 1989). While 772,500 hectares of protected area were set aside prior to independence, 7,7872,900 were set aside after the "winds of change" had swept the continent (Pullman 1988 as cited in Ilunga 1992).

The post-independence expansion of designated game estate was accompanied by a parallel expansion in para-military forces devoted

to arresting "poachers" in the manner first pioneered by colonial regimes. In spite of this, "wildlife populations have declined drastically throughout much of their former range (Lewis et. al. 1990)." Just as colonial governments failed to attain legitimacy in the eyes of the populace a generation ago, so their legacy of wildlife protection via land confiscation and law enforcement faces similar problems today.

The shift from colonial to independence governance was unaccompanied by any major paradigm shift in resource management philosophy. Belatedly, the changed circumstances are forcing a reexamination of many tenets of the old conservation model. The old model, based on central government initiatives forced upon the local people, is evolving toward a new "participatory paradigm" which places local citizenry in the center of conservation decision making (Marks 1984; Bell 1987; Lewis et.al. 1990; Murphree, 1990; Murindagomo 1990; Matzke and Nabane 1994; Monbiot 1994). This approach calls for attention to the role of local institutions and involvement of local communities in the management of natural resources. The elements are still controversial, but several countries have made major commitments to community based wildlife management. Foremost among them is Zimbabwe through its Communal Areas Management Program For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE).

CAMPFIRE aims to promote wildlife utilization as an economic and sustainable land use option in agriculturally marginal rural areas.

It empowers local communities to manage wildlife resources in defined areas and realize benefits from them. CAMPFIRE has been spreading rapidly in Zimbabwe's communal areas¹, starting with only two authorized districts in 1989 and extending to twenty-two districts by 1992.

CAMPFIRE is a common property resource management approach, but not an open access one. To succeed, CAMPFIRE sites must have well delineated management regimes with exclusive access provisions limiting exploitation of resources to particular groups of users operating under community controls. When operating correctly, communities stand to reap substantial rewards (Peterson and Child 1991; Matzke and Nabane 1994).

An implicit assumption in much of the literature surrounding common property resource management in general, and CAMPFIRE in particular, is that good management will improve the quality of access and benefits for all members of the community (Bromley & Cernea 1993). This assumes a homogeneous society in which equity is the organizing principle, and runs contrary to Roe's caution to differentiate between users under conditions of common property (Roe, E. 1994). The homogeneity assumption has to be examined in more detail if CAMPFIRE is to meet its potential as a mechanism for rural development and community empowerment.

¹ Zimbabwe's communal lands lie mainly in regions that are marginal for crop production due to inadequate and erratic rainfall and poor soils.

A second assumption is specifically made by CAMPFIRE. It is that successful resource management is "facilitated in those instances in which the size of the user group is small, reasonably homogeneous in important socio-economic characteristics, and residing in close proximity to the resource" (Murphree,1991). Research is demonstrating that neat, homogeneous groupings do not occur in practice. There are important socio-economic differences between and within even small communities managing their own resources (Murphree,1991). In non-CAMPFIRE contexts, it is clear that gender is very much a differentiating factor in natural resource-based communities throughout Africa (Bassett 1993; Watts 1993; Bowen 1993; Hunter 1990). There is no reason to expect gender is any less important as an organizing principle of communities managing wildlife under CAMPFIRE.

Similarly, the development literature often assumes the household to be a static unit of production and consumption without differentiation between individual members (Savane 1981:47). This may distort the real situation. The household homogeneity assumption is implicit in the practice of CAMPFIRE when program generated revenues are distributed to household units through payments to a household head rather than to individual household members.

This study was motivated by such assumptions. It examines some development consequences of the CAMPFIRE initiative in one location

with reference to differential participation and outcomes for both women and men. It does so within the broader common property resource management theoretical foundation.

THEORETICAL CONCERNS

Conceptual Framework for Gender Analysis in natural resource management

The incorporation of gender considerations in natural resource management is a fairly recent phenomenon resulting largely from previous concerns about women in development (WID). Research on Women in development suggests that development policies do not often take into account the gendered nature of work and access to resources (Tinker 1990). This results in policy outcomes that benefit one sex over the other. The notion that development automatically improves women's position relative to men has been challenged (Boserup 1970). In recognizing that women's position could worsen as a result of development practice, Boserup's work launched the field of research on WID around the theme of equity (Feldstein & Poats 1990).

The field of WID grew out of discontent with the inequitable distribution of benefits resulting from technological change and development projects in developing countries in the 1950's and 1960's (Feldstein & Poats 1990). The major argument was that development schemes generally hurt rather than helped women.

Practitioners of WID called for the deliberate integration of women into the development process (Parpart 1989).

Gender analysis is different from WID in that it considers both men and women and goes beyond equity issues. Gender is used to analyze roles, responsibilities, constraints and opportunities of the people involved in the development effort (Horwith 1989).

Planning and implementation of projects often take the household as the unit of analysis. Focus is thus on the male household head and roles of other household members are ignored. The assumed homogeneity of the "household" with a male head being the principal decision maker and source of information, is challenged by the concept of intra-household dynamics (Feldstein & Poats 1990). Gender analysis recognizes existing differences between men and women's roles in development efforts. This recognition highlights diverse and complex relationships among members of households that must be considered in the design, implementation and evaluation of development efforts.

Unlike WID, gender analysis entails an understanding of the cross-culturally variable social roles of both men and women. This analysis can also be used as a starting point to study other types of differential interests and social relationships, and how they affect natural resource management (Leach 1991). Differential interests that may be understood through a gender approach may also

concern the differences between the options open to a community to implement sustainable resource utilization (Thomas 1992).

In most societies, gender relations profoundly influence an individual's decision making ability and access to natural resources. Variation in the individuals' access and control of resources from one society to another demonstrates that such activities are socially defined and not biologically determined. As a social construct, gender roles are malleable and potentially responsive to changes in natural resource management activities.

The gender analysis framework is based on the premise that success of development programs is enhanced if efforts have specifically targeted beneficiaries while issues of equity are addressed. It examines differences in activities, access to resources, differential benefits to members within the household, patterns of obligation, and cooperation or conflict between household members. The application of a gender analysis conceptual framework to CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe might help avoid inefficiency or inequity in outcomes as noted in other development program contexts (Marithreyi Krishna Raj 1987).

Women and Natural Resource Management

The roles women play in agricultural production and natural resource management are critical to the economies of developing countries, yet the value of these roles has often been ignored (Horwith 1989). Recent interest in people oriented development approaches has begun to sensitize planners to the necessity of deliberate attention to the work and roles of women in targeted communities (Tinker & Bramsen 1976). Traditional gender-based subordination has typically limited women's access to and control over productive resources such as land and natural resources.

