

En-Gendering CARPE:

An Assessment

of

Gender Issues, Potential Impacts & Opportunities

Under the New CARPE Strategic Objective

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I. Executive Summary

At this strategic juncture, CARPE core and partner staff have the opportunity to remedy previous inattention to gender issues. Mainstreaming gender issues has many benefits for those trying to achieve sustainable conservation/NRM and gender equitable development. However, it is important to not just “add women and stir.” Simply adding a few women here and there or directing some support to an occasional women’s group or hiring one or two female staff is not enough. On the other hand, a female-focused strategy is no more likely to be no more successful than a male-focused strategy. Gender mainstreaming means understanding the situation of both men and women and tailoring strategies to address these realities.

Deforestation and defaunation in the Congo Basin are complex livelihood-related behaviors with multiple stakeholders, including both women and men, urban and rural residents, commercial and subsistence actors and a plethora of ethnicities including the intertwined relationship between forest villagers and forest foragers. As is, the proposed activities for the next phase of CARPE will have only an incidental positive affect on women. They are more likely to have a negative impact on women and the more vulnerable segments of society unless pro-active steps are taken by CARPE core and partner staff to understand gendered resource use, incentives, constraints and opportunities, including capacity building ones for professionals. This knowledge will help partners to develop more much effective strategies for reaching CARPE’s new intermediate results, strategic objective and goals.

CARPE core and partner staff can make three types of *program choices* to mainstream gender: 1) Resource Decision-Making, 2) Household Livelihood/Finance, and 3) Knowledge, Attitude and Capacity.

For the Congo Basin, several sets of *gender-related issues* significantly influence the work of CARPE: 1) inheritance rules; education; employment/promotion opportunities; informal sector involvement, ethnicity and religion and conflict situations.

To date, CARPE’s *gender-related assets* include:

- Positive attitudes about doing more to address gender issues and general awareness, of the gender issues relevant to their work, by CARPE core and partner staff;
- Some involvement of social scientists, either as advisors, consultants or partner staff, in past CARPE work;
- Efforts to hire and train female professionals as staff;
- Some efforts to identify appropriate income-generating/alternative livelihood activities for both women and men;
- Some understanding of the gender-related impacts of restrictions on bushmeat hunting and interest in prioritizing work with female bushmeat traders.

Past constraints have included: 1) assuming that positive attitudes about gender equity will be enough to create positive gender impacts; 2) counting gender beans versus understanding gender dynamics, and 3) assuming that social scientist involvement will necessarily address gender issues and not tapping existing sources of expertise, internationally or in the region.

For the next phase of CARPE activities under the new strategic objective, several *potential gender-related constraints* may arise:

- Negative attitude toward about local people and addressing social issues by some segments of the conservation/NRM community in the United States and overseas;
- Unsystematic attention and a passive approach to gender and social issues by partners and core staff, weak understanding of how to strategically mainstream gender across project activities and insufficient involvement of gender experts;

- No CARPE requirements of partners & grantees to address gender issues or develop strategies or targets;
- Weak CARPE partner links with local development-oriented NGOs and women's associations;
- Limited experience with building gender analysis into trainings that are offered;
- An uneven knowledge base across the project regarding gender and social issues related to the three new intermediate results (sustainable resource management practices, monitoring, environmental governance).

Potential gender-related *impacts* are identified under their Intermediate Result (IR) and are as follows:

Impacts: IR 1 (testing, disseminating and applying sustainable resource management practices)

- Changing the hunting policies and practices of logging concessionaires and their employees, is likely to have a negative impact on rural and urban women (and men) involved in bushmeat hunting, processing, trade, food businesses and transport.
- Current protected area management activities will not improve women's opportunities for hiring or training of professionals and community women. It is possible that restrictions on non-timber forest product collection will unfairly affect women and may result in girls being taken out of school to make up for lost income. Existing environmental materials are not tailored by gender, do not often reflect gendered indigenous knowledge and are less likely to change female resource use behaviors.
- Without a better understanding of the gender division of labor and tenure issues, farm-level demonstrations seem more likely to have a negative impact on the access to land for farming by forest villager and forest farmer women.
- Without attention to household livelihood strategies and gendered access to income within households, the alternative livelihood/income generation strategies, if they are profitable, are likely to be dominated by men. Working with groups of women producers or traders may increase women's control over the income that they earn.

Impacts: IR2 (developing skills, institutions and systems to monitor resource status and changes)

- Capacity building around remote sensing activities is likely to include only men unless pro-active steps are taken to train female professionals. The same is true for analytical and advocacy work for forest monitoring data and on-the ground monitoring technicians.
- On-the-ground monitoring work, particularly related to non-timber forest products, is likely to miss more than half of the story if data is not collected on male and female resource collection.

Impacts: IR3 and Sub IR 3.1 (enacting laws and policies that reinforce natural resource management and improving governance structures for NRM)

- Any resource policies and laws developed from incomplete gender data appear more likely to have negative impacts on women if their resource use is invisible to those making decisions. In addition, consultative processes seem likely to only include men unless pro-active measures are taken to increase the involvement of women.
- Women are consistently underrepresented in national and local government agencies and so government-focused efforts to improve governance are unlikely to improve the engagement or empowerment of women in decision-making. In addition, efforts to improve community-level empowerment and decentralization will not necessarily benefit women because they typically have not addressed intra-community empowerment.

