

IS COMMUNITY-BASED WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT GENDER SENSITIVE? EXPERIENCES FROM SELOUS CONSERVATION PROGRAMME IN TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT

Community-based Wildlife Management (CWM) - commonly known in Tanzania as Community-Based Conservation (CBC) - is a new approach to wildlife management. It has been introduced in Tanzania, and in some other African countries, as an alternative or supplement to the American National Park model, which is now perceived, by many conservationists, to have failed to protect wildlife, especially outside protected areas. In CWM governments are expected to devolve ownership of (or at least user rights for), control over and management responsibilities for wildlife to local communities. The approach is based on a number of principles, one being that community members, both male and female, have to fully participate and benefit from a programme. Using the CWM component of Selous Conservation Programme in Tanzania, this study examines how a CWM programme can impact negatively on village women. The study also examines the level of women's participation in such programmes and identifies reasons for their poor or lack of participation.

Key words: Africa, community involvement, gender, participation, Tanzania, wildlife conservation, women.

1 BACKGROUND

Increasing poaching pressure, shrinking habitats and shrinking economies of African countries have led to a growing consensus among international conservation organisations that the American National Park model (the fences-and-fines approach) for wildlife protection has failed to protect wildlife¹ on the continent (Matzke and Nabane 1996). As a result conservationists have, since the late 1970s, been searching for viable and sustainable alternatives (Nabane and Matzke 1997; Freeman 1989).

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One appealing alternative approach was for the conservationists to re-trace their own footsteps: to go back to rural communities (their perceived "enemies"), ask for forgiveness and propose co-operation, partnership, and an equitable distribution of responsibilities, costs and benefits associated with wildlife management (Freeman 1989:103). The belief underlying this new approach is that rural communities have been alienated from the wildlife which they should have rightfully controlled, managed and benefited from.

The importance of community development has increased in CWM (Loudiyi & Meares 1993). That means this new approach to wildlife management/conservation is part of the wider advocacy for popular participation in development (Barber et al. 1995; Derman 1995; Slocum and Thomas-Slayter 1995; Conyers and Hills 1984). For instance, the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) (1994:57) reports that, "Community wildlife management projects have been a response to the increasing demand that local people should participate in rural development," - development which takes gender issues into account.

Proponents of CWM intend to create, through the participatory approach (Nabane and Matzke 1997), conditions whereby a maximum number of community members - regardless of their class, level of income, race, age and gender - have opportunities to actively participate in the sustainable management of wildlife and to benefit from that wildlife. Involving women in wildlife management/conservation programmes is expected to improve their social status in the community, which in turn enhances their ability to participate in other community activities (Elliot 1994).

There is now a widespread understanding that, in their role as managers of natural resources (Abramovitz 1994; Hausler 1994; Little 1994; Loudiyi and Meares 1993), women have a key influence on the environment (Elliot 1994; Ghai 1994; Higgins and Mazula 1993; Johnson 1993). As producers of food and other goods for the household, and through their role in caring for the family, women depend directly on a healthy environment in order to carry out their functions (Nabane and Matzke 1997; Elliot 1994). . Also, women are said to have a strong influence on changing attitudes of the younger generations toward the environment (Elliot 1994). Because of this understanding, there has been a call to design community development and conservation programmes which take women's needs into consideration. Women's responsibility and input in those programmes are also emphasised (Barrett and Browne 1994:203). But the role of women (and those of other community groups) is shaped by the community's organisation of production, reproduction and distribution (Loudiyi and Meares 1993:1).

1.1 CWM in Tanzania

Two things need to be clarified at this point. One is to state what the term local communities means as regards CWM in Tanzania, and the other is to identify the type of CWM adopted. The official definition for local communities given in the wildlife policy document is people living in rural areas. The policy document also defines CWM as "conservation of resources based on the participation of the local communities" (MNR&T 1998:33).

There are two ways to classify CWM programmes. One is to use location; there are two forms of location-based programmes. The first form is where programmes are based on or associated with established protected areas (Songorwa 1999; Siachoono 1995). The second form of location-based CWM is not associated with protected areas, i.e., the programmes are located on communal lands, far from protected areas (Songorwa 1999; Kiss 1990).

