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# **Improving Women's Participation in CBNRM in Botswana**

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# Foreword

In 1998 and 1999 a series of 3 workshops and a national CBNRM Conference were organised by SNV, NRMP and IUCN with the aim to bring together organisations with an interest in Community Based Natural resources Management (CBNRM). Representatives from Government and civil society at all levels took stock of progress made in the development and implementation of the concept, especially in regard of community mobilisation, enterprise development and natural resources monitoring. A total of 120 recommendations and actions required were adopted. Not one of these is aimed at specific women's issues in CBNRM.

More meetings and workshops followed at national and district levels. Discussions evolved around natural resource use planning, training and capacity building of local organisations, constitutions, benefit distribution – or the lack of it, joint venture agreements, communication problems and quota setting. However, discussions around women using and managing specific natural resources and being affected by CBNRM and related changes in policies and management practices were extremely scarce. Women's issues do not feature on today's CBNRM agenda in Botswana, but women constitute the majority of the rural population and are important natural resources users. Decision-making and planning changed from national to a local level, new local organisations developed with power and responsibilities, values of natural resources changed and new enterprises developed. These changes have affected the way in which women are using natural resources.

This paper is addressing the question of changed access to and control over natural resources by women following the introduction of CBNRM in Botswana. Where the role of women in decision-making and benefit sharing has been eroded attempts are made to offer practical advice to address this. The reason of publishing this paper written by Lin Cassidy is to encourage all stakeholders to start a debate on the issue of equal opportunities between men and women in natural resource management in Botswana.

The reader might have noticed that the word "gender" has not been used in the above. The word will not really feature in what is to follow. It was felt that the "gender and development analytical framework", the jargon that comes with it and the implications for recommendations to address "gender inequality" would not help to reach the target audience of readers such as CBO Board members, NGO and Government extension personnel and private sector. I realise that the approach followed in this paper focuses specifically on "women's issues" instead of issues arising from the cultural roles both sexes are playing and the power relations between them. However, the prime aim of this publication is to get the role of women in CBNRM on the agenda, in a manner that is acceptable to all.

This document is the fifth in a series of Occasional Papers under the IUCN/SNV CBNRM Support Programme. The Papers intend to promote CBNRM in Botswana by documenting experiences and lessons learnt during the implementation of the concept by the practitioners in this field. Relevant CBNRM related information on legislation, planning, management, human resource development and natural resources monitoring, will assist in bringing together all stakeholders who have an interest in what the concept stands for: natural resources conservation and social and economic empowerment of rural communities. The Series is therefore aimed at all practitioners who deal with CBNRM in Botswana, in order to provide them with information that will assist in successfully applying the concept.

The publications are distributed free of charge to all institutions involved in CBNRM in Botswana and to a selected readership in Southern Africa. All documents are also freely available on the website of the CBNRM Support Programme: [www.cbnrm.bw](http://www.cbnrm.bw)

Nico Rozemeijer  
CBNRM Support Programme (Editor)

## **IUCN – The World Conservation Union**

Founded in 1948, IUCN brings together States, government agencies and a diverse range of non-governmental organisations in a unique world partnership: over 900 members in all, spread across some 136 countries. As a Union, IUCN seeks to influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world to conserve the integrity and diversity of nature and to ensure that any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable. A central secretariat co-ordinates the IUCN Programme and serves the Union membership, representing their views on the world stage and providing them with the strategies, services, scientific knowledge and technical support they need to achieve their goals. Through its six commissions, IUCN draws together over 6 000 expert volunteers in project teams and action groups, focusing in particular on species and biodiversity conservation and the management of habitats and natural resources. IUCN has been operating in Botswana since 1984, when IUCN was invited to assist the Government in the preparation of the Botswana National Conservation Strategy. The IUCN Botswana Office was established in 1991. Since then, the IUCN Botswana Programme has been involved in drafting environmental policies, strategies and legislation; formulating management plans; identifying the environmental interests and needs of the business sector; as well as providing support and capacity building to NGOs and CBOs in the country. For more information, visit the Internet on <http://www.iucnbot.bw>

## **SNV Netherlands Development Organisation**

SNV Netherlands Development Organisation strengthens local government and non-governmental development organisations, with a view of making a sustainable contribution to the structural alleviation of poverty in rural areas in developing countries. It deploys skilled professionals for this purpose. Over 700 Dutch and local experts are currently involved in the transfer and exchange of knowledge, skills and technology. SNV's 26 field offices are active in 28 countries throughout Africa, Latin America, Asia and Europe. SNV Botswana has been operating since 1978, building up experience in land-use planning, rural development and community mobilisation. The organisation works in conjunction with local organisations and Government to reach its target populations of poor rural women and marginalised minority groups in western Botswana, which are mainly the Basarwa (San or Bushmen). For more information, visit the Internet on <http://www.snv.nl>

## **IUCN/SNV CBNRM Support Programme**

The Community Based Natural Resource Management Support Programme is a joint initiative by SNV Botswana and IUCN Botswana. It is built on SNV's experience in CBNRM pilot projects at the grassroots level and on IUCN's expertise in information sharing, documentation of project approaches, and establishing dialogue between Non-Governmental Organisations, Government and private sector on a national, regional and international level. The three main objectives of the programme are: 1) to establish a focal point for CBNRM in Botswana through support to the Botswana Community Based Organisation Network (BOCOBONET); 2) to make an inventory of and further develop CBNRM project approaches and best practices, and disseminate knowledge regarding implementation of CBNRM activities through the provision of information and technical advice to CBNRM actors; 3) to improve dialogue and co-ordination between CBOs, NGOs, private sector and Government. For more information, visit the Internet on <http://www.cbnrm.bw>

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## **Abbreviations and Acronyms Used in this Report**

CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CBO	Community Based Organisation
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
GoB	Government of Botswana
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRMP	Natural Resources Management Project (USAID funded)
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNPF	United Nations Population Fund
VPR&D	Veld Products Research and Development

# Introduction

Botswana is a country conscious of change, but proud of its traditions. At a national level, the country is actively moving towards being part of the global community. It is pursuing international principles in human rights and social values. However, issues of inequality between different subsets of Botswana society do exist. Among these subsets are mutually exclusive groupings: members of different ethnic groups, men and women, those owning cattle and those without, rich and poor.

Such inequalities include differences in access to and control over resources. These differences can easily increase with the social and economic changes taking place under Botswana's rapid growth in development. Such changes are evident with regard to the use of natural resources. When Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) was introduced in Botswana a shift took place from subsistence to commercial use of natural resources. Individual use changed to project-based group use. This has drastically changed the way that communities relate to the resource base. Much progress has been made in devolving planning, decision-making, project implementation, monitoring, benefit distribution and other aspects of management to local communities. CBNRM projects slowly build the capacity of communities to manage and benefit from "their" resources.

However, the sustainability of any CBNRM initiative is founded on the notion of equity *within* the community. That is, the opportunity to benefit from CBNRM should be the same for all community members, irrespective of their ethnic group, how they make a living, age, or whether they are men or women. All stakeholders have accepted this principle in theory, but there are no systematic studies to check whether participation does in fact involve all sectors of the community. It is not known whether some groups are being marginalised from the CBNRM process or even from the natural resources from which they formerly used to benefit.

## **The Draft CBNRM Policy**

The draft CBNRM Policy that was prepared jointly by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and the Ministry of Agriculture builds on the belief that in order for all community members to support the management of natural resources there must be equitable distribution of benefits to those with any interest or stake in the resources. It does not specifically mention women or gender issues. While the policy talks about equity, it does not recognise that most communities intrinsically have inequalities. Beyond acknowledging the need for representation of interests of *all* community members, the draft policy makes no specific mention of the different sectors of a community viewing and valuing various resources in different ways. The document talks only of the whole community when referring to benefits. It does not really address issues such as the fact that social differences between men and women, or between different ethnic groups, may affect people's ability to influence decisions to suit their specific needs.

Access to and control over resources has become a catchphrase in CBNRM. But it is important not to lose sight of what it really means. "Access" means people's ability to *use* resources. This use covers anything from collecting fruit to eat, to making crafts for sale. It implies direct, individual involvement. "Access" also includes the idea of being able to receive benefit from the resources. "Control" means being able to make decisions about how resources are used. It also means management of the resources. Equity in access to and control over natural resources refers to all individuals in a community having the same opportunity to be actively involved in, to benefit from, to make decisions about, and to manage natural resources. Equity means that the different subset of the community from which an individual comes makes no difference in their right to resources.

Ideally, studies are needed on all subsets within the community. Vulnerable groups, such as the elderly, former subsistence hunters who no longer get Special Game Licences and women all rely heavily on the natural resource base, and as such are at risk from any changes in access to natural resources. In this paper the choice of focus is on women, because in Botswana they form a majority

of the rural population, due to the out-migration of men in search of work in urban areas. Women have as a result become the main users of the natural resource base.

### **Objectives of this study**

This study aims to assess women's role in CBNRM projects across the country. It first gives an overview of the social setting in which CBNRM takes place, and looks at current levels of women's participation in different aspects of natural resources use. The paper then proposes an ideal situation for women's equitable participation in CBNRM, against which the current state of affairs can be compared. It also draws out both the positive and negative impacts of CBNRM on the role of women in natural resources management in Botswana. Finally it makes recommendations for improving women's access to and control over natural resources.