Three categories of potential *opportunities* for gender mainstreaming were suggested by CARPE partners and inferred from project and other documents:

Opportunities: Capacity Building

- With a strong emphasis on capacity building in CARPE's next phase, partners will have many opportunities to introduce and build skills in gender analysis (collecting, understanding and applying gender-related information) and social analysis.
- The gender accessibility of CARPE activities and approaches would be further enhanced through regular input by gender experts.
- Because the dearth of host country female professionals working in conservation and NRM in the Congo Basin countries reduces the innovation capacity of these professions., CARPE partners should take a three-pronged approach (hiring and training female development professionals, equal opportunity organizational policies, mentoring schoolgirls for conservation careers).
- For capacity building and environmental educational activities at the community level, CARPE partners will need to adapt their materials, schedules and activity locations to ensure accessibility for women.

Opportunities: Household Livelihood/Finances

- To successfully modify bushmeat hunting and trading practices, CARPE partners need to better understand and apply information related to the gender division of labor, intra-household use of income and gendered resource knowledge, for forest villagers, forest foragers and urban/town traders.
- It is also important to learn more about the role of bushmeat for social purposes and the investment of bushmeat income.
- Existing efforts to support the formation of existing or new producer or trader associations for sustainable use should be continued and include both sexes.
- Partners should build upon existing non-timber forest products work (particularly under the Small Grants Program) and routinely include gender-related information on collecting, marketing and use.
- Analyses for policy/legal and regulatory changes should routinely address gender-related impacts on the status of women and men, particularly their access to resources and income.
- In terms of targeting efforts for livelihood activities, CARPE partners should be sure to pay special attention to the more vulnerable segments of communities.

Opportunities: Resource Decision-Making/Environmental Governance

- For conservation/NRM professionals, CARPE should be pro-active about providing opportunities for both females and males to influence decision-making at local, national, regional and international venues.
- For citizens and civil society representatives, CARPE partners should consider devoting more attention to improve the gender equitability of access to resource decision-making at different levels.
- Through CARPE work, partners have opportunities to improve the effectiveness of both male and female citizens to advocate their interests, accountability and transparency in resource decision-making venues.
- For CARPE, support of civil society networking should also include more development organizations and those working for gender and social justice related to conservation/NRM (e.g., indigenous rights for forest forager ethnic groups).

Opportunities: CORE and Cross-Partner Initiatives

- As a multi-partner project, CARPE has an opportunity to set forth a gender policy that promotes equitable access/opportunities and the collection and use of gender-related data.
- Core publications and communication should routinely address gender issues.
- Gender should be considered as a cross-cutting theme for CARPE partners.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. CARPE Gender Assessment: Purpose and Objectives

As part of the current strategic planning efforts for the 20-year Central Africa Regional Program for the Environment (CARPE), the Africa Bureau of USAID commissioned this gender assessment. This report is intended to meet gender-related Agency requirements for new strategic objectives and guide CARPE partners in their future activities. The assessment has three objectives:

1. Identify the critical gender-based constraints to the equitable participation and access of men and women to programs and services within the proposed CARPE SO,
2. Analyze the potential impacts of the CARPE proposed strategic approaches on the relative status of men and women in the Congo Basin
3. Identify strategies and approaches for CARPE to use to enhance the accessibility and equitability of its programs, to both men and women.

Attention to gender issues in foreign assistance is required by USAID's 1982 Women in Development Policy and 1998 ADS Policies for Grants and Cooperative Agreements.

B. CARPE Background

Recognizing the alarming rate of deforestation and biodiversity loss in the world's second largest intact rainforest, USAID established CARPE in September 1995. It was intended to be a 20-year USAID regional initiative that coordinated work on identifying and establishing the conditions and practices required to reduce deforestation and biodiversity loss in the Congo Basin. Working through international organizations, CARPE has engaged a variety of African stakeholders in evaluating threats to forest integrity in the Congo Basin and identifying opportunities for sustainable management of its forests. For practical and political reasons, CARPE initially intended to operate in four countries, Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Republic of Congo. For varying reasons, five other countries were later added: Burundi, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Sao Tome & Principe.

Because USAID did not have resident missions in many of these countries, CARPE chose to partner with other organizations that were already operating in these locations. Its first set of ten partners included World Wildlife Fund, The Wildlife Conservation Society, World Resources Institute, World Learning (later succeeded by Innovative Resource Management), U.S. Department of Agriculture-U.S. Forest Service, U.S. Peace Corps and NASA, in collaboration with the Universities of Virginia and Maryland. The tenth partner, the Biodiversity Support Program (a USAID cooperative agreement involving World Wildlife fund, The Nature Conservancy and the World Resources Institute) handled program management but its Global Bureau cooperative agreement ended in December 2001. In 2000, CARPE invited four other partners to participate, the World Conservation Union (IUCN), Conservation International, African Wildlife Foundation and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. At present, CARPE has 13 U.S.-based partners and works closely with African NGOs, research and education organizations, government agencies and private-sector consultants.

After six and half years of operation, CARPE is shifting its strategic focus and changing the location of its management functions. To date, its U.S.-based partners have focused on expanding the Congo Basin knowledge base and enhancing capacity for individuals and institutions. However, during its next 13 years, CARPE partners will place a great emphasis on capacity building and field action. The overall management of CARPE will shift from Washington,

D.C. to Africa and the regional program will be run from USAID/Kinshasa. Because of these changes, CARPE will operate under its own new strategic objective in the Africa Bureau.

C. Methodology

CARPE is currently a nine-country, thirteen-partner project so the usual gender assessment methodology had to be adapted from the typical approach used for single projects, countries or missions. While this report can and does address general patterns and major gender issues, each CARPE partner will need to take further steps to identify the gender issues specific to their worksites and adjust their programs accordingly. Time and budget constraints precluded a field visit to any of the nine CARPE countries or in-depth attention to the work of any individual partners. In addition, it was not possible to research and elaborate upon the gender issues specific to each of the hundreds of ethnic groups living in the Congo Basin.