Despite the lack of control over productive resources, women in Zimbabwe's communal areas are the main producers and providers of food for families and depend on the environment for the daily necessities of life (Rocheleau 1985). Degradation of natural resources has direct impacts on women and on their ability to care for their families (Davidson 1987). Women's direct dependence on the environment is one reason why natural resource management programs like CAMPFIRE should take gender into consideration in planning, implementation, and evaluation. Ignoring the importance of gender may undermine success of planned interventions (Dankelman & Davidson 1989).

Gender-blind development interventions may undermine ecologically sound traditional resource management knowledge (Dankelman & Davidson 1989) while overlooking women's considerable environmental

knowledge (Nyoni 1985; Dankelman & Davidson 1989; Fortmann et. al. 1992). A recent study in Zimbabwe (Fortmann et. al. 1992) discovered that women have a wider knowledge of tree species and their uses than men, which is partly a result of the nature of their need to collect firewood, fodder and fruit for their families. A Botswana case study cited by Hunter et. al. (1990) found that while women did not participate in hunting activities, they spotted animals during firewood or fruit collection in the forests and reported these to male hunters. In contrast, Bailey and Aunger (1989) showed high levels of direct female participation in net hunting when it provided a profitable alternative to agricultural labor. This suggests a potential complementarity in gender roles as related to environmental activities. This should not be overlooked in natural resource development initiatives like CAMPFIRE.

Decision making in natural resource management programs is male dominated as a result of the patriarchal nature of most societies and the wildlife arena is no exception (Hunter et. al. 1990). This translates into male dominance in wildlife related programs as there is little consideration of women's involvement. Although traditionally a male sphere, recent studies have shown that women's input in actual management is often high (Bailey and Aunger 1989; Peluso 1991; Hunter et. al. 1990). Despite such evidence, development interventions perpetuate and strengthen traditional relations of patriarchy to the disadvantage of women (Peluso 1993).

If goals of development include improved standards of living, eradication of poverty, and reduction in societal inequality (as laid down explicitly in the CAMPFIRE objectives), then women must be incorporated because they constitute the majority of the poor and socially disadvantaged. This includes CAMPFIRE since one of its objectives is to "improve the livelihoods of rural populations through sustainable utilization of their natural resources (Martin 1986)."

Interventions at the aggregated community level do not capture differential access and benefits for community sub-sets like women, children, and the poor. Similarly, using the household as the unit of analysis and assuming that household actions are optimal for all individuals within the household can be misleading. Widespread evidence shows that gender inequality and inequity are prevalent in much of the world, with women often at a disadvantage (Loufti 1987). A gender sensitive research strategy is necessary if such inequities are to be understood. This study targets gender in a CAMPFIRE context to evaluate outcomes of the program in one Zambezi Valley community.

THE STUDY

This study identifies consequences of the CAMPFIRE development initiative in one village with reference to the differential

outcomes of the program on men and women. The study focuses on gender since it is an as yet unexamined issue in the context of Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE Program which is rapidly spreading as a development and environmental management undertaking.

Study site

This study was carried out in Masoka village, in Zimbabwe's Zambezi Valley (Figure 1).

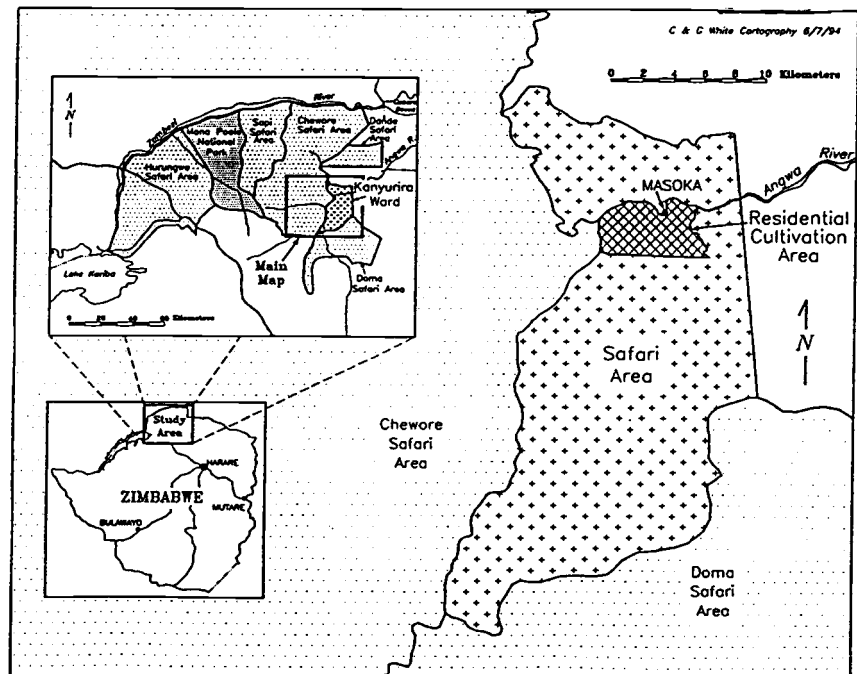


Figure 1. Location of Masoka and its land use plan.

The village has an extended history in CAMPFIRE. As one of the first communities targeted to manage wildlife, it is a good place to make seminal observations on gender related outcomes of the program.

Under the CAMPFIRE initiative, Masoka village developed a land use plan which allocated @400 km² of the land to leased hunting safari operations. A smaller portion (@20 km²) was encircled by a wildlife fence and allocated to cultivation and settlement (Figure 2). The wildlife program, and associated development activity, has initiated many changes in village life (Matzke and Nabane, 1994). Some changes may have led women into opportunities which were formerly not available so this paper uses a gender specific approach to document Masoka's CAMPFIRE outcomes.

Masoka village, isolated from much of Zimbabwe's modernization surface, was a "development backwater" for many years. Since independence, it has been targeted for several outsider assisted development endeavors including the establishment of a community grinding mill and retail shop. Thus, the CAMPFIRE intervention can be compared to other developments as a means of testing the uniqueness of any gender consequences which are identified.

Data Collection

This study is based on nine months of field based research, starting December 1992 through August 1993. Initial reconnaissance trips were aimed at meeting District Council officials and village leaders while also seeking permission to undertake research. A meeting was held with the village chief, councillor and members of the CAMPFIRE initiated wildlife committee to outline the proposed study. An initial scoping exercise provided an assessment of

CAMPFIRE progress and tested a range of alternative research methods for use in later data gathering stages. A research advisory committee was formed from the local community.