### **Methodology**

This paper has deliberately avoided using the theoretical *Gender and Development* approach that is felt to be of a too abstract nature. This was done for the sake of the target audience. The CBNRM Occasional Paper series is aimed at hands-on practitioners who want practical guidance in addressing issues that affect the success of CBNRM.

Most of the information in this paper is taken from existing studies and evaluation reports. Specific examples are cited in the text. Where comments are of a more general nature, reports are not specifically referred to. These are listed separately at the end of this paper. The literature review was supplemented with interviews with NGO and Government staff members who facilitate the implementation of some CBNRM projects in Botswana. In addition, data from various sources regarding the monitoring of indicators on men and women's participation were used.

An explanation of the concept of resources is needed. Strictly, natural resources under CBNRM would refer only to wild plants and animals. However, many of the projects have used CBNRM as an umbrella to start other income-generating activities, such as community-based tourism and the domestication of veld products. For this reason, the word "resources" is used broadly and includes aspects such as aesthetic value, skills and knowledge.

In this paper both the words "equality" and "equity" are used. Equity implies fairness, while equality means equal. Equity allows for some differences between men and women's interests, while equality seems to suggest a 50-50 representation for men and women in any given activity. Sometimes equity includes the notion of equality, such as in "equality of opportunity". Equity sometimes implies equal participation, such as in politics or decision-making. When discussing equity for women, the term is normally used when trying to emphasise that women may have different priorities, attitudes and needs.

Further clarification on the concept of CBNRM is needed for readers unfamiliar with the Botswana context. Here the acronym CBNRM has almost become independent of the words "community-based natural resource management". When "CBNRM" is used, it typically refers to a "commercial" project, one that happens to be owned by members of rural communities who are using natural resources sustainably for financial returns. It is in this sense that CBNRM is used in this paper.

# Background

Men dominate society in Botswana. Positions of leadership are, by tradition, held by men. Men are always assumed to be the head of the household and rights to land are mainly given to men. Married women are normally not allowed to open a bank account or take a loan without their husband's signature, while men do not need the consent of their wives to make such decisions. Nevertheless, there is growing awareness in Botswana to address both legal and social inequalities facing women (GoB/UNDP/UNFPA, 1998). Both Government and NGOs have taken proactive steps in reversing the disadvantages and discrimination faced by women.

In 1981 the Botswana Government created a Women's Affairs Division within the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, with the specific aim of addressing women's issues. However, it was not until 1995 that a policy document was produced, largely under the momentum of preparations for the UN Fourth World Conference on Women held at Beijing. The following year the Government committed itself to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

The Division has recently been elevated to the Women's Affairs Department. In 1998, it published the National Gender Programme Framework in association with UNDP and UNPF. This was followed in 1999 with an Advocacy and Social Mobilisation Strategy for the National Gender Programme, as well as a five-year short-term action plan covering the period 1999-2003. Elsewhere in Government proactive measures include larger subsidies for women farmers, and preferential terms for women seeking financial assistance for enterprise development.

Many NGOs and development agencies in Botswana address women's issues. Some, like Metlaetsile, Women and Law in Southern Africa, Emang Basadi and Women Against Rape, have women as their main focus. Others, such as SNV and Thusano Lefatsheng, identify women as one of their target groups in development activities. Recently, several NGOs involved in CBNRM began a gender mainstreaming exercise. This has initially been within the NGOs themselves, but it is planned to extend the exercise to include the CBNRM projects within the communities that these NGOs support.

Some progress has been made at a policy level towards improving women's position in society. But little has been done to change the attitudes of the general public, particularly in the rural areas. In Botswana cultural traditions include a fairly formal structure for the different roles of men and women. These roles are clearly defined within the household. The types of social and political duties taken on at the community level have also been based on whether one is a man or a woman. It is not easy to see as to what is a difference in interests and what is discrimination. A further difficulty is that attitudes towards women's status and roles occur in all aspects of social and economic life, and not just CBNRM. The prevalence of these attitudes will determine what measures can be taken to secure equity in participation of women in CBNRM.

Perceptions of what constitute normal roles for men and women are changing. This is particularly true with regard to women. In many instances, out-migration of men in search of work has led to women assuming many functions previously held by men. Women have had to assume decision-making roles in the absence of their husbands. Women may be found working as construction labourers. But it is less common to see men taking on women's duties and responsibilities.

Changes are more visible in the urban environment. This is partly because the different settings and activities present a challenge to the traditional division of labour. It is also due to greater exposure to alternative behaviour, either in the media or in the examples presented within expatriate-run businesses and organisations. Another factor is that the people coming to the urban areas tend to be younger and more open to change. The way the urban young see the roles of women and men is markedly different to the way these are seen by the rural elderly.

## **The Rural Setting**

CBNRM in Botswana takes place in rural, often remote, areas. Most of the communities tend to be conservative and place great importance on their traditions. Both men and women, particularly

older people, tend to support their traditional roles. This is particularly true when looking at well-established institutions such as the chiefs and village headmen. Rural people value traditions not only as part of their identity, but also as a means of social survival. Any abrupt changes in social behaviour can lead to a breakdown in social functioning, as is evident from the sedentisation of the San<sup>1</sup>.

One of the current characteristics of a rural community is a shortage of younger men, who have been driven to seek wage employment in the urban areas by the limited viability of subsistence agriculture. Because most of the rural population are women and their dependent children, it is important that CBNRM provides opportunities to suit this section of the community.

An important factor is that rural women (and men) often remain unaware of inequalities in their daily lives. Any disparities between the way men and women fit into the community tend to be seen as a God-given reality, or simply as the different roles men and women fill in society.

It is generally accepted that in Botswana the household is the economic unit. This is because within most households food is shared and eaten together, and responsibilities for agricultural activities tend to be distributed across household members. However, this does not imply equality within the household, or that incomes are shared equitably. Women are more likely to use their income to support the household's primary needs, such as food and children's clothing. Men generally retain a larger portion of their earnings for their personal use.

Differences between men and women are evident at two levels – that of the individual, and that of the household head. At the level of the individual, differences are more obvious. They are based on real differences in needs and interests, as well as on traditional social roles. Differences at the level of the household head are not that visible, because male- and female-headed households tend to face the same issues. However, women do not have the same status as men, and female heads of households usually do not have the same access to political and economic resources. In Botswana female-headed households tend to have less economically active members, and less labour. They are far less likely to have cattle. While female-headed households may be acknowledged as being much poorer, people do not seem to be conscious of the link between this poverty and social status.

Within the household, work responsibilities are not just an issue of who has the greatest load. If some members are unable to meet their livelihood obligations, they risk losing status and being marginalised from decision-making in the home. This is relevant with regard to natural resources. Both the declining availability of some resources and their commercialisation have led to men taking over their collection and control. For example, while the harvesting of palm leaves for basketry has traditionally been the responsibility of women, local overuse has increased the distance travelled to find leaves. Men now go out on harvesting trips, and then sell the leaves to the women (Terry, 1984) resulting in some exploitation of women and their loss of control over the resource.

Table 1: Traditional responsibilities for natural resources

<b>Resource</b>	<b>Who mainly collects</b>	<b>Purpose</b>
Fruit and berries	Women	Beer brewing, food
Firewood	Women and children	Cooking, socialising
Water	Women	Washing and cleaning
Wildlife	Men	Food, skins
Palm leaves	Women	Baskets
Live wood	Men	Poles, carving
Roots, leaves	Women	Medicine, teas, food

As the value and availability of these resources change under CBNRM, changes in access to and control over them can also be expected.

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<sup>1</sup> Although there are few statistics, alcohol abuse and associated disruptive behaviour is high in the San resettlement villages. The San themselves, as well as various researchers, have attributed this behaviour to loss of cultural identity, loss of lifestyle, poverty, and lack of social opportunities (Gujadhur, 2000b).

# The Role of Women in CBNRM

Because CBNRM projects are usually found in rural, conservative communities, traditional ideas of women's roles have shaped their participation. At the same time, however, CBNRM has tended to be initiated from outside by agencies which often carry an objective of equity for men and women in their support programme. Supporting agencies face a dilemma: CBNRM is supposed to be a grassroots initiative, but grassroots approaches in Botswana are usually blind to the inequalities confronting women. The choice of wildlife as the first resource selected for formal CBNRM projects in Botswana reflects this dilemma: it shows rapid high economic returns, but it is traditionally a "man's" resource. Where does this leave women?

The role of women in CBNRM can be assessed in terms of both access to and control over resources. As noted earlier, access to resources includes both the use of and benefits from resources. To cover these two aspects, this paper focuses on *women's involvement in activities* and *the distribution of benefits*. To address the issue of control over resources, *women's involvement in decision-making* and in the *management of natural resources* is assessed. These four dimensions of the role of women in CBNRM will provide the framework for the following chapters of this report.

## Involvement of Women in CBNRM Activities

About 80 villages are involved in about 40 CBNRM projects in Botswana. A list of these communities, their organisations and activities is attached in the appendix. Most organisations have a single main project, but generally have secondary activities based on different resources. Some villages are targeted by more than one project. Activities can be grouped roughly as follows:

- Collecting veld products for sale (16 projects);
- Making crafts and curios for sale (15 projects);
- Subsistence hunting (13 projects);
- Selling a hunting quota to a safari operator (8 projects);
- Campsites (9 projects); Cultural tourism (5 projects);
- Processing veld foods for sale (3 projects);
- Mokoro trails (2 projects); and
- Other (7 projects).