To collect information, I read CARPE project documents¹ and available English-language social science/gender literature (see Documents Reviewed) and conducted key informant interviews (see Informant List):

- Literature – regional and country-specific documents on gender, social science and human rights/political issues (see Section VII, Documents Reviewed),
- Project manager and advisor interviews (5) – Washington, DC; Gabon; Belgium; other United States locations,
- Partner project staff interviews (10) – AWF, former BSP, IRM, US Forest Service - International Forestry, US Peace Corps, US Fish and Wildlife Service, World Conservation Society, World Resources Institute and WWF.²

The study methodology had some potential biases and issues. First, all of the informants had been involved with CARPE, in either a financial or advisory way. Normally, this situation would usually result in a positive bias regarding project gender accomplishments. However, all of the CARPE informants were refreshingly frank about modest project accomplishments related to gender issues. However, for future gender studies, it would be helpful to counteract potential biases with additional interviews with project clients/beneficiaries (villagers, government and NGO staff, private sector staff) as well as gender experts not associated with CARPE. Second, time and consultant language skills did not permit a search and review of the French-language, social science literature (e.g., ethnographic and women's studies) that may be available for the Francophone countries. It is also clear that there has been a gap in recent social/gender research because of significant periods of conflict in some CARPE countries, particularly for the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda. Third, the gender-related statistical information on each country is quite uneven. Many of these countries lack up-to-date, basic census data, including statistical data on gender issues related to employment, education, crime, health, etc.

¹ Project documents included a first draft of the new CARPE Strategic Objective, the recent project evaluation, a recent book of briefing papers and the project paper.

² The project manager recommended focusing on these particular organizations because of the nature of their activities and their length of time under the CARPE umbrella. Several additional informants were contacted but did not answer repeated requests for interviews.

II. GENDER CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR CARPE

A. Definitions

- Biology defines who is male and who is female.
- However, each society defines *gender* – the roles, rights and responsibilities of men and women and the relationship between them. Sometimes, these relationships are called *gender relations*. They can and frequently do change over time and in response to external changes, e.g., economic and political opportunities and crises. In addition, specific cultures within a given society define their own specific patterns of gender relations.
- *Gender analysis* refers to a set of social science methods that elaborate the *gender issues* and relations for a specific place, including variables related to age, class, household status, ethnicity, race, religion, etc.

B. Gender Issues Related to Reducing Deforestation and Biodiversity Loss

It is widely believed that human greed and poverty are the primary (but not only) drivers of deforestation and biodiversity loss in the Congo Basin and elsewhere. Many actors, from multinational and local corporations, foreign and host country government leaders/officials, local elites and smaller scale resource users and traders, have been involved in the exploitation of natural resources. To influence human behavior, CARPE and other programs address people's roles as:

- citizens and representatives (via governance reforms),
- household providers (via economic incentives, including alternative livelihoods), and
- governmental and private sector professionals as well as students (via education and capacity building activities).

To avoid negative social and biological impacts and improve sustainability, environmental projects should take three basic sets of gender issues under consideration for the specific places where they are working:

- Resource Decision-Making Gender Issues - How do women and men make decisions about resource use/access at the household, community, regional and national levels and within resource management institutions? At regional and national levels, who represents the interests of women and the interests of men?
- Household Finance Gender Issues – How do women and men contribute to household income and how do they spend their money (e.g., school fees vs. small business investment vs. building social capital in the community)? How do resource management decisions affect the livelihoods of both rural and urban households?
- Knowledge, Attitude and Capacity Gender Issues - How do women and men (and girls and boys) differ in their knowledge, attitude and capacity to sustainably manage natural resources and conserve biodiversity? How do access to capacity building opportunities vary for women and men (and girls and boys)?

Through environmental project activities, donors and their partners have many opportunities to improve gender equity or at the very least, ensure that their activities do not lower the status of

women in their communities or institutions:

- Resource Decision-Making Program Choices – Environmental governance involves rules, roles and relationships. For each partner institution or location where a project is working, it is important to understand the relative access of women and men to resource decision-making at different levels and to analyze their relative effectiveness (skills) in these venues. Environmental governance involves more than governments – ideally, both civil society and the private sector are involved. Therefore, as countries transition to more democratic governance or these types of approaches are used for environment management, it is important to identify how well women's and men's interests are represented by elected officials and by different civil society organizations (e.g., NGOs, producer/trader associations).
- Household Livelihood/Finance Program Choices – By understanding household finances, as well as the gender division of labor and resource rights, environmental programs are better able to predict how male and female resource users will be affected by new resource policies and rules. Resource users may be rural or urban and often, these households are financially connected through family members or trade ties. Within households, both women and men may generate income and be involved in subsistence and commercial activities. The balance of commercial and subsistence activities varies over time by opportunity and other factors such as structural adjustment policies. It is common for men and women to have responsibilities for different expenses. Women may not always have control over the income that they earn although they may be responsible for school fees, food and household supplies. Gendered information can point to more appropriate choices about alternative livelihood strategies. It can help to identify what incentives (financial and other) can be used to motivate changes in resource use behaviors. Gendered information about resource use and marketing can indicate potential project partnerships with either existing or new producer/trader association. In addition, gender-related information can help to identify who will support and oppose proposed behavior changes because of their financial stakes.
- Knowledge, Attitude and Capacity Program Choices – Gender analysis can reveal differences in educational levels, literacy, issue understanding and attitudes, etc. For example, women often have less education, have higher levels of illiteracy and less commonly speak national languages. In many situations, education and communication activities will be more successful when they use gender information to tailor messages, select a delivery mode (e.g., radio versus posters), choose a language for their campaigns and schedule activities (e.g., finding free times for both women and men). Information on social relations among and between women and men can suggest strategies for using social pressure to change resource use behavior. For capacity building opportunities such as skills training, fellowships, grants and employment, projects can use quotas and other measures to ensure that women have equal access to men.

