

Centre for

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Sciences



**Proceedings of the
Regional Conference on Gender Issues in
Community-Based Natural Resource Management**

C B N R M

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

Compiled by

Nontokozo Nabane

September 1998

University of Zimbabwe

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HARARE

Zimbabwe

(CASS Occasional Paper - NRM Series; CPN. 97/98)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The success of this conference and the publication of these proceedings has been possible through support from the US Agency for International Development (USAID) under the Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) Phase II – Zimbabwe. The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of USAID or CASS.

Gender and Ethnic Differentiation in the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Guruve District, Zimbabwe.

Nontokoza Nabane

ABSTRACT

This paper explores gender and ethnic differentiation in Community-based wildlife management under the Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe. CAMPFIRE is a national natural resource management initiative that promotes utilization of natural resources as an economic and sustainable land use option in Zimbabwe's communal areas. Currently the programme focuses on wildlife utilization as a development intervention to improve the economic livelihood of the rural communities. The paper uses a case study of Kanyurira ward in the Zambezi Valley to explore the impact of gender differentiation within the programme. This study examines the development consequences of this initiative with reference to the differential outcomes for women and men along ethnic lines. The study reveals that the programme has gender-differentiated benefits as well as disadvantages. The study also shows that CAMPFIRE and associated development activity has initiated changes in the village life that have led women into opportunities which were formerly not available including formal education, cash payments to households and paid employment. However, decision making and leadership opportunities are biased in favour of men. The study further shows that there is differentiation among women due to their ethnic affiliation.

1. Introduction

This paper discusses gender issues in community-based wildlife management (CBWLM). It also discusses costs and benefits of CBWLM under Zimbabwe's Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) initiative in Kanyurira/Masoka¹⁶ ward in the Zambezi Valley. It focuses on decision making, leadership opportunities, and cost and benefit distribution along gender lines in CAMPFIRE. The paper shows that gender analysis can be useful in identifying differentiation among women and on the basis of their ethnic affiliation.

In this paper, gender is understood as a category that refers to socially and culturally constructed perceptions of men and women. The concept of gender evolves with changing times and varies from one community to another. In many societies, gender is widely used as a means by which some form of division of labour is instituted and therefore determines male and female roles and behaviours in a given cultural context.

¹⁶ Kanyurira is the name given to the ward (taken after the headman), while Masoka is the name inherited from the local spirit medium Nyamasoka. The community continues to use both names.

CBWLM involves the participation of local communities in the management of wildlife resources in their areas. Much of the literature on CBWLM (Murphree, 1991; Western *et. al.*, 1994; Anderson & Grove, 1989) has given little attention to gender in describing participation. Even though gender theories have been applied to economic and social development discussions since the late 1960s, practitioners of wildlife management have not seen the relevance of gender theories. Therefore it has not been applied to the analysis of wildlife management issues in Zimbabwe, and seeks to partly fill the void in gender/wildlife management research.

2. The need for a Gender Perspective in Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)

Gender analysis in natural resource management is a fairly recent phenomenon resulting from the realization that access to and use of natural resources is not gender neutral. Gender can be used to analyze the roles, responsibilities, constraints and opportunities of the people involved in the use and management of natural resource. Gender analysis recognizes existing differences between women and men's roles in the development process. This recognition highlights diverse and complex relationships among members of households that must be considered in the design, implementation and evaluation of development efforts (Feldstein and Poats, 1990). Studies on CBNRM have often focused on undifferentiated natural resource users, the focus generally being on households without regard to gender differentiation. In most communities, both women and men are key resources users and managers. They have different socially defined roles and responsibilities in managing natural resource both within the household and in the community (Thomas-Slayter *et. al.*, 1995). Policy makers, project planners and implementers, often ignore these roles and responsibilities. This may result in policy outcomes that benefit one sex at the expense of the other. Gender analysis is thus central to understanding the ways in which women and men relate to resource and to each other. Gender 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. These interests may concern options open to a community to implement sustainable resource utilization (Thomas, 1992).

The failure to consider gender in Africa is misleading because women and men in the same household may use natural resources in separate production systems and strategies (Fortmann and Nabane, 1992). Women generally have the major responsibility of providing the household with natural resource products such as fruit, wild foods, insects (e.g. caterpillars) and fuel wood. In some cases, these resources have been found to provide a broader income base for women in rural areas (Bishop & Scoones, 1994; Wyckoff-Baird, 1995; Hobane, 1995). This means that women's access to these resource have broad ramifications for their family's standard of living.

Once women and men's roles are recognized, their "separate perspectives on shared livelihoods and landscape can be brought together in a multidimensional medium that does not obscure the claims of the other" (Rocheleau *et. al.*, 1995: 64). Areas of complimentary or conflicting interest can be highlighted through a gender analysis approach and more equitable and practical natural resource management plans can be developed. As in most Southern African countries, women in Zimbabwe have often been left out of the social, economic and political arenas and have not been primary

recipients of economic development efforts (Adams, 1988). The vast majority of women are still subordinated to male dominance and are rarely involved in community decision-making processes. As a result, women are denied the opportunity to articulate their views and participate fully in development initiatives.

This study aims at increasing awareness of the critical roles that both women and men play in CBWLM using the case study of Masoka village's CAMPFIRE in the Guruve District of Zimbabwe. The study also highlights the need for ethnic differentiation in CBWLM programme as this has implications for participation levels by both women and men.

3. CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe

CAMPFIRE is a management approach designed to involve local communities in decision-making, and benefit distribution, regarding natural resources of their micro-environments. It is an innovative approach to the devolution of natural resource management to local communities. New local institutions have been set up to enhance sustainable local level resource management (Murphree, 1991). The programme has its foundation in the 1975 Parks and Wildlife Act, which accorded appropriate authority for wildlife on private lands to the owners.

CAMPFIRE seeks to obtain the voluntary participation of communities by introducing a system of ownership with defined access rights to natural resources for community residents in target areas (Martin, 1986). The programme aims to promote wildlife utilization as an economic and sustainable land use option in agriculturally marginal communal areas. It also aims to ensuring that those who reside close to wildlife resource derive some material benefit from them.