The activities that directly involve the most people are the collecting of veld products and the making of crafts and curios. These activities are particularly attractive to women for several reasons. Collecting veld products and making crafts, such as beadwork or basketry, are based on "their" resources, and are familiar to them, and therefore easy to get involved in. There is generally less conflict with women's other responsibilities and tasks, as the timing and extent of involvement is voluntary. In addition, payments are made directly to each of the participants, allowing each to decide for himself or herself how the money should be used. Not surprisingly, membership in organisations that are based on these activities tends to be predominantly of women.

### **Kgetsi Ya Tsie**

Kgetsi Ya Tsie is a micro-lending project based on the Grameen Bank model which specifically targets women. In this instance, the women are all actively involved in collecting natural resources. As a CBNRM project it is unusual in focusing only on women. It was started in 1995 primarily to assist women who harvested the *phane* caterpillar, a local delicacy, for processing and sale. By using micro-lending, and moving from individual to group harvesting, women are able to share costs, secure loans and control the market value of the products. They have been able to extend the range of products they now harvest. By the end of 1998, membership had grown to 420 members. In that year, the average annual income from veld products for individuals increased to nearly Pula 2600 from the Pula 440 average they had been earning before the project started.

Facilitators to the project conclude that its success is in part due to the following factors:

- It builds on existing knowledge and use of resources;
- It is based on income generating activities that meet the personal needs of the individual members;

- It works at a small scale based on 5-women groups which belong to a centre, that in turn sends representatives to association; and
- It builds on traditional institutions such as women's informal mutual assistance groups. (HaBarad and Tsiane, 1999)

Basketry and the making of other handicrafts are also sources of income that fit into women's schedules well. Baskets can be made at home. They can be worked on and put aside to fit in with other household duties. They can be made while socialising. There is no obligation to finish the item by a given time. Although Ngwao Boswa and Katchiempati both call themselves "women's" co-operatives, men are able to join. However, only one man is known to have done so, primarily because physical disabilities stopped him using other livelihood sources.

Another way in which people participate in the various projects is through wage employment. Here the situation is more complex. While several of the jobs are seen as encompassing women's work, there are instances where men are taking these on. A clear example of this comes from the early stages of the marula harvesting project run by Gwetzotshaa. When people were invited to collect marula fruit independently, and sell it to the project, 90% of the participants were women. Yet when the project found it necessary to supplement supplies by hiring casual labour, 89% of these collectors were men (Riemer, 1996). This is probably because the Board who was responsible for hiring labour was comprised entirely of men.

In the tourism ventures of Nqwaa Khobee Xeya, other social issues stop women from taking on jobs, in spite of specific efforts to include women. The trust has established tourist campsites some distance from the villages, requiring staff members to stay overnight in the camp when tourists are there. It is not considered seemly for women to stay away from home, particularly in places where other men are also staying without their wives. Some husbands have forbidden their wives to work in the campsites, even where these jobs are traditionally "female", such as cooking and cleaning, while other women simply bow to social pressure (Flyman, *pers comm.*).

As noted in the background section, differences in involvement are not just an issue for individual women, but also for female-headed households. When use of a resource becomes commercialised, there is often a large increase in the scale of harvesting. Households with access to transport and labour are able to maximise their participation in activities. In Gweta, for instance, households with donkey carts and pick-up trucks are paid to transport the bags of marula fruit that others collect. The distances are too great for collectors to deliver the fruit themselves. However, female-headed households are much less likely to have any means of transport. They also have fewer active household members, and so collect less fruit.

In Gwetzotshaa's 1998 marula harvest, most of the transporters were men, while about 80% of the fruit collectors were women. Both transporters and collectors were paid a fixed price per bag. Without the transporters, the collectors could not deliver their bags and get paid. While most of the time working relationships went smoothly, there were some problems (Cassidy & Murray, 1998):

"Some people were greedy and refused to transport our bags unless we paid them from our wages. We were paid P4.00 per bag for collecting, and were forced to pay them P1.00 per bag [over and above their earnings for transport]. That means they made more for each bag than we did just for loading them, while we had done most of the work. Some people refused to pay more and they were just left here in the bush with their bags full until it was too late."

Women working under the Kgetsy Ya Tsie umbrella were able to overcome their own transport constraints by pooling cash or getting micro loans as a small group. In this way they were able to hire transport, collecting from further afield, reducing travelling time, and thereby limiting loss to spoilage (HaBarad & Tsiane, 1999).

Cultural tourism also has the potential to provide opportunities for women. In Xai-Xai, this type of tourism was embarked upon because it was feared that simple trophy hunting and photographic tourism would not provide the community, and women especially, with a great deal of employment or autonomy. This was confirmed when the safari company who won 1998's tender hired 22 people; 80% were men, and of the women, 75% were Herero women. Conversely, 67% of the participants of the self-operated cultural tourism operations are San women (Information from the CBNRM Support Programme's website).

### Women's Participation in Benefit Distribution

The most easily recognised benefits from CBNRM are financial. People promoting CBNRM see monetary earnings as a powerful motivation for resource management. If communities feel that a resource provides them with a secure and regular income, they are far more likely to take care of that resource. Other benefits are less tangible. These include social aspects such as capacity building, food security, and an improved sense of cultural identity and self-worth.

CBNRM projects can be divided into two broad categories, those that bring financial returns to the individual, and those that bring returns to the community organisation. Although distribution mechanisms should be flexible and may change over time, at present the two types of projects have very different characteristics. These are summarised in the table below.

Table 2: Comparison of benefits from community level and individual level CBNRM activities

	<b>Benefits Paid at Community Level</b>	<b>Benefits Paid at Individual Level</b>
<b>Level of returns</b>	Community Organisation	Individual
<b>Main activities</b>	Safari hunting/photographic tourism	Selling veld products, crafts
<b>People actively involved</b>	Generally less than 50: board members, some employees	Generally more than 100: any interested community members
<b>Overall project income range in 1999</b>	From P90,000 to P900,000	Around P20,000 to P40,000
<b>Place of decision-making on use of income</b>	Kgotla meeting/Trust general meetings	Household/individual
<b>Use of income</b>	Infrastructural development in village, project vehicles	Household needs

Source: National CBNRM Forum (2000) and interviews.

Direct involvement in activities usually means direct payment for efforts. However, as the table above shows, projects where people themselves do the harvesting and processing tend to be based on resources of lesser value. In an assessment of the Community Based Management of Indigenous Forests projects in the villages of Motokwe, Khekhenye and Tshwaane, consultants found that the average earnings in 1997 from the sale of veld products was around P200.00 per household (Peer Consultants *et al*, 1998). In these same three villages, male-headed households profited more from the sale of veld products than did female-headed households (Sacks, reported in Peer Consultants, 1998). One of the reasons for this is that male-headed households tend to have access to more labour, and can involve more family members in collecting veld products.

Distribution of financial benefits becomes more of an issue when the resources are of a much higher value, and when decisions on the use or distribution of financial returns must involve the whole community. In addition, the forum for discussing community-level benefits is the kgotla, which is not an easy venue for women to add their contributions (see text box below). Benefit distribution changes from being a matter of livelihoods to being a political affair, and, at community level often ends up having more to do with power and decision-making. This will be discussed further in the next section.

Looking at less tangible benefits, training and capacity building are promoted by supporting agencies because they increase the pool of resources available to the CBNRM project, and so

improve its viability. However, the benefits of training are not only to the community, but also to the individuals themselves.

Because much of the capacity building is organised through supporting agencies, equity for men and women in training is actively promoted. For example, in 1998 SNV prepared a *Gender Action Plan for mainstreaming gender* at their own programme level and within their partner NGOs, as well as at project level. Not only did the plan include *gender audits* and *gender training*, it also set out intervening actions at project level. For example, in Nqwaa Khobee Xeya's KD/1 project, one of the specific objectives was "to ensure that at least 50% of those attending courses are women". This was in order to allow women to benefit equally from capacity building opportunities. However, Gujadhur (2000a) reported in a March 2000 progress assessment of the plan, that in spite of the three communities being asked to each select two men and two women, final attendance on a tourism course was of seven men and three women. This was because the course was away from the settlements, and the women did not feel able to leave their homes, both because of their responsibilities and because their husbands did not want them to go.

In another training-related incident, a Government officer in Kgalagadi District could not accept that a breastfeeding woman could attend a computer course. She stopped feeding, and made plans to travel without the child, but he had already dropped her from the course. On hearing of this, Thusano Lefatsheng, the supporting agency, was able to persuade the Government extension services to make amends by finding space on another course.

To date most training has been for members of the executive bodies of the community organisations. For those communities whose facilitators have not been made aware of the need for equity for women, membership of the executive bodies has been dominated by men (see Table 3). Since two-thirds of all board/committee members in the projects are currently men, the proportion of men receiving training is double that of women.

