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WOMEN'S NEEDS IN CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS:

THE CASE OF BWINDI FOREST (UGANDA)

A Research Paper presented by

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Dedication

This piece of work is dedicated to you my children
Yvonne Namara and **Roger Isingoma** in recognition of
what you went through during our long separation.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to the Dutch Government for having financed this course.

To my partner Pathias I say I will always be grateful to you for the double multiple roles that you assumed while I was away.

Many thanks to the staff of ISS for having tried to make my stay in the Netherlands tolerable.

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To Wicky Meynen my first supervisor I am very grateful for your guidance and insistence on perfection. I have learnt a great deal from your constructive criticism.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
List of Figure.....	v
List of Tables.....	v
Abbreviations Used in the paper.....	vi
CHAPTER ONE	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Problem Statement.....	2
1.2 Location of Study Area.....	5
1.3 Objectives of Study.....	7
1.4 Research Questions.....	7
1.5 Methodology.....	7
1.6 Sources of Data.....	8
1.7 Justification of the Study.....	9
1.8 Scope and limitations of this paper.....	9
1.9 Organisation of the paper.....	10
CHAPTER TWO	
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	11
2.1 Forms of Incorporation into the Capitalist Economy.....	11
2.2 Commoditisation and Appropriation of Communal Resources.....	11
2.3 Socially Differentiated Effects Of Natural Resource Decline.....	13
2.4 Gender.....	16
2.5 Household.....	16
2.6 Sexual Division of Labour (SDOL).....	18
2.7 Gender Division Of Resources (GDOR).....	19
2.71 Land and Tree Ownership and Control.....	20
CHAPTER THREE	
3. THE PRE-EXISTING CONTEXT TO INTERVENTION.....	24
3.1 The Pre-Colonial Setting.....	24
3.2 Colonial Roots of Social Differentiation.....	25
3.3 Post-Colonial Government Policies.....	28
3.31 Post-Colonial Land Policies in Kigezi.....	28
3.32 Post-Colonial Government Policies on Labour..	30
3.4 Ethnic Differentiation Among The Communities Around Bwindi Forest.....	31
CHAPTER FOUR	
4. BWINDI FOREST, THE INCEPTION OF THE 'DEVELOPMENT THROUGH CONSERVATION PROJECT AND THE DESIGNATION OF BWINDI IMPENETRABLE NATIONAL PARK.....	35
4.1 The 'Development Through Conservation' (DTC) Project.....	35
4.11 Origin.....	35
4.2 Bwindi Forest Reserve and The Designation Of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BIMP) ..	37
4.21 The Park-People Relations.....	39
4.3 Activities of the DTC After Creation of The National Park.....	40

4.4	DTC and Women.....	45
<hr/>		
CHAPTER FIVE		
5.	THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SETTING AND THE IMPACT OF INTERVENTIONS.....	47
5.1	The present Gender Division of Labour.....	47
5.2	Livelihood Opportunities.....	49
5.3	Impact of National Park Formation on Resource Management.....	52
5.31	Animal Resources.....	53
5.32	Plant Resources.....	53
5.33	Mining and Prospecting.....	54
5.4	Effects of National Park Formation on Women's Labour.....	54
5.5	The Impact of the DTC on Resource Control....	55
<hr/>		
CHAPTER SIX		
6.	PROPOSALS FOR THE WAY FORWARD.....	60
6.1	The Need to Empower Local Communities.....	60
6.2	Women's Control of Productive Resources.....	62
6.3	Addressing Class Differences in Resource Access.....	64
6.4	The Batwa Issue.....	64
6.5	Conclusion.....	65
<hr/>		
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		66

List of Figures:

Figure one: Location of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in Uganda (Page:6)

Figure Two: The DTC 'Sustainable Development Area' (Page:41)

Priority ranking of economic activities in study area (Page:51)

List of Tables:

Table one: Time allocation between men and women in communities around Bwindi forest (page:48)

Table Two: Number of economic activities engaged in by male and female heads of households (page:50)

Table Three: Income sources available for male and female heads of households (page:51)

Table Four: Status of Household financial Position in the previous five years (page:52)

Table Five: Members of Households selling and deciding on proceeds from farm production (page:56)

and the relationship between the two. The following section describes the data collection and analysis procedures.

Two groups of subjects were recruited for this study. The first group was a group of 10 university students (5 males, 5 females) who were asked to perform a task involving a computer keyboard.

The second group was a group of 10 university students (5 males, 5 females) who were asked to perform a task involving a computer mouse.

Each subject was asked to perform a task involving a computer keyboard or computer mouse. The task involved a series of 100 key presses or mouse clicks, each followed by a short pause.

The subjects were asked to perform the task as quickly and accurately as possible. The subjects were asked to perform the task in a seated position, with their hands resting on the keyboard or mouse.

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vi
Abbreviations Used in the paper

BINP	Bwindi Impenetrable National Park
CPRs	Communal Property Resources
DTC	Development Through Conservation
FD	Forest Department
FHH	Female Headed/heads of Households
GDOR	Gender Division of Resources
GR	Game Reserve
ICDP(s)	Integrated Conservation and Development Project(s)
ICNP	International Commission on National Parks
IUCN	International Union of Conservation Natural Resources (not sure!)
MISR	Makerere Institute of Social Research
MUIENR	Makerere University Institute of Environment and Natural Resources
MHH	Male Headed/heads of Households
NEAP	National Environment Action Plan
NP	National Park
PA(s)	Protected Area(s)
SDOL	Sexual Division of Labour
UNP	Uganda National Parks

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

That there should be a balance between the needs of nature conservation and the needs of people is now widely recognised and accepted by conservationists. This gradual recognition has come about as a result of increased and persistent amount of pressure of people on protected natural resources. The positive result of this process has been a recognition among nature conservationists that the success of protecting reserves/park areas depends ultimately on the support of the people that are directly affected by them (Kamstra, 1994). As such in Uganda strategies have been laid by both government and international environmental conservation organisations to ensure that the local people not only participate in managing the protection of these reserves but also share the benefits accruing from there.

"Community conservation" of protected areas (PAs) has become an important objective for the current conservation policies in Uganda. A number of projects are in place in buffer zones of major national parks which try to link conservation efforts to improvement of the local socio-economic situation. One such initiative is currently being implemented among the communities around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in the extreme southwest of the country. The initiative is a CARE¹ implemented 'Development Through Conservation' (DTC) Project.

The conservation circles are presently divided into two approaches to protected area (PA) management. These approaches have a bearing on the kind of policies that are put in place. Kamugisha et. al. (1994) has characterised the two approaches as, a) the conventional isolationist approach; and b) an approach which aims at putting parks under local popular control.

The former approach is characterised by "policing and patrolling" which condition the park-people relations. The justification of this approach hinges on the right of all forms of nature to exist and the "utilitarian potential of bio-diversity" (Kamugisha et, al. 1994:18).

¹ I have been informed that 'CARE' stands for 'Caring Americans for Relief Emergencies'. CARE was conceived after World War II and used to give relief packages to soldiers. Presently CARE is an international organisation working in many northern and southern countries.

The latter approach, which is utilised by Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) like the CARE-DTC project being implemented in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (Uganda), which is the subject of this study, is still in pilot project form by different implementors among communities surrounding some of the major national parks in Uganda. The argument for the need for collaboration between conservation authorities and local communities hinges on the argument that confrontational attitudes sharpen local resentment towards wild life since these people feel that wildlife is more valued than human beings. Since it has been proved that the confrontational management approach has failed to secure wildlife protection, efforts have been invested into transforming the local people into protectors of parks and reserves (Kamugisha et. al. 1994). Rhetoric statements like "community conservation" or "neighbours as partners" have been used to describe this approach. Ideally local communities are not only expected to participate in management of the PA but they are also encouraged to use resources sustainably and even share in the economic benefits accruing from the PA. Involvement of local people in protected area management can either be in the form of revenue sharing or reducing peoples dependency on the PA by providing them with alternative forms of livelihood ie diverting their interest in the protected area. This loosely describes the idea behind Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs). The "diversion" of interest' (Kamugisha et. al. (1994:19) approach may entail provision of social services, agricultural inputs and extension services to improve and diversify production outside the protected area thus minimising the need for encroachment on the protected area. In sum, the principle strategy of Integrated Conservation and Development Programs is to conserve natural resources through the alleviation of poverty among resource users. This is implemented by stimulating development activities to better and diversify people's livelihood opportunities. Since it is assumed by conservationists that people are forced to utilise resources unsustainably due to lack of livelihood options, policies and activities aimed at reduction of poverty through improved income levels, nutrition, health care and education are implemented to reverse the trend.

1.1 Problem Statement

The assumption that poverty forces people to engage in unsustainable resource management has been criticised because it "fails to demonstrate the significance of social relations other than class to environmentally damaging behaviour and thereby challenge the simplistic explanation of poverty as a

single cause of degradation" (Jackson, 1994 -citing Blaize 1985)²

This paper examines two major interventions that have been implemented among the communities living around one of Uganda's forests, Bwindi in the southwest. The two interventions are the CARE "Development Through Conservation" (DTC) Project introduced in 1988 and transformation of Bwindi forest reserve into Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) in 1991. I intend to examine how these transformations have impacted on the communities with special reference to the issues of gender and environment, class and ethnicity which I consider as the main differentiating factors in among the local population. Both events are used here as cases in point; as major landmarks in the transformation process of the area because they are bound to have far reaching impact on issues of people's resource access and control. But history of the processes that have influenced resource management in the area goes back to the pre-colonial era as chapter three will show.

While appropriation of formerly communal resources by the state for strict conservation may have an effect on all the local community, the effects of the ensuing decline in resource availability may be more severe on the underprivileged sections of society: the poor, the minority ethnic groups, the women whose access to privatised productive resources has always been determined through dependency or exploitative relationships with the privileged sections in society. This is because of their heavy dependence on communal resources which provide access not undefined by dependency/exploitative relationships. The conservation lobby thus needs to analyze the social relations governing resource access of different sections of the community before they decide to appropriate what used to be communal resources out of the reach of the underprivileged. Failure to do such an analysis results in a situation where the overall goals of environmental conservation are undermined if the limited resources remaining at the disposal of the people are over exploited. This not only undermines the conservation goals, but creates a situation of continuous conflict over resources between the people and the state while at the same time greatly making life intolerable for the poor, the women and the minority groups.

Gianotten, et. al. (1994) cautions of the likelihood of development projects to affect negatively the gender division of labour, of access and control of resources, of decision making power, and of benefits and warns against

² Blaize, P. 1985. The Political Economy of Soil Erosion in Developing Countries Longman. London.

development workers and planners overlooking gender differences in project planning which leads to failure in responding to women's needs and can lead to negative consequences on women. It is wrong to assume that ensuring 'the community' derives benefits will automatically lead to women's and men's interest in preserving the resource. We need to critically see how people's, particularly women's livelihood opportunities may be affected and who is actually more likely to reap the benefits. Are women's livelihoods (married, single, female heads of households) being considered autonomously, or are they being dominated by male needs and interests?

There is need for projects like the CARE-DTC one to carry out a gender analysis among the communities in their project areas if they are to effectively benefit the whole community. According to Slayter et. al. (1991) a gender analysis in such a case aims at understanding women's and men's land use, farming systems and potential forest uses. Questions like: Has the project taken into account the different activities carried out by men and women, and the differences in access and control of resources and constraints ie who has access over resources including human resources (education, knowledge, time, mobility, energy) and how do the constraints that men and women face differ? Thirdly the issue of benefits - who is more likely to benefit from production that the project is enhancing or control the income that is generated? What are the incentives and who receives them? A gender analysis, in short, "addresses the division of rights, responsibilities, resources and knowledge between men and women, and that "women's issues" cannot be addressed without this broader focus" (Muirragui & Anderson, 1995:14). In this study, these same questions can be asked in analyses based on class and ethnic differentiation, ie what I would call class and ethnicity analyses.

With the prevalent feminisation of farming³ in rural Uganda and more particularly in South Western Uganda (whereby men have either migrated for paid employment purposes or involved in off-farm activities) women are heavily involved in protecting the environment especially the fight against soil erosion. But the question is, do development implementors consult them about

³ This expression is here used loosely to describe a situation in rural Uganda where women predominate in agricultural production because men have either migrated to search for other income opportunities or they have not migrated but are involved in non-farm income generating activities for a larger part of their time. It is not intended to paint a picture of complete non-participation of men in farming.

their activities as women or is it the men who are consulted? This issue is important because it is questionable whether men are able to accurately describe activities in which they do not participate.

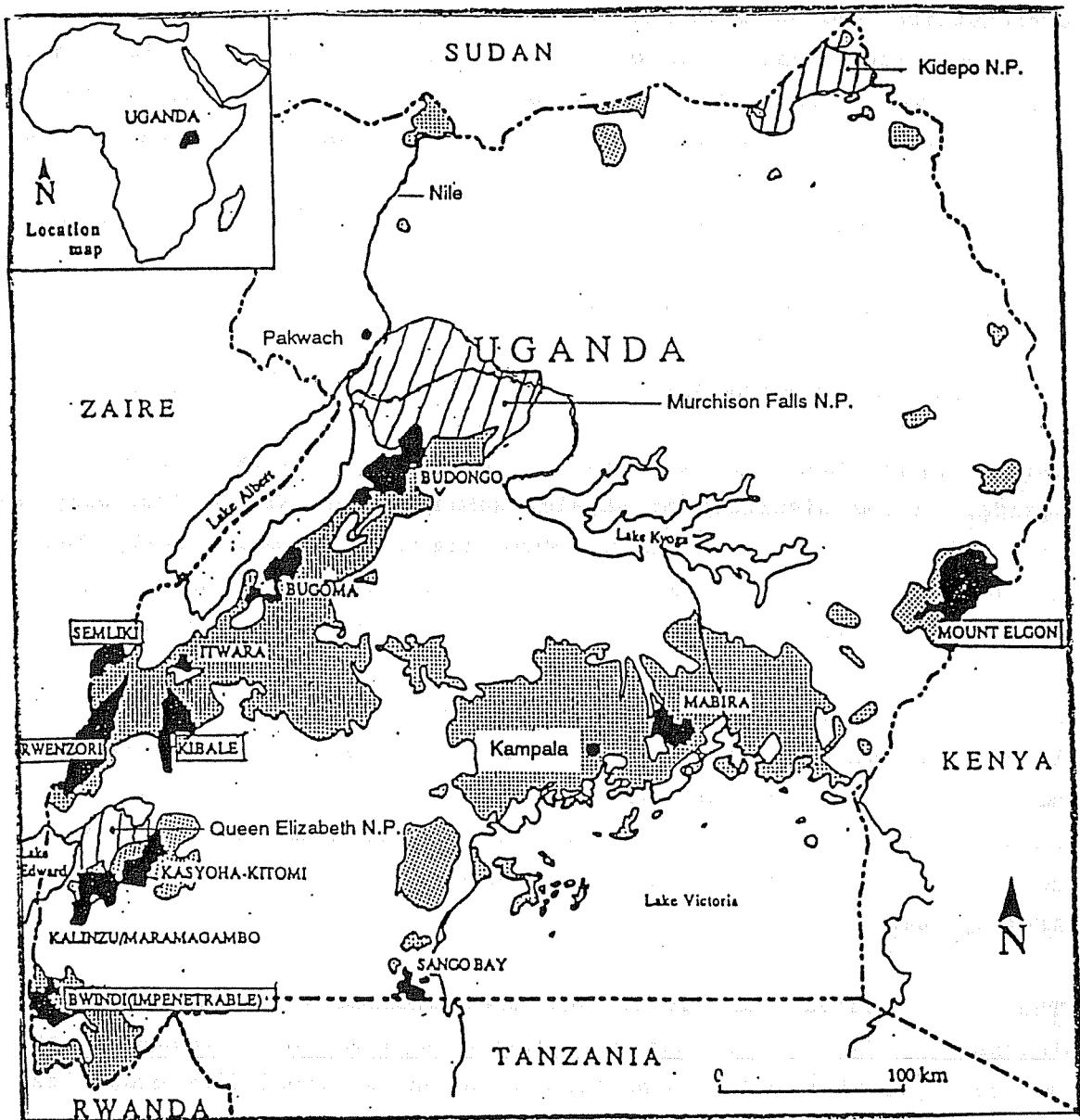
Conservation and Development projects/programs need to focus on gender relations within their areas of operation because it is now a widely accepted fact at governmental and international levels that "development is not gender neutral" (Agarwal 1994:1456). If any development project in Uganda assumes a gender neutral form of development, it will effectively be neglecting the needs and priorities of a significant 50% of the population who also happen to contribute 80% of subsistence and about 50% of labour in the cash economy (Uganda Agricultural Census, 1989 cited in Sebina-Zziwa 1995).