CWM programmes can also be classified based on the number of parties involved and their levels of involvement. Like the previous method, this classification has two main classes. First, is a class of genuine community-based programmes based on the 'bottom-up' participatory approach. This is the ideal situation whereby communities initiate their own projects, acquiring legal ownership of and management responsibilities for wildlife on their lands (Murphree 1994; Kiss 1990). The state and other outsiders are only minimally involved, and only where and when necessary. Second, are joint, co-operative management (co-management) or partnership programmes (Kiss 1990), mainly between communities and the state. These combine 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approaches but, because of the state's powerful position, it has more of the latter than the former (Western 1994a). Most CWM programmes in Tanzania, including the Selous Conservation Programme, are buffer zone partnership programmes.

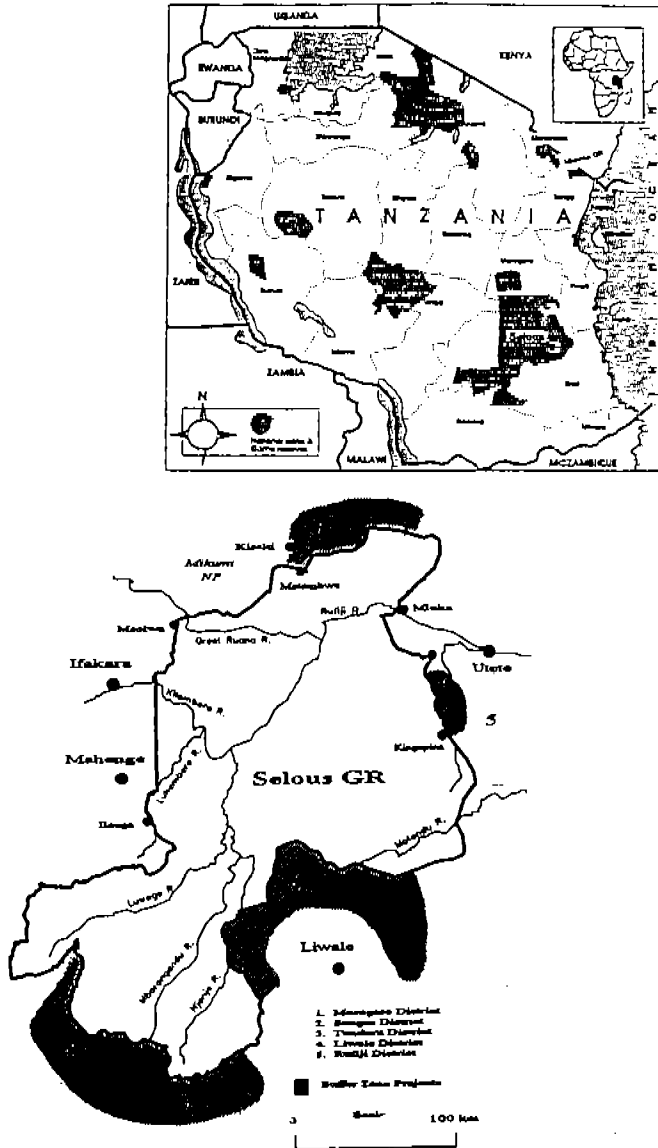
Buffer zone programmes recruit only those communities (villages) bordering, or in close vicinity to, existing protected areas: national parks (e.g., Serengeti Regional Conservation Strategy and Ruaha Ecosystem Wildlife Management Project) and game reserves (Selous Conservation Programme, Saadani Conservation and Development Project and another on the western side of Selous Game Reserve). As partnership programmes they involve the government and donor agencies on one side and local communities on the other.

1.2 Selous Conservation Programme

Selous Conservation Programme commenced in 1987 with a preparatory phase of one year, followed by an orientation phase (Phase I) of two years from October 1988 to September 1990 (SCP 1990). It is funded through a bilateral agreement between the government of Tanzania and the government of Germany (through Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit commonly known as GTZ - a German technical assistance agency). It has two components: rehabilitation of the Selous Game Reserve's management and physical infrastructure, and community-based wildlife management (SCP 1992b).

The CWM component started in the second half of 1989 when it was introduced in Programme Areas One and Two (see map, Fig. 1). Later, in 1991/92 (officially in October 1992), it was extended to six communities in Programme Area Three. In 1992, three years after it started, it became the main focus of donor funding (SCP 1995a). At the time of this study (end of 1996) the CWM component involved a total of 41 communities with more than 80,000 people (MNR&T and GTZ 1996).