Increased security in access to food under CBNRM appears to be proving itself slowly. In those communities where there is large-scale commercialisation of natural resources, there is a danger that some people will lose access to and control over key resources on which they depend. This was a concern especially for the many communities with subsistence hunters. When the hunting quota was sold to a safari operator for large sums of money paid at community level for development purposes, individuals who relied on game meat for their livelihoods stood to lose access to this important source of food. For example, poorer households – predominantly San – used to be issued Special Game Licences for subsistence hunting. Under CBNRM, these licences have been abolished. Communities are meant to make sure that these former licence-holders still have access to the same amount of meat, but no checks have been made on whether this is being done. Some communities, such as those in Chobe Enclave, have tried to address this concern by contracting the safari operator to give half the trophy meat to the trust, which then sold it for a token price in the villages. The availability of meat was increased for female-headed households, who had previously been unable to hunt for themselves (Ecosurv, 1996).

In the villages of Gweta, Zoroga and Tshokotshaa, women have a long history of brewing traditional beer from marula fruit. There was a concern that the marula-processing project would monopolise the supply of fruit, leaving none for beer brewers. But amongst the women who brewed beer regularly, there were very few who did not also collect fruit for sale to the project. Most women found that they could make more money from selling the fruit than brewing beer, and all welcomed the opportunity to do both activities. While the project needed green fruit, brewers preferred sweet, over-ripe fruit. Some brewers were even able to buy very cheaply several bags of over-ripe fruit that the project had rejected. Women felt that if the project paid more per bag, they would prefer to collect only, and would no longer brew. (Cassidy & Murray, 1998).

Supporting agencies like to promote the preservation of cultural identity, and the development of a sense of cultural pride as some of the potential benefits of CBNRM. This can be problematic where traditional culture places women subordinate to men. Yet women do benefit from cultural activities. Traditional dancing and singing involve far more women than men. In Xai-Xai and D'kar, San

women use their knowledge systems to take tourists on bush walks in search of veld foods. Women are rightfully proud of these skills, and are happy to have a reason to keep their specific knowledge alive.

### **Involvement of Women in Decision-making**

The structure of the organisation plays a key role in determining participation in management and decision-making. Of the approximately 40 active CBNRM organisations, about 25 are formed as Trusts that automatically include all community members.

There are about fifteen organisations founded on interest groups, normally set up as co-operatives with voluntary membership. None of these are involved in wildlife utilisation, because this high value resource is intended for equitable benefit of all community members. Most are based on veld products and some on craft production.

In most community projects, there are two arenas for decision-making. Some decisions are made at general meetings, while others are made by elected representatives who form a committee or board of trustees. The negative implications for women lie in those organisations where membership is based on the whole community. Organisations that include all community members tend to be dominated by men. Decisions are made by outspoken leaders, who are usually men. Voting takes place in the kgotla, which is dominated by men. This can be problematic when the main resource used was one previously used and controlled by women.

#### **The Kgotla**

The kgotla is the formal meeting-place presided over by the village chief, where community members gather to learn about, discuss and sometimes vote on community issues. The kgotla is seen as the centre of village life. Meetings at the kgotla tend to be formal, with individuals waiting to be recognised by the chief or meeting leader before speaking. The principal language used in the kgotla is Setswana, which can disadvantage those whose mother tongue is different, as is the case for some groups in western and northern Botswana.

In rural areas, most of the people attending kgotla meetings are women. In some instances, this is due to the absence of men, who are either at the cattle post or working in the bigger towns. While interest in the topic under discussion will obviously influence attendance, anecdotal evidence suggests that women still make more effort to attend meetings than men.

Attendance in itself, however, is not a reliable indicator. In the kgotla, men sit on chairs or benches in the front, while women sit on the floor behind them. Women generally also have less self-confidence in standing up to voice their individual opinion, and coupled with the physical distancing, it is not surprising that women rarely speak at such meetings. Although both men and women state that both sexes have equal rights to participate in kgotla meetings, many women also say they are not comfortable in speaking. Men do acknowledge that women participate less, but put this down to women having lesser capabilities.

The lack of opportunity to speak out in community meetings does not always leave women completely powerless. Pauline Wynter, previously the Monitoring and Evaluation Advisor with the USAID-funded Natural Resources Management Project, recalls an interesting event in the village of Sankuyo. The Sankuyo community were called together to select a new safari operator as a joint venture partner. At the meeting, women were shouted down if they tried to promote their choice. The men completely dominated the discussion of who the partner company should be. Yet in the end, the women went ahead and voted for their own choices anyway.

Organisations based on interest groups using women's resources tend to be more suited to involving women in planning and decision-making. This is evident from the attendance at general meetings held by the co-operatives co-ordinating veld product harvesting and marketing in the three villages of Motokwe, Khekhenye and Tshwaane. The graphs below (data from VPR&D records – September 1996 to November 1999) suggest that as long as the discussions were on veld products, women

dominated the meetings. When a new venture, ecotourism was introduced, the proportion of men at the meetings increased considerably.

Graphs of the 3 villages

Graphs of the 3 villages

Graphs of the 3 villages

According to VPR&D extension staff, women are confident to take on decision-making responsibilities for their projects, in which membership is based on interest. In addition, it appears that women from female-headed households take a leading role. Women from female-headed households are often seen to speak out more than women from male-headed households. This could be due to the latter being more used to men taking that role (i.e. within the household) whereas the former have had to speak out for themselves. In addition, female-headed households rely more heavily on the resource and therefore have a higher vested interest.

Concerning the decision-making at board or committee level, it should first be noted that all adult members of the CBOs have the right to vote for the executive committee or board, and it is often assumed that this body is truly representative. However, the choice of candidates is usually men, because of traditional social roles. This is clearly shown in the 1998 composition of the executive bodies of the organisations selected for monitoring by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks' Extension Services Section.

Table 3: Composition of Executive Bodies in 1998

Organisation	Main Activity	Women	Men	Total
Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust	Selling hunting quota	3	7	10
Okavango Community Trust	Selling hunting quota	0	9	9
Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust	Selling hunting quota	7	3	10
Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust†	Subsistence hunting	6	6	12
Khwai Development Trust	Subsistence hunting	5	6	11
Mababe Zukutshan Community Trust	Subsistence hunting	0	10	10
Xwiskurusa Community Trust	Subsistence hunting	0	5	5
Okavango Kopano Mokoro Community Trust*	Mokoro trails	0	9	9
Maiteko Tshwaragano Development Trust	Craft production and selling salt	3	9	12
Gwezotshaa Natural Resources Trust	Processing marula fruit	3	8	11
Gaing-O Community Trust	Campsites	3	6	9
Kgobokanyo Group†	Collecting veld products	3	3	6
Kgetsi Ya Tsie‡	Collecting veld products	9	0	9
Totals		42	81	123

\*The poling of tourists in dugout canoes (mokoro) is done by men.

†The constitutions of these Trusts stipulate equal representation by men and women

‡This is a women-only organisation.

Data from Wynter *et al* (1999).

The functioning of the committee or board has tended to follow the pattern of other community-level committees. In many communities, there is a feeling that responsibility for much of the decision-making should be delegated to this executive body. This attitude appears to undermine the concept

of broad-based participation. It may be some time before both community leaders and the general public fully accept the idea of control by the *whole* community, rather than only by a few key personalities.

From the table above, it is clear that men dominate management and executive positions such as committees. Given that rural communities tend not to question the different roles of men and women, it is unlikely that these committees will be specifically aware of women's interests and needs. Nevertheless, it is important to note that this lack of awareness is not deliberate, and can also support opportunities for women. For example, where the board is responsible for hiring staff, they would not consider men for many of the positions associated with tourism, such as cooking, waiting, cleaning rooms, traditional dancing and singing.

At D'kar's Dqae Qare Game Farm, the Farm Management Committee is composed of members who come from the different categories of workers. In order to ensure equitable representation for women, some of the categories were subdivided. The committee now draws its members from staff as follows:

- Rangers (men);
- Receptionists (men and women);
- Cleaners (women);
- Caterers (women);
- Female guides; and
- Male guides.

The result has been that women have secure representation in decision-making (fax from van den Berg, SNV facilitator, to Gujadhur, 2000).

It is important to note that it is not enough to look only at the number of women represented on committees. What is also important is whether female-headed households have fair representation. A 1995 socio-economic study of the communities forming the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust revealed that while nearly a third of members of the Village Trust Committees and the Board were women, these women tended to come from male-headed households. The consultants concluded that coming from a male-headed household was more likely to determine membership of a committee than whether one was a man or a woman (Ecosurv, 1996). This means that the needs and interests of female-headed households are less likely to be taken into consideration when decisions are made by the committees.

Where women are members of a committee, their participation has come to follow traditional concepts of male and female roles and skills. In mixed committees, the chair is a man, the secretary is usually a woman ("she can write better and is more organised"), the vice-secretary and vice-chair are men, and the treasurer is always a woman (perceived as more trustworthy and reliable). The current composition of the executive committees in the Kweneng West CBOs (comprising mainly women) is shown in the table below.

Table 4: Composition of Veld Product Committees

<b>Village</b>	<b>No. of women</b>	<b>No. of men</b>	<b>Positions of men</b>
Motokwe	4	1	Man is chair
Khekhenye	3	2	Men are secretary and vice-chair
Tshwaane	4	1	Man is chair
Tsetseng	3	2	One of men is chair

### **A Women's Project**

"This project is only for basket making, not other kinds of curios. The main resource used is palm leaves. Baskets have always been made by women either for use at home or more recently for sale as curios. This is a women's project, and the women still do all aspects, such as collecting leaves. Male participation in either collecting palm or making baskets has not happened in spite of commercialisation.