1.2 Location of Study Area

Bwindi Impenetrable National Park is located in the extreme South-West of Uganda, in the districts of Kabale, Rukungiri and Kisoro (formerly Kigezi District) in Rubanda, Kinkizi and Bufumbira counties respectively. The Forest is about 321 sq. km. Together with Echuya Forest (approx. 33 sq.km.) and Mugahinga Forest (34 sq.km.) the three are some of the remaining natural forests in Uganda. Bwindi Impenetrable National Park was gazetted in Aug. 1991. Prior to this it was first protected as a forest reserve in 1932 and later as a game sanctuary in 1961. The three forests have been ranked as the most important and biologically diverse habitats in Africa. Actually it is said that half of the worlds population of the mountain gorilla live in Bwindi forest (Butynski, (n.d) cited in The conservation Atlas of Tropical Forests: AFRICA, IUCN).

The land outside the forest has been cleared of trees and cultivated intensively due to the high and growing population. According to the 1991 Uganda Population and Housing Census the annual population growth rate was 2.7% and density stood at 230 persons/sq.km. Kisoro District had the highest density of 301 persons/sq.km, Kabale at 246 persons/sq.km and Rukungiri District at 151 persons/sq.km. The studies on whose data this paper draws were carried out among the communities within 4-5 km. from the forest edge. This is all around the forest in the area that the 'Development Through Conservation' Project (DTC) is working or the "sustainable development area" as the DTC calls it. This means that communities discussed fall in all the three districts.

FIGURE ONE: LOCATION OF BWINDI IMPENETRABLE NATIONAL PARK IN UGANDA



Source: Extracted from Kamstra, Jan. 1994 Protected Areas- Towards a participatory approach. Netherlands Committee in Natural Resource Tenure.

1.3 Objectives of Study

The objectives of this study are thus;

1. To analyze from a gender/class/ethnic background perspective the differentiated impact of the creation of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park and The CARE 'Development Through Conservation' (DTC) project, on the livelihood opportunities of the people ie to assess how the different groups of people have been/will be affected by the activities/aims of these two major interventions. I however give a special emphasis to gender.
2. To make policy recommendations to government and environmental organisations in Uganda in order to make similar interventions in future more responsive to the needs of all people in the communities irrespective of the various social differences.

1.4 Research Questions

The above objectives will be realised through answering the following research questions;

1. What was the pre-existing situation in terms of men and women's, different classes', different ethnic groups' livelihood opportunities before the interventions?
2. What are the main project interventions and who are the target population? And, insofar as social relations are concerned, what is the impact of these interventions?
3. How can the management of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park and DTC project approach be modified /changed to ensure that the whole community benefits?

1.5 Methodology

This paper is an impact study. The method used here will be an examination of the situation of the study area in terms peoples access, control and use of natural resources before the introduction of the two major interventions ie the introduction of The CARE implemented 'Development Through Conservation'

(DTC) Project in 1988 and the transformation of Bwindi Forest Reserve into Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) in 1991. A gender/class/ethnicity analysis will be applied to gauge the likely influence upon social relations that approaches assumed by the two interventions in addressing issues of people's livelihood within the communities of their operation may have. By gender analysis I imply " a framework for understanding social relations through a lens of gender identities" (Jackson, 1994:114) which Jackson recommends as a preferable route to understanding the interactions of gender relations and environmental issues.

A gender analysis emphasises the importance of analysing women as well as men, in relation to each other rather than in isolation, and understanding gender relations at all levels of social organisation (Jackson 1994:115)

Leach (1991:15) also highlights the need to apply gender analysis to environmental concerns as a more critical approach.

1.6 Sources of Data

Secondary data are used in this study from the Makerere Institute of social Research -Land Access Project. These data were collected as part of the project research on Buffer Zone Management in Uganda carried out in communities around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in 1992. This study was essentially not gender oriented in terms of the kind of issues investigated. But the data collected has aspects from which gender implications could be drawn. Among the sample of 402 households were some Female headed households (FHH)(n=41). Where need was, a comparative analysis was made between female and male headed households. This was supplemented by secondary data from another study (Kamugisha et al. 1994) carried out in the same area about the contradictions inherent in attempts to reconcile conservation and livelihoods as the DTC project is trying to do. Other reports which have been written about the issue of community participation in Uganda or reports written about other aspects of the area of study especially studies that have tackled the existing gender/class/ethnic division of labour and resources were of great help. Other material written on the issue of women and resource tenure and environment in general were consulted from the ISS library, and the African Studies Centre in Leiden.

1.7 Justification of the Study

A review of the National Environment Action Plan (NEAP) in Uganda (Russo, 1993) revealed that full inclusion of gender issues into the NEAP process had not occurred because staff lacked the background information to understand the linkages between society and ecology and the potential benefits that result from full participation of both men and women in solving environmental problems. The major premise of most studies done on the issues of women and the environment is usually to justify the use of women's labour to serve environmental goals. This tends to instrumentalise women's labour. My study on the other hand is different because it takes as its central concern women's livelihood and as far as I am concerned, the environment should be protected to serve people. A realisation that ecological questions need to be considered in conjunction with socio-economic ones has to be made. A recent USAID study observed that despite the large numbers of research institutions, NGOs, and international funding, "social economic analysis of environmental issues remains insufficient, and gender analysis practically non existent" (Muirragui & Anderson, 1995:3).

There is a serious shortage of gender desegregated data on environmental practices and natural resource use. It is unfortunate that an important process like the NEAP had to "rely on assumptions based on apparent truths regarding gender roles in Uganda and experiences and research from other African Countries" (Russo, 1993:12). Policy makers and researchers need to engender all aspects of natural resource management, more so in programmes which determine the livelihood of local communities.

Currently there is a move in the conservation circles in Uganda to implement community participation programmes in managing natural resources around all major protected areas in Uganda. But in Uganda there has been no analysis done to determine the likely effects of these developments on different strata of people in society particularly between men and women. My paper aims at triggering policy makers and researchers in Uganda to look into the need to engender all aspects of natural resource management, more so in programmes which determine the livelihood of local communities.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of this paper

Little has been done on the subject of gender and natural resource use and access in Uganda. Even less has been done in gender and resource access and

use in the context of implementation of conservation projects. As such there was not much to refer to in the Ugandan context. The studies referred to from Uganda were not particularly gender oriented and this made it difficult for me to "read gender into or out" of them. Another hindrance of this study was the reluctance of CARE-Uganda to release to me vital information on the DTC project. As such the information used could have been richer if CARE had facilitated it. In the analysis of ethnicity issues, it was difficult to analyze the situation of one of the ethnic groups (the Batwa) because all previous studies said little about them and even that little analysed them as a homogenous group. The most likely reason for this is because this is a minority group in the area. Reliance on secondary data also was a limitation because some of the issues that would have been of importance to this study were not covered in the data.

1.9 Organisation of the paper

After the introduction which also lays out the objectives and research questions which the paper is meant to answer, the second chapter of my paper lays out an outline of the theories that form the basis of the paper as well as the concepts that are crucial to the analysis. In order to gauge the impact of the creation of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park and the DTC project on the production and gender relations in its area of operation, chapter three will first give a historical perspective to the situation prior to the project era in terms of men and women's roles in resource use, social relations of production, and the role of Bwindi forest as a source of various resources. Chapter four will describe the two major interventions ie the government closure of the forest from community access by creation of the national park the introduction of the DTC project, giving a historical description of how and why the two interventions came into existence, what their objectives, activities and approaches are. Chapter five will attempt a discussion of the impact of the interventions, gauging from their activities and approaches, on the pre-existing gender and production relations, who is likely to benefit or lose out based on the assumptions of the project implementors. I will then conclude by giving proposals for future action in chapter six.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Forms of Incorporation into The Capitalist Economy

Developing countries are incorporated into international capitalism in different forms at different historical times as dictated by the specific requirements of the dominant nations/agencies in the international economy. A country may at different historical periods be incorporated as source of raw materials, a market for goods from the core countries or as source of cheap labour or two to three of these simultaneously (Deere, et. al. 1980:88). In the same manner, different regions within peripheral countries are incorporated into the national economy (dictated by interaction of dominant interests of the international and national economies) in different forms. Thus in colonial Uganda the central region was integrated as a cash crop growing area (due partly to its fertile soils and favourable climate), while the north and west were integrated mainly as labour reserves for the cash based economy of central Uganda.

The manner in which regions within peripheral countries are integrated into the national economies affects relations of production and their economic and social institutions eg land tenure and processes of production that link the household to the national economy (Deere, et. al. 1980:91). A good example is landless households which may be forced into dependent relations in order to acquire usufruct of land by providing their labour to be appropriated by land owners as is the case with the Batwa in South Western Uganda. Land owning household on the other hand may provide cheap commodities eg food for the expanding urban areas as most peasants in south western Uganda do. The surplus value of these cheap commodities is however appropriated by business people who have the means of transport to urban areas.

2.2 Commoditisation and Appropriation of Communal Resources

The penetration of capital into agriculture in rural areas in Uganda has gone hand in hand with the change in land tenure from communal tenure characterised by usufruct rights to "individualisation" of land across generations and eventually to its privatisation (Mamdani, 1992).

The post colonial era in Uganda has seen an increase in the privatisation of communal resources. Resources previously administered by and for the benefit

of whole community have been privatised by rich individuals to the detriment of the poor peasants. Land policies adopted by the state have only helped to further this trend. For example there has always been a tendency by government to encourage 'potential developers' to appropriate communal resources adopted in the post colonial period and this was further reinforced by the 1975 land reform decree. The decree gave all land ownership powers to the state and inhabitants became tenants on state land. But, among other things, the decree "abolished the power of the customary tenant to stand in the way of development" (Mamdani, 1992:197). This accelerated privatisation of land by capitalists and the poor peasants were slowly squeezed out.

Appropriation of CPRs can also be undertaken by the state, what Agarwal (1992) calls 'statisation' of communal resources. In such cases former communal resources are brought under the control state. One of the forms that statisation of former communal resources in Uganda has taken is the declaration of state ownership and control of large areas of forests and previous grazing and hunting areas as national parks or reserves. Under such circumstances, local populations' customary rights are limited (as in game and forest reserves), curtailed (as in the case of national parks) or no access legally granted. This does not mean that access is completely curtailed; actually illegal access by people continues and this creates tension between the state and the local people (Mamdani, 1992; Kamugisha, 1994).

This individualisation and privatisation has had the following related effects;

The creation of a land market that slowly squeezes the poor peasants off the productive land. Lack of access to sufficient land combined with population growth creates 'semi-proletarianization' of the peasantry (Deere, et. al. 1980:91) who are then forced to depend even more on the remaining communal resources or to seek off farm livelihood opportunities.

Individualisation and privatisation have a profound effect on 'common property resources' (CPRs) ie forests, grazing areas, swamps, water sources etc which are crucial for the livelihood of the poor. Appropriation of communal resources by the individuals (privatisation) and by the state (statisation) (Agarwal, 1992:129) reduces their availability to the poor and alters resource distribution. For women CPRs always provide a reliable source of livelihood that privatised resources do not guarantee, especially for rural landless or poor households. This is because CPRs are controlled by the community and all

members of the community irrespective of gender have access to the resources. This gives women access to resources "unmediated by dependence relationships on adult males" (Agarwal, 1992:137).

When communal resources are individualised, the traditional resource management strategies that the community used to maintain such resources are diminished, such resources are overexploited and environmental degradation ensues (Mamdani, 1992; Agarwal, 1992). Also another common phenomenon is that 'developers' do not necessarily change the land use patterns. The significance of owning large tracts of land could even be to gain access to capital from banks by presenting the land titles as collateral. Capital thus accessed is mostly invested in other ventures like business while the land either remains undeveloped or even sub-let to landless peasants or pastoralists as was the case in the Ankole Ranches in western Uganda. In most cases environmentally destructive practices are instituted by the private owners. In South western Uganda Swamps were reclaimed and trees cleared for diary farms and at times vegetable growing. State controlled resources (national parks/reserves, forests) were subjected to intense illegal exploitation by the local people leading to severe degradation all because the link between 'the user' and 'the owner' was broken and detached exploitation took the lead (Mamdani, 1992).

2.3 Socially Differentiated Effects of Natural Resource Decline

This paper will utilise part of the ongoing theorising in the Women, Environment and Sustainable development (WED) debate. I will however adopt the Agarwal's Feminist Environmentalism because of its emphasis on the material relations as they are structured by gender relations. Feminist Environmentalism adopts a multi faceted approach. The theory does not focus on gender alone, rather it looks at gender as 'classed' and 'ethnicised' while class and ethnicity are also 'gendered'. This is unlike the Women in Development (WID) approach which seeks to deal with women in isolation and as if they are a homogenous category.

According to the Feminist Environmentalism theory, 'the relationship between people and environment is rooted in their material reality, in their specific form of interaction with environment' (Agarwal, 1992:126). Peoples' forms of interactions with the environment, the effects of environmental change on them and their responses to it are based on unequal power structures, gender and class divisions of labour, and access to natural resources. Women develop specific and intensive knowledge about the environment because of their

primary responsibilities for their families' subsistence which makes them heavily dependent on the environment (Agarwal 1992:126). Thus "the link between women and the environment can be seen as structured by a given gender and class (caste/race) organisation of production, reproduction and distribution" (Agarwal, 1992:127).

Commodification of land and shifting of resource control from community hands to individuals and the state initiates social differentiation among communities. The effects of the resulting degradation of resources not only affect poor household much more because of their heavy reliance on communal resources, but also have differentiated effects by gender.

These processes lead to instances where, within more and more restricted boundaries, peasants may respond by intensifying production with no corresponding development of farm technology, practice repeated cultivation of the same land with no fallow periods which leads to soil deterioration (Mamdani, 1992). Another common response to diminishing access to the means of production is that more family members are forced to participate in the labour market. In the case of Southwestern Uganda male labour has always been the first to go to the wage market.

Appropriation of resources by the state and individuals also creates a situation where the poor majority are left with limited resources to subsist on. This creates a situation of 'relative-overpopulation' ie "relative to the resources that could be generated in the confines of existing social relations" (Mamdani, 1992:212). The population pressure is evident only because resources accessible to the poor as compared to total available resources are limited. Such a situation can actually induce population increases as poor peasants may be attracted to enlarge families as a source of labour to come to terms with the limited livelihood options (Mamdani, 1992; Agarwal, 1992). Increases in fertility may also be a results of girls failing to attend schools due to labour requirements in the household or even inability to meet the school fees and other requirements and these girls becoming mothers at early ages (Agarwal, 1992:134). In such cases, family planning programmes which some sections of the sustainable development activists advocate may not be the answer to the problem because overpopulation only exacerbates the situation without being the cause.