CAMPFIRE was conceived in the early 1980s and formalized in 1986 in the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management (DNPWLM) in Zimbabwe. The programme is based on the assumption that communities will invest in environmental conservation if they can use the resource on a sustainable basis. The CAMPFIRE objective is to initiate a programme for the long-term development, management, and sustainable utilization of natural resources in the communal areas.

CAMPFIRE also aims to achieve management of resources by placing their custody and responsibility with the resident communities. Communities are allowed to benefit directly from the exploitation of natural resources within the communal area and establish the administrative and institutional structures necessary to make the programme work. The programme postulates that wildlife utilization is potentially the most productive form of land-use in the semi-arid agro-ecological regions IV and V. In these regions there are limited agricultural opportunities. If CAMPFIRE is to be a viable land-use option in the Communal Areas, it must offer a potential solution to the crisis of peasant production (Murombedzi, 1994).

The CAMPFIRE programme generates revenues from a wide range of activities. These include hunting safaris, as well as non-consumptive tourism such as photographic safaris and game viewing. Income generated from wildlife through CAMPFIRE is generally used, by the communities involved, to fund infrastructural development for the benefit of both the people and wildlife (Child and Peterson, 1991). In some cases

this had included drilling boreholes, building schools, clinics, road development, fencing arable land and maintenance of these fences. In other cases communities have invested in income generation projects, food during drought times and household cash dividends.

By enhancing the economic state of local people both at the individual and community level, CAMPFIRE can potentially undermine the threat of poaching and the over-exploitation of wildlife resources. Whereas under colonial rule, local hunting was prohibited and poaching remained as the only available way to gain benefits from wildlife, legalized utilization through CAMPFIRE has made poaching an antisocial activity (Peck, 1994).

Lack of differentiation between resource users has also been challenged by a number of studies (Berry, 1989; Blaikie, 1985; Adams, 1988). These studies show that access to, and control over resources at both household and community levels often varies with an individuals' status (e.g. marital, gender, ethnicity, and age) in a given household or community. With the social relations of production in a particular community defining distribution and access to resources as well as the flows of products or profits, it is necessary to reconsider the lack of differentiation of resource users implicit in most of the CAMPFIRE literature.

4. Research Problem

Literature on community-based wildlife management and on CAMPFIRE has generally overlooked the importance of the gender and ethnic variables. Implications for local differentiation, especially along gender lines for collective resource management has been found to be a crucial research problem. This paper explores decision-making power over wildlife resources along gender lines and considers the effects this may have on the prospects for the management of wildlife resources for sustainable rural development. The study takes gender and ethnicity into consideration because these have not been concurrently examined in the context of CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe. Much of the research on the CAMPFIRE programmes has been on the problems of implementation, (e.g. institutional development and relations), with the assumption of undifferentiated users and disregarding gender.

With other research showing that natural resource based societies often structure their organization and resource access along gender lines, it will be interesting to see if the emerging CAMPFIRE initiative is evolving similarly. If so, does this extend to management activity, decision making, access to and control over wildlife resources, and benefit distribution? Awareness of these issues could lead to the incorporation of corrective measures in subsequent implementation activities if negative consequences of the current circumstances are identified.

5. Study Objectives

The study sought to identify the role of ethnic variable in the Kanyurira case study by addressing the following questions:

- a) Similar to the gender variable, does ethnicity influence women and men's participation in decision-making regarding CAMPFIRE?
- b) Is the distribution of benefits accrues from CAMPFIRE influenced by the ethnic variable?
- c) Is the distribution of wildlife management related costs influenced by ethnicity?

These are some of the questions that the study sought to answer. The benefits and costs of CAMPFIRE were identified and tabled. Their distribution along gender and ethnic lines was also studied. This study found out that CAMPFIRE impacts women and men differently, partly as a result of ethnicity. While the study found that CAMPFIRE impacts women and men differently as a result of ethnic variable, it is important to note that there might be other factors at play that may be interpreted as ethnic differentiation.

5.1 Description of the Study Site

Field studies were carried out in Kanyurira ward over a two-year period from December 1992 to December 1994. Kanyurira ward is located in the Dande Communal Lands in Guruve district in the Zambezi Valley (Figure 1). The Zambezi Valley hosts the densest population of indigenous wildlife in Zimbabwe (Peck, 1994:35). In 1985, the Mid-Zambezi Rural Development Project (MAZRDP) was created and released a study showing that in the more marginal areas of the district, (like Kanyurira ward) wildlife could yield as much as Z\$12 per hectare compared to only Z\$4 per hectare for livestock.

Kanyurira ward comprises of 400 km² of which 20 km² has been designated settlement and agriculture area. The ward developed its land use plan in 1989 with technical assistance from the Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS) and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). The settlement area has been fenced with an electric game fence donated by WWF as part of CAMPFIRE. The rest of the area has been left unfenced as a wildlife area.

During the planning stage for fence erection, CASS and WWF representatives brought a map for the villagers so they could identify the fence boundary. The villagers instead opted to go on foot with the representatives so that they could show them exactly where they wanted the boundary. The walk was undertaken from the early hours of the morning until mid-day by a team made up of men only. The village representatives were made up of the headman, councillor, kraalheads and other selected village men.

Kanyurira ward is surrounded by commercial hunting safari areas in the south, Doma Safari Area, and to the west Chewore Safari Area. The proximity of the ward to safari areas has given it abundant wildlife resources, which has spearheaded its CAMPFIRE programme.

The ward lies in natural region V. This region has low and very erratic rainfall. The soils are generally poor for productive agricultural activity. Although agriculture is the major form of land-use, it is constrained by the poor soils, unreliable rainfall and lack of draught power. The presence of tsetse fly in the area has forced the continued

absence of cattle. Cultivation is thus mainly done by hand except for those people who can afford to hire a tractor.