Fig 1: Selous Conservation Programme (SCP) areas in relation to Selous Game Reserve



Source: SCP

2 DATA AND RESEARCH METHODS

Data for this article come from primary and secondary sources. They were collected from August to November 1996. Primary data included responses from semi-structured and few unstructured interviews, with staff of Selous Conservation Programme, wildlife officers, and villagers (village government leaders, village wildlife management committees or their chairpersons) and key informants (school teachers, ward executive officers and Divisional secretaries and local politicians) in Selous Conservation Programme Areas Two and Three (Fig. 1). Table 1 shows the types and numbers of interviews conducted.

Table 1: Types and numbers of interviews conducted

Type of Interview	Number of Interviews						
	SCP Staff	Wildlife Officers	Villagers	Wards Official	Division Officials	District Officials	Total
Individuals	11	12	45	7	2	1	78
Group	1	-	30	-	-	-	31
Total	13	12	75	7	2	1	109

Other primary sources included personal observation of programme activities by the author and responses to a household questionnaire. One hundred and fifty-one copies of the questionnaire were distributed door-to-door to randomly selected households in four randomly selected communities participating in Selous Conservation Programme: Kitanda and Kilimasera in Programme Area Two and Kindamba and Hulia in Programme Area Three with a total household population of 940. One hundred and forty-one copies were answered - a response rate of 92.7%. Secondary data sources included programme documents³ and newspaper publications.

3 RESEARCH FINDINGS

Although a programme document produced after Objectives-Oriented Project Planning (Ziel Orientierte Projekt Planung (ZOPP)) workshop four stated "Destruction of natural resources around and in the Selous Game Reserve significantly reduced" (SCP 1990:3) as the main objective of the

CWM component, in the current study programme staff members and wildlife officers mentioned six specific objectives. They included to: (1) improve relationships between rural residents and the Wildlife Division and Selous Game Reserve staff in particular, or to inspire confidence between the wildlife authority and local communities; (2) educate and train the villagers in wildlife conservation/management; (3) involve community members and particularly Village Scouts in collecting basic wildlife data; (4) enable the communities to utilise wildlife to improve their livelihoods; (5) use the villagers to carry out anti-poaching operations outside the Reserve; and (6) help women in those communities to solve their immediate social and economic problems.

There are two general outcomes expected from a CWM programme: (1) maintenance of wildlife habitats and preservation of species including effectively expanding protected area boundaries, and (2) improved social and economic well-being of the participating communities. The interviewed programme staff members and wildlife officers were asked what situation they expected to see in the communities at the end of the programme, if successful. In addition to increased environmental awareness and control of poaching, they expected crop damage and other wildlife-related problems to decrease. Also, they expected the communities to legally own the lands they occupied and to increase their incomes and improve their livelihoods. Generally, they expected the communities, and households and individuals in particular, to be empowered, economically and socially. But there was little empowerment for women, if any. First, they were affected negatively by the programme. Second, their representation on village wildlife management committees and level of participation in programme activities were limited.

3.1 Negative Impacts of the Programme

The programme's negative impacts on women were in the form of increased loss of crops to wildlife, reduced access to land, and increased work burden to those whose husbands volunteered for the programme.

3.1.1 Increased Damage to Crops by Wildlife

A Programme Progress Review team reported in 1990 that the women's interests were receiving specific attention in programme planning (SCP 1990). But success of Selous Conservation Programme, like any other wildlife conservation programme, depends on "good management and high densities of wildlife" (Barnes 1995:783). Unfortunately, as both wildlife and human populations increase, conflicts between them increase as well. In

the process households, and in particular women (the main producers of food for households), are likely to lose more and more crops and become poorer. Programme staff members, wildlife officers and the villagers all revealed that there was an increase of wildlife in programme areas - a perception supported by programme documents, and wildlife census results (TWCM 1992 and 1995). As a result crop damage was the most common wildlife-related problem in all programme areas. The majority of questionnaire respondents in the participating group in Programme Areas Two (78.7%) and Three (77.1%), and even in the non-participating group (83.0%), revealed that the problem was increasing.