Environmental degradation also has specific effects on women and female children in poor household- what Agarwal (1992:136) calls the "class-gender

effects" ie "gender effects mediated by class" (Agarwal, 1992:137). Agarwal gives the following as the reasons for these specific effects on women;

Firstly, the pre-existing gender division of labour allocate to women a lion's share of the subsistence responsibilities of the household and at times women may also act as providers of the households in female headed households (FHH) (Agarwal, 1992:137). FHH can be defacto or de jure. De facto FHH include households whose male head has migrated to employment purposes and those in polygamous situations where the wife heads a house alternatively or even all the time in the absence of the husband. De jure FHH are those legally recognised as headed by females such as women never married, widows, and divorcees.

Secondly and in the rural Indian context, there is asymmetric distribution of resources within households (food, health care) to the disadvantage of female members of the households. This disadvantage is worsened when such resources become scarce.

Thirdly, there already exists an unequal distribution of access to critical productive resources against women in rural economies. Environmental degradation and decreased access makes women's access to these resources even more bleak. While some men can engage in off farm occupations, women's lack of formal training and thus their occupational immobility which, when coupled with immobility imposed by their reproductive responsibilities, further incapacitates them from engaging in off farm occupations (Agarwal, 1992:137). But the extent to which reproductive responsibilities of women determine their occupational mobility is socially differentiated. The differentiation is a result of access to productive resources which determines the range of activities that individual women can engage in. Thus class differentiation of peasant households also determines the rigidity of the sexual division of labour within those households (Deere, et. al. 1980:102).

The class gender effects of environmental degradation are epitomized in the form of reduced crop yields due to limited time spent on farming and thus reduced incomes from farming; reduced nutrition levels and poor health and above all increased labour time of women needed to procure subsistence resources like food, fuel wood, and water. This is because of gender ideologies which determine the sexual division of labour not only at household level, but also at community level.

Next I shall briefly conceptualise gender, the household and the sexual division of labour (SDOL) and the gender division of resources (GDOR) which is a direct result of SDOL and gender ideologies that map out women's basic roles and rights in society. I feel that these concepts are central to my discussion in the paper.

2.4 Gender

Gender is a social construct that determines "culturally legitimised ways of defining women and men in a particular historical period" (Davison, 1988:137) and the definitions given also determine a given society's sexual division of labour and opportunities. For example the colonial economy in Uganda defined cash crops as 'male crops' because they were exclusively grown to procure cash to pay taxes which only men were required to pay while food crops became 'female crops' because it was women's responsibility to feed their families (Mamdani, 1992). And even when women labour was heavily involved in the production of cash crops, it was the men who were expected to sell the crop and to whom all proceeds went. Most agricultural extension services also tend to be influenced by gender ideologies eg by targeting males who are 'the farmers' and by passing women even if they may be the ones actually doing the farming.

The concept of gender is important for my analysis because it not only enables me to determine some of the relations which govern access and use of resources at household level, but also at community level. At community level, the concept of gender is important to my analysis because access to and control of resources which are procured from outside the household is determined by gender in conjunction with other factors like age and class and ethnicity. For example gender is an important determinant of control and access to common resources. Gender in conjunction with class and ethnicity at community level determine whose views govern community operations like appropriation of communal property resources ie the decision making power within the community.

2.5 Household

Has been defined as "a number of individuals who live together and provide the basic needs for themselves, their children and relevant others" (Young, 1993:117) though Young points out that there are many other factors than the above that determine the composition of a household like rules of marriage and inheritance, class and availability of housing. The assumption that all

households have a single authority—the household head (usually a male)— and that this head is the reference person is common (Young, 1993:117).

The concept of the household is very vital for this discussion because the household is still the major unit of analysis in development thought. The paper argues that the household needs to be de-constructed as a unit of analysis and we need to look at what makes up the households: individuals and what relations obtain between them. There is a belief among development planners in the household as "a unit of congruent interests and preferences, among whose members the benefits of available resources are shared equitably, irrespective of gender" (Agarwal, 1994:1456). Assuming a single head makes that person a reference person whose economic activity is taken to be the economic activity of the 'household'. But the head will certainly not know of or even effectively describe activities of other household members that he is not involved in and these eventually get 'invisibilised' and consequently they will not be taken into account in development plans.

Approaches to rural development that assume a single [male] headed household model in which "labour is available 'unpaid' ..., to be disposed of by the household head as 'he' thinks best" (Mackintosh, 1989:24) can be highly misleading and deleterious to some sections of the community if unreservedly applied in some contexts. This for example could take the form of diminishing members' autonomy in controlling their labour and its products thus negatively affecting their livelihood. In the area under study, women's obligation to almost always manage subsistence farms single handedly also indirectly endows them with the autonomy to dispose of surplus produce when it occurs (although sometimes this has to be secretly done to avoid male kin appropriating the proceeds) and control any cash that is so procured. This level of autonomy can be easily undermined, for example, by interventions which emphasise market oriented production introduced to the household through the head who is supposed to mobilise family labour and control the proceeds.

Assuming a male head of households also disadvantages female headed households which are on the increase in Uganda. For those women who are defacto heads of households, such gender ideologies deny them the legal position as heads of households making their households even more vulnerable within their communities (Braidotti, 1994:98). This is because the increase in numbers of women responsible for entire households has not been accompanied by increase in their rights appropriate to this social change (World Resources 1994-95). Such households are more likely to be at a disadvantage in their ability to

command resources like land, labour and even extension services. This needs to be taken into account by planners of interventions.

Projects which seek to increase agricultural productivity have to take into account the already unfavourable gender division of labour within the household because if they do not, they may lead to increased demand for women's labour (Siato, 1994). Development planners need to fully understand intra-household production relations in terms of time availability to household members before interventions are implemented. This requires a look not only at the distribution of 'productive' tasks (cultivation, animal husbandry, processing) between members, but also the distribution of reproductive tasks because when such analysis is done it will be evident that female household members work longer hours than men of their age group (Young, 1993:57).

2.6 Sexual Division of Labour (SDOL)

The sexual division of labour refers to the division of labour along lines of gender. It entail both an allocation of tasks and rewards between men and women in production and reproduction. "Tasks are not merely allocated, but also differently valued.... In other words the SDOL embodies a set of values: some tasks are given high social prominence, others are not- and those who do them are equally differently socially valued" (Young, 1993:141). Work which is gendered 'male' seems to be given greater social value than 'female' work.

The SDOL within rural households is influenced by relations of production that the households are engaged in. As modes of production among peasants changes leading to social differentiation, the sexual division of labour also changes. This is because the type division of labour is determined by access to productive resources, and since households are differentiated by this access, the SDOL is not monolithic ie men and women's activities reflect the class position of their households (Deere, et. al. 1980:101). Thus households that have access to a range of productive resources are able to engage in activities which then determine the type of SDOL within those households. On the other hand members of household that lack access to sufficient productive resources may be forced to engage in exploitative labour relations, in which the resource owners influence the SDOL within the poor households, eg by preference of a particular sex for particular tasks (Deere, et. al. 1980:101). Wealthy households may also replace family labour with wage labour in which case the SDOL that members of poor households engage in depends on the demands

of the employer, ie can be forced to be less rigid eg by men being employed to do 'female' jobs and women employed to do 'male' jobs (Mamdani, 1992). In the context of rural Southwestern Uganda, SDOL at community level can also be subject to ethnicity by members of minority ethnic groups being engaged in certain tasks irrespective of their gender.

Irrespective of relations of production that a household may be engaged in, women tend to work longer hours than men of their class because of the double role they play in production and reproduction. While increased agricultural production as a result of agricultural interventions may increase the total amount of work time put into the productive process for both genders, women's total time requirement is even higher because they have a higher burden of reproductive work in addition to the productive activity.

Noteworthy here is the fact that in rural Uganda there are some men who are neither employed off farm nor involved in household farming (though they must be fed! as Tadria (1987) laments). This not only reduces family labour, but also puts a lot of stress on the women who are solely responsible for feeding their families, and, at times procuring other household consumables. This sometimes involves selling their labour for cash.

In cases where the natural resources needed for household subsistence are depleted and more labour has to be put in to procure them, women's work load is intensified because they have the primary responsibility to procure these resources. This means that deforestation and overall depletion of the natural resource base affects the women immediately and unproportionately as compared to men of the same social class and ethnic group in the case of my study area. For example stoppage of firewood collection from Bwindi Forest (the area of this study) has a disproportionate effect on women in the surrounding communities in form if increased labour needed to procure water and fuel wood from other (more distant/inconvenient) sources also given the fact that the tree cover outside of the forest has been depleted because of severe land shortages for agriculture.

2.7 Gender Division of Resources (GDOR)

This is simply the division of ability to own and control productive resources along gender lines. As Chavangi et.al (1988) observe, the position of men as 'household heads' entitles them to control over all household resources. The fact that women have to seek their husbands' (or any other male in charge)

opinion and consent before they can undertake any resource allocation decisions/action (World Resources, 1994-95) implies that the degree to which they can benefit from interventions is mediated by gender relations.

The concern of any study on the issue of gender and the environment is to expose the relations governing resource control and the way in which these relations are constituted through gender (Rodda, 1991). Gender is one of the determinant factors (apart from class, ethnicity) of women's control over and access to natural resources, and as such, programmes or policies that seek to benefit all people or to promote their participation in natural resource management have to heed gender relations within the specific society. This ensures full participation of the entire community and equity which is a pre-requisite to effective change in access to and management of resources (Rodda, 1991). The next discussion brings out the asymmetry between men and women's control over resources by using two resources (land and trees) for purposes of illustration.

2.71 Land and Tree ownership and Control

According to UN statistics (cited in Reardon, 1993), women own no more than 1% of the world's land. Yet land is the cardinal resource for meeting food needs and sustaining livelihoods. Women account for about 80% of subsistence food production in Africa. In Uganda, not only are women almost entirely in charge of household food needs, but they are also engrossed in cash crop production.

The evolution of individualised land ownership in Africa (Uganda inclusive) has been a process of magnification and legalising of men's access to land while simultaneously diminishing and 'informalising' (Rocheleau, 1988:256) women's use and ownership rights thus legitimising differential access to land (Davison 1988; Lovett, 1989:25; Baerends, 1994:6). Men's supervisory rights were transformed into ownership rights (Lovett, 1989:25; Baerends, 1994:6). This is because title deeds are made on household basis to heads, presumed to be males, granting them the right to mortgage or sell land without the consent of other family members. Men's rights are converted into absolute ownership on event of registration (Sebina-Zziwa, 1995; Dankleman et.al 1988; WRI, UNEP, UNDP 1994).

Ownership of land by men also entitles them to decision making on what uses the land can be put. This decision making power is further enhanced by the

approach of planners who "usually negotiate land use decisions with the recognised holders of land in society:men" (Bearends, 1994:6) The legal implication of a title deed leaves many women in a precarious tenure position on household land, unlike what the traditional usufruct rights rendered (Davison, 1988, Dankleman, 1988)). The situation is made worse when communal land (eg the swamps, grazing land and forests in Kabale District) have, due to inadequate legal systems and administrative infrastructures vis-a-vis defending women's and other poor people's access rights, been overused and eventually privatised by influential or wealthy (male) individuals or even appropriated by the state.

Women's rights to land are often restricted by customary, or statutory law (what Agarwal 1994:1460 calls legal restrictions), and, still where statutory law stipulates that women can own land, there are many factors pressing on them to the extent that the rights are not easy to translate into practice (Sebina-Zziwa, 1995) (what Agarwal calls social constraints). The legal ownership versus social constraints dilemma is clearly exemplified by a common phenomenon in Uganda that no one is ready to engage in a land transaction with a [married] woman unless the husband/male kin approves of it. Thus although in Uganda under the Registration of Titles Act (Cap. 205, Laws of Uganda (1964) -cited in Tamale, 1993), any Ugandan citizen is free to purchase and own land, only 7% of the land is owned by women. Indeed majority of the women cannot own or control the land they farm all their lives, they can only aspire for limited usufruct rights (Tamale, 1993:174; Sebina-Zziwa 1995)).

Social constraints that render statutory laws on women's property rights impotent are a result of the preeminence of customary laws in inheritance matters (Tamale, 1993:175) and also the fact that laws operate in conjunction with other social restrictions based on gender, class, ethnicity and religion (Siato, 1994:47). Majority of the people continue to operate in total neglect of stipulations of statutory laws. Thus in Uganda "a deceased father is almost always succeeded by a male, regardless of whether the male is a "collateral relative" as opposed to "lineal" daughters who are given preferences over collateral relatives by law" (Tamale, 1993:175). The overall effect is a constraint in women's choices because they are at a "disadvantage in entering land transactions because of the legal uncertainties affecting their tenure and lack of marketable land rights" (Siato, 1994:47).

Yet this asymmetry in access and control of vital productive resources does not only operate at household level. At community level a deferential access

and control of resources is evident especially between poor and rich households, between female and male headed households and between people from different ethnic groups. It has been established that generally women have smaller farms than men. In Nigeria it was observed that male headed households (MHH) cultivated areas three times those of FHH and owned double the land per capita of FHH and that in more densely populated areas MHH cultivated five times the size of land held by FHH. Also in Kakamega, Kenya it was observed that FHH tend to have fewer plots than MHH (Siato, 1993:51). In Uganda female heads of households' limited command over resources implies that they find it more difficult to acquire more land and labour to expand their farms, especially when they also happen to be in the poor strata of society. Also the lack of alternative income sources forces many poor households to keep selling bits of their land holdings to meet household needs such as health care and education fees, eventually ending up with insufficient land, while the rich take advantage of the situation. Members of landless households (eg the Batwa in Southwestern Uganda) are forced into exploitative labour relations in order to gain access to land.

In the area under study, women can only fully own land in extraordinary cases (never married, widowed). Land acquired by a married woman or owned by a woman at marriage effectively becomes the husband's property. Women have to give up their access rights to land availed by male kin in pre-marital homes on event of marriage just like widowhood may mean loss of rights to marital land if the woman wishes to remarry outside the clan of the deceased husband. Some women are forced into marrying relatives of deceased husbands to maintain their access rights. In some cases a widow may be ripped of her rights by relatives of her deceased husband even if she has no intentions of re-marrying. Divorce almost always spells total loss of access rights to marital land. All in all, women's land and tree tenure rights ie "a bundle of rights that may be held by different people at different times; rights to own or inherit, rights to plant, rights to use, and rights of disposal" (Fortmann, (1988), tend to be less, uncertain and dependent on relations with men.

This state of affairs has been jealously protected by men. For example women's active interest in tree planting has been strongly dissuaded (eg by a system of taboos like in Kenya (Chavangi et al (1988)) since men fear that if allowed it might lead to women's claim for the land. Besides planting trees by women could even be translated as questioning male supremacy in which case it could lead to divorce. And yet the issue of resource tenure (RT) ie "the relations established around natural resources (especially land, water, trees) that

determine who can use what resources and how" is very significant in natural resource management patterns because these relations govern peoples willingness to invest in natural resource conservation (Lastarria, 1994:1).

These are the concepts that are central to my discussion of the topic at hand. Though the discussion specially emphasises the issue of gender, I am also aware that gender does not exist on its own. Gender is interwoven with culture, class, ethnicity and thus the gender division of labour and resources exist and is expressed in relation to these other identities.