Agricultural production is also restricted by the non-availability of seed and other inputs within the ward. Farmers have to travel long distances to, for instance, Mahuwe or Guruve to purchase seed and other agricultural inputs. Cotton is the main cash crop cultivated by a third of the households in the ward while maize is the major subsistence crop. Cotton is mainly cultivated on the upland while alluvial cultivation is for subsistence crops. Dry season production is limited to vegetable cultivation grown in small gardens along the Angwa river, on the northern side.

Human population of the ward is small, relatively discrete and ethnically heterogeneous. The dominant ethnic group is Korekore, with the VaDoma¹⁷ making up a substantial number of households. At the time of the study there were about 127 Korekore households and 42 VaDoma households. There were also less than ten immigrant (Karanga) households from Masvingo district in the Southern part of the country. The Korekore are the original inhabitants of the area. The VaDoma moved into the area in 1991, but they always resided in the Zambezi Valley.

The two main ethnic groups, i.e. the Korekore and the VaDoma differ in terms of their livelihood strategies. The Korekore are cultivators and currently are fully integrated into a settled agricultural lifestyle. The VaDoma on the other hand are more varied in their survival strategies. The VaDoma have continued with a life which is based on gathering, minimal cultivation and selling of labour to the Korekore as well as clandestine hunting.

Regarding social stratification, the Korekore play a superior status to that of the VaDoma. The Korekore dominates representation of the interests of the two ethnic groups at all levels. Given the heterogeneity of the inhabitants, this study also addresses issues of differentiation amongst women by ethnicity. It is important to note that the VaDoma are a small ethnic group and not much is known about them. The history of the two major ethnic groups is briefly outlined below.

6. History of the Korekore Settlement in Kanyurira

The Korekore are considered to be the descendants of many a Karanga lineage which travelled to the north of the plateau and the Zambezi Valley from south of present day Zimbabwe in the 15th Century (Lan, 1985). The name is said to have given the "invaders" by the people whose land they took and is interpreted as a corruption of *Kure-kure* (the people from afar).

During the colonial period, Kanyurira was classified under Chief Chisunga. Before the war of liberation, Kanyurira settlement was located at the confluence of Mana and Angwa rivers (about 15km west of the present settlement). During the war of liberation, the residents were moved to "protected villages" at Angwa, about 42 km north east of Kanyurira. The protected villages or "keeps" as they were called, were

¹⁷ Different names have been used to refer to the VaDoma. Some studies refer to them as the VaDema (Cutshall, 1989), while other refer to them as the Tembomvura (Marindo-Ranganai, 1993). This paper uses VaDoma, a term used in Kanyurira ward.

used by the colonial government to ensure that villagers were not assisting guerrillas coming into the country from Zambia and Mozambique. At independence in 1980, the villagers moved back to Masoka.

7. History of the VaDoma Settlement in the Zambezi Valley

There is very little documentation on the VaDoma people except for recent works by, for example, Lan (1985), Nhira (1989), Cutshall (1990), Hasler (1993) and Marindo-Ranganai (1993). These studies carried out in the Zambezi Valley point out that the origins of the VaDoma are unclear (Nhira, 1989; Hasler, 1993). Some myths about their origins have been developed. Nhira's study of the Chapoto ward gives a summary of these myths. Nhira notes that there are claims that the VaDoma came into the area with VaChikunda¹⁸ from Mozambique but decided to settle in the Chewore mountains after some dispute. They later migrated and settled at a mountain called Chirambakudomwa mountain. In the mountains, the VaDoma adapted to the environment by taking up hunting and gathering of wild fruits, honey and tubers as their way of life.

A second version of their origins suggests that the VaDoma came into the area from Portuguese East Africa before the VaChikunda with a man named Nyamapfeka. They came from an area called Chicoa near Cabora Bassa Gorge. There are also other accounts which claim that the VaDoma are in reality Korekore (Nhira, 1989:21). Hasler (1993) suggests that the VaDoma may have originally been *vanyai* (low status messengers) brought to the area by Nyamapfeka, a Korekore chief or his dependants in the latter part of the Mutapa state. This may explain why the VaDoma regard themselves as an offshoot from the main Korekore grouping.

Hasler's study also suggests that the VaDoma trace their descent from Nyamapfekas' daughter named Chiguhwa. One VaDoma *svikiro* (spirit medium) in Kanyurira, commonly referred to as *ambuya* (grandmother), is believed to be possessed by the spirit of Chiguhwa. Thus she is referred to as *ambuya Chiguhwa*. This *ambuya* is the one who brought the VaDoma to Kanyurira ward.

Chiguhwa is said to have been a very beautiful daughter of Nyamapfeka who got married to Chimombe, chief of the VaSoli but later killed him because he was a rival of Nyamapfeka. When asked for their ethnic identity, some of the VaDoma in Kanyurira claimed to be VaSoli. Others either gave their totems or claimed to be Korekore. When *ambuya* (the spirit medium) was asked about their ethnic identity she said, "tiri VaSori" (we are the VaSori).

The VaDoma people are generally not as involved in agricultural activities as other ethnic groups in the Valley. Their fields are generally smaller than those of their ethnic counterparts and the crops they grow are less diversified, often restricted to maize (Cutshall, 1990:11). These differences in acreage under cultivation may be attributed to differences in the ability to mobilize agricultural inputs.

¹⁸ Another major ethnic group found in the Zambezi Valley. During the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, when the Rhodesian forces moved people to protected villages, the VaDoma resisted this exercise by disappearing into Chewore hills. They remained there until the war was over. In the Chewore hills, the VaDoma continued with their nomadic life style with relatively little disturbance, because the (colonial) authorities did not have enough manpower during the war to police their hunting activities.

The VaDoma appear to be less interested to secure mechanical inputs to expand upon their current agricultural production. Stories from Kanyurira suggest that in 1992, the government distributed mechanical and other agricultural inputs to the VaDoma. The VaDoma later exchanged the inputs for grain with the Korekore of just did not care to use the inputs. Other accounts also point to the fact that after independence, a number of non-governmental organizations distributed implements to the VaDoma. Claims are that these offers were bartered for grain.