In his report in October 1989, the co-ordinator for Programme Areas Two and Three called for a strategy to tackle the problem of crop damage. A second report in February 1990 said that crop damage by elephants and hippos, especially in communities in Programme Area Three, had become a serious problem. A third report in May 1994 said the six participating communities in Programme Area Three were "facing tremendous problem of crop damage." Once again elephants - the species of which declining numbers were the main reason for the programme - were said to cause most of the damage. The 1994 report continued to say that efforts were being made to solve the problem, but that it still continued and was increasing. "The situation is so bad that pests have caused a dramatic drop in food crop harvest this year! All villages now have shortages of food," concluded the report. In Programme Area Four the programme staff member in charge of the area also had reported in September 1995 that there was "extensive destruction of crops" by wildlife. Similarly, programme staff members in Programme Area One disclosed that crop damage was "increasing rapidly" between July 1993 and April 1995, and during 1996 interviews with the author.

A group of Village Scouts at the Village Scout training centre also revealed that crop damage by wildlife led to serious shortages of food in their communities. One added that, "Sometimes we think the programme is causing us trouble." This was supported by a wildlife officer who stated that, "When you talk to the villagers they tell you that this programme has caused an increase of wildlife and, therefore, the rate of crop damage has gone up. To them this is a negative result. As a result of the increase of the problem, many families were forced to live permanently in the farms to guard their crops.

One former programme staff member also admitted that there was more crop damage in some areas than before the programme. "But I think that needs to be dealt with, otherwise it will reach a point where these people will not have food," he remarked. When the author told him he had witnessed the same thing in Kindamba village (Programme Area Three), he added that, "Even in Likuyu there is no food, but they were net exporters of rice and maize." Surprisingly, he said such a situation could be called a success, but did not explain why it was a success and success to whom. Another programme staff member had a different view, however. He believed that, because of the increasing crop damage, it would take time for the programme to succeed. "If one loses two acres in one growing season and you go and tell him or her to conserve the same animals he or she will not understand you, and especially when the only benefit he or she receives is one kilogram of meat," he revealed.

3.1.2 Reduced Access to Land

The programme reduced community members' access to land, and especially access by women who are the producers of food for their households. Before the programme started they used to open farms wherever they wished, which means they had easy or unlimited access to land. Taking the example of Programme Areas One and Two, figures show that 64% (70,996 hectares) and 35% (126,485 hectares) of village lands respectively were zoned for wildlife management (WD 1995). In fact, the plan is to officially designate all the village wildlife management areas (SCP 1995b). On 29 July 1992 Mr. I.N. Kachare, leader of a team of consultants hired by the programme, sent a memorandum to one Dr. M. Siebert in Bonn, Germany, in which he stated that it was the programme's plan to reduce the lands available to farmers in the areas in order to discourage shifting cultivation. If this is true, the Village Land Act of 1999 (not in operation yet) will prevent it. The Act intends to implement the National Land Policy of 1995, whose (some) objectives are "to facilitate an equitable distribution of and access to land by all citizens", "to ensure that land is used productively and that any such use complies with the principles of sustainable development", "to pay full, fair and prompt compensation to any person.... and, "to enable all citizens to participate in decision making on matters connected with their occupation or use of land" (VLA No. 5 of 1999). But still there is a possibility that, for long periods, portions of village lands set aside for wildlife management will remain out of reach of the women for whom the mouths to feed are increasing.

3.1.3 Increased Work Burden for Women

At the community level the programme depended heavily on volunteer Village Scouts and members of wildlife (or natural resources) management committees. A former programme staff member had done a survey aimed at understanding the Village Scouts, especially their age, education and marital status. He discovered that those who were sent for training were generally between twenty-five and thirty-five years old, and in extreme cases up to forty. The majority were married with big families. But these people volunteered to go on patrol for at least ten days a month, to carry out village quota hunting, to sell the meat, to attend a forty-day training (although this was a once-only event) and attend committee meetings.

Villagers normally use most of their time in the wet/growing season working on family farms and protecting them from pests. But the Village Scouts participation in the programme had, to a large extent, deprived them of the opportunity of helping their wives. In their absence that burden was left entirely to the wives. In that sense the programme was disempowering instead of empowering these women and their households. Also, sometimes the Village Scouts got injured while on patrol. One example is the case in Kongwa village in Programme Area One where in August 1994 one Village Scout was attacked and injured by a buffalo. Since the Village Scout was not employed by the programme or the government and did not have insurance, he could not claim compensation. His injuries became another burden to his wife and family.

