### Centre for



# Applied Social Sciences

Proceedings of the

Regional Conference on Gender Issues in

Community-Based Natural Resource Management

**CBNRM** 

(Cresta Lodge, Harare: 24 - 27 August 1998)

Compiled by

Nontokozo Nabane

September 1998

## University of Zimbabwe

#### **CENTRE FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES \***

#### University of Zimbabwe

P O Box MP 167 Mount Pleasant HARARE Zimbabwe

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The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of CASS or IUCN

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# Gender Considerations in Forestry: Some Cases From Zambia

#### Alex K. Nkomeshva

#### 1. Introduction

In terms of forest estates, Zambia is one of the well-endowed countries on the African continent. Forests are estimated at between 55 and 60% of the total land area. Forest reserves that are gazetted make up 9% of the total land area. The area taken up by National Parks is 9% of the total. Unofficial statistics, often expressed at official fora<sup>15</sup> estimate the rate of deforestation at between 200,000 and 300,000 hectares per year. Considering that this is not accompanied by re-planting, it is alarming. Indeed several questions may be asked: Who uses these products? Who benefits? Who is more actively involved when activities assume a commercial dimension? Why is it that nearly all forest reserves are encroached? What measures is the government taking to redress the situation? What are the constraints and opportunities? This paper addresses these questions paying attention to gender with specific focus on three provinces in Zambia, viz., Luapula, Copperbelt and Central.

#### 2. General Uses

Generally, it has been well documented that Zambian women tended to have more uses for forestry products in the rural setting than men. In the three provinces under consideration, there was no exception: women's uses were more. Let us take the case of Copperbelt Province. Here, women's uses were clearly more: "In 50% of the sample districts, women's uses were more while in the other half, the uses were numerically equal." (Nkomeshya: 1997, p.59)

In Appendix 1 below, the specific uses for products in each of the Copperbelt Provinces' eight districts are dis-aggregated by gender and detailed. This has been mentioned at various Zambia Forestry Programme (ZFAP) workshops between 1996 and 1997.

A closer look at the general uses reveals a strong positive co-relationship between men's increased uses and proximity to urban areas. In areas close to urban areas, men's general uses tended to be more i.e. in Chililabombwe, Mufulira, Kitwe and Luanshya Districts. This can be explained in terms of commercialisation in which forest products are used for the primary motive of making profit. The prevailing social relations were such that men became the principal actors in profit-oriented ventures and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This has been the general consensus at various Zambia Forestry Action Programme (ZFAP) workshops held between 1996 and 1997.

inevitably maintained control. In the said districts, men's' control extended to trade in wild fruits, mushrooms, grass and firewood. While men's' uses increased, those for women narrowed down due, *inter-alia*, to the fact that the districts' forest estates were the highly depleted ones largely because of their proximity to the mining towns.

#### 3. Food Security

In two of the three provinces, forest products were important food sources especially during hunger periods. During the rainy season (December, January, February), most households experienced food deficits especially of starch crops. During such times, most households experienced food deficits especially of starch crops. During such times, most households relied on the *Mupundu* fruit (Parinari Curatellifolia). The fruit was gathered and processed by women for the benefit of their individual household members (including men). The women pounded the fruit to its powder form, which they then cooked into a thick porridge. In Central Province, forest products became even more important from the late 1980's when droughts became recurrent often leading to prolonged hunger periods. In Mpatisha village (Chibombo District, Central Province) for example, women were the key actors in digging and processing *Impama* and *Busala* (wild tubers) which were eaten as starch foods in drought years (Nkomeshya: 1997, p.15).

#### 4. Charcoal Production

This was mainly a male domain in the predominately charcoal-subsistence agriculture livelihood systems in Copperbelt and Central Provinces (Nkomeshya: 1996, 1997). In the Fitobaula area of Chililabombwe District (Copperbelt Province), women's' involvement covered only two out of the possible eight production activities: harvesting and marketing. The rest were, felling trees, cutting branches, piling logs, earthing, monitoring kilns, and firing. On the other hand, few women engaged in the activity and these were in the main, female household heads. They did not themselves participate directly as they hired labour by brewing *Imbile* beer. There was no gender discrimination in terms of the labour that was hired. In Kapiri-Mposhi District, women's' role was even less; it was limited only to marketing.