The organisation is 99% women, and all of the committee members are women. Where men attend meetings, it is usually someone like the kgosi [chief] giving official support to the project.

As it is their own organisation, women control the meetings, and take responsibility for decision-making. The project is run as a co-op. Membership is voluntary – based on individuals with an interest in selling baskets. They sell to the shop, which then can make bulk sales to lodges or wholesalers. It is up to the manager to organise the sales. A lot of decisions are taken by the committee and the manager, with the sanction of the members who have delegated these tasks to them. But other decisions are also made in general meetings.

Basket-making is a woman's skill. Making baskets is something she can do at home, and start and put down to fit around her other activities. Proactive steps are not really needed to involve women – this is a women's organisation." *Facilitator, Thusano Lefatsheng, on the Katchiempati Women Basket Weavers Co-operative.*

In Xai-Xai, San women told Gujadhur (1997) that they were comfortable in speaking at meetings about the !Kokoro Crafts. The women generally felt that the participation of men and women in decision-making at craft meetings was the same. At kgotla meetings, both as women and as San, these women were less likely to speak.

Elsewhere, women's participation in decision-making is limited – it is considered the men's role to decide. Because of this, some of the supporting agencies have used careful facilitation to ensure that trust constitutions proactively address equity for men and women. As noted in Table 3 above, only the two communities with such constitutions have equal numbers of men and women on their executive bodies. From interviews with NGO representatives, it appears that many women are afraid of taking on responsibility for decision-making, lest they be blamed for making mistakes. As is reported by Mgugu (1998) for some of the CAMPFIRE projects in Zimbabwe, it is not only men who are against being led by women, it would also seem that women generally lack confidence in positions of leadership and decision-making.

Another issue arises with regard to accommodating women's needs and constraints. In KD/1, equal representation for women from the villages of Ukhwi, Ncaang and Ngwatle is secured through the written constitution of the villages' CBNRM Trust. Yet the resident advisor reported in a February 2000 fax to SNV that "Women [Board] members have been very difficult / unwilling to attend courses and Board meetings. Most of the time we are forced to work against the constitution in implementing some projects – for expediency." Yet, as noted in the discussion under benefit distribution, further probing revealed that that this "difficultness" was largely because training and meetings were often held away from home. The women were being put under pressure by *men*, who did not trust their wives to sleep away from them. They also found it difficult to leave their household responsibilities.

### **Management of Natural Resources**

To date there is still very little natural resources monitoring undertaken and management decisions made by communities. Part of the problem is that final decisions over key resources are still the responsibility of Government. For example, the hunting quotas are determined by DWNP using its own criteria. Several tools have been designed for communities to start vegetation monitoring (van der Vleuten, 1998 and Perkins, 1999) but so far none of these systems have been implemented. There is little incentive for communities to take on management responsibilities if they are unable to

make management decisions. Nevertheless, some CBOs have started monitoring resources, while others are exploring the domestication of key veld products.

Communities with a hunting quota usually employ escort guides to accompany safari or subsistence hunters. In most areas, men take on these jobs. Because hunting is traditionally a man's role, it would seem difficult to involve women in monitoring wildlife. In spite of this, the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust has succeeded in ensuring women's participation. Each of the member villages of Ukhwi, Ncaang and Ngwatle hires two men and one woman as escort guides. The men accompany the hunters, while the woman records the details of the hunt against a checklist of information once the hunting party returns home (Cassidy, Bowie & Jones, 1998). Acceptance of women in this "masculine" sphere is partly because they are taking on the aspects that are seen as being feminine: "being more organised and therefore better suited to record-keeping".

Kgetsi Ya Tsie has a Resources Monitoring Committee. It uses a project vehicle to monitor conditions of *phane* caterpillars in the harvesting areas within a 90 km radius of the hills where the project is located. Information is collected on the quantity of the resource, the stage of growth, and on environmental conditions that could affect maturation. It then uses this information to estimate the harvesting potential of each site, and the number of user groups that can be accommodated. Monitoring is based on a blend of indigenous and contemporary community knowledge, strengthened by resources management guidelines produced by the University of Botswana (HaBarad, 1999). Since the organisation comprises only women, women do all the monitoring.

In the villages of Motokwe, Khekhenye and Tshwaane the success of domesticating veld products has been limited. Although group members were provided with materials for fencing the plots, little progress has been made. A reason given for this was that group members were otherwise occupied in their fields (Peer Consultants *et al*, 1998). However, the issue may run deeper. As most of the group members are women, they would have to ask male relatives to help them construct the fence, but would have no incentive to offer the men. Either way, the returns from domesticating veld products do not appear to be high enough for people to feel they should invest their time in this activity.

# The Impact of CBNRM Projects on Women's Use of Natural Resources

In order to assess the impact of CBNRM, it is necessary to have something against which to measure change. Some communities have had socio-economic baseline studies done, and in the future follow-up studies will show changes specific to those communities. However, a broader overview of change is also needed. At present there is no ideal situation against which to evaluate the positive and negative impacts of CBNRM on women's use of natural resources. It would be useful to make an assessment of change and compare this to an ideal situation for equitable participation. Having a goal to aim for will keep attention focused on equity and women's issues. It will also allow practitioners to monitor progress.

## The Ideal Situation for Women's Participation in CBNRM

The preceding discussions on women's role in CBNRM have been based on access to and control over resources. According to the Government's National Gender Framework, equality for men and women is recognised as a fundamental value that should be reflected in development choices and institutional practices. Equality means that women participate as decision-makers about social values and development directions. The Framework lists five areas that must be addressed in Botswana. The first two are relevant to this paper:

1. Equality in economic opportunities, and
2. Equality in power and decision-making.

The first of these objectives is related to equity in access to resources. The second is related to equity in control over resources. The issue of equity should not imply mandatory equal participation in every activity, because men and women have different interests and different needs. What is more important is that there should be equal *opportunities* for women within CBNRM.

*The ideal situation for women's participation in Botswana should be one of equality of opportunity to use and benefit from natural resources, and of equality of opportunity to decide on and manage natural resources.*

Working towards equality of opportunity in CBNRM does not need to threaten traditional institutions or the traditional breakdown of economic tasks and responsibilities. It could work around these, and accommodate them. If too many social changes are imposed on rural communities, they will feel threatened, and resist. This could seriously undermine the viability of a CBNRM project. In addition, CBNRM is meant to be a grass-roots approach to natural resources management. For this to be true, communities must accept women's roles in the community generally before being asked to promote them under CBNRM.

Achieving equitable involvement of women in CBNRM in Botswana needs to take into consideration not only the strong traditions that define social roles in the rural areas, but also that the country is experiencing rapid change as it merges with the global society. Achieving the ideal situation must match an acceptable pace of change in Botswana. It should not be rushed by external time-frames. Interventions should be flexible, to accommodate variations in attitudes both over time and from location to location.

In the absence of specific case studies that have monitored changes in women's and men's involvement in CBNRM, the discussion below is of a generalised nature. Much of the changes in control over natural resources are hidden by the fact that, in most cases, there has been improved access to the resources for all CBNRM participants. What is less clear is whether the improved access has been equitable for all sectors of the community.

### **Has the Involvement of Women in Natural Resources Utilisation Changed?**

Before CBNRM, primarily the type of resource determined women's relation to natural resources. That is, women were mainly concerned with collecting veld products as opposed to wildlife. This focus on veld products has been the starting point for women's involvement in CBNRM. Present indications are that women have increased access to "their" resources. They appear to be increasing the ways in which they use resources. So far new activities and uses of plant resources are additional, and not replacements of traditional ones. This is not always true for wildlife, the "men's" resource. In many communities the entire hunting quota is sold to an operator and individual men end up having less involvement or direct use of the resource than before CBNRM. In terms of numbers, more women participate in the use of natural resources under CBNRM than men do. Even where men are involved in veld product based activities, their participation tends to be one of administration rather than actual use. In settlements such as Motokwe, Khekhanye and Tshwaane, this arrangement appears to be acceptable. According to VPR&D facilitators, both women and men seem comfortable with these roles.

Activities that do not interfere with women's other obligations appear to attract the most participation. For instance, making curios can be done at home while caring for children. Collecting fruit can be done in the late morning after household and field chores are over.

CBNRM, particularly through tourism, has increased the number of wage employment opportunities available to women. But where these jobs are located far from the village, some husbands put pressure on women not to take them.

One of the biggest improvements to actual use of resources that CBNRM has brought is the opportunity for women to work as a group. By co-ordinating their efforts and pooling labour and transport resources, women can collect more, travel further and invest in processing resources.

### **Has the Distribution of Benefits of Natural Resource Use between Men and Women changed?**

CBNRM has significantly increased the total financial benefits that communities receive from natural resources. How these benefits affect women depend largely on whether benefits are paid directly to individuals or to the community.

CBNRM projects that are based on veld products generally give benefits directly to individuals. Most of these individuals are women. Before CBNRM, the opportunities for women to earn cash from natural resources were limited. It is probably fair to say that women have increased their earnings from natural resources as a result of CBNRM. In addition, more women than men earn a direct income from CBNRM. But the returns per household are low. Income from veld products can only be seen as supplementary to existing livelihood sources. Because benefits go directly to the individual, there is usually no issue surrounding their distribution.