Another cost to women came when they had to sell their only food reserves in order to pay for their husbands' (Village Scouts or committee members) wrongdoing. One village executive officer stated that:

Recently the community wildlife management officer came and discovered a shortfall in the project accounts. That shortfall was a result of the meat going bad. Villagers did not have money to buy all the meat, so some of it went bad and as a result the target set was not reached. But the committee members have been ordered to pay the difference which amounts to 58,000 shillings (US\$1 @ TShs. 550/=). They have raised the money by selling food reserves for their families.

3.2 Women's Representation on Committees and Their Levels of Participation

For the expected outcomes listed above to become a reality, the majority of community members, both men and women, have to participate fully in programme activities. Selous Conservation Programme recognises this as

it emphasises active involvement of women in all its activities. In 1990 a Programme Progress Review Team anticipated that the women's full involvement would develop once wildlife utilisation got under way (SCP 1990). Results for the planning workshop for Phase III (Oct. 1992 - Sept. 1995) show that participation of women in programme activities would continue to be encouraged (SCP 1992a). Planned activity number 1.8 for that programme phase reads: Encourage representation of women in all wildlife management committees (SCP 1992a:12).

At the end of Phase III another Programme Progress Review Team reported that strong emphasis had been put on the promotion of women and that they had been promoted (SCP 1995a). In Phase IV (Oct. 1995 - Sept. 1998) the programme continued to encourage the participation of women. But this study found an inequitable representation of women on the village wildlife management committees. Table 2 shows the gender composition of nine committees in Programme Areas Two and Three. Many had only one or two female members out of a total of ten or more. With four women on a committee of ten, Hulia village (in Programme Area Three) had the highest female representation.

In Kindamba village (Programme Area One) a group of six women revealed that initially there were six women on the committee. A senior programme staff disclosed that they (the staff) set a 25% quota for women on the committees (no reason was given for this decision) but that, when they were put on, by the next change they were all taken out. Later, when the programme staff insisted, some villages such as Rahaleo and Kajima (in Programme Area Three) and Nambecha (in Programme Area Two) elected or appointed a few unmarried women. Only when they could not get unmarried women they took married ones. But before a married woman was put on the committee permission had to be sought from her husband.

The villagers revealed, however, that women were more trustworthy than men. Referring to his committee's female secretary, a village government leader at Kitanda stated that, "When she was elected to sit on the committee the committee elected her to be the secretary because women are more trustworthy." Again at Killimasera a key informant stated that, "women tend to stick to the rules." But, although they were trustworthy and stuck to the rules, they were not given proportionate representation on the committees. Very few of those on the committees had leadership roles: the secretary at Kitanda (in Programme Area Two) and assistant secretaries at Likuyu (in Programme Area Two) and Hulla (in Programme Area Three).

Although one former programme staff member reported that there was once a female Village Scout (village not mentioned), women could not become Village Scouts. Traditionally wildlife-related business, and especially hunting, is a 'men's club' (see also Nabane and Matzke (1997) for CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe). Because they could not become Village Scouts, no woman had attended Village Scout training. Also, because of their small numbers on the committees (Table 2), only eight among a total of 117 villagers from all programme areas (6.8% or 1:15) had so far attended seminars organised for committee members.

One programme staff member reported that in the villages it was difficult to get women to attend public meetings, unless they were exclusively for women. But she, and the other programme staff members, believed the situation was improving. For instance, a former programme staff member stated that, "At least now if you call a meeting you can see women coming to listen to you." When asked if that was not possible at the early stages of the programme his answer was, No. It was not possible. You could only see those who had been outside the area. They were the only ones who would come and make some contribution, but not the typical rural women. Also those with some education, if they happened to be there, but normally they

are not there anyway. And normally these will not be indigenous to that area. They could be government employees or wives of government employees. We should hope that there will be some contribution, but at the moment it is not there.

Seven other programme staff members shared this view, one adding that they (the programme staff members) were the ones who initiated that women should also attend public meetings. A group of four women at Kitanda village, and another of two (members of the committee) at Hulia also revealed that village meetings were mostly attended by men.

3.2.1 Reasons for the Low Representation and Poor or Lack of Participation

Respondents were asked to state what they believed was/were the reason(s) for the low representation of women on the committees and their poor participation in programme activities in general. Their responses are listed and discussed below (in brackets are numbers of responses).

1. *Shyness and lack of experience and confidence* (21). Many respondents believed the poor or lack of participation by women in programme activities was due to their shyness and lack of experience in public speaking. The women were also said to have less faith in themselves and, perhaps, too much faith in men. One wildlife officer revealed what she had witnessed in Programme Area One: "I talked to a group of women who had a local brew project. They told me they chose a man to be their treasurer because they did not believe they could do it and did not trust each other.⁸ But the man misappropriated their money".