The explanation given by the local charcoal producers was that women could not do the "heavier" workloads such as felling trees, cutting branches, and firing because it was too labour-intensive. This however has a flaw: in some parts of Luapula Province charcoal production was female dominated. In the Luapula valley, where depletion of trees was very high, some women, especially female household heads, were able to produce charcoal to supplement their livelihoods. "As for charcoal production, this was more pronounced among female household heads who also sold part of it to raise cash." (p.13) The scenario was not dissimilar in Kapata Peninsula, Samfya District, Luapula province where some female household heads produced charcoal as part of their livelihood strategies. In both the Luapula cases, men were primarily involved in the more lucrative fishing sector (Nkomeshya: 1996).

#### 5. Women's Participation in Timber Demand and Supply

In all the three Provinces, women's contribution was very low. Their participation was limited only to fuel-wood and charcoal consumption. Women had little involvement in saw-milling and furniture businesses. Their contribution on the supply (Production) side was very insignificant: only a few were engaged in the relatively simple and less lucrative basketry industry. Although there were some who ventured into the sawn timber business these were limited to trading and not production. The latter were even fewer. (Kasumu, October, 1996).

#### 6. Encroachment Into Forest Reserves: Age and Gender Factors

The two were crucial factors in encroachment of reserves in Luapula Province. In Chibanga and Matende villages, both of which were located around forest reserves, male youths and middle-aged female household heads (25-40) took lead in cultivating and even settling in the reserves (Nkomeshya: 1996 p.23). This is because the land tenure system favoured older people. Male youths and unmarried women were the least to be considered by traditional authorities in allocation of good forestlands. The scenario was not different in Serenje District (Central Province): "Age was an important criterion as regards access to good forests for farming purposes. Traditional authorities' priority was for older people." (Nkomeshya: December, 1996) As for married women, access to good forests was via their husbands for both Districts.

#### 7. Effects of Commercialisation of Edible Vegetal Non-Wood Forest Products

As noted earlier in the case of Copperbelt Province, women in rural areas having little contact with urban areas were key procurers of forest products. In the three Provinces, the products in question can be divided into two broad categories; mushrooms and fruits. However, when the products became commodities for trade, men and even children were drawn in. Juda village in Kapiri-Mposhi District is a case in point: "Until the early 1990's when mushrooms were mainly for home consumption, it was a womens' domain. Now that mushrooms were for sale at the roadside of the Kapiri-Mposhi-Kabwe highway, men competed with women. Children were also competitors." (Nkomeshya: December, 1996, p.25)

Whenever the products assumed a commercial dimension, the trade got dominated by men. This despite the fact that trade in these products was in most cases pioneered by women. (Chishimba: W.K.:1996, p.ii).

In view of the present author, men dominated trade in non-wood forest products because of the obtaining of social relations in which men were key controllers of profitable production activities at the household level. This is because according to many local traditions, wives had to disclose the ensuring profits but men were not. As Kanema (1995) noted for Luapula Province in general, men exercised final authority over matters relating to labour movements and allocation among their individual household members.

#### 8. The Effects of Deforestation on Women's Workload

In the valley and Lake Bangweulu Peninsula of Luapula Province the relatively high depletion of forest resources imposed additional burdens of women's workload. As the main collectors of firewood, women had to walk over 10 kilometres to fetch acceptable tree species such as *Brachystegia* and *Julbernadia* for wood fuel. The common trees found in the areas around homesteads were mainly Mango and few other fruit trees. Another additional burden on women's daily chores directly impacted by deforestation was that they had to spend more time harvesting and processing the staple starch, cassava, in the fields which were located in the far flung areas. Women now had to spend a few days away from home executing that chore. In previous years, this was done near their homesteads since fields were near.