C. **Congo Basin Gender Issues Relevant to CARPE Partners**

Gender Overview

In terms of gender issues, the nine CARPE countries (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Sao Tome and Principe, Burundi and Rwanda) have more commonalities than differences. With respect to basic rights, all of these countries have constitutions that provide for the equality of all citizens, regardless of sex. Despite these constitutional provisions, the CARPE country governments rarely enforce gender equality. In addition, gender stereotyping persists and civil and customary law tend to institutionalize gender discrimination. Discrimination is even greater for women who are ethnic minorities (i.e., the First Peoples groups of forest foragers who are also pejoratively

referred to as “pygmies”).³ While not all women are poor, women are statistically much more likely to be poor because of discriminatory practices and laws.

Institutionally and politically, there are different arrangements to address improving women’s status and gender issues within the CARPE countries. Only three of the CARPE countries are signatories to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW): Cameroon, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Five CARPE countries have ministries of gender or women and some have active NGOs and NGO networks that work on overcoming gender discrimination and improving women’s status. The countries with ministries of gender or women include: Republic of Congo, Burundi, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Rwanda. With respect to the percentage of female Ministers, Cabinet members and Parliamentarians, current data is not available for all of the CARPE countries. However, existing data suggests that by far, Rwanda has the highest number of female Parliamentarians (26%). For all of the CARPE countries, the percentage of appointed female Ministers and Cabinet members ranges from none to eight or nine percent (World Bank nd). However, on balance, the interests of the dominant ethnic groups are likely to be over-represented in the institutions, organizations and individuals working to advance gender equality. There appears to be almost no institutional or political representation for women (or men) from forest forager groups.

All of the CARPE countries have NGOs focused on gender and women’s issues but the greatest number of groups appear to be in Cameroon and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In Rwanda and Burundi, civil unrest in the mid-1990s served as a specific catalyst for the proliferation of women’s groups and networks focused on widows, orphan girls and children-headed households, including the Collective of Women’s Organizations and NGOs of Burundi as well as Women United for Development. Some countries such as the Central African Republic have associations of women lawyers or other professionals. However, many of these organizations are based in capital cities and large towns rather than in rural areas and they are not necessarily membership-based. In terms of civil society in general, Cameroon has the most groups and civil society is much weaker in the Central African Republic, Gabon, Republic of Congo and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Strategic Gender Issues Influencing CARPE Success

- Formal and customary **inheritance laws** are often discriminatory and leave widows and divorced women in particularly dependent circumstances.⁴ High dowry costs often result in non-formal marriages in which women have no property rights (e.g., Gabon). In addition, dowry expenses and the desire to establish an independent homestead can also drive young men into resource-exploiting behaviors. There are many disincentives for women to initiate divorce. Women typically lose their access to land and their possessions. Often, they are required to repay dowries and become poorer or incarcerated when they are unable to do so (e.g., Equatorial Guinea). In countries such as the Central African Republic, only men are entitled to family subsidies from government and single, divorced or widowed women, even those with children, are not considered to be heads of households. A woman can also lose rights to resources where polygyny is practiced.

Program Implications: Because they form part of the more vulnerable segments of communities, projects can take special measures to ensure that the livelihood needs of female-headed households are addressed.

³ All forest forager groups are minorities but not all minorities are forest foragers.

⁴ The gender aspects of inheritance laws vary by country. The Rwanda legal code allows women to inherit property from their fathers and husbands and laws in the Central African Republic provide women with formal inheritance and property rights. In DRC, the formal rights of women to inherit their husband’s property, control their own property and receive a property settlement in the event of divorce are non-discriminatory. However, discriminatory customary law often prevails and denies women these rights (e.g., widows are commonly stripped of all possessions, including dependent children, by their husband’s family).

- Girls and women have fewer **educational opportunities** than men and boys, particularly in rural areas. In these areas, there are fewer schools and quality is lower. Settled farm families more often favor sending boys to schools; even partially settled forest forager families have less access to schools. Rural families marry their daughters at ages as young as 12. In addition, girls sent away to boarding secondary schools often become pregnant by their teachers or others. Table 1 reveals much greater illiteracy among women of all ages than men for all of the CARPE countries. For the younger generation, there are fewer illiterate women but still many more than their male counterparts. Younger women and men in Burundi and Rwanda have more similar illiteracy rates than the other seven countries where women's illiteracy rates are around twice as great as men's rates. For both women and men, Gabon and Republic of Congo have higher secondary enrollment rates; Rwanda and Burundi have the lowest figures. For the CARPE countries, men are generally 1.5 times more likely to be in secondary school than women and they dominate university positions.

Program Implications: To involve women as well as men, projects need to adapt their education, communication, extension, capacity building and employment strategies to adapt to these gender differences. Literacy training for women could be an extremely important conservation activity, for forest foragers, forest villagers and urban bushmeat traders. Conservation values could be promoted through these literacy materials. In addition, employment and scholarships could be used to encourage female secondary school graduates to pursue conservation careers and further education.

Table 1. Gender and Education Statistics for CARPE Countries

	Illiterates among 15-24 year old females (%)	Illiterates among 15-24 year old males* (%)	Illiterates among 25+ year old females* (%)	Illiterates among 25+ year old males* (%)	Gross Secondary school enrollment (% of females in age group, year)**	Gross Secondary School enrollment (% of males in age group, year)**	Female University Teachers (%) (1990)
Burundi	52.0	40.0	82.0	57.0	5 (1993)	8 (1993)	11
Cameroon	29.0	15.0	68.0	43.0	22 (1994)	32 (1994)	na
Central African Republic	65.0	37.0	87.0	60.0	Na	Na	11
Democratic Republic of Congo	Na	na	na	na	19 (1994)	32 (1994)	na
Republic of Congo	17.2	7.6	69.9	41.4	45 (1995)	62 (1995)	9
Equatorial Guinea	23.9	9.3	64.5	28.7	20 (1993)	38 (1993)	11
Gabon	Na	na	na	na	53 (1996)	59 (1996)	16
Rwanda	55.3	40.3	84.6	55.6	7 (1991)	9 (1991)	6
Sao Tome e Principe	25.9	9.2	36.9	na	Na	na	na

* Data sources: 1990 figures from Wistat & UNESCO cited on the Women in Development Network (WIDNET) web-site (www.focusintl.com/statr1a3.htm).