The scoping exercise led to a research design including both participatory and survey methods. The elements of the approach were:

1. a gender balanced six member research advisory committee drawn from Masoka residents. This committee provided a conduit of information to and from the citizenry, social and historical perspectives on village life, and a testing ground for ideas. It aided in the selection of suitable data gathering methods, previewed questions used on the survey instrument, participated in the administration of a questionnaire survey, assisted in helping interpret the results, and reported research findings to the community.
2. researcher attendance at village meetings during the study period. This provided an opportunity to observe the differing participation of men and women in the formal discussion and decision-making side of CAMPFIRE activities.
3. unstructured key informant interviews with local leaders and members of the village and ward development committees.
4. a questionnaire survey was administered to all households located within the protective fence. It was designed, in part, to replicate a base-line study completed by Cutshall (1989) at the start of Masoka's CAMPFIRE program. Interviewers were matched by sex to the respondents while husbands and wives were separately

asked identical questions. The number and type of respondents who completed interviews is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Number of households interviewed by household type.

<u>Number of households</u>	<u>type of respondents</u>
54	both husband & wife
34	females only
10	males only

N = 98 households and 159 respondents

5. a balloting exercise to determine priorities for the use of future CAMPFIRE generated revenues. Adult villagers voted with different colored ballots (color coded by sex) to indicate their priorities with reference to a range of suggested development expenditures identified as possible "next steps" during the questionnaire survey.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Fence Impacts

The construction of an electric game fence around the residential and agricultural areas initiated significant changes within the

village. As a result of the fence, both male (94%) and female (90%) respondents reported enhanced crop protection as a result of the fence (Figure 2).

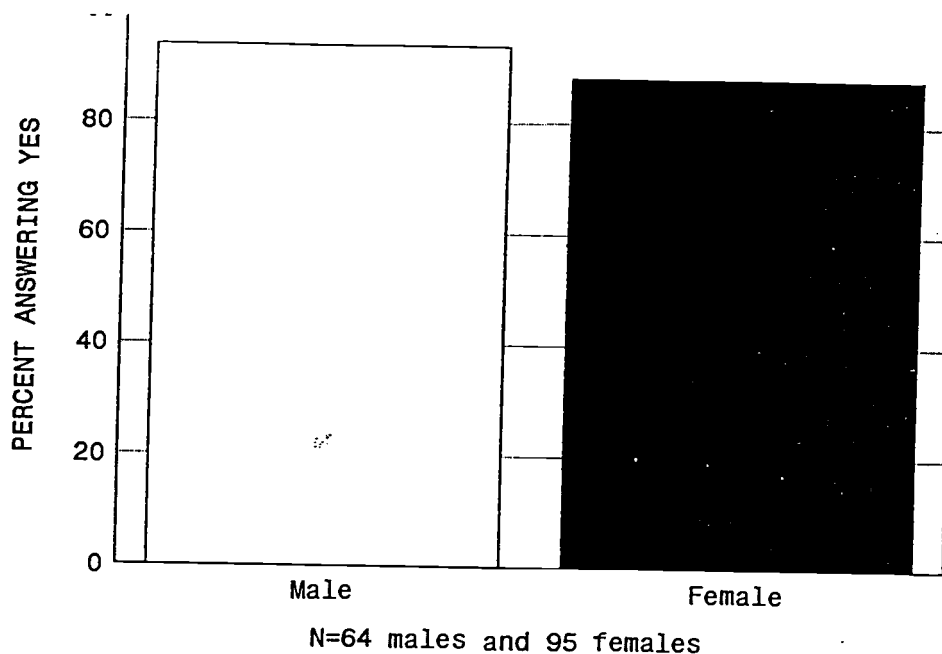


Figure 2. Fence crop protection. Both men and women reported crop protection by fence.

An earlier analysis showed a decline in total crop damage incidents even as the number of households grew by more than 50%. There was a relative shift from events associated with large game like elephant and buffalo toward small nuisance game like wildpigs and baboons (Matzke & Nabane 1994). Further analysis is needed to investigate whether the fence better protects crops of special interest to males or females.

Fence construction has also brought a great feeling of personal safety among Masoka villagers. When asked to list advantages that the fence brought to the village, the response that it brought safety was often volunteered. Upon further analysis, men were especially shown to cite safety as an advantage (Figure 3).

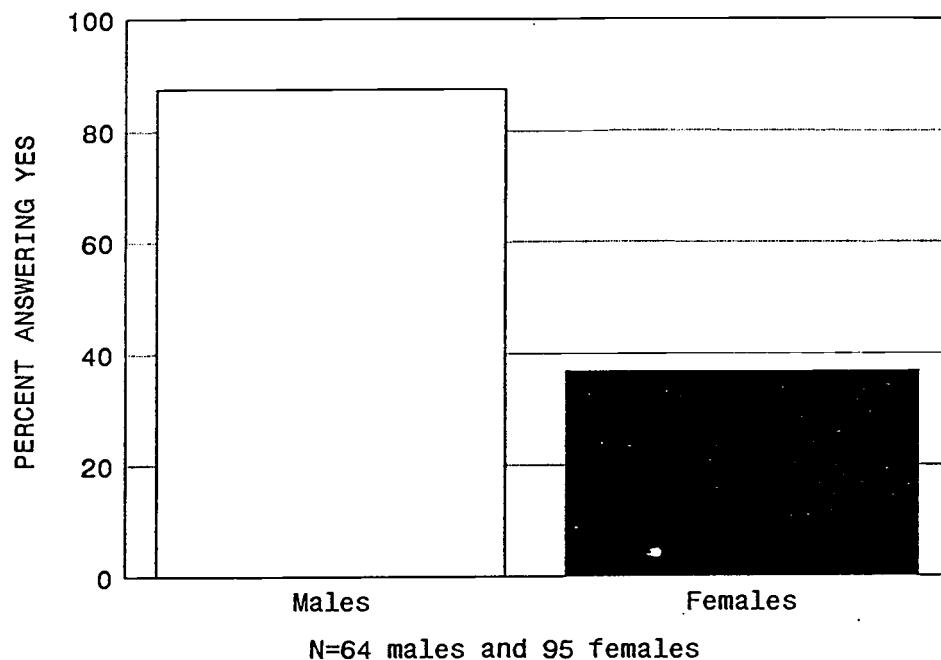


Figure 3. Personal safety improvement by fence. More men than women reported safer now than before fence construction.

Key informant interviews suggested that men were more likely to perceive personal safety improvements than women because men traditionally engaged in activities more likely to expose them to wildlife hazards. Since construction, the formerly high wildlife-caused death and injury rates have been reduced to zero within the

confines of the fence (Matzke and Nabane 1994).

Employment opportunities were part of the benefits realized from the fence. Figure 4 shows employment as an almost exclusive male domain.