The additional workload for women has the obvious negative effects on the well being of individual households because they are responsible *inter-alia*, for household food security and looking after the sick. Let us look at the former. Additional work for a seriously affected are ?? usually children. The implication here is that this would create or worsen cases of malnutrition in households. Indeed as argued by Gobezie (1984), the second contributing factor to malnutrition in Mukunta and Mabumba areas of Luapula Province was the lack of time on the part of women to prepare food into irregular feeding patterns.

#### 9. The Bureaucracy

The state mactarity in the forest sector is represented by the Forest Department which is located in the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources. The departments' structure covers three levels: national, provincial and district.

The department was first established in the 1940's and it had two major areas of focus. Firstly, its role was to create feast reserves which were to provide timber products to the mining and furniture industries. The second was to protect the country's' watershed and catchment areas of the river systems. In the 1950's and 1960's forest research and soil surveying were added to the departments' mandate. In the 1970's the department embarked on establishing industrial plantations. By the 1980's the latter was placed under the supervision of a state-run parastatal firm (The Zambia Forest Industries Cooperation (ZAFFICO)). From its inception, the departments' methodology was that of using coercive methods vis-à-vis local communities located in the vicinity of reserves and plantations. The philosophy however changed in the mid-1990's to embrace among others, participation of local communities. At the time of writing, the departments' focus was fourfold:

- Participatory forestry
- Creating and increasing public awareness in forest resource management
- Encouragement of bee-keeping
- Silvicultural and utilisation research support.

#### 9.1 Issues

- 1. The 'epartments' structure continues to be top-heavy. It has no representation at the community level because it ends at the district. To date, its contacts with local women and men, and community-based organisations remains relatively weak.
- 2. In gender terms, the bureaucratic structure has continued to be male-dominated. Women continued to constitute a very small percentage of the total workforce in the sector. For example, out of a total of 88 university graduates (up to BSc level) between 1964 and 1997, women were only four. As for MSc level, there was only one, out of thirty-three holders.
- 3. Despite the inclusion of community participation in the policy pronouncements, field officers have not been re-trained consecute this. In most of the provinces and districts, officers have continued to "police" local communities because that is the way they were trained. Local communities still refer to the officers as 'ba kapenda mabula' (those who count leaves), a derogatory term which only emphasises the traditional hostile police-criminal relations between forest officers and local communities.

#### 10. Government Intervention Measures

Realising the need for sustained management of forests, and cognisant of their inevitable depletion, the government initiated the Provincial Forestry Action Programme (PFAP) in 1995. The long-term vision was "... sustainable utilisation of forest resources for the benefit of the Zambian people, both men and women, through development of effective and efficient forestry institution." (PFAP Workplan: 1996, p.5)

The PFAP is part of the Zambia Forestry Action Programme (ZFAP). The latter was established as a result of Zambia's commitment to the global Tropical Forestry Action Programme (TFAP). The PFAP has since 1995 been operational in three provinces, viz., Central, Copperbelt and Luapula. It has two main components: the immediate action programme and the planning process. The former has five sub-programmes and these are: capacity building, publicity and awareness raising, forestry assessment, local forestry planning, utilisation and marketing of forest products. The action planning process has two main sub-components: in-depth analysis of issues, and, formulation of forestry action plans.

For the purposes of this paper, our interests lie in the action planning process. At the time of writing, this component of the programme had attained the first phase and was in the midst of formulating the action plans. In Table 1 below, the stages envisaged for the action planning in each province are outlined.

At the time of writing, only the to two stages were yet to be attained. The plans are expected to be completed in mid-1998. What issues, then emerge from this process?