7.1 The Settlement of the VaDoma in Kanyurira

The first group of the VaDoma settled in Kanyurira in 1990/91. These VaDoma came from an area called Yirira in Chisunga ward which is located about sixty kilometres from Kanyurira along the Kanyemba road. These VaDoma came to Kanyurira with ambuya VaChiguhwa. Because of traditional religious beliefs, the VaDoma are not treated as immigrants in Kanyurira. After her husband died, it is believed that ambuya was instructed by the ancestral spirit to settle in Kanyurira, with the VaDoma that came along with her. Headman Kanyurira suggests that '*ambuya vakanhunga VaDoma ava*' (found the VaDoma lost - literally meaning picking up something that had gotten lost). When asked about her relationship to the VaDoma, ambuya confidently replies, "*Mhuri yemaDoma imhuri yanguyandukapiwa neMhondoro*" (The VaDoma are my children, given to me by the ancestral spirits). Thus in essence they are regarded as her children.

In traditional Shona society, women spirit mediums had power and authority which was not accorded to ordinary women in the community. One would argue that ambuya Chiguhwa is considered the leader and 'owner' of the VaDoma because of their religious status. In the CAMPFIRE context, ambuya is also invited to participate in traditional ceremonies that are held at the homestead of the male spirit medium Nyamasoka. Nyamasoka is said to be the 'owner' of all the area designated as Kanyurira ward. Thus the spirit medium Nyamasoka is directly consulted on major CAMPFIRE activities, whereas ambuya Chiguhwa is not.

By 1993, there were about 33 VaDoma households. By August 1994, there were about 46 VaDoma households in Kanyurira. It was noted during the interviews that the VaDoma who had remained in Yirira are migrating to Kanyurira after hearing that land is still plentiful and fertile in Kanyurira.

The VaDoma settlement is located outside the electric game fence, across the Angwa river, to the northern side of the ward. Claims are that the VaDoma had to settle outside the fence for traditional religious beliefs. Settlement outside the fence means that wildlife is clearly a liability to them since the game fence does not protect their fields. The VaDoma spend long hours, both day and night guarding their fields from crop-raiding animals like buffalo and elephant.

While one could argue that the VaDoma were allocated land outside the game fence owing to their 'marginal' social status in the community, the Korekore in Kanyurira insist that they settled there because of the traditional religious beliefs. Following Carroll (1990), one would argue that it could also be that the VaDoma themselves have not sought to move inside the fence because their present residential locus affords them a cost saving opportunity to supplement agricultural production with hunting and gathering.

At the time of this study, wildlife in the ward was generating income in the form of trophy and accommodation fees paid to the safari operator who leased the ward hunting concession from the district council. The safari operator has a camp in the ward and employs locals as game trackers, skimmers and cooks. The ward has built classrooms, teachers' houses, and a clinic and also bought a tractor and a trailer with wildlife revenues.

Village governance in Masoka also has opportunities for female leadership and decision making through its committee system. As part of capacity building in CAMPFIRE, a local wildlife committee was set up to manage, monitor and take a leading role in decision making in the programme activities.

8. Methods of Data Collection

A number of research methods were used in an attempt to triangulate across methods and validate different or similar opinions. The study was carried out over a two year period from December 1992 to December 1994. During the period December 1992 to August 1993, focus was mainly on households within the game fence. Majority of households inside the game fence are of Korekore origin. From August 1994 to December 1994, focus was mainly on the VaDoma households. These are located outside the electric game fence.

Many of the investigated conditions in the first part of the study did not apply to the VaDoma. Research findings from the VaDoma provide data for comparison in terms of gender outcomes along ethnic lines.

Review of literature on community based wildlife management and the gender theory in a rural development context was undertaken with a view to identify possible gaps in the existing literature to which this study could contribute. Secondary data specific for the study area were also reviewed. This included review of research reports from a baseline socio-economic survey carried out by Cutshall in 1998, by Crane (1992), Lynam's PhD dissertation (1994) and the Guruve district CAMPFIRE files. Unfortunately, literature on gender issues in CAMPFIRE, and particularly in Masoka was found to be very scarce.

A scoping exercise was carried out in January 1993. The scoping exercise was designed to identify and test a range of alternative research methods that could be used for the study. The exercise involved identification of key informants and the establishment of a gender balanced research team made up of three women and three men. It was not difficult for me to get women to work with as had been the experience of a previous male researcher (Lynam, 1994). Most probably, the experience of women who worked with Lynam earlier on had given the community confidence that women can also work without much interference to their household duties.

The research team provided a conduit of information to and from the citizenry, social and historical perspectives on village life, and testing ground for ideas. Their background knowledge of the community was used to explain actions that were observed. The research team also aided in the selection of suitable data gathering methods and previewed questions used in the survey instrument. This research team later assisted with data interpretation, administration of a questionnaire and the

presentation of research findings to a community meeting. The exercise also provided an assessment of CAMPFIRE progress in the ward. The scoping exercise led to a research design including both participatory and survey methods.

Discussions were held with members of the research team. A list of open ended questions were used during these discussions. A resource map for the ward was drawn from which some questions were generated for the study (see Annex 2 for the village map drawn by the research committee).

Structured interviews were carried out with local leadership and other key informants in the community. Local leadership included both the traditional and modern leaders. These were the chief, spirit medium, village development committees, ward development committees, and ward development committees, and wildlife committees, including other CAMPFIRE funded project committee members. Decision making opportunities were also assessed through membership in some of the above referred to committees. This was done because committees generally take a leading role in decision making and the community endorses or rejects those decisions. For instance, the wildlife committee decides how the wildlife revenues should be used and consultants with the community on their decisions in public meetings. One female research assistant helped with the key informant interviews.

Relevant committee and village meetings were attended. This provided an opportunity to observe and assess participation and contributions of both men and women in the formal discussion leading to final decision making on the given of CAMPFIRE related issues. There were limitations in this approach as only a limited number of community meetings could be attended as a result of periodic researcher absence from the village.