** Data sources: World Bank Summary Gender Profiles for all CARPE countries but the Central African Republic

- Women in the CARPE countries often have less access to **employment and promotion opportunities**, as well as lower pay (even despite anti-discrimination legal provisions). Lower levels of education are part of the problem. However, there are

other factors, including social customs and discriminatory colonial-era laws (e.g., women needing a husband's permission to take employment in Cameroon and Gabon; women are required to have a husband's permission for a passport or international travel in Gabon). Typically, women are underrepresented in the formal sector and are far less likely to hold mid- or high-level positions in professions and in government⁵. International employers sometimes impose their own stereotypes on local people (e.g., hiring only male hunters for eco-tourism activities or as forest guards) but some have made efforts to be more gender-equitable in their hiring than local employers. In terms of NGO employment and leadership, women worldwide tend to be better represented but the data for NGOs is not available for the CARPE countries.

Program Implications: Projects should take pro-active measures to equitably train, employ and promote women as well as men – as their own staff and as team members in partner organizations (both governmental and non-governmental). This strategy also entails equitable research support and mentoring for female scientists.

- Women are more likely to work in the **informal sector** and they often dominate the bushmeat and food trade in West and Central Africa. However, they receive little or no access to employment benefits, including pensions, from their work in the informal sector. The biggest female traders live in urban areas and despite common illiteracy, many have extensive businesses. They are linked to very remote rural areas through female petty traders. Men are also involved in trade of these products but to a less extent. These trading activities can and do take place across national boundaries (e.g., female traders from the Central African Republic hire women from forest forager groups in the Republic of Congo to porter smoked bushmeat for a five to six day trek (Eves, personal communication 2002).

Program Implications: Any activities related to the processing and trade of food products will have differential impacts on women and men. Collection of bushmeat and other non-timber forest products is driven, in part, by urban demand and any alternative livelihood/alternative nutrition solutions should involve both urban and rural women, including those from forest forager groups involved with hunting and trade.

- **Rural women** face much greater gender-based discrimination than their counterparts in urban areas. For the CARPE countries, the percentage of rural residents ranges from a high of 94 and 91 percent for Rwanda and Burundi to 38 percent for Republic of Congo and 20 percent for Gabon. In rural areas, fewer women are allowed access to formal decision-making, particularly government bodies, and their interests do not tend to be well-represented by elected officials. Customary law has greater strength in rural areas, both sexes are less aware of women's formal legal rights and local law enforcement is less likely to support women's rights (e.g., lax enforcement for domestic abuse and rape case). Custom and family livelihood situations generally translate into women being less educated and literate than men. Women marry earlier in rural areas (e.g., as low as 12 in Cameroon) and tend to bear children at younger ages. Most of the child-rearing is assigned to women in many Bantu and Sundanic ethnic groups but more egalitarian or shared arrangements exist among some of the forest foragers groups (e.g., the Aka⁶). Male relatives (husbands, fathers, brothers) typically control the access of most women to land and the capital.⁷ Access to credit is often discriminatory against women.

⁵ Of the nine CARPE countries, there are only two Environment Ministries (Rwanda, CARE) that are headed by women.

⁶ Based on his work with Aka net hunters in the Central African Republic, Barry S. Hewlett notes that "Aka fathers do more infant caregiving than fathers in any known culture." He also discusses the multiple caregiving for infants as a distinguishing feature of the Efe archers of the Ituri Forest in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Hewlett 1996).

⁷ Women from the Democratic Republic of Congo are required by law to obtain their spouse's permission before engaging in routine legal transactions, such as selling or renting real estate or opening a bank account. In contrast, Gabonese law provides women with rights to equal access in education, business and investment and women own property and

The income-earning opportunities for rural women in the Congo Basin have typically been confined to family farming, day labor, petty commerce and prostitution. Women generally have fewer employment opportunities. Women traditionally perform most of the subsistence farming and much of the difficult work in agriculture. However, the gender division of marketing and productive labor for agricultural crops and non-timber forest products varies over time in response to macro-economic factors (e.g., after structural adjustment in Cameroon resulted in lowered cocoa prices and increasing urbanization led to better prices for food products, rural men got more involved in food production and decreased women's share of these markets). The gender division of labor and marketing also varies, depending on the particular food crop and by non-timber forest products. In most situations, women from wealthier households have more livelihood options than those from more impoverished households.

Box 1. The Gender Division of Labor in the Cameroon Forest Zone

Russell (1993) notes how gender issues influence resource management in the Cameroonian forest zone and changes over time. In pre-colonial times, the division of labor was based on gender, age, social status (slave, client, noble). Individuals specialized in artisanry, performance, rhetoric, warfare and hunting. For men, their major agricultural task involved the felling of great trees of the high forest for the first agricultural planting and they used the presence of certain trees and plants to determine which part of the forest should be cleared. Anything pertaining to wood was men's work. Men also were involved in the planting of yams and used astronomy to set the agricultural calendar. However, with the reduced power of chiefs and the establishment of cocoa as a smallholder crop, former male warriors and hunters became cocoa planters. For women, their traditional agricultural tasks were seed selection, planting other food crops, soil preparation for yams and sweet potatoes, weeding, harvesting and transportation of crops. A wife was allocated land through her husband's clan and she was responsible for meeting the food needs of her husband and kids. In polygynous households, the responsibility for feeding the husband and his guests was rotated among wives.