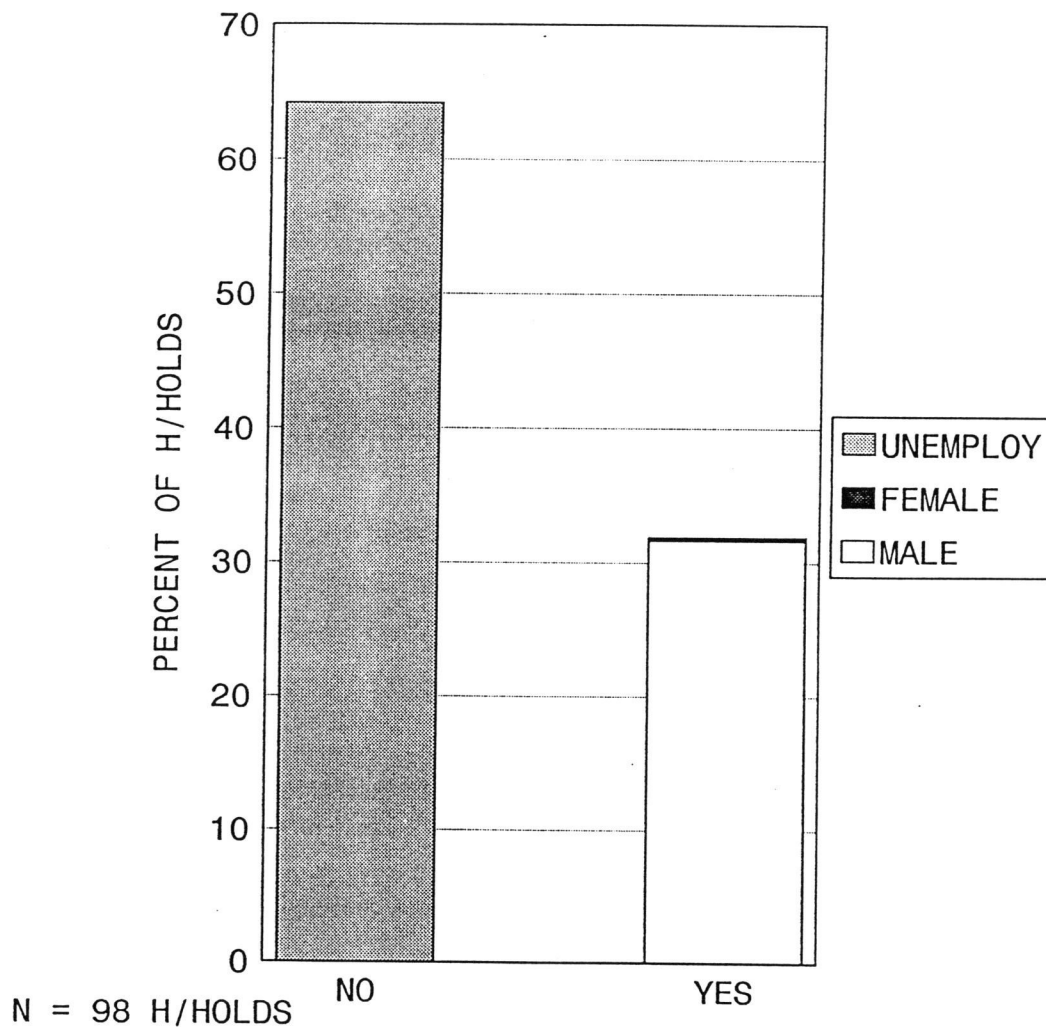


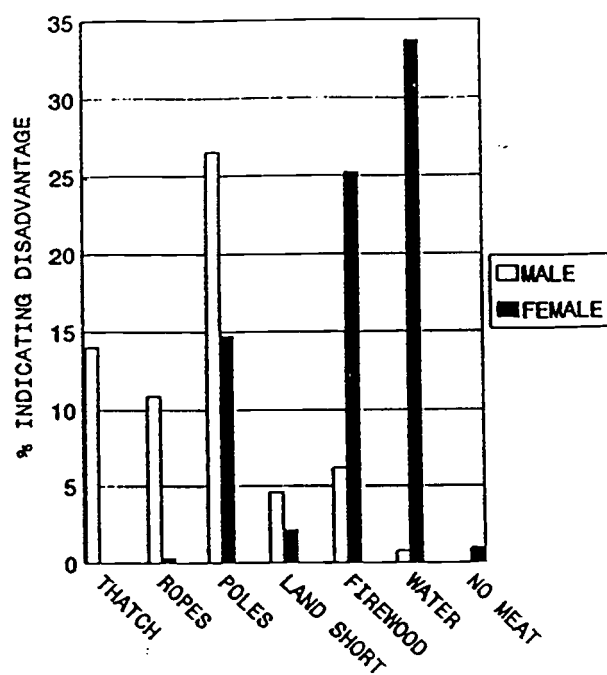
Figure 4. Household Fence Employment. More men than women were employed on fence related activities.

Of the 98 households interviewed on fence employment, 31 had men employed in fence related jobs while only 2 had women employed.

Although the percentage of women engaged in fence employment seems to be very small, they represent a shift from the previous situation where women in Masoka had no formal employment opportunities. This was confirmed by key informant interviews carried out by the researchers. Although limited in extent, these few women may provide a "demonstration effect" which alters the future prospects for village women.

Although the fence had benefits as described above, it also had gender differentiated disadvantages as evidenced by Figure 5.

RESTRICTED ACCESS TO RESOURCES



N = 64 Males and 95 Females

Figure 5. Fence Disadvantages. Women reported restricted access to daily needed resources while it was the opposite for men.

Thirty-three percent of all respondents volunteered disadvantages of the fence. Men cited difficulty in accessing infrequently needed resources, including poles, ropes, and thatching grass. Women, on the contrary, cited similar difficulties for resources used on a daily basis in food preparation, especially water and firewood. The limited number of fence gates imposed longer walking distances for resource acquisition than was the case prior to fence construction. Inadvertently, the burden falls disproportionately on women since the resources needed to support their household chores are used more frequently than those needed to support men's roles. Although CAMPFIRE didn't initiate household role differentiation, its inattention to women's unique resource demands may have imposed a disproportionate burden on women through a fencing plan which included only a few gates.

School Impacts

CAMPFIRE has improved access to education within the village. Significant amounts of CAMPFIRE generated revenues were used to develop the village school, giving both girls and boys formal educational opportunities. The presence of a local school has given girls in particular, improved access to formal primary schooling which was formerly denied them by the great distance to the nearest school. There is no longer a disparity in numbers of educated boys and girls in the youngest six school age groups

(Figure 6) as both boys and girls have a 100% school attendance record. This is a marked departure from the earlier pattern reflected in the older age groups.