**TABLE 1. PFAP Action Planning Process** 

Activity	Key Actor(s)
Constitution of provincial planning committee	Forest department, line ministries
Consultative meetings with stakeholders in each district. Output: problems identified, development objectives set.	Planning committee and stakeholders (local government, line ministries, traditional leaders, non-government organisations)
Harmonising district objectives into provincial development programmes	Provincial planning committees
Setting programme profiles	Provincial planning committees
Identifying data gaps	Provincial planning committees
Finalising action plans. Output: Provincial forestry action plans	Provincial planning committees

#### 10.1 Issues

- 1) The provincial planning committees were male-dominated in all the three provinces.
- 2) The government does not have the capacity to fund the proposed programmes. Donor assistance, whose sustainability is questionable, therefore becomes inevitable.
- Although currently under serious review, the legal provisions rule out the whole concept of participatory forestry. Considering the usual red tape associated with government bureaucracy, the likelihood is that by the time the new forest policy and bill are ratified, PFAP would have outlived its life span.
- 3) Forestry is not among the high priority constraints in most local communities in the three provinces. It thus requires a lot of persuasion if the local communities are to be expected to actively participate.

#### 11. Conclusion

Although women's uses in the three provinces were generally more than those of their male counterparts, theirs were more environmental-friendly. Women collected deadwood and a host of non-wood forest products. Because men came in when commercialisation took root, their (men's) activities were more destructive i.e. charcoal production, pitsawying, and caterpillar harvesting (where trees are cut). In the fishing livelihood systems of Luapula Province where some women ventured into charcoal

production, the motive was not solely profit making. The implication is that it left very little room for expansion in terms of scale of production because the primary aim was to meet household energy needs.

#### 11.1 Recommendations

- (a) The government should formalise activities where women are already involved i.e. trade in sawn timber from the Copperbelt to Lusaka. Women dominate this trade. This would enable those involved to access resources especially as regards to credit.
- (b) The government should take deliberate measures to involve women in push-bench industries.
- (c) To reduce on women's increased workload in the Luapula valley, there is need for agro-forestry projects which should also target women.
- (d) The forest department is too distanced from the local communities for it to manage the sector jointly with local communities. The department should be restructured so that some of its officers will be living and working in the communities. Only then will community participation be meaningful.

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#### Appendix 1

TABLE 1. General Uses of Forest Resources, Fitobaula, Chililabombwe District

Use	Tree Species/Forest Product	Key Users
Charcoal	Mutondo (Julbernadia paniculata), Muputu (Brachystegisa speciformis), Mutobo (Isoberlina angolensis), Mubanse (Albizia aldianthifolia), Museshi (Marquesia macroula), Musmba (Brachystigia boehmi)	Men
Fruits	Mufungo (Anisophyllea boehmi), Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana), Musafwa Mupundu (Parinari curatelifolia), Kasongole (Straychnos cocculoides), Nsongwa (Garcinia huilensis), Ntungulu, Mubungo, Amakole	Women Men
Mushrcoms	Chitondo, Chikolowa, Kabansa, Tende, Musafwa, Chifitamuto, Munya	Women Men*
Poles	Mupundu (Parinari curatelifolia) Mwengele, Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana) Museshi (Marquesia macroura) Mwenge (Diplorynchus condylocarpon) Mulombwa (Pterocarpus angloensis) Kayimbi (Erythrophleum Africanus)	Men
Firewood	Mutobo (Isoberlina angolensis) Mutondo (Julbernadia paniculata) Musamba (Brachystegia boehmi) Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana) Museshi (Marquesia boehmi) Mubanga (Pericopsis angolensis) Nsengu, Mango, Muputu (Brachystegia speciformis)	Men Women
Grass	Lweo, Ulubamba, Kasanse	Women Men
Small Game	Kapanga, Changa (Bush baby) Kote, Fulwe (Tortoise) Impombo (Dyker), Tutili	Men

<sup>\*</sup>Men were only involved if the resources were for sale.