Women from forest forager groups are even less educated or politically represented than their Bantu or Sudanic counterparts. They have even fewer wage employment opportunities. The gender division of labor varies significantly across forest forager groups. With respect to women hunting for bushmeat, Noss and Hewlett (DATE) note net hunting by Aka women in the Central African Republic; net, spear and dog hunting by the BaKola and BaGyeli of Western Cameroon; quite occasional spear hunting by the Baka women of Eastern Cameroon; net hunting by Ituri Mbuti women in DRC. For the Aka and Mbuti, more of their calories come from meat and forest products and they spend more time deeper in the forest. There is considerable overlap in gender division of labor and women (and children) are involved in net hunting and forest foraging but not much shellfish or fish collection. The Efe and Baka ethnic groups tend to have separate male and female subsistence activities and acquire fewer calories from meat and wild food. They tend to stay closer to villages for longer periods of time. The women spend most of their time farming with village women (Bantu or Sudanic ethnic groups) and they frequently collect fish and shellfish. Men typically hunt from their village camps. (Hewlett 1996)

Box 2. Relationships between Congo Basin Forest Foragers and Farmers

There is social and economic interdependency between the two groups but there is little agreement on the nature of this relationship. Some claim it is multi-generational clan kinship, others believe it is akin to slavery, while others note situations of segregation and discrimination. Dembner (1996), referencing work by Bailey et. al (1992), notes that “specific pygmy clans have traditional relationships with specific groups of farmers which are passed from one generation to the next, creating a complex web of economic and social exchange that leads to high levels of cooperation and support. Pygmies provide forest products and protein-rich meat, in particular to farmers, while the farmers provide much-needed starch to pygmy foragers. Forest forager women typically work in the fields of farmers but some forest forager men also do this work. The forest foragers obtain iron implements from farmers. They also rely on the farmers for political representation. In most areas, farmers view the forest foragers as essential to successful ceremonies and the farmers can have considerable control over many crucial lifecycle events for forest foragers: marriage, circumcision and burial. Hewlett (1996) observes that, “...the number, diversity, and nature of religious, ritual and social activities that foragers and farmers have in common are more often related to the length of time that foragers and farmers have been living in association with one another than with the foragers’ dependence on village food.”

Further, each farmer clan has rights (e.g., hunting, gathering, fishing, clearing) to specific forested areas that are recognized by all neighboring farmer clans. The clan of forest foragers traditionally associated with the same farmer clan also has recognized rights to exploit the same area of forest (although some advocates for indigenous rights believe that the forest foragers are First Peoples and have prior claims to those of the Bantu or Sudanic farmers). While the farmers have helped the pygmies maintain exclusive rights to an area, through negotiation and sometimes violence, there are also examples of situations (i.e., the Chad-Cameroon pipeline) where farmers have sold off forested areas without consulting or compensating their forest forager clans.

However, Lewis (2000) notes that the situation for the Batwa in DRC is quite different. Their segregation from their neighbors is much more extreme (e.g, neighbors will not sit, eat or drink with them, allow them in their houses, or accept them as marital or sexual partners. They are often not allowed to collect water from the same wells as their neighbors or they must go downstream from others. They are widely perceived as sub-human and they are subject to racist stereotypes by their neighbors.

Some women from forest forager groups marry local Bantu or Sudanic village men and or the new migrants associated with logging or mining operations; however, few “outside” women marry male forest foragers. Among the Ituri Efe, Bailey (1991) notes that male forest foragers without hunting prowess or other income sources are less likely to attract mates. With respect to decision-making processes, many authors note that forest forager ethnic groups have traditionally had more egalitarian and consensus-based processes within households and communities.

Program Implications: Project activities should not further decrease women’s access to productive resources and particular care should be taken to protect the interests of forest forager groups. Often, new alternative livelihood opportunities are not yet associated with either sex and can be a means to expand women’s access to income. Opportunities for livelihood-related training should also be gender-equitable. However, given women’s time constraints, efforts should be made to find activities where women get high rates of return for their labor (e.g., not true for many non-timber forest products) and improve their abilities to defend their economic interests (e.g., gatherer or product associations). For work with forest forager communities, it is important to understand existing patterns of decision-making and be sure to not assume that men are the only leaders or community decision-makers (although in many cases, it may also be quite important to ensure that Bantu/Sudanic male leaders do not claim to speak for the

interests of the forest foragers associated with their villages⁸). In addition, projects should make programmatic adjustments to adapt to the variable gender division of labor among the forest forager groups (at least 10 ethno-linguistically distinct populations in Central Africa⁹). If young men are trying to earn money or elevate their social status for marriage through resource-destructive activities, then these motivations need to be addressed.

- Gender, Ethnicity & Religion

Women in some ethnic minority groups often face a double burden of gender and ethnic discrimination. The Bantu and Sudanic groups consistently discriminate against their male and female neighbors from forest forager ethnic groups, regardless of country or group. These groups typically make up one percent or less of the population of DRC, Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Gabon, Rwanda and Burundi¹⁰. However, there is variation in the extent of the displacement and land dispossession for these groups. The Batwa of Rwanda have been further disenfranchised by civil war and dispossession is increasing among the Bagyeli due to the Chad-Cameroon pipeline construction. While the forest foragers have adopted many of the cultural rituals of their Bantu or Sudanic neighbors (e.g., marriage, death rituals), they often retain their own animist traditional religious practices that sometimes include women.