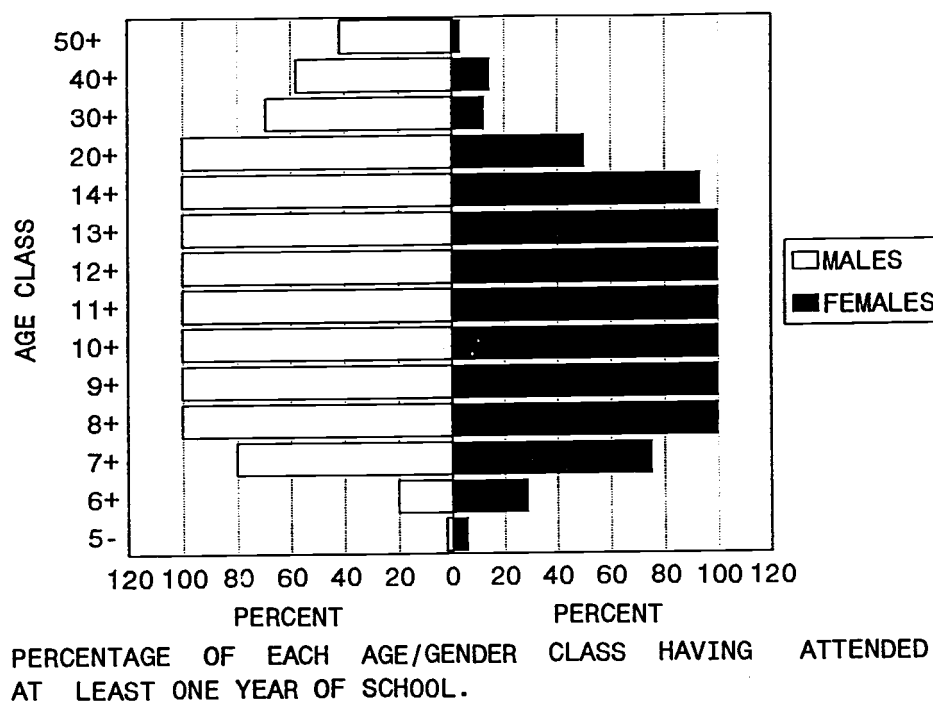


Figure 6. Education, Sex, & Age. Both girls and boys now have access to education.

Before the village school was built, children walked approximately thirty kilometers to school and found places to live during the week, while returning home only on weekends. This arrangement worked to the disadvantage of girls where parents feared loss of control and unwanted pregnancies. Development of the village school eliminated this gender bias in access to educational opportunities, at least at the primary school level. The community

has continued to show its support for the school by regularly appropriating CAMPFIRE revenues to foster the school's development.

Employment

Besides improving educational levels in the village, CAMPFIRE has played a key role in provision of wage employment. Of the households with individuals engaged in wage employment within the local area, 77.9% have CAMPFIRE related jobs (Table 2).

Table 2, Pattern of Masoka Wage labor

<u>Wage Employment</u>	<u>Percent of households</u>
no wage labor	50.0%
out of village work site	5.2%
village (campfire & non-campfire)	44.8%
Non-CAMPFIRE	22.1%
CAMPFIRE	77.9%

N = 98 households

Employment opportunities were explored in terms of gender outcomes. Only 3% of those reporting engagement in CAMPFIRE related employment were women. Wage employment is clearly male biased.

Training Impacts

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

Figure 7 summarizes committee participation by sex and shows substantial variation in the make-up of membership between committees. The CAMPFIRE Wildlife Committee is all male, while the other committees include both women and men. Even the grinding mill committee, originally meant to have only women, hired a man to be the secretary since the women committee members were illiterate.

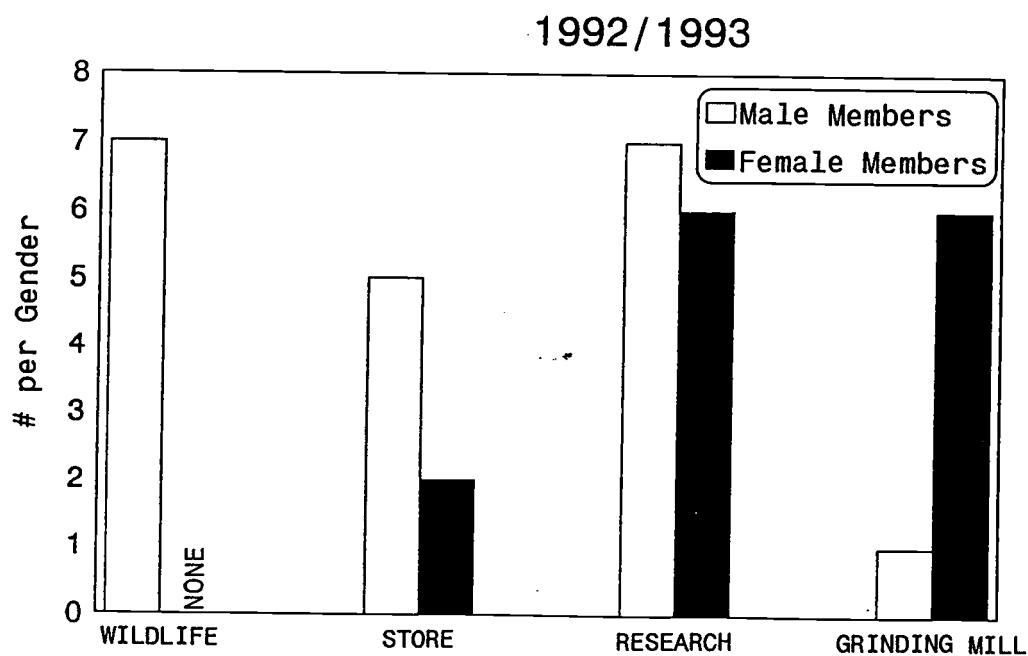


Figure 7. Composition of Committees. Wildlife committee was made up of men only and research committees were more gender neutral.

Research committees are the most gender balanced of all the committees. At first, the community was reluctant to incorporate women into research committees, but persistence by researchers resulted in similar participation opportunities. Research committees provided some limited formal employment opportunities, but more importantly provided highly visible avenues for individuals to "showcase" their research and presentation skills in village fora.

Explanations for the absence of female members in the CAMPFIRE initiated wildlife committee were sought through the use of a survey question which asked why women were not represented in the committee's membership. Responses were disaggregated by gender and are displayed in Figure 8 and show a range of responses.