CHAPTER THREE

3. THE PRE-EXISTING CONTEXT TO INTERVENTION

This chapter maps out the processes which shaped the social relations prevalent in the area of study prior to the two interventions under analysis. Divisions of resources and of labour between social groups will be examined so as to make clear the context in which the interventions were implemented.

3.1 The Pre-Colonial Setting

Before colonialism extended its policies to this area, production was mainly for subsistence and bartering of produce. Both men and women were involved in subsistence production. I would however hesitate to say that this division of labour was not hierarchical as Mulindwa (1988) seems to say, since women provided the bulk of the agricultural labour. Men participated in agricultural production by opening up land, building and repairing granaries, and carrying produce from far off fields. They also made clothes, did blacksmithing and carving. Women sowed alongside men and did the weeding of crops and then both sexes came back together for harvesting. Women did most of the food production like planting, weeding and harvesting, food processing and preparation. They also did most of the child care and household maintenance in addition to weaving food containers and other household ware.

Traditionally the land tenure was based on household basis- entrusted in a single patriarch. Land was communal in the sense that each [male] householder was entitled to clear any piece of land which was free ie not being used by anyone else. This then became his 'own' land as long as he showed that he was developing the land or leaving it to fallow. But these rights to land were household rights (Anusionwu, 1977:69) conferred on to the household head and restricted to only adult males. Women generally had no rights to own land under customary law - the same applies to young unmarried males (Anusionwu, 1977:72). Hence in a sense marriage ensured access rights to land for both men and women. In a monogamous situation, the household head allocated part of his land to each of his sons when they married while retaining some for himself and his wife. Under a polygamous situation land was allocated to each wife and as sons marry they got their share from their mother's portion. If the father died, the sons inherited the land which remained under their mothers's care as long as she remained in the clan and did not remarry (Tindituza and Kateete, 1971). The rights of widows to land were thus attached to the family she was married into.

Access to land was also based on ethnic differentiation and social status. For Example the Batwa (see later in this chapter) were regarded as the minority group and their access to land was highly limited. Men with bigger households could also claim larger pieces of land because they had the labour to do it. This is one of the reasons that encouraged polygamy ie the more women a man had, the bigger his labour force, output and status in society (Tindituza, et. al. 1971).

3.2 Colonial Roots of Social Differentiation

The present gender, class and ethnic division of labour, resources, decision making power and opportunities in the study area has developed over the decades. It can be partly traced to colonial policy which drew men from subsistence production first to the wage sector and later into the cash crop economy leaving women charge of the subsistence sector.

In 1894 Uganda was declared a British protectorate. This enabled the British to exploit the resources from the country: cash crop production and mineral extraction were promoted. The country also provided market for the British goods. However top on the list was the need for cheap raw materials for their industries and thus in 1903 cotton was introduced and later coffee. Initially production of cash crops was concentrated in the central region of Uganda while the North, West and south were the labour reserves for commodity production. Our present area of analysis (South Western Uganda) was predominantly a labour reserve though later cash crop production was introduced (Mulindwa (1988), Rutabajuka (1989)). As Rutabajuka (1989) reveals, cash crop growing was introduced much later in this area and was on a much smaller scale than in central Uganda.

At first there was general reluctance on the part of Africans to undertake wage employment leading to serious labour shortages in the cash crop growing areas. But as commoditisation and exchange became more intensive, the need for cash increased (Rutabajuka, 1989:8). The colonial government introduced taxes as one of the measures to force people to either sell their labour power or the products of their labour power in the market to obtain money since taxes could only be paid in money. Taxes were paid only by men.

The commoditisation of labour from the Kigezi District labour reserve transformed the existing gender divisions of labour. Male out-migration which resulted from commoditisation of labour disrupted the pre-existing sexual

division of labour. Women took up most of the tasks formerly undertaken by men; the whole responsibility of food production lay on them (Mulindwa, 1988). Yet women and men became socially differentiated by this monetisation process. Women's productive activities gradually became devalued. As Tadria (1987:82) laments, whereas a man earning cash became highly regarded even when that cash never 'trickled down' to his family, a woman who was 'merely' a subsistence producer was undervalued even if she solely fed her family. The preservation of women in the non-capitalist subsistence sector alongside the [male dominated] capitalist sector was necessary for lowering the cost of labour since the subsistence sector continuously subsidised the capitalist sphere.

When cash crop growing was extended to Western Uganda in the 1920s, it was assumed to be a men's responsibility and male household heads were responsible for selling the crop and controlling the proceeds. Gender relations were therefore fundamentally changed at the onset of cash crop production.

The monetisation of the economy led to a situation where the cash sector became gradually valued while the subsistence sector was gradually devalued and both became highly 'gendered'. Social control for the purpose of economic accumulation necessitated preserving and fortifying some of the social relations of power on which pre-capitalist societies were built (Lovett, 1989:26). The control of men over women was promoted by the colonialists in order for the men to effectively control household labour for colonial production.

Men owned and controlled the land and the resources from that land (eg. trees) while women's control could only be exercised on root crops and other crops conventionally referred to as food crops as opposed to cash crops. In this part of Uganda women do not usually plant trees because this is regarded as men's work. But even in cases where they did plant them, they did not own them nor could they harvest them without the husbands' consent. Where women were allowed to harvest trees planted on the household's land, it is only for firewood for home use, they could not sell them. The main reason why tree ownership by women is discouraged is because of fear of women's claim for land ownership: "if a woman sells a tree without the husband's consent, then she may even sell the land" (MISR/DTC, 1992:10). As such, "land and trees remain resources exclusively controlled by men and whatever resource conservation knowledge and skills that women may possess, the application and effectiveness of that knowledge will be largely limited by women's lack of control over these land and tree resources" (MISR/DTC, 1992:10). Planting of trees could

also be interpreted as a way of questioning male supremacy.

The whole process of economic and social transformation increased dramatically the total labour time of all household members. But men had the privilege of withdrawing from food production to concentrate on coffee growing. Women on the other hand not only took over the extra men's roles in food production, but were also habitually called upon to help in weeding, harvesting and drying the cash crop.⁴ The women and children also carried the coffee to the processing centres if the man was not affluent enough to own a bicycle. Surprisingly it was only the man who collected the proceeds from the buying centre because he was "the" farmer according to the colonial capitalists, and thereafter he exercised complete control over the income. This should give us a picture of how much colonialism increased male power over women, with full control over their labour, and how unfortunate that the women had no say over the product of their labour. Cash crops were considered as mens crops, as Lovett (1989) states:

State actions enabled men to enter the money economy as ostensible producers of agricultural commodities, and aided in denying women similar status, despite the fact that their labour more often than not had heavily contributed towards producing what was considered their husbands' crop (Lovett, 1989:37).

The end result was a magnification of gender hierarchies where women's social and economic dependency of women on men was engraved.

The introduction of new crops changed the system of crop husbandry towards mono-cropping at the same time that the western individual land tenure system was instituted. The monetisation process and commoditisation of labour and land set in motion social differentiation in terms of access to land between poor and richer households. Individuals who accumulated money were able to accumulate land through purchases. Poor peasants were not only at a disadvantage as to how much land they could engage in cash crops, but also had less land for food crops at their disposal after a large proportion was withdrawn for coffee and had to shorten fallow periods consequently leading to decline in food production. This put further demands on women's labour in poor households to feed their families. Because of the work burden, women shortened fallow periods due to inability to open up new land (what was

⁴ Coffee drying is a very long and laborious process. Since the husband was almost always away attending to more 'important' matters of men or drinking beer, it was the wife and children who undertook the day-in day-out (and sometimes more than once a day if it rained) drying process.

formerly men's work) (Mulindwa, 1988).

Mulindwa (1988) also highlights the fact that the diversion of land from subsistence production to cash crops later during colonialism put a lot of stress not only on the women in trying to procure enough from limited land for feeding their families, but also on the environment because traditional soil conservation practices were marginalised either because of land shortage or because it was too much labour for the women to cope with.

But as opposed to the present situation, for the poor there was still land not allocated to individuals or unused public land which was claimed by the community as communal land. Such land included land occupied by local government units, forest reserves, large swamps, virgin land. Such communal land was mainly used for grazing. No individuals could claim exclusive rights to communal land but chiefs could allocate part of this to individual for cultivation in times of land scarcity (Anusionwu, 1977:71).

3.3 Post-Colonial Government Policies

As early as the 1960s, the ratio of population to land resources in Kigezi District was identified as one of the highest in Uganda, so much so that many land holdings were inadequate to support household members without resorting to non-farm income sources, which were highly limited in the area (Anusionwu, 1977). The population density of the then Kigezi district was 338 persons per sq.mile as per 1969 Uganda census (cited in Anusionwu, 1977:29). The ratio of available land (minus reserves, parks and water areas) was about 443 persons per sq.mile. Actually the Uganda Statistical Abstract (1971:1 cited in Anusionwu, 1977) estimated that by 1971 21.1% of the total land area was being utilised as game reserves, national parks or forest reserve. At local (sub-county) levels, population densities were even higher especially in the south of the district, due to the high productivity of the soils. The 1991 Uganda Population and Housing census revealed a an annual growth rate of 2.7% and average density of 230 persons/sq. km but varying from 301 persons /sq.km. in Kisoro to 246 persons/sq.km in Kabale and 151 persons/sq.km in Rukungiri (Uganda National Census, 1991; cited by Kamugisha et. al 1994:37-38).

3.3.1 Post Colonial Land Policies in Kigezi

The severe land shortages led people to appeal to government in 1960 and 1962 to let them use part of the forest reserves for agricultural purposes. In both

cases the requests were turned down. The response to the second request was made after the issue was brought to the notice of the International Commission on National Parks (ICNP) in Washington. The final resolution was in favour of the "international status" of gorillas living in the forests and the obligation of the Uganda Government to protect these species from destruction was pointed out since it was signatory to the resolution to protect them. Moreover, it was pointed out, Kigezi was one of the few areas where gorillas could be found in their natural habitat. As such the request of the people could not be accepted (Anusionwu, 1977:33). Instead the government had twice in 1946 and 1962 embarked on resettlement of people from the area to other districts while some of the people resettled elsewhere without government assistance.

An intense process of "statisation" and privatisation of land ensured, whereby the state, religious institutions and the rich minority amassed land rendering many people landless. Poor peasants were either pushed to less productive land (eg the hill tops) or they were slowly forced into migration. The response to the land pressure problem was swamp reclamation though this did not solve the problem. Allocation of swamps was unfavourable to the poor and powerless since it was based on economic power (excluding the people who needed it most). The process actually created imbalance in land ownership where land became concentrated into fewer hands. The formerly communal swamps were reclaimed in the 1950s and allocated to the rich individuals. This was a loss for the poor peasants who depended on the communal swamps for grazing. Since the new owners were practising improved dairy farming, they fenced off the grazing land as they introduced controlled grazing. This made it difficult for the poor farmers to keep livestock and many were eventually phased out of the industry. The loss was not only for grazing land, but also loss of thatching material from the swamps and weaving fibre for household craft (Mulindwa, 1988: 14-18).

The post colonial policies of land privatisation had no provisions for women's property rights. Women still could not normally own land nor inherit it. Only in exceptional cases do women inherit or own land (often in cases of divorce, or being widowed, or women who never married). Unmarried women can be allocated a part of their household's land but they must return it to their family when they marry. Women staying with their husbands are not expected even to control the land they have purchased. If a woman purchases land, the land then belongs to the husband and the signatory to the title or any other form of receipt indicates that it is his. The fact that the man can sign for the land bought by his wife gives him power to even go as far as distributing

it among his other wives in polygamous households (Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR)/Development Through Conservation (DTC), 1992)

3.32 Post Colonial Policies on Labour

Beginning with the 1960s, resettlement was substituted with a policy to encourage adult young men to migrate as labourers to other districts to work mainly on railway construction, tea estates, and mines. Eventually the need to encourage migration diminished as acute land shortages and limited off-farm income opportunities in the area forced men to seek employment outside the district (Anusionwu, 1977). This went on for sometime to the extent that the Uganda Annual Enumeration of Employees (1970) revealed that half of all employees working outside their home area were from Kigezi. The 1969 Uganda Census revealed a serious deficit of men in all the counties in Kigezi. At District level, the ratio of male/female was very low -a serious drain of human capital from the area. This lowered the level of output and, as one can imagine, put a lot of stress on female labour. Indeed, as Anusionwu observes, to continue to encourage the drain of the type of human capital most suitable for the dominant activity (agriculture) in the district [was] nothing short of condemning the district and those left behind (Anusionwu, 1977:37) Yet despite the fact that the women were more involved in agricultural activities than men they were never the major targets of agricultural programmes (Anusionwu, 1977).

Three types of labour were identified as used in rural farms in the study by Anusionwu (1977). These were family labour, communal labour and hired labour. Family labour comprised of adult males, adult females and children. Communal labour is reciprocal. Hired labour was only used by a few households that could afford it since the majority of rural households lacked cash to pay for hired labour. The people available to be hired as labour were mainly returnee migrants (men) who had little land to subsist on and members of households with inadequate land who needed to supplement their output with cash income (Anusionwu, 1977:80).

The 1966 Uganda Agricultural Census (vol. 1966) identified that 79% of the women in Kigezi aged 16-45 years worked "full time" (considering that such official statistics did not recognise reproductive work as work) on the land holding and contributed a much higher percentage of household labour than men of their class. When the cash crop economy was introduced in the district, men's and boys' labour was applied to the cultivation of cash crops while women's and girls' labour met the household food needs (MISR/DTC, 1992) in

addition to providing their share of labour to cash crop growing and processing. Women's frequently low literacy levels meant that they had less off-farm opportunities and consequently most of them were "full-time" engaged on the farm (Anusionwu, 1977; Tindituza 1971).

One puzzling fact is the government's decision to re-allocate or dislocate thousands of families and encourage young men to wander around the country as landless yet skill-less (since in most cases they were illiterate) labour while leaving such massive land to gorillas and other game, which questions the relative values attached to humans and animals. Anusionwu (177) actually questioned if the foreign exchange generated from tourists and foreign scientists justified condemning indigenous humans to poverty. Households' size and composition in conjunction with and access to land as well as productivity of land are decisive factors in the intensity of food production and the use of land and labour resources for non-food production. This is why male out migration had a negative effect not only on agricultural production, but also on land management practices. The area is hilly so various laborious soil conservation techniques are practised. Increased work load for women thus had deleterious effects on the resource.

In the political turmoil and administrative vacuum that characterised the 1970s and early 80s in Uganda, the forests became a major source of timber both for local consumption and for export across to timber deficient Rwanda. Land scarcity also tempted people to clear part of the forest for cultivation. Wetlands in the forests have also been utilised for mining alluvial gold. Scientists say the practice has destroyed swamps by diverting natural waterways. Between 1986-1990 government efforts were geared to elimination of poaching, grazing, pitsawing and gold mining, which, according to Butynski, were eliminated by 1990 (Butynski, (n.d) cited in The conservation Atlas of Tropical Forests: AFRICA, IUCN).

3.4 Ethnic Differentiation Among the Communities Around Bwindi Forest

The communities around Bwindi are not only differentiated by gender and class, there is also social differentiation based on ethnic divisions. This bring in yet another very important source of differentiation among the women because it implies that women belonging to different ethnic groups do not face the same condition and thus their positions in society are different. This section is meant to highlight the ethnic differentiation that has existed for ages in the communities around Bwindi, and more specifically to high-light the fate

of the minority Batwa ethnic group. This information is largely quoted from Tukahirwa et. al (1993:102-109) and Kamugisha et. al. (1994:42-43). Unfortunately, as has been mentioned in the scope and limitations of this paper, this group of people, probably due to their minority status, have been studied as a homogeneous group and as such it is not possible in this paper to analyse them adequately.