The nine CARPE countries are not ethnically homogenous¹¹ and some ethnic groups live in more than one country in the region (e.g., some of the forest forager ethnic groups). Each country has a small percentage of Europeans and sometimes, Asians. Both Cameroon and DRC have over 200 ethnic groups. For the latter country, four groups add up to about 45 percent of the population (i.e., Mongo, Luba, Kongo, Angbetu-Azande) and there are also Hutu and Tutsi citizens and refugees. The Central African Republic has approximately 90 ethnic groups (e.g., major groups by size include the Baya, Banda, Mandja and Sara). However, the Mbororo, representing only five percent of the population, dominate the economy because of their mining and cattle breeding activities. Gabon has four major Bantu-based ethnic groups (i.e., Fang, Eshira, Bapounou, Bateke), In the Republic of Congo, four major ethnic groups make up approximately 95 percent of the country's population (i.e., Kongo-Lari, & Vili, Sangha, Teke and Mbochi). Burundi and Rwanda are less ethnically diverse and have shared the same three similar ethnic groups in similar percentages but with different dominant groups (Hutu, Tutsi, 1 or less of % Batwa). In Equatorial Guinea, there are two main ethnic groups, Bioko (primarily Bubi and some Fernandinos) and Rio Muni (primarily Fang). In Sao Tome and Principe, percentages are not available for the mesticos, angolares (descendants of Angolan slaves), forro (descendants of freed slaves), servicais (Angolan, Mozambiquan and Cape Verdean contract laborers) and their island-born children called tongas.

⁸ Nelson *et al.* (2001), in their critique of the social assessment done for the World Bank-funded Chad-Cameroon Oil Pipeline Project, note that consultants often only informed and consulted with Bantu community leaders rather than communicating directly with Bagyeli forest forager representatives. Accordingly, the Bagyeli were quite uninformed and very unhappy with the project and both land and compensation were stolen from them.

⁹ Hewlett (1996) mentions the Efe, Mbuti, Aka and Tswa (or Twa) of Northeastern DRC; the Aka and Benzele of Northern Republic of Congo and southwestern Central African Republic; the Baka (or B'Aka or Ba'Aka) of Southeastern Cameroon, Northern Gabon and Northern Congo; the Gyelli and Tikar in Western Cameroon and the Bongo of southeastern Gabon and central Gabon. Although they have similar names, the Aka and Baka are two distinct ethnic groups. Other authors also include the Twa (or Batwa) of Rwanda.

¹⁰ Population estimates for forest forager ethnic groups are likely to be suspect since current census data is either unavailable and/or unreliable and many of these groups fall under the government's "radar screen" since they cannot afford national identity cards and are not provided government services.

¹¹ The sources for the data on ethnicity come from the CIA Factbooks for each country (<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/>) and also from the U.S. Department of State Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – 2001 (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, USDS, Washington, D.C.).

Most of the people living in the Congo Basin practice Christianity or indigenous animist religions or some combination of the two. The percentage of Christians ranges from 80 percent (Sao Tome and Principe) to 40 percent (Cameroon). The percentage of Muslims varies from 20 percent (Cameroon) to 0 percent (Sao Tome and Principe, Equatorial Guinea), with the higher percentages in Burundi, DRC and the Central African Republic. There appear to be very few Muslims in the forested areas. Accordingly, gender-related practices such as *purdah* (female seclusion) and female genital cutting or gender-based discrimination are uncommon in the CARPE program areas.

Program Implications:

Programs operating in the Congo Basin will need to investigate and adapt their strategies to ethnic-based gender differences in livelihood strategies, cultural practices, etc. In addition, by better understanding indigenous animist religions and gender roles within those religions, projects can identify beliefs and practices that are supportive of conservation objectives.

- Gender and conflict

In particular, the conflicts affecting Rwanda, Burundi and eastern DRC have had considerable gender-related impacts. Civil unrest and genocide has driven huge waves of regional migration since 1994. More of the migrants are women and children (e.g., 80-90 percent in Burundi) (IWRAP 2000). For those who stay in place, women often head these households and there has been a dramatic increase in the numbers of female-headed households (e.g., approximately one-third of Rwandan households admit to being female-headed and of these, 60 percent are headed by widows) (Newbury and Baldwin 2000). Women's family responsibilities have often expanded. In some situations such as Rwanda, the conflict and the death or absence of many males has led to more women are working in the modern sector and running their own business. However, human rights groups note that the economic collapse in these countries and the lack of access by women in female-headed households to productive resources has driven many women and girls into prostitution. In addition, there is an increasing amount of "survival sex."

"The war has exhausted the reserves of the people of eastern Congo. The burden of trying to survive and assure that others in the family survive falls heavily on women. As the socio-economic situation worsens, more women and girls are resorting to trading sex for food, shelter, or money in order to provide for themselves and their families." (Source: Human Rights Watch report on the Status of Women and Girls in Congolese Society 2002).

For women living in and using the forest, abductions and crimes of sexual violence such as rape are increasingly commonplace because the combatants, criminals and bandits are living in the protective cover of these areas. Women and girls who are raped suffer significant losses of social status (e.g., reduced chances of marriage, scorned children who result from rape) and the social stigma of rape can be enormous. Accordingly, infection rates of HIV/AIDS are increasing among women.

Newbury and Baldwin (2000), referencing the impacts of the Rwandan genocide on women, also speak of the destruction of trust. Ethnic violence shattered the dense local friendship networks and community solidarity that provides both solace and a buffer for economic difficulties. Many women are finding it difficult to trust anyone beyond members of their immediate families.

Despite these problems, women at the national and local levels in post-conflict Rwanda are playing an increasing leadership role in addressing the challenges of rebuilding communities. This situation is true for individual women, women's associations and

mixed civil society groups with women's leadership. In addition, the Women's Ministry is now actively advocating women's empowerment and more women are working in government bureaucracies. However, in rural areas, women without homes, food to eat, animals or decent clothes to wear find it difficult to actively participate in the public arena. In addition, the disruption of education and the need for girls' labor does not bode well for development in the near future (Newbury and Baldwin 2000).