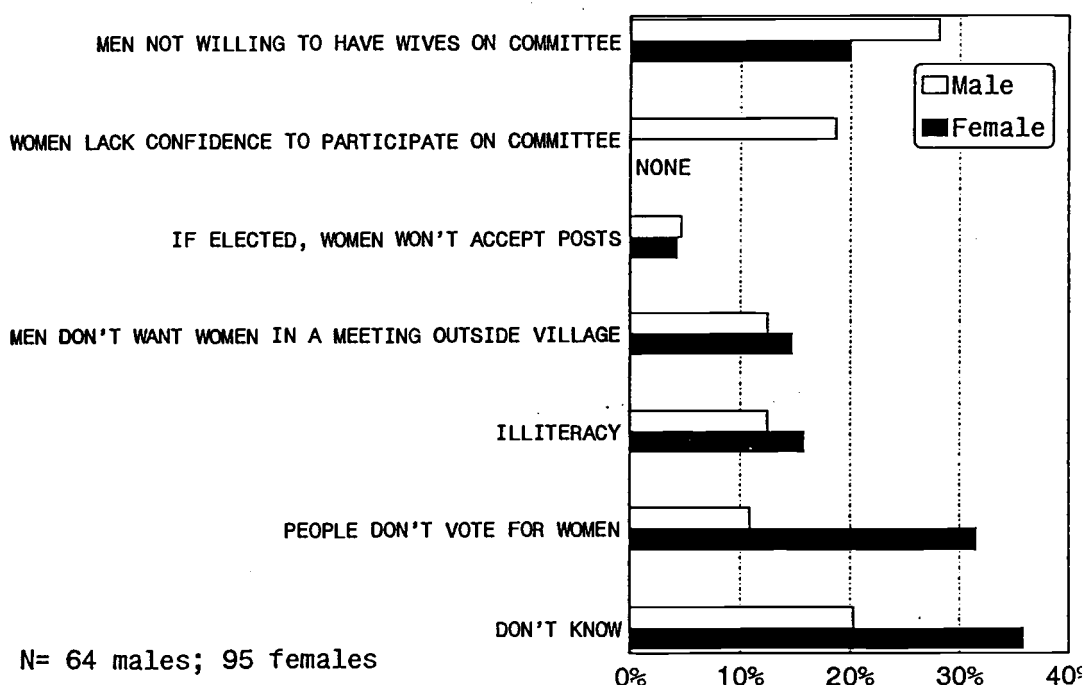


Figure 8. Reasons for male only wildlife committee

Women were more likely to suggest that people wouldn't vote for women and only men claimed women lacked confidence to participate on the committee. Both sexes agreed that women's illiteracy and men's unwillingness to have their wives travel, and serve on committees, were stifling female participation. Key informant interviews suggested that traditional beliefs held by the community said that women should not sit at meetings with other men in the absence of their husbands. They also confirmed that women's illiteracy and lack of skills in the English language would hinder their ability to deal with representatives from outside the village, an important role of the committee.

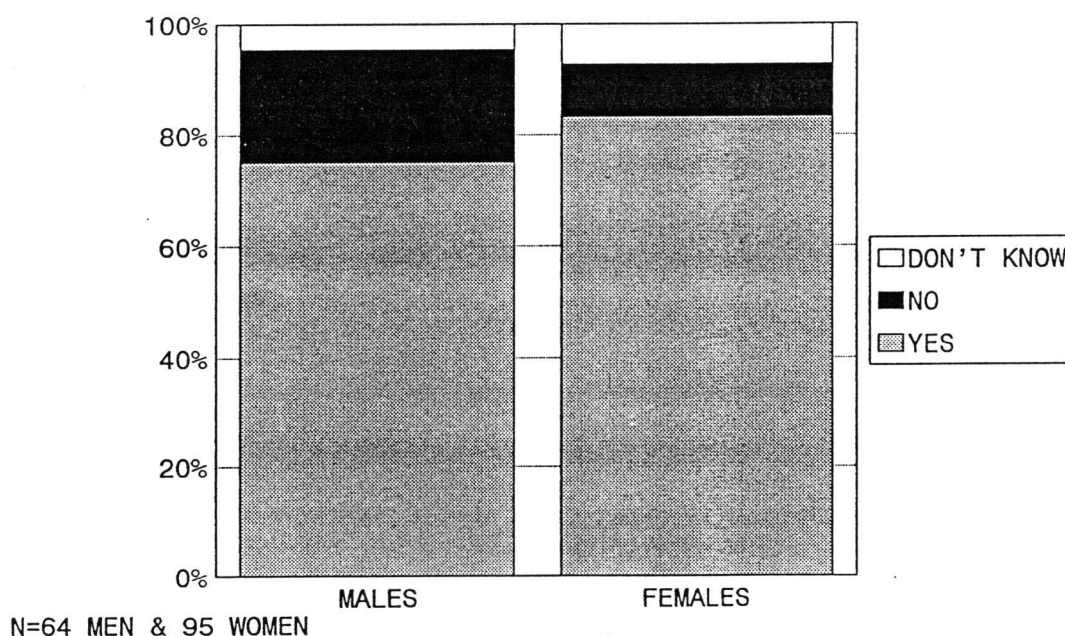


Figure 9. Wildlife Committee Decisions. Both men and women reported satisfaction with wildlife committee decisions.

Despite having only men in the wildlife committee, both men and women indicated strong satisfaction with decisions made by the wildlife committee as reflected in Figure 9. In further questioning, the explanations for this satisfaction were that both men and women receive money from wildlife and both are involved in decision making at village meetings. A few men indicated that wildlife committee decisions were satisfactory because no one had ever complained.

Outside village travel patterns were explored to determine mobility of both men and women and to solicit their history of attending workshops and training sessions held outside the village. Data in Figure 10 show a strong male bias in workshop and training session participation outside the village.