The population in the three counties that hold Bwindi Forest (Rubanda county in Kabale District, Bufumbira county in Kisoro District, and Kinkizi county in Rukungiri District is largely composed of the majority Bakiga who make up 94.5% of all heads of households surveyed in the MISR/DTC study (ie 402 households), and smaller numbers of Banyarwanda/Bafumbira (3.0%), Bahororo (2.2%) and the minority Batwa (0.3%) who are scattered in small communities in Bufumbira and Kinkizi counties (MISR/DTC survey results cited in Tukahirwa, et. al. 1993). All these ethnic groupings were heavily dependent on the forest resources before it was closed off. However while the first three depended on the forest resources as a source of alternative income to that earned in agriculture, the Batwa were totally dependent on the forest resources for survival because they were and are still basically landless.

The Batwa are pygmies who originally were forest dwellers in the great forests in Southwestern Uganda spreading to Rwanda and Zaire. They were hunters and gatherers. Their population has never been ascertained up to now since even the national censuses have neglected them. However an estimate of about 600 individual was projected by a study by the Makerere Institute of Environment and Natural Resources (cited in Tukahirwa, et al. 1993:103).

Over the years the Batwa have withdrawn from the forest and settled in adjacent areas though they retain their heavy reliance on the forest. Up to now they are still dependent largely on hunting and gathering unlike the other groups who are mainly agriculturalists. The reason why they left the forest was the decrease in forest cover due to the exerted pressure by other ethnic groups (hunters, pitsawers, miners). Not only did this reduce the resources they depended on in the forest, but they also felt insecure and were thus forced to leave the forest and live semi-sedentary lives around the forest. They still keep a partly nomadic lifestyle by moving from place to place and at times back into the forest before it was totally closed off. Communities are made of 7-10 households which are female dominated because of the nomadic tendency of males who at times never return. But of course their nomadic tendencies have been heavily reduced by the new national park regulations

since 1991 rendering them vulnerable to intense livelihood insecurity.

The Batwa are not only considered a socially inferior group to the other ethnic groups especially the Bakiga who consider it taboo to interact with them, but they are subjected economic exploitation and powerlessness by the other ethnic groups. The Batwa are landless because when they retracted from the forest all the land outside was already fully occupied. This landlessness defines their position in the society and the social relations that they enter into. They own no significant property and are generally excluded from all social and political activities (Kamugisha, et. al, 1994:43).

Traditionally the Batwa would stay on non-Batwa farmers' land for short periods of time (several months) and them move back to the forest. This system had relatively little impact in the forest and the other ethnic groups. They are normally allowed to stay as squatters on other people's land on negotiated temporally terms. These terms are commonly to provide free or cheap manual labour for cultivation, guarding landlords gardens against vermin from the forest, and other manual jobs. In return they get a piece of land on which to settle and undertake limited cultivation for themselves. For this land they either pay some rent or more commonly pay tribute in kind by part of their produce to landlords.

In all their interactions with the other ethnic groups, they are mostly despised and cheated. Their fragile rights to the land and to basic sustenance makes them unable to resist injustice least thy be evicted from the land (Kamugisha, et. al. 1994:43). Poor relations with landlords sometimes leads to their eviction from land, sometimes before they harvest their crops which the landlords then appropriate. Nearly always they cannot produce enough for their subsistence and have to supplement with collecting wild fruit, vegetables, honey and hunting. They are also employed as hunters, guides, gold diggers, pitsawers, porters, craftsmen, builders, gardeners and gatherers. But after all is said and done, "any positive interaction between them and other ethnic groups seems to be limited to provision of [free or cheap] labour... and performance of cultural dances/songs in public places" (Kamugisha, et. al. 1994:43). They are exploited as public amusement ie as attractions by performing which they at times willingly do to get other people accept their cultures. Park authorities and conservationists have only valued the Batwa in as far as they are a potential "cultural attraction" for tourists (Tukahirwa, et. al. 1993:91).

With the increased protectionism of the forest by park management since 1991 which has excluded them from the forest, they are presently conceived as "a distinct liability to surrounding farmers" (CARE, 1993:22). Farmers now fear to allow them to settle on their land because this could lead to permanent settlement since the Batwa are now being forced into sedentary existence. Thus they no longer allow them to live on their land.

The Batwa have born unbearable social discrimination. Until recently even the religious institutions did not incorporate them. Children do not go to school either because they genuinely can't afford fees and other school requirements or they do not consider it a priority. The well developed social organisations like the 'ambulance groups' have also excluded the Batwa. These are reciprocal local community organisations which help to carry patients on stretchers to and from health centres and at times deliver corpses back and also help bereaved households with funeral arrangements. These groups are well developed in these communities because the hilly terrain has hindered development of good roads and thus there is no effective transport. They have also developed to fill in the gap left by insufficient government services. It is even said that when the Batwa manage to reach health centres, they are still discriminated against by the medical workers.

The Batwa now live a life dependent on the mercy of other groups as contrasted on the independence they enjoyed in the forest. They claim not only that they can't afford to buy land, but also that they are reluctant to do so given the intense discrimination which they face. They feel that they may not fully own and control land if they acquired it. They believe that only outside (government) help can rescue them. But the question remains as to how the other ethnic groups would take to positive discrimination by government towards the Batwa.

This chapter has shown that the communities in the area developed forms of variations and stratification over the decades. The variations and stratifications in turn have a bearing on how different social groups are incorporated into and affected by the interventions. It is upon this social economic setting, which is highly differentiated in terms of gender, class and ethnic groups' access, control over and use of resources that Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) and Development Through Conservation (DTC) Project were introduced to operate. The issue is how the two interventions have dealt with the given pre-existing state of affairs and what are the likely effects they are bound to have on the different strata of people.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. BWINDI FOREST, THE INCEPTION OF THE 'DEVELOPMENT THROUGH CONSERVATION' (DTC) PROJECT AND THE DESIGNATION OF BWINDI IMPENETRABLE NATIONAL PARK (BINP)

This chapter is going to map out the major interventions that have determined the history of the local people's interactions with the natural resource base, more specifically with the forest resources. The assumptions behind the interventions, their implementation and the local people's roles and responses will be mapped out. The two major interventions to be dealt with are the introduction of the CARE implemented 'Development Through Conservation' (DTC) Project in 1988 and the designation of Bwindi Forest Reserve into Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) in 1991. I shall start with the process that led to inception of the DTC since it predates the formation of BINP. Since the creation of BINP came in midway while the DTC was being implemented, I shall deal with the narration in that order to be chronological.

Realising that the conservation history of Bwindi Impenetrable Forest was typified by violation of all the restrictions on resource exploitation executed by the Forest Department, government inaugurated the process in 1986 by which the DTC project came into existence.

4.1 The 'Development Through Conservation' (DTC) Project

4.11 Origin

There has always been a discrepancy between the value attached to the tropical forests in Southwest Uganda by three of the most significant stake holder: the Uganda government, the international community and the local people who live around the forest. While for the first two Bwindi Forest signifies the habitat of the highly endangered mountain gorilla, which, from the international community perspective has a right to live and deserves a major conservation effort; and for the Uganda government the resource is valuable also in terms of its tourism potential, the local people's perspective is radically different. According to CARE, 'the local people's concern is with basic needs; food shortages, poor health, poor water supplies, low incomes, lack of livelihood options, lack of education facilities, and above all, land shortages and the accompanying productivity declines due to repeated cultivation of the same land. The problem of land shortages and landlessness is magnified by limited off-farm income alternatives. Faced with these problems, the local people are far from seeing the park as a "genuine economic asset" (CARE (nd):5). The DTC's role is thus to convince the local people that

conservation is the best use for the land in the park. But as Chapter three has already shown, the population is not monolithic and as such it would be erroneous to talk of 'local people' as such because the interests of the poor, the relatively well-off, the landed, the landless, the men, women and the minority ethnic group cannot possibly be the same.

After realising that the conservation history of Bwindi Impenetrable Forest was characterised by violation of all the restrictions on resource exploitation executed by the Forest Department, in 1986 the Impenetrable Forest Conservation Project (IFCP) was established with a World Wildlife Fund-U.S. on agreement with the Ugandan Government. The IFCP was charged with the responsibility of;

- a) "Preservation of the biological diversity and ecological well-being of Uganda's tropical forests, particularly, the Impenetrable, Mugahinga and Echuya forests in the south-west".
- b) "Enhancement of the environmental quality of life of the people living in the vicinity of the three tropical forests" (Docherty, 1993:18).

From 1986 to 1988 the IFCP was executing community extension activities with Community Extension Agents (CEAs) providing conservation education to the communities and to halt illegal (according to the park authorities) activities within the forest. In 1988 WWF sub-contracted the extension and out-of-forest activities to CARE which, it was felt, was in a better position to implement community development than IFCP. The DTC project started on its first phase in September 1988 with a planned span of 10 years. An evaluation was carried out in July 1990 following which CARE was requested to develop a larger five year project to be directly funded by USAID. The second phase commenced in 1991 and is due to end in March 1996. Preparations for the third phase have been complete. The main funder of the project has been USAID but as of now CARE has agreed with USAID to look for another funder. The real purpose of the DTC has been to "enlist community goodwill in order to conserve the biodiversity of Bwindi Impenetrable Forest" (CARE, 1993:18). This is vital since the shift of park management into strict conservation of the forest unleashed negative attitudes towards the park. CARE came in with developmental objectives which sort of drifted the project activity away from conservation education and support.

When it commenced its first phase in 1988, the importance of the DTC activities was magnified by the fact that it was initiated during a period

when the capacity of the Uganda government in the field of extension services in agriculture and all the other sectors was eroded due to the preceding civil strife. According to CARE, "the DTC thus filled in on the real development needs of the communities at the same time strengthening the conservation framework" (CARE, 1993:18). One may want to question what CARE refers to as 'real development needs'; whose needs in this heterogenous community are we talking about?; and who defines these needs?. These issues will be discussed a little bit more later in this chapter.

The primary objective the DTC addressed from its inception were to meet people's basic needs while protecting and sustainably managing the forests. The project focuses essentially along the edge of the forest within a radius of 4-5 km. The target population in the areas around the park is defined as those people affecting and affected by the national park - in total around 20,000 household and about 200,000 inhabitants.

4.2 Bwindi Forest Reserve and The Designation Of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP)

Bwindi forest was first gazetted in 1942 as the Impenetrable Crown Forest and later renamed Impenetrable Central Forest Reserve (ICFR) with reduced size in 1948. The forest was gazetted as an animal sanctuary in 1961 and in 1968 renamed Bwindi Impenetrable Central Forest Reserve (Kamugisha, et. al 1994). Until 1991 the forest administered by the forestry department (FD) of Uganda from the field stations of the two districts where the forest is located, ie Rukungiri and Kabale (before sub-division into Kabale and Kisoro Districts). The game department also had staff in the forest.

The period 1971-86 characterised by political and economic chaos in Uganda had adverse effects on the forest. The forest department failed to control the pitsawing activity in the forest which was excessively carried out. That is why the government, through the Uganda National Parks (UNP), started contemplating designating the forest reserve into a national park in order to ensure more effective protection or conservation of the resource thereafter.

Consultations undertaken before the designation to ascertain the feasibility of creating a NP revealed that the local people were against the idea because they believed it would block their access to the forest resources which they considered essential for their livelihood. Though false promises of "jobs, incomes, roads and clinics" were made by Uganda National Parks (UNP),

(Kamugisha, et, al 1994:25), the people were sceptical about the effect of the new management plans on them.

The consultations convinced parliament that the forest should remain as a reserve and actually in May 1991 it was endorsed. But then suddenly in October the same year the head of state instructed his Prime Minister to direct that Bwindi "... must become a National Park" (Kamugisha, et. al 1994:26). In 1991 the forest was designated as a national park (NP) under the name Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) and its administration thereafter taken over by Uganda National Parks (UNP), a parastatal body responsible for administering areas gazetted as national parks, game reserves, animal sanctuaries etc. The designation seems to have been forced on to the Ugandan Government by donor pressure and it occurred amidst wrangles between Uganda National Parks (UNP) and the Forestry Department (FD) (Kamugisha et al. 1994:25). As if that was not bad enough for the local people, after its creation the park boundaries were to be expanded to include certain areas bordering the forest. The aim of the expansion was to

protect catchment and protect the only mountain gorillas in the world outside protected areas, enhance biotic connections, widen the forest neck [between the southern and northern sections of the forest], prevent catchment degradation, enhance law enforcement, develop tourism and add to the swamp habitat of the national park (Kamugisha et. al. 1994:26).

This process was expected to displace over 80 households. This only worked to confirm the local peoples' fears over the NP issue of course exacerbated by the fact that the promises of improved social services and a wider range of livelihood opportunities made by UNP had not been effected.

The main goal of the new management for the NP is stated as to maintain and enhance the biological diversity and ecological and physical processes of the forest while allowing sustainable utilisation of the forest's resources through maintenance of the current area of afro-montane forest, populations of all rare, endangered and other species and the forest's water catchment, soil protection and climatic functions (Kamugisha et. al. 1994:30).

This has been operationalised by subdividing the forest into zones. These are;

1. The high protection zone which includes areas of rare or endangered species and habitats, including all swamps and the bamboo forest (a

specie very much utilised by the surrounding communities).

2. The multiple use zone (MUZ) This includes a strip within 2 km. from the forest edge *not within the high protection zone*, which contains resources that people need and can use sustainably.
3. The Tourism Zone which should have a wide variety of tourist attractions and is accessible.
4. The Sustainable Development Zone which includes all areas bordering the park that influence or impact on the park and this can have a radius of two local administrative parishes at maximum. The people in the 'sustainable development area' are supposed to have food security, adequate education, health and communication services, water energy and natural resources, benefits from tourism, conservation education and extension services (Kamugisha et. al. 1994:32).

4.21 The Park-People Relations

Butynski (nd) (cited in The Conservation Atlas of Tropical Forests: AFRICA, IUCN) claims that all illegal resource extraction activities were eliminated by 1990. Kamugisha, et. al. (1994) and CARE (1993) on the other hand says that these activities were eliminated when the forest reserve was designated as a national park ie late 1991. I am unable to explain the reasons for this discrepancy. But the fact is that this used to be a major economic activity and its stoppage caused considerable loss of income to a large population of local people. Park-people conflicts were mainly caused by the fact that people were abruptly and completely cut off from their traditional forest resources and sources of income and this negative fact was aggravated by aggressive methods used by the parks to create a strict, impenetrable boundaries between the local communities and the newly established parks (CARE, 1993:28).