2. *Tradition/Male dominance* (15). Because wildlife-related business was viewed as a 'men's club', it is possible that women did not see the programme as one which required their participation, or they were afraid because the tradition did not allow female hunting (see also Loudiyi and Meares 1993:3).

Also, in typical rural Tanzanian households, men have more decision-making powers. If only men make the (big) decisions it may be useless for women to attend public meetings. After all, it was revealed that at the so-called village assemblies only few individuals (men mostly) had the right to speak and make decisions. There are people (men) in the villages who when they speak no other villager objects. In most cases women are regarded by men as weak and incapable of doing things. As a result, the men do not like women on committees.

3. *Misleading guidelines from programme staff* (10). The confusion was contributed to by programme staff members. Before the committees were formed, the (technical) staff (of whom during this study only one out of ten was a woman) gave guidelines to communities regarding groups which were to be represented. The groups were "wazee" (two positions), "vijana" (two positions), "walumba" (one or two positions), "wataalam" (one or two positions) and "wanawake/akina mama" (two positions).

The English translation of "wazee" is old people/the elderly. But in many parts of the country, and in (informal) conversations, the term is used to mean old men. As a result of the misinterpretation, the first two positions went to men. The term "kijana" (singular for "vijana") is also wrongly used in many conversations. Its English translation is youth, which includes both sexes. But to most rural Kiswahili speakers "kijana" means young man. As a result of this second misinterpretation the next two positions went to men as well. "Walumba" is plural of "mlumba" which is used to mean 'traditional hunter'. As already pointed out, hunting was and is still a men's-only activity. Therefore, the position(s) for "walumba" automatically went to men. "Mtaalam" means expert. When the programme staff members used the term they meant employees of institutions, e.g., schools, dispensaries and churches, located in the community. In the rural areas most school teachers and medical aids are men, and almost all female "wataalam" are married and, therefore, under control of their husbands. Therefore, again the position(s) for "wataalam" went to men. The women were left with only two possible positions. In the first election they were represented in most villages, but then after they disappeared or were removed and replaced by men.

4. *Denied permission by husbands* (9). Some married women wanted to participate in programme activities, but were denied permission by their husbands. One programme staff member revealed that some women had told her that their husbands were jealous and did not allow them to participate — a view shared also by the female committee member at Kitanda. Islamic doctrine was also blamed.

5. *Laziness/ignorance* (4). Some women were elected on the wildlife management and other village committees but did not attend meetings so they were replaced. But, again, the reason may have been the tradition/culture in which those women were brought up and not the individuals. Also, the women's poor attendance at committee meetings may have been influenced by their husbands.

6. *Big workload/responsibilities in their households (2)*. In a typical rural Tanzanian household women have many responsibilities as producers and reproducers. As producers of food, the women spend most of the daytime attending their farms and use the rest to prepare food or to make preparations for the preparation of food. Responsibilities increase in wildlife areas where they have to spend days and nights guarding their crops. Attending meetings and training would mean leaving everything in their homes and farms at a stand still. This is supported by the fact that most of the women who had attended training were from communities close to the college, in programme areas Two and Three (the college is located at Likuyu in Programme Area Two). Because of the many responsibilities in their homes and farms the women, especially those who were married and had children, were left with little or no time to participate in programme activities.

4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Although in theory Selous Conservation Programme (and all other programmes implementing the CWM approach) is gender sensitive, it is, in practice, insensitive. If, like other CWM programmes, its focus is on human concerns, it must satisfy the communities' basic needs and enhance individual, household and group security (Metcalf 1994; Western 1994b; Fourie 1991). But individual and household security in the programme areas includes food security. If the increase of wildlife populations, especially those that damage crops, was the result of, or was at least contributed to by, Selous Conservation Programme then definitely the programme caused insecurity to women, as producers of food. Increasing crop damage left the women, and their families, in a bad situation as far as their food security and security of income was concerned.

In Tanzania victims of crop damage are not compensated as there is no compensation policy, and there will not be any in the near future (MNR&T 1998). Although introduction of such a policy may lead to many unsubstantiated claims, its absence makes village women worse-off.