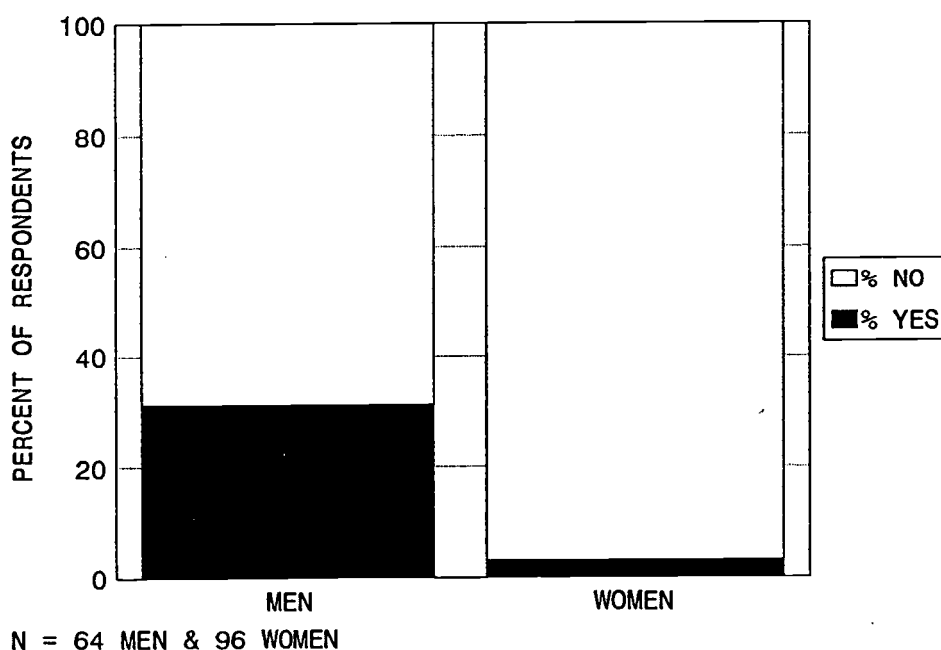


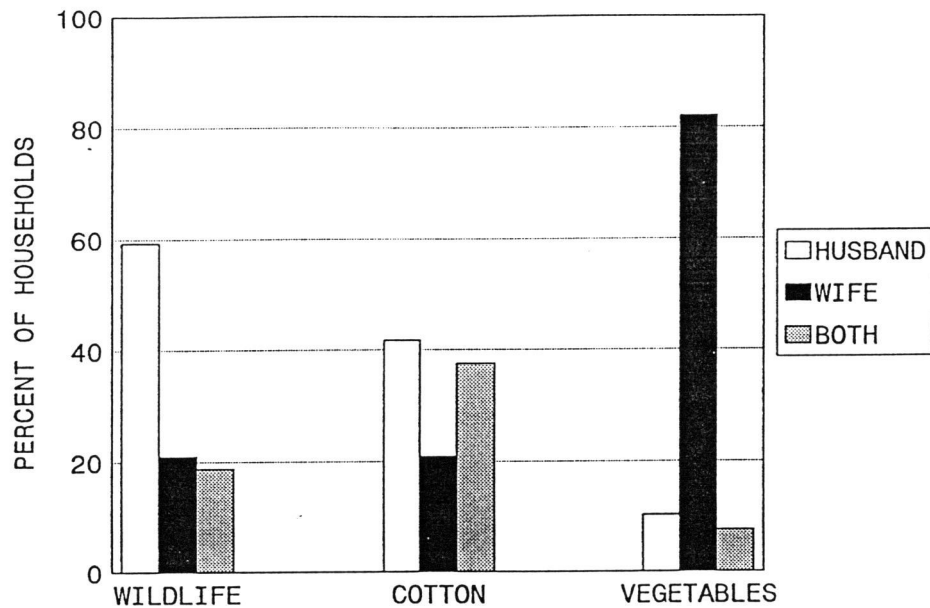
Figure 10. Workshop/Training Opportunities

Of the sixty-four male respondents, about 18 had attended workshops outside the village. On the contrary, of the ninety-six female respondents, only two had attended workshops outside the village. Women are clearly disadvantaged when training activities are held off-site.

Income Impacts

Development activities are intended to change the status quo. In this context, CAMPFIRE is no exception and change does not stop at the community level. Although most of Masoka's wildlife revenue is was expended on communal projects, cash payments to households are common. This study examined the roles both men and women play in decision making at both household and community levels with regard to income generated from the CAMPFIRE initiative, cotton cultivation, and vegetable sales. Decision making for cotton and vegetable income was only at the household level while decision making in relation to CAMPFIRE generated income was both at household and community levels. In case of CAMPFIRE related income, comparison was made for decision making at two different levels, the household and the community level.

At the household level, men were more likely to make decisions concerning use of wildlife generated income than women (Figure 11).



N = 91 WILDLIFE, 48 COTTON, 39 VEGETABLE HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING EXPENDITURES.

Figure 11. Decision Making on the Use of Money

Seen in this way, household authority on CAMPFIRE revenues is markedly different from the pattern for revenue resulting from agricultural enterprises where females play a much larger role. Since a portion of the decision makers in the survey are widows heading their own households, the clear male dominance in decisions about household CAMPFIRE revenues is even more striking than it first appears.

The biggest agricultural cash crop income source in Masoka is cotton cultivation. As shown in Figure 11, decisions on cotton revenues were evenly split between men and women at the household

level. Since CAMPFIRE payments to households now exceed cotton revenues for most households, there appears to be a shifting of pattern of income expenditure decisions away from women.

In contrast to wildlife revenues, women dominate decision making regarding income derived from vegetable sales. Key informant interviews also revealed that vegetable gardens were predominantly managed by women and this gave women more say on income generated from this source. However, the amount of money generated from vegetable sales was minuscule compared to wildlife revenues. More importantly, when a plan for a dry season irrigated vegetable garden as a CAMPFIRE project was not implemented, it was women, not men, who were deprived of disposable income.

CAMPFIRE aims to empower communities to make decisions, including the decisions about utilization of wildlife derived revenues. The survey of Masoka residents revealed some confusion about the community's decision making process, but a strong tendency to believe that the village wildlife committee, together with the village meeting, held the decision making power (Figure 12). The most notable gender difference in the responses was the greater proportion of females who claimed ignorance of the decision making process.

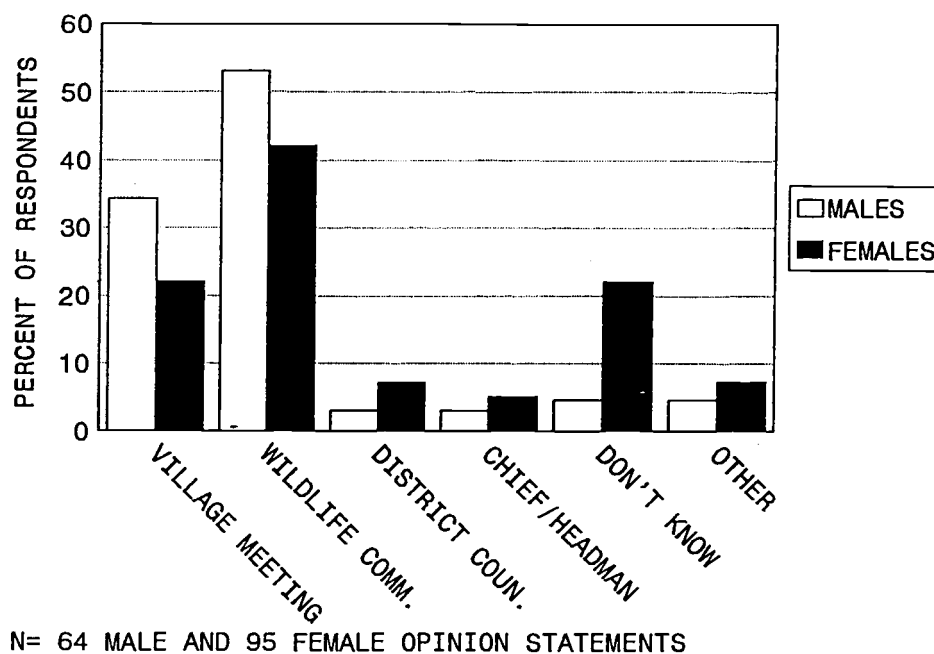


Figure 12. Wildlife Money Decision Makers in the community

Payments of wildlife money to households within the community (Table 3), provided a much more widespread source of cash income than did agriculture.