Another aggravating issue is that the forest had always been managed without the involvement of the local people. The rules and regulations that the local people are expected to obey were drawn without their participation. As Kamugisha et. al. says,

[The people] usually become aware that a given law exists when they are arrested and the principles upon which management is based are always only clear to the government alone. Even when it is such that they have to be listened to, they are expected to be the ignorant and passive

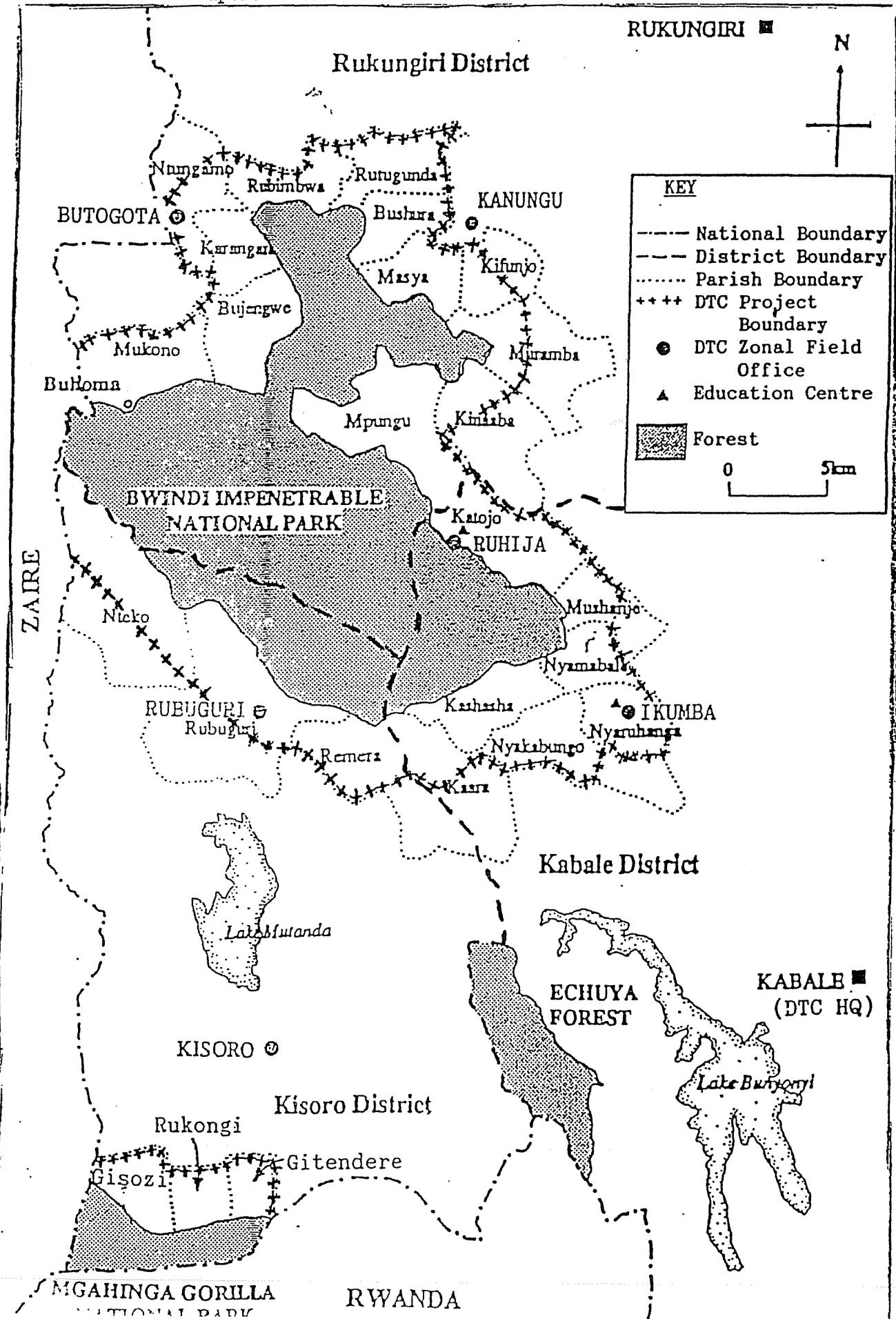
party for whom the government knows better (Kamugisha, et. al. 1994:38).

The neglect of the people's views on the creation of the national park, the consistent disregard of their aspirations "has bred more ignorance, suspicion, apprehension and hostility and thus remains a constant source of conflict between government and the local communities (Kamugisha, et. al, 1994:38). The fact is that the forest is and will remain a critical part of the economic life of the surrounding communities, particularly for the landless Batwa who need products from the forest to supplement the little they get from the exploitative dependency on the other ethnic groups, as well as for the poor who have limited access to the individualised resources and would need to use the forest as communal resource. This dictates the need for good relations between management and the local people.

4.3 Activities of the DTC after Creation of The National Park

The DTC project is part of the Uganda National Park's (UNP) initiative to ensure the conservation of bio-diversity by reconciling the management of the protected area with the social and economic needs of local people. These are the people who live in what is referred to as the "sustainable development area" (See Figure 2). The people in the 'sustainable development area' are supposed to have food security, adequate education, health and communication services, water energy and natural resources, benefits from tourism, conservation education and extension services (Kamugisha et. al. 1994). The project is Uganda's first Integrated Conservation and Development Project (ICDP) attempt and as such it is experimental. The principle aim of the project is to contribute to the conservation of Bwindi and Mugahinga forests by raising the standards of living of surrounding communities and this was set to be achieved through a series of interventions including agro-forestry, soil conservation, agricultural extension, fish farming, small livestock development, and management of various crops which are basically food crops but it is hoped that with increased productivity people can sell surpluses (Kamugisha, et. al. 1994:58; CARE, (nd) discussion paper for proposal of DTC phase III). Household energy management has also been introduced and improved cooking stoves are being promoted. The latter activity is mainly demonstrated using women's groups. Though the stoves have been reported to be efficient in terms of energy utilisation and low levels of smoke, the clay used to mould them still remains unrefined and as such they crack with the heat (CARE, 1993).

Figure Two: The DTC "Sustainable Development Area" SOURCE: CARE (nd) Discussion Paper.



The park policy of limiting access to traditional forest resources posed an outstanding problem for DTC's programs. There was a negative feeling of alienation among the people due to exclusion from the forests. As a solution and in a bid to improve local community relations, the DTC in its second phase initiated a system of mobilising and organising local resource users. The aim is to help the users gain and use national park resources on a controlled and sustainable basis.

DTC has worked to develop a 'buffer zone' in order to improve park-people relations. This is based on the belief that people will protect the park resources if they anticipate some advantage in doing so. The 'buffer zone' equals to a depth of one parish⁵ radius around the forest and a 'multiple use zone' inside the park. The multiple use zone is the area where controlled local use of specific forest products (herbs, bees, medicinal plants, etc) is allowed. Planning of the 'multiple use zones' is system begun in 1992 (CARE, 1993:28). This is a pioneer attempt in Uganda to implement a multiple use program and DTC is commendable for its initiative to advocate for the extractive use of the resources by the local community within national parks (CARE, 1993:28).

Agricultural and agro-forestry extension is provided to households in the parishes adjacent to the forests. Interventions include planting of woodlots, trees planted with crops and on boundaries, high-yielding varieties of beans and Irish potatoes, vegetable growing and soil conservation. The objective of these activities is primarily to substitute for forest resources that are no longer available to local communities. The tree planting is primarily for fuel wood and the agricultural interventions are aimed at generating income to substitute for income previously gained from cutting timber in the forest (CARE-Phase III discussion paper -n.d:2). However in the project's third phase (commencing early 1996), it is stated, the agro-forestry and agricultural interventions will be extended from the current focus on food production and provision of fuel wood to include livestock, cash crops (eg coffee) and crop processing. Increased forest utilisation will also be given more attention in terms of training traditional [male] bee keepers in honey production and

⁵ A parish is a local administrative unit one level higher than a village. In the context of the "Resistance Council" administrative system of Uganda, a number of villages (Resistance Council 1 or RC1) form a parish (Resistance Council 2 or RC2). The sequence goes higher up to RC5 and finally the National Resistance Council (NRC) -the country's legislature.

production of timber and bamboo [All these are predominantly male activities!].

Initially the DTC extension method, as described by the project's mid-term evaluation in 1993, was a top-down approach where pre-determined interventions are promoted. No effort was made to determine people's needs and to tailor the project intervention to the 'real needs' of the people. Thus

[i]nitial project initiative were based on a predetermined understanding that farmers undertook no soil management practices and that they required alternative sources of wood outside the gazetted forests. There was no assessment whether fuelwood deficiencies actually existed to justify promoting woodlots (CARE, 1993:42).

But here we run into the problem of what the peoples 'real needs' are and who determines them. As Hambly 1993) points out, development agencies always assume that peoples immediate needs (basic needs) have to be fulfilled before addressing socio-cultural, economic and political issues (Hambly, 1993:14). Thus welfarist programmes which address peoples life condition are implemented, ignoring the need to initiate processes that transform social structure that promote inequalities. But the two processes should not always be separated. In the case of the present study area, how can we possibly separate the need of the Batwa to attain food security if their landlessness is not addressed?

The reason behind this misconception was a lack of baseline data on the specific geographical zone, target group needs and existing practices. The consequence was the promotion of "blanket massages" ie uniform programs of soil conservation, agro-forestry, vegetable growing as solutions to the people's real needs of better roads, education, health facilities, lack of food, land, markets and soil fertility. (CARE, 1993:43). Another survey carried out in the environs of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (Docherty, 1993) revealed that development projects which are community oriented ie tending to fulfil the development agenda such as improved health care, education, communication, were prioritised over conservation oriented projects (agro-forestry, fish ponds, water projects, tree nurseries) by the local people. This is a result of people identifying with projects that they feel have a higher capacity to improve their livelihood.

DTC is currently implementing a "needs-driven" as opposed to the previously "technology-driven" extension program after the latter approach was

criticised in the 1993 mid term evaluation of the project. This takes the form of a participatory rural appraisal (PRA) methodology where project staff work with 'communities to identify and prioritise problems, analyse causes and develop solutions and activities in the form of a "Community action plan" (CARE (nd):2). Where the prioritised, mainly basic needs, fall outside the mandate of DTC, linkage are facilitated to other relevant organisations.

But 'participatory' methods need to be problematised. In an effort to engender its community participation in conservation, women representatives are encouraged to take part in the decision making committees like the ones that plan the implementation of the 'multiple use zones'. But as Jackson points out

participatory approaches to development assume that communication is unproblematic and ungendered, beyond the need to make sure that women and men are represented in the decision making or consultative bodies involved...[But views expressed can to various degrees] reflect dominant/dominated models and knowledges, 'false consciousness' and mutedness (Jackson, 1994:120).

Indeed how effectively would a handful of women in a group of men challenge the male views since such confrontation might lead to domestic conflicts? And how effectively would a member of the Batwa express his view in such a consultative body given the stigmatisation the Batwa experience? Would the Batwa and the poor be members of such bodies anyway? In short, how representative are the bodies?.

The DTC recognises that there is an underlying problem of land shortages and landlessness in the area which has a bearing on peoples livelihood security and as such, in its phase III beginning early 1996, strategies to improve and maintain household [not individuals!] livelihood security have been outlined. These include: 1) assisting households to plan family size in relation to available resources; 2) improving economic productivity of land outside the parks; 3) developing alternative economic options for those with insufficient land to support household needs.

The emphasis laid on family planning services by the DTC reminds one of the tendency of some sustainable development enthusiasts who view women as careless reproducers who should be assisted to control their sexuality and fertility. But as I mentioned in my theoretical framework, population may appear to be exerting pressure on the resources only because the resources

available for the poor are limited. Increased fertility may also be a response by the poor to counteract declining natural resource availability by increasing on the labour component in the production process. Actually, overpopulation may be an effect of the evident resource access inequalities and not a cause; thus counteracting it may not solve the problem in the long-run.

4.4 DTC and Women

Until the mid-term evaluation of 1993 brought it to the implementors notice, the DTC had focused little on women's needs in its extension packages and approaches. No examination had been undertaken as to who would bear the increased labour requirements resulting from interventions like individual nurseries which required weeding, watering and out planting. This burden fall unproportionately on women due to the gender division of labour. DTC has not taken into account the existing gender division of labour in its intervention plans.

In the pipeline are plans for a project to facilitate credit and saving to indigenous group and particularly targeted are women groups engaged in agricultural production, crop processing and marketing. And in line with the dominant view about women in the sustainable development debate - that women are perpetuators of environmental degradation as [careless or helpless] child bearers, DTC is linking with the CARE family planning project seemingly already in operation elsewhere and they have introduced the services in the DTC area. The justification for the introduction of this service is a result of a situation analysis which was carried out as part if the preparations for phase III of the DTC and observed that "[p]overty in the region is increasing" and "[m]any local people, particularly women, recognise increasing population as cause of poverty and environmental degradation- hence a strong interest in family planning" (CARE -(nd):3). There is also an observation that "[d]rastic gender imbalances (women are responsible for all farm labour in addition to household chores) are serious constraints to development" (CARE -(nd):3 - emphasis original). The reason behind this gender division of labour according to CARE is located in "cultural constraints to male participation in farming activities" (CARE (nd):4).

The same discussion paper for Phase III lays out the project purpose as A sustainable increase in the economic productivity of natural resources and human labour...to be equitably shared within the local community, and between the local community and the nation...

and goes on to add

The statement includes a gender dimension in the idea that all economic production costs and benefits should be shared equitably within communities.... we see this as an essential pre-requisite for the achievement of substantial economic development in the region (CARE, (nd) discussion paper for CARE Phase III:6).

Though this project paper mentions that

...the gender imbalance which, aside from ethical concerns, has been identified as a serious constraint on development in the area and thus also to conservation in the long term,

and promises to

...propose measures to develop the capacity of women and women's groups" and "to sensitise the community as a whole to gender inequalities (:8),

no concrete activities are laid out in the paper as to how the above will be achieved. Instead the paper mentions that

Gender sensitivity [is this just a catch-word?] is intended to be an integral part of the project strategy and as such activities are not listed separately but rather included within each output (:8).

Unfortunately no where in the list of outputs is the gender subject mentioned. This is a clear manifestation of lack of commitment to the gender issue.

Prior to the mid-term evaluation, the idea of identifying "contact farmers" by community extension agents who are then supposed to be examples to the rest had an implicit gender bias because it is based on the notion of "progressive farmers" who are implicitly male. The evaluation recommended a broader approach in terms of gender and economic strata.

This chapter has laid out the historical processes which led to the two major interventions in the environs of Bwindi forest. These interventions have had and continue to have profound effects on the lives of the inhabitants of the area. More specifically the interventions have heavily impacted on different categories of peoples' access to vital resources. The next chapter thus lays out the impact already felt by the people and what impact I project in future.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SETTING AND THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS⁶

This chapter deals with the impact that the two discussed interventions have had/may have on the local social economic set up among the communities in the environs of Bwindi Forest. This will be discussed under two main social relations ie impact on labour and impact on resource access, ownership and control.

5.1 The Present Gender Division of Labour

The gender division of labour which has evolved over the decades in the area of study is presently manifested in a system where women's labour seems to predominate the subsistence/reproductive sphere where as men seem to dominate in the cash sector (see table one). The table shows that in the study area there is a marked gender difference in time allocation between activities of women and men. Women spend a total of 55.4% of their time on reproductive activities (housework (24.4%), child care (22%), collecting fire wood (7.1%), collecting water (1.9%), while the figure for men is 13.6% (child care (5.2%), collecting fuel wood (4.8%), housework (2.5%) and collecting water (1.1%). Women's participation in the income generating activities on the other hand is very low. Though men's participation in farming seems to almost the same as women's, what is lacking in this table is desegregation of cash crop/subsistence crop participation. Thus excluding farming, we can see that men dominate in the cash sectors (wage employment, marketing, business/trade, pitsawing (it is likely that participation in the latter field was drastically under reported because of its illegal nature in the area). In the MISR/DTC survey of 402 households, only one woman (out of 41 female heads of households) mentioned paid employment as a source of income. But women's labour has since colonialism been heavily engaged not only in production of subsistence crops, but also in growing and processing cash crops even when the

⁶ The secondary Data from Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR) and DTC used in this section was collected in early 1992 ie after the two interventions were already in place, and so one assumes that the impact of the interventions could have influenced people's responses. As such it is difficult for me to tell, using the same data, what the impact of the interventions are exactly since I have no clear information of what the situation was before. However I shall first present the socio-economic situation as it is according to the data and where possible I will refer to the same data to illustrate the impact of the interventions.

proceeds went to the men.