Outsiders may fail to realise the big risks women are exposed to when their husbands volunteer for CWM programmes, especially in the positions of Village Scouts. For instance, one programme staff member believed that there was no loss. He argued that, like a business investment, the programme "will later give them big income for their families." But, if any, these 'later' benefits will be public goods. They will not go to the Village Scouts' households only, but to all households in the community, with or without Scouts.

If Selous Conservation Programme was potentially beneficial to households, the women, whose participation was crucial for its success, were only slightly involved or not involved at all. Their small numbers or absence on the committees, and low levels of participation in programme activities, are evidence that they played a minor role in the programme.

Perhaps the programme, and the individual village wildlife management projects in particular, did not perform well because the real target group - the women - were left out. One village executive officer believed that if the representation was made 50:50 it could help make the women feel that they also had a role to play in the programme. Referring to the ratio in the committee in his village, he stated that, "Having only two women among ten committee members makes the others feel that the two are only lucky, and the two will feel that they are better than the others. Within the committee the two women will feel out of place and become afraid to contribute ideas." But the poor or lack of participation by women in wildlife conservation is not limited to Selous Conservation Programme. In their study of Masoka village, a community participating in CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe, Nabane and Matzke (1997) found that women were not represented on the wildlife committee. All seven committee members were men.⁶

Lastly, many of the reasons given above for the women's poor or lack of participation in programme activities conflict to a large degree with the almost universal perception that rural women in the 'developing world', and particularly in Africa, do not participate in community programmes/projects because they have big workloads in their homes (see, for instance, Timberlake 1988). To the contrary the majority of villagers and others in this study had a different understanding of the reasons why women did not actively participate in Selous Conservation Programme; 34.4% believed they did not participate because they were shy and lacked experience and confidence; 24.6% believed that men and the local tradition did not respect and give them freedom to do so; 16.4% blamed programme staff members, or rather a confusion in the language used; 14.8% believed that married women were denied permission by their husbands; 6.6% believed it was the women's fault as they were lazy or ignorant. Only 3.2% thought they were too busy in their homes to participate in programme activities.

If these results represent the real situation then proponents of CWM need to rethink their strategies. If women must participate, perhaps giving them access to milling machines and pumped water with the intention of releasing them from back-breaking house chores, though important, on its own will still not make them participate in CWM and other community

programmes. For instance, as pointed out earlier, where a CWM programme succeeds to increase wildlife populations, in the absence of effective fences the women and children will be forced to spend more hours protecting their crops. Where the communities agree to be 'confined in 'paddocks' like in the case of CAMPFIRE (Murphree 1996 and 1994) crop protection may be enhanced, but only men will feel safe from wildlife as new and perhaps more difficult problems, e.g., longer distances to and from water wells and/or firewood collection points, may be created for women. Where some benefits are realised from the programmes, they may be less than the total social and economic costs to women, and it is the men on wildlife committees and in the homes who make decisions on how programme revenues should be used. At this stage, therefore, there are still more questions than answers regarding CWM, as far as the interests of, and participation by, village women are concerned.

(This article was received in March, 2000)

NOTES

1. There are no clear taxonomic or even behavioural boundaries defining wildlife. Each society determines what constitutes wildlife in its jurisdiction. The Tanzanian Wildlife Division has recently defined wildlife as species of wild and indigenous animals and plants to be found in Tanzania (Ministry of Natural Resources & Tourism (MNR&T) 1996), but in the minds of many ordinary Tanzanians and even staff of the wildlife authorities the term still means game animals and birds. In this study the term is used to refer only to free ranging wild vertebrate species in their natural environments.
2. Two German expatriates, one Tanzanian senior rural development officer and two (four until 1995 or early 1996) village development officers borrowed from other Ministries (one from the Ministry of Agriculture and the other from Ministry of Community Development).
3. Bryan & Hende (cited in Taylor et al. 1990) insist that before new data are collected all existing ones should be utilised.
4. 400 kilograms for a buffalo carcass times the agreed price per kilogram.
5. From their study of CAMPFIRE programme at Masoka village, Nabane and Matzke (1997, 527) also state that, "Even the grinding mill committee, originally meant to have only women, hired a man to be the secretary." They explain that all the women on the committee were illiterate. But there must have been literate women in the community to take that position, if the only problem was illiteracy among committee members.

6. CAMPFIRE is regarded as the best example, or model, of community-based resource management and development in eastern and southern Africa (Child 1996; Matzke and Nabane 1996; IIED 1994; Little 1994).

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