Table 3. Wildlife, Cotton and Vegetable income by households

Income source	Number of households
wildlife	91
cotton	48
vegetables	39

N= 98 households

Since CAMPFIRE income benefits are more universally available to

households than either agriculture or wage labour, it is important to understand who controls the money at the household level as shown in figure 11. This is a male domain in Masoka.

Future Impacts

CAMPFIRE activities in Masoka generate a revenue stream which supports village development activities. The village survey solicited suggestions for future development projects funded by CAMPFIRE revenues. A wide variety of potential projects were cited with a village clinic being the most favored by both men and women. All suggested projects are shown in Figure 13. Overall, there were no wide disparities between female and male interests with regard to future development projects. The results were confirmed by the cumulative voting exercise described earlier in this paper.

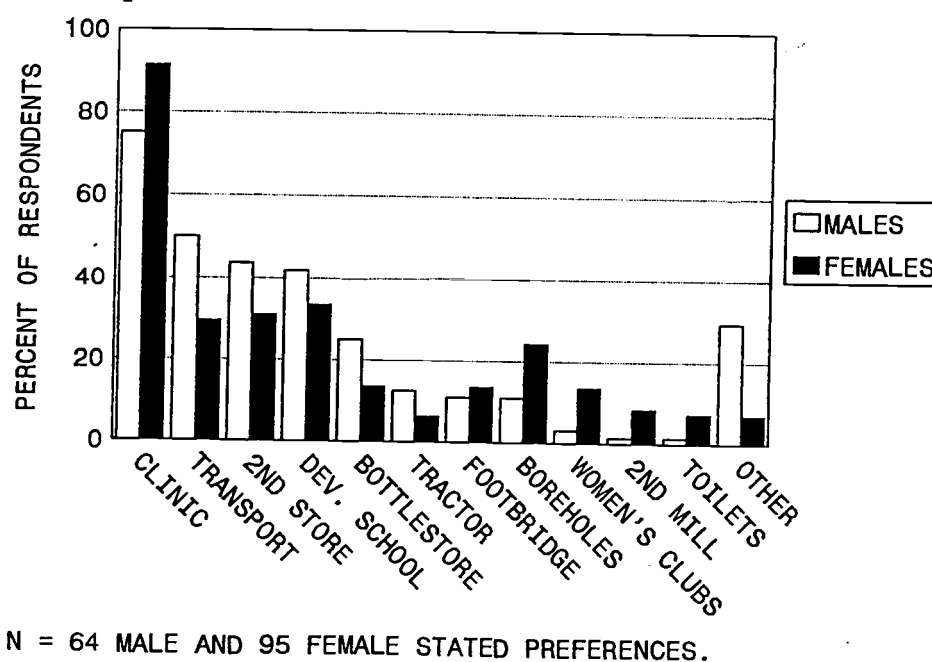


Figure 13. Future CAMPFIRE funded development priorities

DISCUSSION

Principle 20 of the Rio Earth Summit (UN 1992) says that full participation of women is essential to achieve sustainable development. Emphasis has been laid on women's participation in national and international ecosystem management and control of environmental degradation. It is amidst such on-going discussions that gender related development impacts of CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe have been analyzed.

Women have a vital role in environmental management and development, but their role in CAMPFIRE is barely understood. As discussions of common property resource management shift towards a focus on community sub-groups, there is an emerging understanding of differentiation between resource users (Roe 1994) and it is logical to assume that gender is associated with patterns of differentiation. This study elucidates some gender based patterns in one CAMPFIRE context. The study confirms the view that CAMPFIRE beneficiaries are not a homogeneous group, and CAMPFIRE outcomes are differentiated along gender lines.

CAMPFIRE in Masoka has created circumstances that seem to favor the formal involvement of women in decision making processes. This is partly evidenced by the increased opportunities for formal education for women. Women's literacy may enhance their participation in decision making and formal leadership roles.

CAMPFIRE generated revenues have increased income source diversity within the community for both men and women. This improves income stability, especially at the occurrence of unforeseen natural disasters like the drought which can create an increased need for cash even as agricultural prospects diminish.. This was confirmed by key informant interviews that indicated both women and men benefitted from household cash dividends during the drought that occurred a year prior to this study.

The fence, a major development intervention in Masoka, has provided significant crop protection leading to reduction in crop guarding time for both women and men. While the game fence has these positive impacts for both women and men, it also has an unintended side effect of restricted access to resources. There has been a shift in women's labor time as some women report spending more time, and walking longer distances to gather firewood and fetch water.

The dominance of men in CAMPFIRE related decision making process seems to be an extension of the traditional division of labor between men and women in relation to wildlife activity. This supports Hunter et al 's 1990 report on women and wildlife in Southern Africa which points to male dominance in decision making in the wildlife arena. Male dominance in CAMPFIRE related activities, for example, employment and training opportunities, revenue distribution to household heads (majority of whom are men),

seems to reinforce the patriarchal set up and generally excludes women from decision making processes.

The theory of spatial gender differentiation (Leach,1992), with the "public domain" being regarded as a male sphere and women relegated to the "private domain" (basically the home), appears to be reflected by the male only wildlife committee and the gender differentiation in training opportunities. This outplay of male and female spatial disaggregation also supports the common theme that runs through rural development literature, which assumes the household head (generally male), to be at the center of decision making both within and outside the household, and representing the interests and needs of other household members.

As a result of poor representation in the public sphere, women are less able to exercise power and influence for their well being. If the importance of the gender variable is not taken seriously in CAMPFIRE, the existing polarization between gender roles of men and women may increase. This may jeopardize the program's chances of success, while undermining the autonomy and self-sufficiency of women both within the household and at community level.

Although CAMPFIRE in Masoka has gender differentiated impacts that seem to favor men rather than women, the program has also opened up opportunities for women which were not previously available. This gives women some room for manoeuver which was formally non-

existent. This may be used as a starting point to further enhance women's participation in CAMPFIRE related activity.

CONCLUSION

Since CAMPFIRE is still in its infancy, it is difficult to draw substantive conclusions as to how the general lack of serious consideration of gender differentiated participation of both men and women would affect the development of CAMPFIRE in the long run. The Masoka CAMPFIRE program seems to be positively contributing to the community's development. However gender is an important variable that should be considered in development initiatives like CAMPFIRE, if full benefits are to accrue to all community members.

CAMPFIRE in Masoka has gender differentiated outcomes and benefit distribution which is biased towards male participants, raises the need to focus explicitly on women's interests and needs both at household, community and policy making levels. This would reduce the chances of negative program impacts arising as a result of overlooking the importance of the gender variable. Differentiation of resource users and program beneficiaries should be reflected in natural resource management related policies.

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