The community work activity mentioned in table one needs specific mention here. The hilly terrain of the area has led to very low development of social infrastructure; poor road network and transport, non-existing extension services, few schools, poor and inaccessible health care services, poor marketing and distribution of goods. These conditions have facilitated the development of strong community groups, most outstanding being ambulance groups (called stretcher societies, a name derived from locally made stretchers used to deliver the sick or dead to and from health centres) and self help associations. These are based on mutual reciprocity as a survival strategy. The survey on which this paper is drawing also revealed that there were separate women and men's groups all based on pooling and reciprocity of labour and cash among members (Tukahirwa, et. al. 1993:95).

TABLE ONE : Time allocation between men and women in communities around Bwindi forest⁷

Activity %	Men	Activity %	Women
1. Farming	24.6	1. Farming	26.5
2. Wage Employment	12.0	2. Housework	24.4
3. Community work	9.8	3. Child Care	22.0
4. Herding	6.6	4. Collecting Firewood	7.1
5. Child care	5.2	5. Collecting water	1.9
6. Marketing	5.1	6. Marketing	1.3
7. Collecting firewood	4.8	7. Wage employment	1.1
8. Business/trade	3.6	8. Business/trade	0.6
9. Housework	2.5	9. Community work	0.3
10. Pitsawing	1.4	10. Herding	0.2
11. Collecting water	1.1	11. Pitsawing	0.2
12. Blacksmithing	0.7	12. Blacksmithing	0.1
13. Blank/Don't know	22.6	13. Blank/don't know	14.3

Source:Tukahirwa and Pomeroy (1993) page:42

⁷ The information given in this table may not give the correct picture since it is unstratified. I am aware that this kind of information could be different for different categories of people ie according to class positions, ethnic group, and type of household (female or male headed).

5.2 Livelihood Opportunities

The environs of Bwindi forest are characterised by three main categories of economic activities; the farm and non-farm based and forest usage activities. Increased land shortages coupled with general economic collapse of the Ugandan economy in the last two decades reduced the significance of agriculture as a major source of income (though it still remains a significant source of subsistence) and had increased the significance of off farm income sources and particularly the forest resources for livelihood not only of the local communities, but also of distant dealers in resources procured from the forest. Majority of the people in the project area rely on agriculture for subsistence and, and to a certain level, cash needs. As such the importance of the land resource cannot be overemphasised.

Majority of the households⁸ are involved in farming as a major economic activity. However more of the FHH (80.5%) mentioned farming as their primary activity as compared to 68.4 of the MHH. Pitsawing (illegal⁹) seems to be the second most common primary activity among MHH with 7.8% of them engaged in it while no FHH is involved in the activity. Beer brewing was the third most popular primary economic activity of MHH (7.2%) and FHH (7.3%). Only one FHH mentioned paid employment as their primary activity while 12% of the MHH did. More FHH (4.9%) were involved in craft work as compared to the MHH (0.8%). Livestock keeping is common among MHH as a second and third economic activity but less so among FHH¹⁰. In rural Uganda livestock is important as a social security asset in case of emergencies (health care, education fees, debt payment, etc) when they are usually sold. We can see how ill prepared for emergencies FHH are.

Perhaps what clearly shows how limited women's livelihood options are is the fact that only 8.3% of the FHH were engaged in more than three economic activities as compared to 54.1 of the male MHH who engaged in 4-7 economic

⁸ The MISR/DTC data used here was collected from heads of households. So when I mention FHH and MHH I imply female heads of household and male heads of households.

⁹ Pitsawing was banned when the national park was created. If people in this survey mentioned it as an activity they were engaged in, they were probably talking of the past (a few months before this survey) or they were implying that they were doing it illegally which is highly unlikely.

¹⁰ This is of course subject to the class position of the household.

activities.

Table Two: Number of Economic Activities Engaged in by MHH and FHH

	MHH%	FHH%
One	4.4	14.6
Two	13.9	48.8
Three	27.1	29.3
Four	24.7	3.4
Five	13.9	4.9
>5	15.5	-

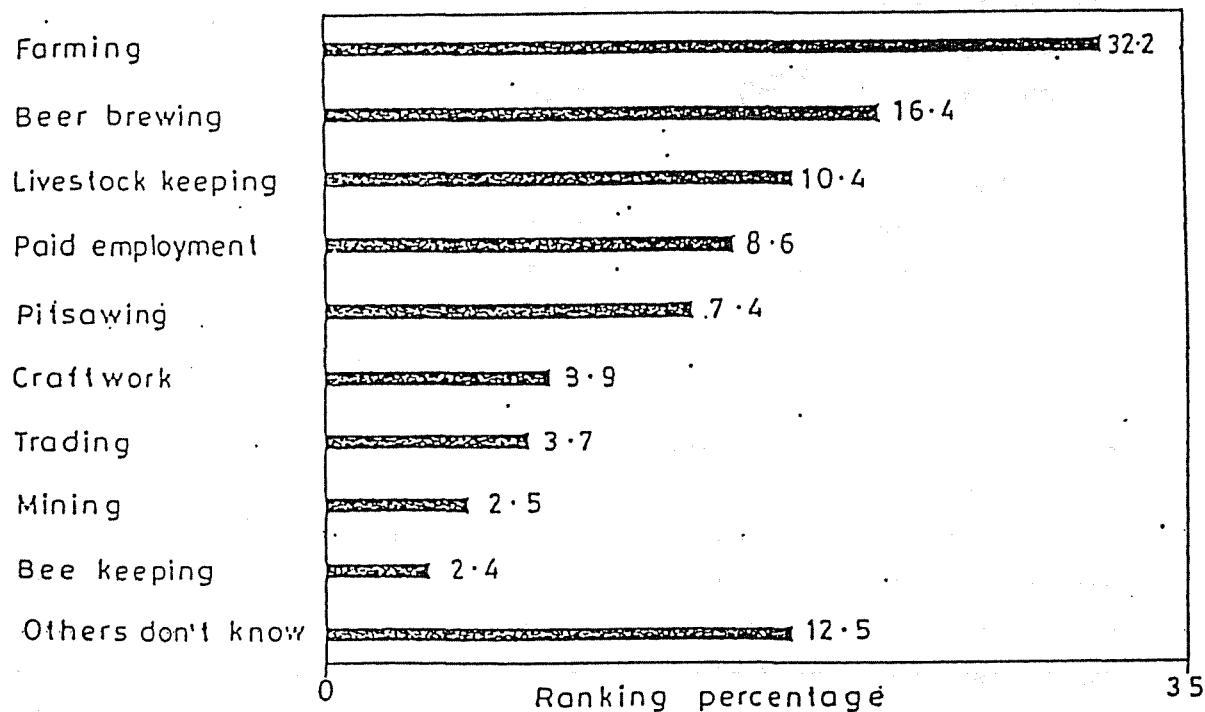
SOURCE: Extracted fro MISR/DTC survey data collected in 1992 (my analysis).

In the same MISR/DTC¹¹ survey all the economic activities were ranked in order of their importance. Among the whole sample population (communities living in environs of Bwindi Forest) farming came first. But as already mentioned above, we cannot ascertain the reasons for prioritising of this activity between men and women since the data does not say if it was subsistence or cash crop farming. The agricultural sector in Uganda has experienced deteriorating terms of trade over the last decade and as such there has been a shift to non-farm activities in many parts of Uganda (Ministry of Planning, 1991- cited in Tukahirwa et. al. 1993)¹². One can only sympathise with the people who are still dominant in the farming sector. It is also evident that beer brewing is a very significant income source. Yet the same data revealed that women's participation in this activity were only 11% of the total (Tukahirwa, et.al. 1993:42). Women did not mention pitsawing or mining (very lucrative activities in this area) as sources of income. Below is a graph to show the prioritising of economic activities in the area.

¹¹ This ranking was done in Tukahirwa, et. al. (1993); but this was a preliminary report done using the same MISR/DTC data, only it was analysed by another Institute ie the Makerere University Institute of Environment and Natural Resources (MUIENR).

¹² Ministry of Planning (1991) "Report on The Uganda National Household Budget Survey 1989-1990 " Kampala.

Figure Three: Priority Ranking of Economic Activities in Communities Around Bwindi Forest.



Source: Tukahirwa and Pomeroy (1993:44).

Different household heads have different income sources according to the different economic activities they are engaged in. But here again there is an evident differentiation between the MHH and FHH in terms of income providing options.

Table Three: Number of Income Sources available to MHH and FHH

Income sources	MHH%	FHH%
1-3	26.0	31.7
4-6	44.6	58.5
7-8	29.4	9.8

Source: Extracted from MISR/DTC Survey data (my analysis).

Many household heads reported a change in the financial positions of their households in the previous five years prior to the survey (1988-1992). This was mostly due to the closure of the forest from community access to the resources within, long droughts, poor yields etc (Tukahirwa, et al. 1993:50).

Table Four: Status of Household Financial Position in the Previous Five Years

Financial Position	MHH%	FHH%
Remained the same	22.7	26.8
Changed	77.0	73.2
How?		
Improved	17.6	6.6
Deteriorated	82.3	93.3

Extracted From MISR/DTC Survey data (my analysis).

One of the forest usage activities is basketry. Even though not many people are involved in this activity, it is a significant source of income particularly for poor women who due to their physical, educational and (thus) occupational immobility have limited income sources even though they have significant financial obligations including children's school fees and day to day necessities. The denied or limited access to the forest for handicraft material could thus have a significant effect on their economic wellbeing.

5.3 Impact of National Park Formation on Resource access

The changing of the reserve into a strict conservation area has had a serious economic effect on the communities around it. People formerly dependant on economic activities within the forest (eg within the timber industry) had to look for other work or move to other forests in the country. But this impact is most likely more severe on women of poor households who are very immobile due to their subsistence responsibilities and of course men and women from the minority Batwa group who were dependent on the forest for subsistence. The forest closure plunged the Batwa into intense social stigmatisation because they then became viewed as "social liabilities". In the past the forest tended to ameliorate their landlessness because it provided refuge when landlords evicted them. But now this refuge has been cut off.

The importance of the forest to local people is based on market and consumptive values of the forest natural resources. Some economic activities in the area were solely forest based before declaration of the national park. The following are some of the resources previously procured from the forest.

5.31 Animal Resources

According to Kamugisha (1994) hunting in Bwindi predates gazetted protection. Traditionally hunting was for subsistence though trophy hunting and sale of young primates may have later taken place. Rodents and primates were hunted mainly by Batwa forest dwellers who more than anyone else were dependent on forest for their survival given the fact that they were dependent on the common property rights that the forest provided and, of course hardly any land rights in the agricultural areas. The gorillas were never targeted by hunters. Hunting was banned throughout Uganda in 1979. Fishing takes place on limited scale within and outside the forest in lakes, rivers and swamps.

5.32 Plant Resources

Formerly pitsawing was recommended as a harvesting method for the forest. This is because it was seen as selective and also because the limited technical capacities of the activity was viewed as of low ecological and environmental impact, thus sustainable as long as the forest department had it under control. The political turmoil and administrative breakdown that characterised the period from mid 1970s increased levels of illegal pitsawing throughout the forest (Kamugisha et. al. 1994; Tukahirwa et. al 1993)..

Pitsawing was not only a major economic activity, but it also stimulated other activities such as people coming to buy timber also provided market for agricultural produce and crafts which are sold at roadside or in nearby scheduled markets due to the transport difficulties. When pitsawing in the forest was banned, there was considerable loss of income to the local peasant population (Kamugisha, 1994:36), more so the men who dominated this industry, but also people (men and women) in other activities which were boosted or stimulated by the timber industry. The men formerly involved in the timber industry have either become unemployed or have shifted to other forests in Uganda to continue with their activity. But even now, pitsawing is viewed as a potential threat to the forest. Bamboo, vines, ropes, weaving materials, palm leaves, bean stakes, fruits, roots, medicines, firewood and poles are some of the other plant products procured from the forest (Kamugisha et. al. 1994; Tukahirwa et. al 1993). We are told that even handicraft material harvested from the forest was stopped. This again means slimmer avenues for women income options. The situation of women in such circumstances is worsened by the fact that men who migrate make very limited remittances or none at all (MISR/DTC, 1992). All this must have reduced the income channels of the poor

and particularly the minority Batwa who depended on the pitsawing industry either as manual labourers (mainly the men), or by selling crafts to outside business people involved in the industry (mainly the women).

Though there was always some agricultural encroachment on the forest ever since it was gazetted as a reserve, the level was not as high as would have been expected in such a highly populated area. Where people had encroached on the forest for agriculture, management swiftly pushed them out with ease (Tukahirwa, et. al. 1993; Kamugisha et. al. 1994).

5.33 Mining and prospecting

Mining both within and outside the forest reserve had been a significant economic activity and source of income for local people until 1991. Three main minerals are mined; gold, iron ore, and wolfram. Mining in the forest has been banned but still occurs outside the forest. At the local level, mining was and still is mainly a male dominated activity. The stoppage or reduction of this activity is bound to reduce livelihood of the poor people who used to be employed in manual tasks. Notable here is the fact that this was one of the major employers of Batwa men.

5.4 Effect of National Park Formation on Women's Labour

In 1991 the forest reserve was designated as national park despite the people's strong opposition. Denied access to Bwindi and Mugahinga forests has led to the temporal out-migration of men in search for alternative livelihood opportunities which in turn has increased the responsibilities for women. Presently Women head at least 15% of all households in the area and head about 40% of the households on periodic basis while husbands are away. According to CARE, women labour forms the backbone of the areas's farming systems and are solely responsible for all household fuel needs (CARE, 1993:48). But as table one shows, men too are involved in farming as much as the women are and they also take part in collection of fuel wood. The discrepancy between these two sources of information is not easy to ascertain. Could CARE also be falling victim to the tendency of some lobbyists in the sustainable development debate to make sweeping statements unsupported by local empirical reality?

Denial of access to the forest has mostly affected two vital household needs; ie fuel wood and water sources. The stoppage of collection of fuel wood from

Bwindi Forest certainly makes poor women's work burden heavier since they have to seek alternative sources which in most cases are not as convenient as the former sources. In addition, many women have been denied access to water sources within the forest in this water scarce area (due to the hilly terrain) (DTC 1993:49). This denial of access to two of life's sustaining resources, (which consume a lot of time of poor women and sometimes men from poor households) has increased the responsibilities of the poor mainly women, but also men tremendously.

Agro-forestry, which is one of the major interventions of the DTC project meant to meet peoples wood needs and increase productivity of the land, has a very long gestation period (minimum about five years) before results can be realised. Yet the need for fuel has to be met. Thus for women, this intervention may not be a direct compensation of the lost access to the forest. In rural Uganda where trees tend to become more valuable with increasing populations which imply increased demand for resources like wood either for building or even fuel wood which has by now been commoditised, coupled with changing environmental conditions. It has become almost impossible for people (especially in poor peasants households) to decide to cut trees for fuel wood when the same trees can fetch good income on the market, also considering the worsening economic conditions for the poor which has accompanied the increased social stratification. Thus for poor households production of trees on household farms does not necessarily alleviate wood fuel shortages since wood fuel is regarded as of low priority in relation to other needs which may require cash.

5.5 The Impact of DTC on Resource Control

Agricultural intervention aimed to increase productivity of high yielding varieties of beans, irish potatoes, vegetables, is one of the Project's major activities. This is supposed to generate income to substitute for income previously gained from forest products. This sounds a good intervention only if we are assured that all will benefit from the income thus generated. But a study carried out in different parts of rural Uganda (Sebina & Natukunda, 1988) revealed that women can decide on sale and expenditure of proceeds from surplus food crops. However when crops are grown with the aim of income generation, inevitably the men tend to control the selling and the utilisation of proceeds generated, as illustrated in the following table.