In Botswana the household is the economic unit and any competing male/female interests are tempered by the need to co-operate within the household. "In some instances, it is the husband who will buy the grapple harvesting permit from the Agricultural Resources Board, and the wife who will collect. The wife will be the one who is paid, but how she shares this with the husband is not known" (Tlhalerwa, *pers. comm.*).

CBNRM has had the effect of increasing the value of natural resources. In particular, the value of wildlife has increased dramatically. Under subsistence use, veld products have tended to carry less prestige than game meat. This is in spite of the fact that their proportional food and calorie contribution has been more significant to households relying on both these resources (Cassidy, 1997a). Under the new commercial regime introduced by CBNRM, the difference in value between veld products and wildlife has become orders of magnitude higher. Compare for example the P600,000 earned by the approximately 40 households of the Mababe community (P15,000 per household) from selling the hunting quota (National CBNRM Forum, 2000) with the P200 per household earned in Motokwe, Khekhanye and Tshwaane (Peer Consultants *et al*, 1998). "Men's" resources are now worth disproportionately more than "women's" resources, which could have the effect of sidelining women's status in terms of natural resources use and management.

The effect of increasing the value of resources is linked to decision-making. Commercial, or higher value, resources are usually discussed at community level. One reason for this is that the whole community and not just a sub-section must, for equity's sake, be involved in decision-making over valuable common property resources. This is also true for any new, non-traditional uses of resources such as photographic tourism. Again, men dominate decision-making at this "political" level.

Many of these higher value resources, such as wildlife, used to be considered men's resources and women were not expected to make decisions about them before the CBNRM model was introduced. Now they at least have the right to vote, and have the theoretical opportunity to participate in discussions, on key decisions about hunting and tourism and the distribution of benefits derived from these activities.

Because of donor funding, CBNRM has increased the training and capacity-building opportunities available to rural communities. But it appears that women are not benefiting equitably from these opportunities. There appear to be two main obstacles limiting women's participation in workshops and courses. The first is that much of the training is given to CBO committees and boards and most of the members of these committees are men. Fewer women are in a position to receive training. The second reason is social. Where women are given the chance to attend courses, some are prevented from doing so by their household obligations. In some instances, it is not socially acceptable for married women to sleep away from their homes without their husbands.

CBNRM has also had the effect of increasing the value of cultural resources. The most obvious indication of this is through the production of traditional crafts, and through traditional singing and dancing. Such activities are seen as building a sense of pride and self-worth, as well as a means of preserving cultural identities. Since most of the people involved in these activities are women, it would seem that they are benefiting more. What is difficult is that there are some cultural traditions that work against equity for women. For example, the tradition of decision-making being a men's role does not help women gain equity in control over resources. For the time being, however, the examples of cultural tourism in place at the moment seem to focus on the outward manifestations of Botswana's different cultures.

### **Has the Involvement of Women in Decision-making on Natural Resources Use Changed?**

Decision-making is one of the more important aspects of CBNRM. At present, decision-making constitutes most of CBNRM project management. Being able to participate in decision-making is the key to sharing control over resources.

The main change in decision-making under CBNRM is related to the move from individual to group control over resources. In most communities CBNRM has seen the formation of new organisations for decision-making, rather than using existing ones such as the Village Development Committees. New structures have provided a slightly greater chance for women to participate. To a large extent, women's involvement in decision-making depends on the type of CBNRM project. In particular, factors such as whether the project includes the whole community or only interested individuals, whether the activities are based on "women's", "men's" or new resources, the value of the resources, and whether benefits are paid directly to participants or to the CBO for investment, can all influence women's participation.

CBNRM projects that are run by interest groups and which use women's resources provide a new forum for women to make decisions. Decision-making that takes place outside the kgotla, or just in women's groups, allows them a chance to express their opinions. Women talk more if they are meeting as part of a group of interested individuals than when they meet as general community members.

Where CBNRM projects require decisions to be made by the whole community, traditional structures are still used. Discussions at this level tend to fall under the sway of village politics. Social factors such as ethnic group, cattle-ownership, and whether one is a man or a woman, affect the ability of individual members to influence decisions. The power relations determined by these social factors are reinforced by the use of the kgotla as a venue for decision-making.

Women's higher attendance at kgotla meetings means that they are able to keep themselves informed of any changes. Nevertheless, projects in which community participation is limited to making decisions (such as selling a hunting quota) at the kgotla benefit women only indirectly, as they are less able to influence decisions. In this situation women from female-headed households are particularly marginalised. While married women may gain some representation through their husbands, female-headed households have little chance of influencing decisions. Where individual access to some resources is closed to allow commercial harvesting, financial benefits are usually paid to the community. In some cases these financial benefits are used for a community development project, and are not distributed to households. If female-headed households cannot put forward their ideas in the kgotla, the money may be used for something that does not help to improve their lives. The net result is that they will have lost access to the resources and any benefits from them. They also have less control over the resources than before.

The introduction of CBNRM projects has resulted in decisions being made on behalf of communities or resources users by representatives on a committee or board. It is questionable whether these representatives equitably represent women. A particular concern is that most of the chairpersons of the mainly female veld product co-operatives are men. Does this represent loss of control? Interviews with NGO staff suggest that women members do not perceive this as a threat to their ability to make decisions about their projects. In fact, by establishing a formal group identity, women feel that their control over resources has increased. The sale of veld products is an additional, rather than alternative, source of income. This may make it difficult for women to be aware of any reduced control.

Some supporting agencies have consciously tried to strengthen the ability of women to influence decision-making. Without their interventions, it is by no means certain that women would be participating as much as they currently do. For example, when Gwezotshaa first started, its board comprised only men. This was justified by comments such as: "Because it was just starting. When we start we need some men because we need brains. The men are always the leader. [...] Women come later after things have gone right." (quoted in Riemer, 1996). By 1998, three of the eleven board members were women (Cassidy & Murray, 1998). Their proposals for membership appear to be in direct response to suggestions from the supporting agency.

One of the key mechanisms for ensuring the equitable participation of both men and women in CBNRM is a written constitution that governs the functioning of the community based organisation. In order to get hunting quotas or commercial resource use leases, communities must satisfy a Government requirement to form an organisation that is a "legal and representative entity". This includes registering the organisation and developing its written constitution in which the objectives and principles are outlined. Careful facilitation in the initial mobilisation phase has helped some communities to have better representation for all their sub-sections. In communities whose constitution considers all members of the community to be of equal status, women, ethnic minorities and poorer households risk being marginalised.

**Extracts from the Constitution of the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust**

4.1 The Objects of the Trust shall be:

4.1.6 To establish regulations and put into place methodology to regulate a just and equitable distribution of the take off of any natural resources of KD/1 amongst the General Members and to equitably share the benefits of the sustainable use of the natural resources of KD/1 without discrimination, on any gender, tribal, racial, political, religious, or ethnic grounds.

6.5 The elected Settlement Committee Members shall comprise one (1) man and one (1) woman from each family group.

7.2 By no later than 31st March each consecutive year, each Family group at each KD/1 Settlement shall elect two (2) members, one (1) of whom shall be a man and one (1) of whom shall be a woman to represent the Family Group on the Settlement Committee.

11.6 The General Members at each of the three KD1 Settlements shall elect from their particular Settlement Committee referred to herein at Clause 7, four (4) Members to the Board of Board Members to comprise the 12 elected Board Members, provided that:

11.6.1 of the four members elected at each KD1 Settlement, two (2) shall be men and two(2) shall be women.

(SNV/IUCN CBNRM Support Programme Website)

Nqwaa Khobee Xeya's trust ensures 50/50 representation of men and women in its executive body, or Board. In Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust (CECT), there has been no change in the one-third proportion of women on the Board since 1995. This is because there is nothing in the Trust's constitution to oblige it to have the different sub-sections of the community equitably represented on the Board. This means that women and female-headed households are less likely to be able to affect decisions made by the so-called representative body. (It must however be noted that the same woman has held the salaried position of Executive Officer of CECT for the past 6 years.)

**Has the Involvement of Women in the Management of Natural Resources Changed?**

Although CBNRM is meant to be about the sustainable use, monitoring and conservation of natural resources, most projects have seen little change in the way that resources are managed. The only real changes are in the way natural resources are benefiting people.

Some monitoring does take place. The involvement of women in monitoring veld products happens primarily where the group is made up of women. This does not seem have anything to do with whether women and men are equitably sharing management responsibilities. In these instances, CBNRM itself has not changed women's involvement in managing the resources. It is more an artefact of the composition of the group.

Where women share monitoring activities in CBNRM projects that use wildlife, this is usually the result of the interventions or suggestions of supporting agencies. Without these interventions, it is likely that men will take control of the management duties.

# Recommendations for Improving Women's Participation in CBNRM

As noted in the introduction, policies and strategies at national level are being put into place to address women's position in society generally. At the same time, women's expectations and attitudes, particularly in the urban areas, are changing as Botswana moves further into the global society. Changes in both attitudes and roles are occurring at a slower pace in the rural areas. Being realistic about constraints within the rural Botswana context should not stop practitioners aiming high. The example has already been set at central policy level. The need for equality of access to and control over resources for all subsets of the community has been recognised in theory – now it must be put into practice.