Drawing from the semi-structured interviews, discussions with the research team, and the literature on Masoka, a questionnaire was developed. The questionnaire was designed in part to replicate pieces of an earlier baseline study carried out by Cutshall (1989) at the start of CAMPFIRE in Masoka. This was done in order to produce data that compares the current circumstances with those benefits and costs distribution is also gender. There have been some significant changes in natural resource management in Kanyurira ward that seem to favour men than women. However, there have also been some developments for women.

Kanyurira ward generates substantial amounts of money by leasing big game hunting rights to safari operators. Because of a growing revenue stream from the leasing venture, the ward has been transformed from one of the poorest wards, to one of the richest in Guruve district. Local men are hired by the safari operator to assist in hunting activities in the ward. The local men employed act as a monitoring system to ensure adherence to agreed upon quota. They report safari operators' attempt to take extra animals above the set quota to the community where the employees are also CAMPFIRE beneficiaries. The community would, through the wildlife committee, make reports to the District Council.

Kanyurira ward residents have varied the disposition of their funds to suit the changing circumstances. In 1992, there were greater CAMPFIRE revenues available. Kanyurira also received good rains resulting in good crop yields making food and cash crops like cotton plentiful. The villagers therefore decided at a community meeting to reduce

household cash dividends to \$79 per household because of the bumper harvest. The rest of the money was set aside for the construction of a clinic. Table 2 below shows Kanyurira wildlife revenue disbursement trend from 1990 to 1994.

Table 1 aggregates items of Kanyurira's budget prepared annually by the residents. Their budget includes many items that can be divided into three major categories. These are resource management, household dividends/drought relief and community projects. The categories are explained below.

Prevailing before the implementation of CAMPFIRE, the questionnaire survey sought to elicit Kanyurira ward residents' views on CBWLM and community development issues along gender lines.

As in Cutshall's survey, sampling strategies were rejected in favour of a full population enumeration and a concerted effort was made during the period of data collection to interview all the households within the ward. Household heads and their spouses (where applicable) were interviewed by members of the research team.

During the first part of the study, the questionnaire was administered to all household settled within the fence and two Korekore households outside the fence. The VaDoma households, which are located outside the electric game fence, were not interviewed during the first part of the study due to the restrictions as a result of the flooded Angwa river. These households were later interviewed during the second phase of the study.

The questionnaire was difficult to administer among the VaDoma households because they could not be easily located. The VaDoma have adopted a scattered settlement pattern, which made it difficult to access some of the households. Many of the VaDoma respondents were also shy about responding to the questions. They suggested that people residing within the game fence had better answers. The VaDoma were generally willing to discuss problems they were experiencing from wildlife and lack of food as a result of wildlife crop destruction or effects of the drought.

9. Research Findings

The study found out that community-based wildlife utilization under CAMPFIRE is a gendered activity with positive and negative impacts. Women and men are impacted upon differently by the CAMPFIRE programme. The resource management category includes, game fence maintenance and wages for local game scouts. Members of the wildlife committee attending CAMPFIRE related meetings outside the village have their expenses covered by the resource management money.

The category household dividends/drought relief includes those activities focussed on households. These are direct cash payments to the households, and in drought years, the collective use of funds to purchase grain for distribution to all households in the community. Household dividends and drought relief were combined into one category because both are benefits controlled at the household level.

TABLE 1. Kanyurira Wildlife Revenues and Budget Allocations from 1990 to 1994 (Z\$)

Year	Revenues (after deduction of Council Levies)	Resource Management	Household Dividends/ Drought Relief	Community Projects
1990	78 170	10 260 (13%)	25 200 (32%)	42 710 (55%)
1991	89 293	77 98 (8%)	69 677 (78%)	11 818 (13%)
1992	276 745	44 279 (16%)	10 640 (4%)	221 826 (80%)
1993	459 891	65 599 (14%)	127 000 (28%)	267 292 (59%)
1994	639 290	138 290 (22%)	165 000 (26%)	336 000 (52%)
5yr Total	1 543 389	266 226 (17%)	397 517 (26%)	879 646 (57%)

(Source: Guruve Rural District and Kanyurira Ward Files).

Community projects include development projects like the local school, clinic, tractor maintenance and funding social clubs like soccer and women's clubs. The use of CAMPFIRE revenues to develop local infrastructure, has also helped change people's attitudes towards wildlife, that was formerly regarded as a liability.

When the percentage on the uses of revenues are aggregated, the table reveals that more than half of the money was spent on community projects between 1990 and 1994. But when disaggregate revenue uses, there is flexibility in the use of revenues reflected. For instance in 1991 more than three quarters of the revenues were used for household dividends. By contrast, four-fifths of the 1992 revenues were used for the development of local infrastructure. The use of CAMPFIRE revenues therefore depends on the pressing needs of the community at any particular time.

Literature cited earlier pointed out that communities are not homogenous. Among other things, gender has been shown to be a differentiating factor. Women are also not a homogenous group. The same applies to men. Findings of research shows that there is differentiation among women and men due to ethnicity. This paper focuses on the impact of CAMPFIRE on the VaDoma women and men.

Although the study's initial focus was not on ethnic but gender differentiation, ethnicity was found to be an important variable that needed attention. Other recent studies (Murombedzi, 1994; Marindo-Ranganai, 1993) have shown that there is often competition and conflict on the use and management of natural resources based on ethnicity. This means that access to and control over natural resources may be influenced by the ethnic variable. Ethnic minorities are often disadvantaged and have less control over natural and other productive resources (Madzudzo and Dzingirayi, 1995). If the ethnic variable is not taken into consideration in natural resource management programmes like CAMPFIRE, existing inequalities in access to resource based on ethnicity may be reinforced.

10. Impact of CAMPFIRE Income on the VaDoma

As shown above, CAMPFIRE generates a lot of income in Kanyurira ward. The money is used for both community projects and as household cash dividends. This section looks at decision making on the use of wildlife money at both the household and community level by gender.

At the household level, the study intended to compare decision making over wildlife, cotton and vegetable income. There was no household amongst the VaDoma that reported having cotton or vegetable income because the households did not have cash to purchase inputs, like seeds and pesticides for cotton and vegetable cultivation. VaDoma reported no other source of income. Discussion of decision making is based on money from wildlife only. Table 2 summarises decision making on the use of wildlife money at household level along gender lines.