Table Five: Members of household selling and deciding on proceeds from farm production (Uganda, 1988).

Crops	Member selling	Member Deciding on how to spend proceeds	
Food Crops (n=461)			
Wife	44%	Wife	40%
Husband	44%	Husband	39%
Both	9%	Both	18%
Other	3%	Other	4%
Cash Crops (n=365)			
Wife	18%	Wife	19%
Husband	73%	Husband	65%
Both	5%	Both	14%
Other	4%	Other	1%

Source: Sebina & Natukunda, 1988 Women Needs Assessment Survey, UNICEF/ACFODE (Kampala, Uganda).

The question is, is the income driven agricultural intervention likely to indirectly sacrifice the little control that women formerly may have had over the products of their labour? At least this is what the table seems to suggest. This is a direct manifestation of the historical gender differentiation in control of household income initiated by the colonial cash economy. The fact is that though women are major agricultural producers, they are far from being equal partners with their male kin in production and sustenance of their families since they have little control of the products.

If the DTC project implementors assume the pooling-and-sharing household in the income generating interventions, they will be overlooking an important fact that household members have different interests and obligations, and benefits of interventions may effectively be realised only by some members if the household is taken as a unit. And to make the benefits of increased income equitable, women have to be incorporated as autonomous economic agents (Young, 1993:60). Both women and men should be encouraged to participate in the cash economy. If DTC perpetuates the colonial notions of the male income earner and female subsistence producer, then the chances that the benefits of the interventions will be equitable are remote. The project may only help to perpetuate the colonial notion 'male/female or local versus external divisions in the economy, where males are engaged in a variety of cash generating activities, [and] the women tend to depend on the men for cash' (Sebina-Zziwa, 1995:3).

Yet the DTC project has not shown any initiative or proposals to the issue of resource control between men and women, the rich and poor farmers, nor for the minority Batwa.

Women in the project area lack effective control of the land they work in terms of utilisation decisions (DTC, 1993:50). And as the MISR/DTC (1992) study revealed, women do not usually plant trees because this is men's work. But even in cases where they do plant them, they do not own them nor can they harvest them without the husbands' consent. Where women are allowed to harvest trees planted on the household's land, it is only for firewood for home use, they cannot sell them. The main reason why tree ownership by women is discouraged is because of fear of women's claim for land ownership: "if a woman sells a tree without the husband's consent, then she may even sell the land" (MISR/DTC, 1992:10). In a situation where land and trees resources are exclusively controlled by men, women may be unwilling or unable to put into practice any resource conservation knowledge and skills that they may possess, since they lack control over land and tree resources (MISR/DTC, 1992). Women are recognised as natural resource users but not resource decision makers (Rodda, 1991); this is precisely the problem behind the issue of women and the environment.

The customary law operating in the area has meant that only sons inherit land from parents. Before the commoditisation of land, most women in Africa acquired land use rights through their male kin; more especially through marriage. But the social stratification which accompanies commoditisation and monetisation created classes within the category 'women' such that some women can now afford to purchase land while others must still rely on their relations with men to access to land. But even though such women may acquire access to land (as users), they do not or rarely own it. Women eventually become weary of having to plant trees on land which they considered their husbands' land with no guarantee that they will own the trees. Women become reluctant to spend their labour where they cannot control its products. Leach (1991) laments;

Both women's natural resource managing activities and their economic opportunities may be constrained by their lack of control over crucial decisions related to resource use while insecure land and tree tenure and rights to products may limit women's incentives to invest in 'sound' environmental management (Leach, 1991:5)

To the women in the area, the DTC interventions which are "unilaterally formulated" (Kamugisha, et.al.1994:118) are not addressing the actual problem

if they do not try to deal with the issue of resource control inequalities.

Though the evaluation team of the project also pointed out the need for "mobilisation of women and communities to provide women with greater control over their means of production" (CARE, 1993:50), the discussion paper for Phase II proposal does not mention anything about this. The evaluation team also highlighted the need for gender desegregated data to be incorporated in all progress reports of the project.

The project should consider it imperative to take gender differences in interests, motivation, and perception of benefits which are in turn heavily influenced by gender division of responsibilities and access to resources and knowledge (Rodda, 1991:151). Rodda observes that the fact that women's responsibilities for providing for their families needs may lead to their being hardest hit in the face of resource decline and/or degradation has been extensively revealed by research. She then concludes that women could provide fertile constituency for promotion of sustainable use of natural resources. Unfortunately policy makers often overlook the need to help women gain control of resources they use and the valuable knowledge and expertise that women accumulate over time is almost never sought. And as Reardon observes, land rights and land use issues are tenet issues for programs and projects aimed at sustainable use of natural resources though often not seen as such (Reardon, 1993).

But in this case we cannot talk of women as monolithic, since they are differentiated by class and ethnicity, and we cannot assert that all women are more hit than all men. In the present case Batwa men and women are likely to be hit more than anyone else. Women from poor households would also be worse hit than those from richer households.

The CARE (1993) evaluation noted the sorry state that the Batwa are in. They recommended that in the short term DTC needs to facilitate their access to the forest resources and to take an active role in solving their landlessness because neglecting them jeopardises the project goals. But subsequent project papers do not mention the Batwa problem. If DTC interventions can only be beneficial to people who own land on which to apply them thus excluding the Batwa and some poor women and men, can DTC claim to be improving the livelihood opportunities of all the community?

It has been observed that the implications of intervention policies in

agriculture and ecology (as the CARE-DTC project is doing) for women in poor rural households are closely related to pre-existing class and gender relations. The common outcome of such interventions has been to favour the relatively privileged sections of society while increasing the burden of poverty in the underprivileged sections of society. When such interventions are applied in contexts characterised by intra-household gender inequalities in division of labour, access to food and health care, cash income and productive resources, the result is that women in poor households end up even worse off than men (Agarwal, 1988:114). As such DTC has to take into account and surpass social divisions based on gender, class, ethnicity among its target population if it is to genuinely realise its objective of alleviating poverty for all the community. Otherwise it will work to reinforce the pre-existing inequalities. This will in turn be jeopardising the spirit of sustainable development.

CHAPTER SIX

6. PROPOSALS FOR THE WAY FORWARD

6.1 The Need to Empower The Local Communities

Braidotti et. al (1994:181) exposes the main problem which has up till now hindered southern people from benefiting from development directed to them. The problem is the tendency of centralised policy making by northern agencies for development programmes and projects implemented in the south. This hinders genuine local participation in project formulation. Centralised policy making fails to take into account local specifics and needs of different social groups (the women, the poor and disadvantaged, the minority ethnic groups). People who are affected by development policies must not only have a say in the formulation, but also deserve accountability from implementors (Braidotti, et.al. 1994:182). Policies need to reflect the interest of all people irrespective of class, gender, ethnicity or any other such group. Local people's participation in planning and implementation of development projects need to be encouraged in order to make projects more responsive to the needs of the intended beneficiaries.

And another tenet issue that needs to be taken seriously is that the local people who are expected to participate, eg in environmental programmes, must benefit. The common trend has been that environmentalists tend to show more concern in meeting their conservation goals than in benefits accruing to the people involved. As part of this line of thinking many environmental projects have instrumentalised people's (especially women's) labour to serve environmental goals. Women's labour is already overstretched and interventions should not make life intolerable for them. But it needs to be stressed that where women are involved in environmental projects, they must benefit in the form of wider social changes like increasing their decision making power and access to resources like land as Braidotti et. al. (1994:183) suggests.

For the DTC project to realise its overall aim of conserving the environment, it has to have a clear set agenda aimed at ameliorating poverty for all the people irrespective of gender, class or ethnicity. This then should help to resolve the conflict of development versus conservation. Indeed as IUCN (1980)¹³ -cited in Kamugisha et al. 1994) has put it, conservation cannot be

¹³ The World Conservation Strategy, IUCN, 1980.

achieved without development to alleviate poverty and misery of people. What should probably be added to the statement is that by "people" we mean all people; men and women of all classes and ethnic groups, as a matter of efficiency.

For the project to come to terms with its objective of alleviating poverty in the whole community, then it has to recognise the disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and to know the source of their powerlessness. It then should endeavour to initiate a process of empowering these people.

According to Slayter, et. al (1991:31), Empowerment

...[entails] a focus on sustainability within ecological systems and within social systems. It involves a decrease in vulnerability whether to the forces of nature, to the greed of individuals or to the injustices of political, social, and economic systems operative within the household, within the community, within the nation, and within the international state system.

While I cannot lay down a blue print of how this process should proceed, I feel that as a start there should be an effort at conscious raising of the disadvantaged. This may for example involve legal education to help them to become aware of their rights. Research in Uganda has revealed very low awareness of individual property rights and the legal system that deals with property issues (Sebina Zziwa, 1995). An approach that starts at the level of raising awareness/education on the Ugandan laws pertaining to property ownership would be a good starting point.

This approach which has been termed the "consciousness-raising approach" by Batliwala, (1994) will help make the powerless [women] aware of the need to challenge both gender, ethnic and class-based discrimination in all aspects of their lives, and to mobilise and struggle for greater access to resources rather than to be passively provided with schemes and services (Batliwala, 1994:135). While this approach may set in a process for women to address aspects of their position in society, it will not address their immediate problems of poverty (practical needs eg provision of water sources, introduction of fuel saving stoves, income generating activities, improved food availability,). A combination of this approach and the "Integrated Development approach" (Batliwala, 1994:135); which focuses on providing services and enhancing economic status, will certainly go a long way in addressing the condition and position of women in society. CARE-DTC can liaise

with women's organisations which deal with legal aid to assist in this field eg. Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and Action for Development (ACFODE).

It is common for development programs to insist that people's immediate needs must be addressed before issues involving strategic socio-cultural, economic and political needs can be considered and this leads to agencies implementing programs focused on women's life conditions rather than their position in society (Hambly, 1993:14). But, as Hambly revealed in her research in Kenya, women avoided the separation of immediate needs from strategic needs because their rights to land, credit and labour were insecure. The women pointed out that in order to grow more food (an immediate/practice need), they require more land, credit, and labour (more or less strategic needs). And as I have already pointed out in chapter four, welfarist programmes which address peoples life condition tend to ignore the need to initiate processes that transform social structures that promote inequalities. And Yet as Hambly (1993) demonstrated, it does not always make sense to insist on separating the two processes. And again as I mentioned earlier on, it does not make sense to preach to the Batwa about need to attain food security if their landlessness is not addressed. Thus for the Batwa, the project is neither meeting their practical needs nor their strategic ones.

This points to the fact that the present approach of the CARE-DTC project (improved agricultural practices, improved markets for products, etc) may lead to betterment of *some* people's (from landed households) condition, but this should not be the end in itself. Rather strategies must intervene at the level of peoples's condition while also transforming their position ie of all people.

6.2 Women's Control of Productive Resources

Reduced resource availability due to changing government policies on resource management specifically the designation of Bwindi Forest Reserve into a National Park has lead to male out-migration in search of alternatives. But rural women in Uganda are often immobile not only due to their subsistence responsibilities, but also lack of education limits their occupational mobility. Yet research has revealed that 'the risk of poverty and physical wellbeing of a woman and her children could depend on whether or not she has direct access to income' (Agarwal, 1994:1462). Women's Access to independent income in turn depends very much on access and control of productive assets since women with independent rights (independent of male ownership or

control) (Agarwal, 1994:1460) may be better placed to control the product of their labour. For women to be able to fully control the products of their labour, they, as disadvantaged group, need an enhanced ability to challenge and change existing power relations that place them in subordinate positions in all spheres of life. Entitling women with land and other productive resources would not only empower them economically, but would also strengthen their ability to challenge social and political gender inequalities (Agarwal, 1994:1464). Men should also be made to realise the disadvantaged position that the sexual division of labour ordains on women and encouraged to share in the work traditionally referred to as 'female' work. Women on the other hand should also be able to identify the disadvantages that the sexual division of labour places on them and encouraged to challenge the inequality. All this requires intense consciousness raising.

Yet as the evaluation report revealed, DTC has focused little on the needs of women in its extension packages and approaches (CARE, 1993:48). The most likely reason behind this lack of focus has been well put in the discussion by The North-South Institute Colloquium, 1990 where it is observed that development workers tend to see men, by nature of their gender, as being in charge and as the ones to be handled. Women then assume "a new invisibility" within the "gender dichotomised" setting and become "another natural resource" [that can be used to nurse the environment even if they get no immediate or long-term tangible benefits] rather than people to constructively deal and negotiate with in tackling the environment problem. This highly gendered decision making system is often legitimised through gender roles and relations (e.g extension workers consult with men whose duty it is to make such major decisions) excluding women from decisions which govern their access to vital natural resources.

In its income generating interventions, the CARE-DTC project should endeavour to avoid the assumption of the pooling-and-and-sharing household because household members have different interests and obligations and benefits of interventions may effectively be realised only by some members if the household is taken as a unit. And to make the benefits of increased income equitable, women have to be incorporated as autonomous economic agents (Young, 1993:60). Both women and men should be encouraged to participate in the cash economy.

6.3 Addressing Class Differences in Resource Access

This issue is rather a complicated one to deal with because of its political implications. People who do not command sizeable land in the area are disadvantaged in the number of economic activities that they can engage in. One of the manifestations of the unequal access to land is the fact that the livestock industry has over the decades been transformed into an arena for the rich due to limited grazing land available for the poor. Livestock act as emergencies' insurance for the peasant households. As such the government should make an effort to enable people to diversify their livelihood options by availing communal grazing land. For example swamps which were appropriated by individuals could be repossessed for the common good. Grazing in the forest could also be encouraged.

6.4 The Batwa Issue

For the landless Batwa, the national park stands for deprivation while the whole issue of the DTC interventions is meaningless as long as they have no access rights to land. The DTC could make some timely lobbying to government to avail land for these people. Since their populations are very small, I assume that a small part of the national park could be allocated to them to settle down. Entitlement to land may improve these people's relations with Bakiga who now view the Batwa as liabilities; as thieves who steal food from gardens. This move could also ease the pressure that these people may be illegally exerting on the forest just because they have to survive.

On the social relations side, the DTC should incorporate as part of their community extension massages the Batwa issue. Other ethnic groups need to be made aware that the Batwa are worthy human beings deserving dignity. Otherwise the social stigmatisation they face could undermine any efforts to improve their situation. I am strongly against the attitude of national park officials who only see the worth of these people as a "cultural attraction" for tourists. Far from making the Batwa culture accepted by other people, park official's attitude could just worsen the situation because the other people will only see the Batwa as objects of public amusement. In order to fully intermingle with the other cultures, these people need to be assisted to develop self esteem and dignity. This can only happen if they have the ability to derive a livelihood without being forced into dependency or exploitative relations.

6.5 Conclusion

This paper has analyzed from a gender/class/ethnicity perspective the differentiated impact of a long process of resource management in southwestern Uganda laying emphasis on the following major landmarks: colonial interventions in land use patterns, post colonial policies on resource distribution in particular the appropriation of common property resources by the state and by individuals (also encouraged by the state). Two landmarks in the process were used as cases in point ie the designation of Bwindi forest reserve into a national park and the inception of the DTC which is an integrated conservation and development project. Each of the interventions was analyzed in terms of the socially differentiated effects it has had/may have on the local people in terms resource access and labour relations based on gender, class and ethnicity. Due to the fact that the study was deriving from secondary data, some gaps could not be properly filled in and it is my hope that this study triggers interest of researchers and development organisations to ponder further into this area and fill in the gaps. It is also my sincere hope that, give the opportunity, I will carry out more elaborate research on this topic in future.

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