Practitioners need to remain alert to the needs of women. Projects need to fit in well with women's busy and often fragmented daily routines. Equity does not only mean giving women access to and control over more resources, it also means ensuring that women do not lose access to and control over their own resources when these suddenly become of value to men. CBNRM should not worsen inequity.

While women's *access to* natural resources appears to have increased, it is possible that without deliberate interventions, women's *control over* these resources could be reduced. Actions must address both these aspects of women's participation in CBNRM.

## **Increasing the Involvement of Women in CBNRM Activities**

### *Promotion of Activities Based on Veld Products and Handicrafts*

Projects that involve members directly in income-generating activities appear to attract women more than they do men. Activities derived from veld products should be encouraged, even where these are secondary to the main activity of the project. Women are familiar with these, and men tend to respect such activities as being for women. The making of handicrafts should also be promoted. This activity allows women to accommodate their household duties while completing an object as and when they have time.

Projects that allow women to co-ordinate their harvesting and processing of veld products should be encouraged.

### *Increasing Wage Employment Opportunities*

Selling the hunting quota has in very few instances resulted in more than a few jobs, financial returns to individuals or even the household. Community participation in both hunting and photographic tourism must move beyond subleasing concession areas and selling quotas, to pro-active involvement in safari operations. Both men and women stand to benefit from employment in lodges and campsites and training in these activities – especially business positions. Wage employment can pay enough to replace existing incomes unlike the production of handicrafts or the collection of veld products. A high proportion of tourist jobs is available to women – precisely because of their traditional roles (cleaning, cooking and waiting). Social constraints to women taking on jobs that require sleeping away from home must be addressed.

### *Promotion of Cultural Tourism*

Cultural tourism should also be promoted. Because it is built on traditional skills, the participation of both men and women is ensured, as such roles are clearly defined. Again, many of the activities in this area involve more women than men. Traditional singing and dancing has proved attractive to tourists, and it allows people to feel a sense of pride in their culture. Furthermore, there are other skills that could be used in tourism. The example of some of the San communities can be followed. Taking tourists on collecting trips to show them how food used to be found has given San women the opportunity to earn money and feel proud of their skills, while preserving a traditional knowledge system that is under threat from social change. Interested communities should be assisted to establish traditional villages where tourists are shown the historic daily routines and customs of Botswana.

## **Promoting Equitable Benefit Distribution**

### *Distributing Benefits at Households and Individual Levels*

Projects that include activities where individuals collect or make things for sale bring financial returns directly to the individual. These activities have proved attractive to women. Although the returns from these activities are relatively small, women do not have to negotiate the use of this income in a male-dominated setting such as the kgotla. There is less risk of individuals feeling they have lost access to the resource if they see that they are benefiting directly from it.

### *Ensuring that Increased Value of Wildlife Resources does not Stop Women and Female-Headed Households Benefiting from them*

Because the value of wildlife has increased substantially for communities, benefits are paid at community level rather than at individual or household level. Because wildlife is the “men’s” resource, men tend to dominate discussions surrounding its use. This is also true of photographic tourism. Facilitators should create opportunities for women to meet separately to discuss how they would like the resource to be used, and how they, as women, feel the financial returns should be used.

The idea of contracting the safari operator to distribute game meat for a token fee appears to give female-headed households increased access to food. This practice should be encouraged in all community areas where hunting safaris are done.

### *Accommodating Women’s Needs and Responsibilities When Arranging Training and Workshops*

Training must take into consideration women’s obligations as a mother and in the home. Where possible, training should be done in the home settlement. Where travelling away from home cannot be avoided, opportunities must be created to allow women to discuss alternatives to meet their responsibilities in their absence. Mistrust of spouses who are travelling should be brought out as a general issue for discussion in the community. Once the concerns of both parties are expressed, community members can talk about solutions.

## **Increasing the Involvement of Women in Decision-making**

### *Creating New Groups to Allow Women to Make Decisions*

Women find it easier to participate in decision-making outside of the kgotla setting. Projects founded by user groups or interest groups seem to make it easier for women to speak out. Organisational structures such as co-operatives should be encouraged when new groups are being formed.

### *Increasing Women’s Influence on Decisions in the Kgotla*

Giving women equal opportunities to influence decisions does not necessarily mean tackling their subordinate position in the kgotla head-on. One suggestion for improving women’s participation in decision-making at kgotla meetings is that for all community level decisions, separate group discussions for men and women should first be held, with each group then electing a representative to speak at the actual kgotla meeting. If this suggestion does not meet with the community’s approval, it should still be possible for women to meet before a kgotla meeting to discuss their views and arrive at a common position. Knowing that they have the support of others will give women the confidence to stand up and speak. In order to make sure that the interests of female-headed households are heard, women from such families should be specifically asked to give their views whenever women prepare for kgotla meetings.

### *Equitable Representation for Women on Boards and Committees*

Although membership of the executive body does not automatically mean that women will exert control, the chances of them influencing the outcome of any discussion is greater than if they were not members at all. The constitutions of any new CBOs that are based on the whole community should specify equal representation for men and women on the executive bodies.

### *Supporting Agencies Must Actively Promote Women’s Participation*

The role of NGOs as facilitators and educators in promoting women as decision-makers is critical. The example set by those organisations such as Permaculture, Thusano Lefatsheng, VPR&D and

Kuru Development Trust who are trying to address the role of women at project level should be followed. In addition, the involvement of the Women's Affairs Department, as is being done by Thusano Lefatsheng, in community mobilisation should be arranged. It is important for rural communities to see that proposals for changing women's position in society are coming from within the country, and not only from outsiders. Thusano Lefatsheng hopes that by having Government involved, the risk of alienating the community will be lessened.

### **Increasing the Involvement of Women in Management of Natural Resources**

The fact that very little management of resources has yet been done represents an opportunity for involving women fully in this activity. As with benefit distribution, resource management will largely be an issue of decision-making. Therefore any initiatives that increase women's influence over decisions will give them more of an opportunity to share responsibilities equitably.

When selecting CBO members for veld product monitoring responsibilities, preference should be given to women for as long as they are the main users of the resource. Where wildlife is the main CBNRM resource being used, opportunities for involving women should be made, such as giving them the responsibilities to maintain records, or to supervise the distribution of meat.

### **General Recommendations**

CBNRM represents an opportunity for the Government's Department of Women's Affairs to promote equal opportunities for women, both in terms of economic activities and in power and decision-making. Practitioners should contact the Department for assistance in including women equitably in all aspects of CBNRM. Their input during the initial mobilisation stages would be particularly useful.

Monitoring on women's participation should be continued in those settlements where supporting agencies have started this process. It should also be extended to all communities. Indicators such as those developed under the "SNV CBNRM Monitoring and Evaluation System" should be used. Some are included in the appendix 2 as examples. Although not all the nuances surrounding women's ability to influence decisions can be captured, monitoring on committee membership and on attendance at meetings is of high importance. If women's participation and attendance were to drop, so would their impact on the project, however minimal it may seem. The graphs on Motokwe, Khekhenye and Tshwaane meetings (page 15) show clearly how the topic under discussion can influence attendance at meetings. This kind of information is useful when deciding what activities could interest and benefit different sectors of the community. In some instances, data are being collected without being analysed. Monitoring is a tool, not an end in itself. By identifying trends, proactive steps can be made to avoid negative impacts and enhance positive ones.

The table 5 below presents different aspects of an ideal situation for women's participation in CBNRM. It gives examples of actions that practitioners can take in trying to overcome some of the obstacles that prevent women having equitable opportunities in access to and control over natural resources in CBNRM. If some of these practical steps could be adopted as project objectives, the participation of women in CBNRM should improve.

Table 5: A Regime for Achieving Equitable Participation

<b>Elements of an Ideal Situation</b>	<b>Practical Steps towards Achieving Equitable Participation</b>
<i>Policy Framework</i>	
CBNRM takes place in a framework of policy sensitive to the need for equity for women.	The CBNRM Policy should specifically use phrases such as "men and women of all ethnic groups" instead of "community members".
Government actively supports communities in achieving equity for women.	The Women's Affairs Department should be involved in community mobilisation.
<i>Access to Resources</i>	
Projects are developed in a way that includes women's resources and skills.	Wherever possible, projects should include cultural tourism, craft production and the sustainable harvesting of veld products.
CBNRM is centred on activities that involve a large number of individual community members. Community involvement in projects using high value resources (such as wildlife) moves beyond deciding whom to sell rights to. Instead, community members run their own operations using these resources.	The community should be an active partner in any joint ventures, so that jobs are secured at all levels. Contracts with safari operators should stipulate the training and hiring of community members for all levels of jobs. Most of the "women's" jobs (cooking, waitering, cleaning) require only on-the-job training, and women should be hired locally for these positions. Sub-projects using different resources and based on interest groups are started.
Jobs related to high value resources are made available to women.	Ways of involving women in wildlife monitoring and guiding must be found. Initially different categories of safari guides could be established, with women first focusing on plants.
In tourist areas, communities are actively involved in cultural tourism.	Women are hired to do traditional singing and dancing performances. Communities develop cultural villages where women have the opportunity to show their traditional activities, and make and sell crafts.
CBNRM allows returns to be made to the individual level as well as to the community level.	CBNRM projects include opportunities for individuals to sell items, and for wage employment.
An environment conducive to equal participation of women in training and capacity building exists.	Equal numbers of men and women attend training courses. Training takes into consideration women's mothering and household responsibilities. It is either conducted in the home settlement, or women are helped to find ways of having these responsibilities met in their absence.
<i>Control Over Resources</i>	
Women's views are heard in community level meetings.	Women meet before kgotla meetings to arrive at a common position, which can then be voiced by a strong speaker. At these women's meetings, the views of female-headed households are consciously sought and taken into consideration. Other venues for group meetings could be considered, such as community halls and schools.
Equal representation of women is mandatory on the executive bodies of CBOs based on the whole community.	Constitutions are developed or amended to stipulate equal numbers of representatives. Representation should also follow wards or family groups. This way poorer sections of the community, that include female-headed households, are also able to participate. Arrangements must be made for women committee members when meetings are held outside the village.
Supporting agencies actively support equity for women in CBNRM.	Monitoring and evaluation of women's participation in various aspects of CBNRM must be done. This information should be used to check that women are as involved as men. If trends show that women's participation is slow in reaching equitable participation, or has dropped, the cause should be found and if necessary, steps must be taken to make it easier for women to participate.
Women are equitably involved in managing resources.	In projects involving the whole community, equal numbers of resource monitors are hired. Women should be given those tasks that require less time away from their village. In veld products projects where participation is based on individual membership, women should be hired as monitors, as veld products are "women's" resources.