Source: A.K. Nkomeshya, 1997

TABLE 2. General Uses of Forest Resources, Ponde Village, Chingola District

Use	Forest Preduct/Tree Species	Key Users
Mushrooms	Bunkungwa, Telia, Musefwe, Kabansa, Nambuluma, Katoto, Chikolowa, Chitondo	Women
Grass	Kampumpu, Lweo, Misanse, Lumambe	Women
Fruits	Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana), Mufungo (Anisophyllea boehmi), Tutonga, Kasongole (Strachnos colluloides), Mupundu (Parinari curatefolia), Isansa	Women
Firewood	Mutondo (Julbernadia paniculata), Musamba (Brachystegia speciformis), Mupundu (Parinari curatelifolia)	Men
Poles	Mufinsa, Nsengu, Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana)	Men
Fibre	Musamba (Brachystegia boehmi)	Men
Washing Detergent/ Shampoo	Kapofu	Women

TABLE 3. General Use of Forest Resources, Chandamali Area, Mufulira District

Use	Tree Species/Forest Product	Key Users
Grass	Kabanse, Lweo, Chinko, Ulubamba	Women, Men*
Mushrooms	Kabansa, Tente, Munga, Filolowa, Busefwe, Chitondo, Tunkulubi, Chibengele, Tande, Sepa, Musefwe, Witondwe, Mpomfwa	Women
Fruits	Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana), Mupundu (Parinari curatelifolia) Mufungo (Anisophyllea boehmi) Kasongole (Strlychnos cocculoides) Mabungo, Nkomfwa, Muchenja (Brachystegia taxifolia)	Women, Men*, Children
Fibre	Musamba (Brachystegia boehmi), Mupuntu (Brachystegia speciformis), Ngalati (Brachystegia taxifolia)	Men
Firewood	Mutondo (Julbernadia paniculata), Muputu (Brachystegia speciformis), Musamba (Brachystegia boehmi), Mutobo (Isoberlina angolensis), Mubanga (Pericopsis angolensis), Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana)	Women
Poles	Mubanga (Pericopsis angolensis), Musase (Albizia antunesiana), Ndale (Swartzia madagascatiensis), Kayimbi (Erythrophleum africanus), Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana)	Men

\*Men were involved only when the resources were for sale.

TABLE 4. General Uses of Forest Resources, Mukutuma, Kalulushi District

Use	Tree Species/Forest Product	Key Users/ Beneficiaries
Firewood	Mutondo (Julbernadia paniculata),	Women
	Mutobo (Isoberlina angolensis), Akapungwe,	
	Musamba (Brachystegia boehmi),	
	Mwenge (Dyplorynchus condylocarpon),	
	Kaputu (Brachystegia speciformis),	
	Mubanga (Pericopsis angolensis)	
Fruits	Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana),	Women
	Mufungo, Nsafwa,	
	Mupundu(Parinari curatelifolia),	
	Kalongwe (Dalbergia nitida),	
	Kasongole (Strychnos colluloides)	
Mushrooms	Bunkungwa, Telia, Busefwe, Tande, Chitondo, Bumpukutu, Munya	Women
Grass	Lweo, Kampumpu, Misanse	Women
Poles	Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana),	Men
	Mupundu (Parinari curatelifolia),	
	Ndale (Swartzia madagascariensis),	
	Mubanga (Pericopsis angolensis),	
	Musoko, Saninga (Faurea intermedia)	
Honey	Museshi, Musamba, Mutondo	Men
Fibre	Musamba (Brachystigia boehmi),	Men
	Kaputu (Brachystegia speciformis), Kapungwe, Mutondo (Julbernadia paniculata)	
Bamboos	Mankwankwa	Men
Wild Vegetables	Chitashi, Musasa	Women