TABLE 2. Responses to Decision Making on the Use of Wildlife Money at Household Level by Gender

Respondents	Men decide N = 28	Women decide N = 6	Both decide N = 13
Men	28.6%	16.7%	76.9%
Women	71.4%	83.3%	23.1%
Total Percent	100 %	100 %	100 %

Chi-square = 10.230, 2df, significant at .01 level

A higher percentage of women than men reported that men made decisions on the use of wildlife money. The majority of the men suggested that both men and women decided. Women reported to be decision makers for wildlife money were mainly widows. These findings are similar to the findings amongst the Korekore.

All the households interviewed reported having received household cash dividends. During 1994, the households received \$1000,00 each. For the VaDoma households this was a substantial amount since they have no other source of income. Decision making on the allocation of CAMPFIRE income has been assumed to operate in the patriarchal mode. Men are therefore the decision makers with regards to this income.

Income received as household cash dividends is often used for immediate needs like purchasing food. This leaves the households without any cash to purchase agricultural inputs that could provide them with other sources of income. CAMPFIRE income has also been used as an incentive to bring the VaDoma closer to other ward residents. They are coerced to attend village meetings through threats that they could not receive household cash dividends if they did not attend meetings.

CAMPFIRE has created opportunities for employment. The programme is therefore economically benefiting the VaDoma through employment. Employment opportunities amongst the VaDoma were explored along gender lines. Table 3 summarizes employment opportunities amongst the VaDoma.

TABLE 3. Responses on CAMPFIRE Related Employment by Gender (1994)

Respondents	Percent, Yes N = 17	Percent, No N = 49
Men	76.5%	24.5%
Women	23.5%	75.5%
Total Percent	100 %	100 %

Chi-square = 14.493, 1df, significant at .001 level

There were very few VaDoma reporting employment benefits for the year 1994. Seventeen out of sixty-six households interviewed reported having received employment in CAMPFIRE related jobs. There were significant gender differences amongst those reporting employment from the CAMPFIRE programme. More men than women reported employment from the CAMPFIRE programme. More men than women reported employment benefit. Suggestions were that households located within the fence (majority of whom are Korekore) get employed. For example, during key informant interviews, VaDoma respondents raised complaints that they are often informed about jobs needing free labour by the responsible local institutions. They are rarely informed about paid jobs. Thus there were limited employment opportunities for the VaDoma households.

Types of employment included clearing along the game fence line, cutting fence poles, brick moulding for community projects like building the clinic and school, and fence mending. These are part-time jobs. Among the Korekore, such jobs were predominantly for women. This shows that in some cases ethnic minorities can be grouped together with women. The result is that even men from ethnic minorities are often disadvantaged too (like women). For all the employment opportunities reported among the VaDoma, less than a quarter of those who reported benefited were women.

The majority of the women employed moulded bricks under their husbands' contracts. Others were employed to clear along the fence line. VaDoma women and men only got part-time jobs, like weeding along the game fence line. The Korekore men took up most of the full-time jobs. For VaDoma women, employment as part-time workers may be due to the fact that they are expected to do most of the household chores. It is believed that full-time jobs would conflict with their household responsibilities. Thus men take up most of the available employment. Furthermore, shortage of work among the VaDoma may also have resulted in priority to take up the jobs being given to men. This is because men are considered the bread winners.

This employment pattern revealed amongst the VaDoma was slightly different among the Korekore. Korekore men had more full-time employment opportunities. VaDoma men had part-time jobs. Even among the Korekore, few women were employed on full time jobs.

10.1 School Impacts

The majority of the VaDoma can be classified as “illiterate”- that is, they have not attended any formal schooling. Despite having a school in the ward, the VaDoma are not sending their children to school. This is partly because VaDoma people do not have a tradition of going to school. Thus sending children to school is not a top a priority for them.

Due to the location of their homes (see map on Annex 2), school attendance by VaDoma children tends to be seasonal. VaDoma households are in Mahocha VIDCO, which is located across the Angwa river. During the rainy season, the Angwa river floods. It becomes impossible to cross the river. This keeps the children away from going to school, which is across the river. Thus, children only attend school during the dry season.

Due to insufficient food supplies, children are sometimes too hungry to walk the long distance to school, let alone concentrate in class. During the interviews, the researcher actually saw malnourished children of school going age. In some cases, parents even asked the researcher to look at the children and see if they were fit to walk to school. This affects both girls and boys' school attendance.

Low social status given to the VaDoma also contributes to their children's reluctance to attend school. They have traditionally been looked down upon. For instance, they were said to have six toes, instead of the ‘normal’ five. At times jokes are made about them. This results in very few VaDoma children wanting to be in such a set up. This often restricts their school attendance. Due to limited sources of income, the VaDoma are not able to buy decent clothing. This means that children have to attend school in poor clothing. Because of this, other children sometimes ridicule them. VaDoma children therefore prefer to remain at home.

The VaDoma settled in Kanyurira in 1993 after the school had already been built. For this reason, the study looked at the present school attendance record of the VaDoma children, over a three year period. Data for school attendance was differentiated by gender. Table 4 summarizes the school attendance records for the VaDoma.

TABLE 4. VaDoma Children School Attendance From 1993 to 1995

Year	1993	1994	1995
Girls	13	27	52
Boys	15	31	56
Total	28	58	108

Table 4 shows an increase of the VaDoma children attending school over three years. The increase may be attributed to the continued immigration of the VaDoma into the ward. A look at Table 4. Shows that there are more boys than girls attending school. Differences between boys and girls attending school is very small. The distance that

recipients of economic development efforts (Adams, 1988). The vast majority of women are still subordinated to male dominance and are rarely involved in community decision-making processes. As a result, women are denied the opportunity to articulate their views and participate fully in development initiatives.

This study aims at increasing awareness of the critical roles that both women and men play in CBWLM using the case study of Masoka village's CAMPFIRE in the Guruve District of Zimbabwe. The study also highlights the need for ethnic differentiation in CBWLM programme as this has implications for participation levels by both women and men.

3. CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe

CAMPFIRE is a management approach designed to involve local communities in decision-making, and benefit distribution, regarding natural resources of their micro-environments. It is an innovative approach to the devolution of natural resource management to local communities. New local institutions have been set up to enhance sustainable local level resource management (Murphree, 1991). The programme has its foundation in the 1975 Parks and Wildlife Act, which accorded appropriate authority for wildlife on private lands to the owners.

CAMPFIRE seeks to obtain the voluntary participation of communities by introducing a system of ownership with defined access rights to natural resources for community residents in target areas (Martin, 1986). The programme aims to promote wildlife utilization as an economic and sustainable land use option in agriculturally marginal communal areas. It also aims to ensuring that those who reside close to wildlife resource derive some material benefit from them.

CAMPFIRE was conceived in the early 1980s and formalized in 1986 in the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management (DNPWLM) in Zimbabwe. The programme is based on the assumption that communities will invest in environmental conservation if they can use the resource on a sustainable basis. The CAMPFIRE objective is to initiate a programme for the long-term development, management, and sustainable utilization of natural resources in the communal areas.

CAMPFIRE also aims to achieve management of resources by placing their custody and responsibility with the resident communities. Communities are allowed to benefit directly from the exploitation of natural resources within the communal area and establish the administrative and institutional structures necessary to make the programme work. The programme postulates that wildlife utilization is potentially the most productive form of land-use in the semi-arid agro-ecological regions IV and V. In these regions there are limited agricultural opportunities. If CAMPFIRE is to be a viable land-use option in the Communal Areas, it must offer a potential solution to the crisis of peasant production (Murombedzi, 1994).

The CAMPFIRE programme generates revenues from a wide range of activities. These include hunting safaris, as well as non-consumptive tourism such as photographic safaris and game viewing. Income generated from wildlife through CAMPFIRE is generally used, by the communities involved, to fund infrastructural development for the benefit of both the people and wildlife (Child and Peterson, 1991). In some cases

the children walk to school accounts for the slightly higher number of boys attending school. It is believed that at times girls are not able to walk long distances.

Generally, the number of boys and girls attending early years of schooling is almost the same. This study did not stay long enough in the ward to see whether the numbers of boys and girls attending school would remain consistent. Data from the Korekore show a decline in the numbers of girls attending school in upper primary schooling.

10.2 Composition of Committees

VaDoma respondents were not keen to report on the other committees like the store, grinding mill that are in place in the village. They insisted that these committees were for co-operative projects. They therefore had nothing to do with them. Asked about the research committee respondents said they did not know anything about that committee. Their focus was on the wildlife committee only.

Interviews among the VaDoma pointed out that the wildlife committee pointed out that the wildlife committee was made up of men only. Reasons for having men only are summarized below.

TABLE 5. Responses On Why the Wildlife Committee Has Men Only by Gender

Respondents	Men don't want	Women lack confidence	Women are not voted for	Illiteracy	Don't know
Men	2	2	7	1	13
Women	2	6	0	3	26
Total	4	8	7	4	39

Table 5 shows that equal numbers of women and men suggested that the absence of women in the wildlife committee was due to the unwillingness of men to have their wives on the committee. This is due to the fact that committee members have to attend meetings outside the village. Most of the men were not willing to let their wives attend such meetings during their absence.

Another reason given for the absence of women in the wildlife committee was lack of confidence amongst women. Hence they refuse to take up positions of responsibility elected. Cultural restrictions also contribute to women's lack of confidence. Three quarters of those reporting lack of confidence were women while only a quarter were men.

Surprisingly, only men suggested that women are not voted for. Contrary to this, more women than men among the Korekore reported that women were not being voted for. Probably, VaDoma women did not suggest not being voted for because they did not expect to be voted for - due to their traditional subordination by both men and Korekore women.

Illiteracy was also given as an explanation for the absence of women on the wildlife committee. Literacy had been put forward by the community as a prerequisite for membership on the wildlife committee. This placed women at a disadvantage because they are illiterate.

The majority of the respondents reported ignorance on why the wildlife committee had no women. The higher number of respondents indicating ignorance is a result of lack of attendance of community meetings by VaDoma. VaDoma generally do not attend village meetings because of the low social status they are given by the Korekore. The few who attend rarely contribute to discussions. Those who do speak at meetings are not taken seriously. This was observed from the community meetings that the researcher attended. For this reason, the VaDoma prefer not to attend community meetings.

It is important to note that in case of the wildlife committee, both VaDoma women and men are excluded. Thus, in terms of presentation in local institutions, the VaDoma are disadvantaged regardless of gender.

The study further inquired on whether the decisions made up by the wildlife committee met the interests of both men and women since it was made up of men only. Table 6. shows the responses by gender.

TABLE 6. Responses on Satisfaction with Wildlife Committee Decisions by Gender

Respondents	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Men	23	3
Women	27	9
Total	50	12

N = 62

The majority of the respondents indicated that the decisions made by the wildlife committee met the interests of both men and women. Reasons given for satisfaction with the wildlife committee were that both women and men gain materially. They receive household cash dividends and food during drought years. Respondents also said that they were satisfied with the wildlife committee because it fulfils its promises. The promises were, for example, keeping people informed about CAMPFIRE activities and making sure they gain from wildlife management. Those expressing dissatisfaction were also asked to give reasons. A major reason for dissatisfaction was that the respondents had not received household cash dividends. It was also suggested that the committee delayed fulfilling its promises.

10.3 Training Opportunities

CAMPFIRE has opened up some opportunities for training and workshop attendance, particularly outside the village. This study explored these opportunities along gender

lines. Table 6. summarizes the responses on training workshops attendance by both women and men along the VaDoma.

Only two men among the VaDoma reported having had an opportunity to attend a training workshop. One of these men is actually a Korekore who has settled among the VaDoma. The other man is the VIDCO chairman for Mahocha VIDCO. No women reported having attended any training workshops. This is because there were no VaDoma women even on other committees like the grinding mill. The grinding mill could provide them with opportunities for training and because it is primarily a project for women.