# Appendices

# Appendix 1

Below is a list of most of the communities currently involved in a CBNRM project. The table lists the name of the organisation that runs the project for those communities. Membership in these organisations either automatically includes all the community members of the participating villages, or is based on interest and is voluntary. The activities done by the project are divided into those that use resources which are traditionally seen as women's resources, those using traditionally "men's" resources, and those that use resources that are shared, or non-traditional.

## CBNRM Activities in Botswana

Community	Organisation and membership	Activities based on traditionally "female" resources	Activities based on traditionally "male" resources	Activities based on shared or new resources and ideas
Xai-Xai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Craft production</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subsistence hunting</li> <li>Selling hunting quota to safari operator</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Village shop</li> <li>Cultural tourism</li> </ul>
Khwai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Khwai Community Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling thatching grass</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subsistence hunting</li> <li>Selling hunting quota to safari operator</li> </ul>	
Seronga, Beetsha, Eretsha, Gudigwa, Gunitshoga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Okavango Community Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling hunting quota to safari operator</li> </ul>	
Seronga, Gunitshoga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Okavango Polers Trust</li> <li>Interested individuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Traditional dancing</li> <li>Craft production</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mokoro trails</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Campsite</li> </ul>
Gumare, Danega, Nokaneng	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ngwao Boswa Women's Co-op</li> <li>Interested individuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basket making</li> </ul>		
Ditshipi, Daonara, Quxao, Boro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Okavango Kopano Mokoro Community Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling thatching grass</li> <li>Selling reeds</li> <li>Basket making</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling hunting quota to safari operator</li> <li>Selling fish</li> <li>Mokoro trails</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Campsite</li> </ul>
Shorobe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bokomoso Women's Co-op</li> <li>Interested individuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basket making</li> </ul>		
Sankuyo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling thatching grass</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling hunting quota to safari operator</li> <li>Subsistence hunting</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Campsite</li> <li>Traditional village</li> </ul>
Mababe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mababe Zukutshan Community Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling hunting quota to safari operator</li> <li>Subsistence hunting</li> </ul>	
Kaputura, Ngarange, Sekondomboro, Ncoagom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Teemashane Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cultural tourism</li> </ul>
Qangwa, Dobe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>NG 3 Community Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subsistence hunting</li> </ul>	
Parakurungu, Satau, Kachikau, Kavimba, Mabele	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling hunting quota to safari operator</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Campsite</li> <li>Brick making</li> </ul>

<b>Community</b>	<b>Organisation and membership</b>	<b>Activities based on traditionally “female” resources</b>	<b>Activities based on traditionally “male” resources</b>	<b>Activities based on shared or new resources and ideas</b>
Parakurungu, Satau, Kachikau, Kavimba, Mabele	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Katchiempati Women Basket Weavers</li> <li>Interested Individuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basket making</li> </ul>		
Kazungula, Lesoma, Pandamatenga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kalepa Conservation Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling hunting quota to safari operator</li> </ul>	
Nata, Sepako, Maposa, Manxotae	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nata Sanctuary</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Craft production</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Campsite</li> </ul>
Gweta, Zoroga, Tshokotshaa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gwezotshaa Natural Resources Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Marula harvesting and processing</li> </ul>		
Mothlabaneng, Lentswelemoriti, Mathatha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Molema Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Game ranching</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Campsite</li> </ul>
Tswapong Hill villages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kgetsi Ya Tsie (micro-lending scheme)</li> <li>Interested individuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling phane worm</li> <li>Selling thatching grass</li> <li>Making and selling marula jam</li> <li>Pottery</li> </ul>		
Moremi, Leboana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Moremi Manonnye Conservation Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cultural tourism</li> </ul>
Palapye	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bokomoso Women's Co-op</li> <li>Interested individuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Processing marula fruit</li> </ul>		
Mmatshumo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gaing-o Community Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Craft Production</li> <li>Selling firewood</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Photographic tourism</li> </ul>
Ukhwi, Ncaang, Ngwatle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Craft production</li> <li>Selling veld products</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling hunting quota to safari operator</li> <li>Subsistence hunting</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Campsite</li> </ul>
Zutshwa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maiteko Tshwaragano Development Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Craft production</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subsistence hunting</li> <li>Selling salt</li> </ul>	
Inalegolo, Khokhotsha, Phuduhudu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Koinaphu Community Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selling veld products</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subsistence hunting</li> </ul>	
Khawa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Khawa Kopanelo Development Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subsistence hunting</li> </ul>	
Lehututu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lehututu Community Conservation Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Woodlot</li> </ul>
Groot Laagte, Qabo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Huiku Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Craft production</li> <li>Selling veld products</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subsistence hunting</li> </ul>	
East Hanahai, West Hanahai, Kgacae	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Xwiskurusa Community Trust</li> <li>All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Craft production</li> <li>Selling veld products</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subsistence hunting</li> </ul>	

<b>Community</b>	<b>Organisation and membership</b>	<b>Activities based on traditionally “female” resources</b>	<b>Activities based on traditionally “male” resources</b>	<b>Activities based on shared or new resources and ideas</b>
Chobokwane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chobokwane Community Trust</li> <li>• All community members</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campsite</li> </ul>
D'kar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• D'kar Community Trust</li> <li>• All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Craft production</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Game farm</li> </ul>	
New Xade (Kgoesakini)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kgoesakini Management Trust</li> <li>• All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Craft production</li> <li>• Selling veld products</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subsistence hunting</li> </ul>	
Diphuduhudu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ita Xhanaan Trust</li> <li>• All community members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Selling veld products</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural tourism</li> </ul>
Molengwane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ikemeleng Producers Co-op</li> <li>• Interested individuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultivating veld products for sale</li> </ul>		
Kaudwane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kuangoo Management Trust</li> <li>• All community members</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wildlife utilisation</li> </ul>	
Tshwaane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maiteko Dibapalwanageng</li> <li>• Interested individuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Selling veld products</li> </ul>		
Khekhenye	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Itekeng Khekhenye</li> <li>• Interested individuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Selling veld products</li> </ul>		
Motokwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kgobokanyo Group</li> <li>• Interested individuals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Selling veld products</li> </ul>		

## Appendix 2

The table below is taken from the monitoring and evaluation programme drawn up for SNV to use in its CBNRM projects. It provides an example of some of the indicators that can be used to check whether women are equitably participating in different aspects of CBNRM. Practitioners may have to modify this list to suit different projects. For instance, the topics could be modified to suit categories that are more important to a particular community. The indicators could be expanded on, and some that are inappropriate could be dropped.

The table originally included other subsets that occur in the community – such as ethnic groups. If practitioners want to make sure that the involvement of all parts of the community is monitored, they should add other columns for these subsets.

Monitoring must be done at regular intervals such as quarterly, so that changes in the information can be measured.

### Indicators for Monitoring the Participation of Women

TOPIC	INDICATORS	Total	Women
<b>Income Generation</b>	No. of people with full-time jobs		
	Ave. annual pay (full-time)		
	No. of people with part-time jobs		
	Ave. annual pay (part-time)		
	No. of people doing piece work		
	Ave. annual pay (piece work)		
	No. of people selling crafts		
	Ave. monthly income/craft-maker		
<b>Transfer of management</b>	No. of people selling veld products		
	Ave. monthly income/v.p. seller		
	No. of people with veld product permits		
	No. of people with share of hunting quota		
	No. of people who are members of the CBO		
	No. of people on committee/board of Trust		
	Ave. no. of people voting for CBO committee members		
<b>Capacity-building</b>	Ave. no. of people attending meetings about the project		
	Ave. no of people actively participating in meetings about the project		
	No. of administrative employees		
	No. of "managerial" employees		
	No. of unskilled employees		
	No. of employees using traditional skills		
	No. of people attending training courses		
No. of people receiving on the job training			
No. of people visiting other projects			

Adapted from Cassidy, 1997b.

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