TABLE 5. General Uses of Forest Resources, Misaka, Kitwe District

Use	Tree Species/Forest Product	Key Users/ Beneficiaries
Charcoal	Mutondo (Julbernadia paniculata), Musamba (Brachystegia boehmi) Mutobo (Isoberlina angolensis), Muputu (Brachystegia speciformis), Kalongwe (Dalbergia nitidula), Mubanga (Pericopsis angolensis)	Men
Mushrooms	Telia, kabansa, busefwe, ichikolowa, buwitondwe, tent, nettles, pamper	Women
Fruits	Musuku (Uapaca kirikiana), Mufungo (Anisophyllea boehmi), musafwa, mabungo, Kasongole (Strychnos cocculiodes), Mupundu (Parinari curatelifolia), nsongwa, mukolamnfula	Women, children
Firewood	Mutondo (Julbernadia paniculata), Musamba (Brachystegia boehmi), Mutobo (Isoberlina angolensis), Mupuntu (Brachystegia speciformis)	Women
Poles	Kayimbi (Erythrophleum africanus), Mubanga (Pericopsis angolensis), Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana), Nsengu, musokolobe (Uapaca nitida)	Men
Fibres	Musamba (Brachystegia boehmi)	Men
Grasss	Lweo, mape, kampumpwe, impumpu, kafuntumuna, misase	Women, men
Mud	Ndambo	Women, men

TABLE 6. General Uses of Forest Resources, Kapululu, Luanshya District

Use	Tree Species/Forest Product	Key Users/ Beneficiaries
Poles	Kayimbi (Erythrophleum africanus), musalia, Mupundu (Parinari curatelifolia), Musuku (Uapaca kirikiana)	Men
Handles	Kayimba (Erythrophleum africanus)	Men
Firewood	Kayirebi (Erythrophleum Africanus)	Women
Fresh Air	All Plants	Men, women, children, animals
Fibre	Mararata (Brachystegia boehmi), hlupata (Brachystegia speciformis)	Men
Guerr	Leec, maccage, mapeirle, kampreper	Women, men
Machroems	Eankolenkels	Women

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Use	Forest Product/Tree Species	Key Users/Collectors
Mushrooms	Nsefwe, kabansa, telia, chitondo, ubunkungwa, chilomo-cha-mung`omba	Women, children
Fruits	Mupundu (Parinari curatelifolia), Musuku (Uapaca kirkiana),	Women, children
	Mufungo (Anisophyllea boehmi),  Kasongole (Strychnos cocculoides),	,
	musafwa, mabungo, nsole	
Small game	Tunga, kolwe (monkey), changa (Bushbaby), mice, guinea-fowls	Men
Vegetables	Chitashi, chimboyi, musasa, nsokontwe	Women
Imbote (honey beer)	Honey	Men

TABLE 8. General Uses of Forest Resources, Nkambo, Ndola Rural District

Use	Tree Species/Forest Resource	Key Users/ Beneficiaries/ Collectors
Firewood	Mutondo (Julbernadia paniculata), Musamba (Brachystegia boehmi), Kaputu (Brachystegia speciformis), Mutobo (Isoberlina angolensis), Kasabwa	Women
Coffins	Musamba (Brachystegia boehmi)	Men
Charcoal	Mutondo (Julbernadia paniculata), Musamba (Brachystegia boehmi), Mutobo (Isoberlina angolensis), Kasabwa	Men
Mushrooms	Ifikololwa, telia, nsanda, kabansa, witondwe, musefwe, munya, chilomo-cha-mung`omba	Women
Fruits	Musuku (Uapaca kirikiana), Mufungo (Anisophyllea boehmi), Mupundu (Parinari curatelifolia), Makikwe, Mabungo, Musokolobe (Uapaca nitida), Kasongole (Strychnos cocculoides), Musafwa, nfinsa, chisombo, ntungulu	Women
Poles	Mubanga (Pericopsis angolensis), nfinsa, Musuku (Uapaca kirikiana), Musokolobe (Uapaca nitida), musalia	Men
Grass	Kampumpwe, lweo, mapelele, misase	Women
Vegetables	Impumpule, ichitashi, musasa, munemena, mbabasa, mushikalilo, kafunda, pupwe, mukona, chimboyi, impumpule	Women
Honey	Ubuchi, chipashi, mwande, ubungulwe, ubunyanta	Men
Small game	Tunga, kalulu, mpombo (Dyker), nsenshi, chisongo, kolwe (monkey), changa (Bush-Baby), kandende, nsengele	Men
Edible tubers*	Amalumbwe (yams), basal	Women
Munkoyo	Chitondo, kelunge, chifumfula	Women, men



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