TABLE 6. Respondents Reporting on Training Opportunities by Gender

Respondents	Received Training	No Training
Men	2	23
Women	0	40
Total	2	63

N = 65

11. Disadvantages of CAMPFIRE Amongst the VaDoma

Although CAMPFIRE has the above discussed benefits, it also has some disadvantages. While Kanyurira ward has a game fence, VaDoma households are located outside the electric game fence. Crop destruction by wildlife affect the women in particular because they are responsible for food preparation. In general, food security of the VaDoma is threatened by wildlife. Human life is also threatened by wildlife. VaDoma were asked what should be done to solve the wildlife problems. The majority of the VaDoma suggested the erection of a game fence as a solution to wildlife problems. Table 7 summarizes their responses by gender.

TABLE 7. Responses on Measures Needed to Prevent Wildlife Problems by Gender

Preventative Measures Needed	Frequency		Total Percent
	Women	Men	
Erect game fence	25	21	75.4%
Kill animals	1	2	4.9%
Farm inside present fence	4	0	6.6%
Nothing can be done	5	2	11.5%
Don't know	1	0	1.6%

N = 61 respondents

Higher numbers of both women and men suggested game fence erection. The majority of the respondents opted for the fence after having seen its benefits from their counterparts across the Angwa river. Less than five percent of the respondents suggested that animals be killed. Hunting restrictions may have prompted these few respondents to suggest killing animals. This would give them more meat to eat. Only women suggested farming inside the present game fence. This shows women's concern with immediate solutions. These women pointed out that it would take longer for a game fence to be erected to protect the fields. Thus, it would be better for them to be given land for cultivation inside the present game fence. There were no men suggesting farming inside the present game fence. Men are generally concerned with the amount of land under their jurisdiction. Farming inside the present fence may reduce the amount of land that they own. About ten percent of the respondents indicated that nothing could be done. There was only one woman who said she did not know what could be done.

Results in Table 7 run contrary to suggestions that communities are very skeptical with the idea of putting up fences. In other CAMPFIRE communities, people are not convinced about benefits of a fence to keep wildlife out of their productive areas. These fears are often due to suspicions that people may be relocated as a result of the fence and also be kept out of the areas where they go to collect wild fruit and hunt small game.

12. Conclusion

Along with gender, ethnicity has been found to influence an individual's access to and control over resources. Divisions exist amongst women, which are based on **ethnicity**. Women's access to benefits from CBWLM is also determined by ethnicity. This chapter has shown that the VaDoma women are more disadvantaged than Korekore women.

Some men may be marginalized like women as a result of ethnicity. For example, the VaDoma men, like women, were not represented in local institutions like the wildlife committee. This shows that dominated groups are often grouped together regardless of gender. Gender analysis therefore does not only help us understand differentiated impacts of development interventions on women and men. It may also lead to identification of differential impacts of development interventions amongst women and men based on the ethnic variable.

Although the case study shows that the ethnic variable can influence individuals' participation in CBWLM programmes like CAMPFIRE, and their benefit from such programmes, it is important to note that there may be other factors at play for which ethnicity is only a proxy. For instance, lack of representation of the VaDoma in local resource management institutions can be attributed to illiteracy and not ethnicity since one of the criteria for election into these institutions was literacy. Furthermore, different subsistence strategies for the VaDoma and Korekore may translate into different perspectives regarding land uses with priority given to different production systems by the two ethnic groups. These different perceptions on land uses determined by different livelihood strategies may thus be interpreted to be due to different ethnic affiliations which may not be the case. Similarly, women may have different

perceptions on land use based on their roles and responsibilities in household production, regardless of their ethnicity.

Due to the fact that the major focus of the study was on gender differentiation in CAMPFIRE and the ethnic variable was a subsidiary part of the study, it is worth pointing out that strong conclusions may not be drawn based on the available data. Thus care has to be taken when drawing conclusions on the role of the ethnic variable in CBWLM programmes like CAMPFIRE, with a much greater disaggregation of the implications of ethnicity than has been possible in the study.

Gender is about social relationships and biological differences. Gender relations develop over time and are also influenced by ethnicity. Women are not uniformly disadvantaged and dispossessed. There is social differentiation between and amongst the women. In the Kanyurira case study, ethnicity was found to play a key role in the differentiation among women. Korekore women were in a better position as compared to their VaDoma counterparts.

While both Korekore and VaDoma women were not represented in the CAMPFIRE local level institutions, the former attended community meetings. VaDoma women rarely attended meetings. Korekore women were therefore better informed on CAMPFIRE issues than the VaDoma women. VaDoma women's understanding of the programme is very poor. Little effort has been made to deliberately involve them.

Although there is male domination over wildlife income, Korekore women have some say in the decision making over cotton and vegetable income. Despite the fact that income generated from vegetables is very little, Korekore women have some income they can claim control of, whereas the VaDoma women do not have any. The VaDoma's only source of significant income is wildlife, dominated by men.

In poly-ethnic communities, gender studies need to go further than female/male relationships. Ethnicity may create differentiation within the female segment of the population.

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Annex 1: Recommendations

1. Future training workshops and seminars conducted by implementing agencies should be held within the village. This would enable all interested members of the community to attend these workshops. Attendance of such workshops would result in informed and confident participants. In particular, sub-groups like women and the VaDoma should be targeted. This enhances participation of sub-groups in decision making regarding wildlife management.
2. There is need for Kanyurira ward residents to include women in their CAMPFIRE committees. This would enhance the participation of women. Exchange visits with other committees where women are actively involved would facilitate such a move by the community.
3. Gender sensitivity in wildlife programmes and projects should be encouraged among implementing agencies. One approach is through training workshops in gender analysis and gender responsive planning for programme staff and focal points in relevant ministries.
4. CAMPFIRE practitioners and implementers should recognise, accept and deal with social heterogeneity in the participating communities. This means specifically targeting the disadvantaged groups like women and ethnic minorities. The danger of ignoring heterogeneity among communities may result in ethnic conflicts and this may undermine the viability of the projects.



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