Program Implications: Women and girls are particularly vulnerable in conflict and post-conflict areas and alternative livelihood strategies should be equitably directed to female-headed households. In areas under conflict or harboring combatants, the safety of local women and female employees should be of concern – employees can be paired with male partners for field work and activities can be scheduled during times of day when women do not risk violence. Activities should be undertaken to cultivate women's leadership skills and literacy, through livelihood and environmental education activities.

III. LOOKING BACKWARD: CARPE GENDER-RELATED EXPERIENCE, ASSETS & CONSTRAINTS, 1996-2002

A. Gender-Related Activities & Perspectives and Affirmative Action Efforts Under the Core CARPE Contract

- CARPE Design. While gender was not an explicit focus for the design team, USAID and other expatriate social scientists with gender-related experience were involved and consulted during the CARPE design.
- Project Paper. The original CARPE Project Paper (698-0548), submitted to USAID's Africa Bureau in September 1995, addressed human resource use, household livelihoods, employment and politics. However, there was almost no mention of gender issues or women¹² nor is there much analysis about social groups and civil society organizations. People's motivations to deforest or hunt were not given much attention. The human residents of the Congo Basin were generally categorized as "threats" to natural resources/biodiversity or professionals working in the service of conservation objectives. The professional category included: "a cadre of trained and committed environmental environmentally-conscious African development specialists (within both the government and non-governmental sectors) that can serve as a nucleus for the sensitization of national policy makers and the public to the importance of conserving their natural resource base," NGO and PVO representatives, researchers, technicians and policy makers (p. 21-22, CARPE Project Paper).
- Project Management. Most of the CARPE management staff have a background in the natural sciences. However, the current Regional Facilitator (and former Cameroon Focal Point) for CARPE has previous research experience with the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture on gender and agriculture issues. In terms of employment, the current, Washington, DC-based manager of CARPE is male and he is backstopped by a female professional. In the CARPE field offices, one of the three Focal Points is female and two of the three Administrative Secretaries (including both administrative and technical duties) are female. The Cameroon office has had an internship program, typically filled by master's level graduate students and one of three positions was filled by a woman. All staff have been provided professional development training.

¹² Under the Social/Political Situation analysis, legal discrimination and societal violence against women in mentioned under human rights abuses in Gabon (p. 62, CARPE Project Paper).

- CARPE Advisors and Consultants to the CARPE Strategic Objective Team. Eight non-USAID individuals have provided advice to CARPE's managers. Three have experience with social science and gender-related research. Two of the eight are women.
- Small Grants and the SOS Fund. Very few of the grants have focused on social science topics and gender issues have not necessarily been addressed by these studies. The grant proposal requirements do not require a discussion of how gender issues will be addressed. Two grants have been given to a Cameroonian NGO, CAFER that is working on women and forest conservation issues and providing environmental education and alternative livelihood activities for women who are involved in the bushmeat trade. Under the SOS fund, a female co-investigator CIFOR is using a household survey and interviewing both women and men to understand how micro-politics influence forest cover change. This data is providing useful information on gender issues at the research site in Gabon.

Of the four students receiving research grants for their doctoral work, half are female. Most are working on natural science topics but one is woman is an anthropologist. Several of these students have found conservation-related employment after completing their degrees, e.g., a female Gabonese Ph.D. became the National Director for the local office of the World Conservation Society.

- Publications. The Congo Basin Information Series, CARPE's premier publication about the lessons learned during its first six years, has very little information on gender and social issues.

B. Gender-Related Activities & Affirmative Action by CARPE Partners

Table 2. Gender-Related Activities & Affirmative Action by CARPE Partners, 1996-2002

CARPE Partner	Gender and Programs	Affirmative Action & Staff/Professional Issues
African Wildlife Foundation (AWF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An enterprise specialists has been hired for the Kigali Conservation Service Center (CSC) to work on enterprise activities for park communities, including female-led initiatives. For its CSC activities, AWF evaluates gender impact by tracking revenue accrual by women and men in communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In Washington and the field, AWF has both male and female staff working on CARPE-funded work; there are more female than male technical and administrative staff in the field office for the International Gorilla Conservation Project. Training opportunities have been provided to both women and men but because training is focused on government staff, more men are trained. In equal numbers during the last two years, both women and men have received graduate fellowships offered thru non-CARPE funds.
Conservation International (CI)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CI is a new CARPE partner. No information was provided about how gender issues are addressed in its work in best practices, enterprise and environmental education programs in Odzala National Park in the Republic of Congo. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Data unavailable
Innovative Resource Management (IRM)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Although community women are consulted during mapping and inventory activities, they have not generally been selected or trained by IRM to carry out community-level mapping and resource inventory activities in Cameroon. Consultant reports address topics with gender dimensions but gender is not always discussed (e.g., 1999 non-timber forest product market development study). IRM staff and consultants bring social science expertise to their work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> IRM has both male and female staff and has worked with both male and female consultants.
United States Forest Service (USFS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Early USFS CARPE-funded activities focused on non-timber forest products (NTFPs) and addressed gender issues. More recent work is using workshops to encourage logging concessionaires to adopt wildlife management plans and hunting policies. Discussions have not yet addressed how these policies will impact female bushmeat traders and cooked food vendors, within and outside logging communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The USFS has had both a male and a female staff member serving as liaisons to CARPE. The main clients for the USFS CARPE work are logging industry representatives, who are all male.
United States Peace Corps (USPC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender analysis is not often done while projects are being developed & gender-disaggregated information is not available on who benefits from USPC community activities. USPC activities in Gabon and Cameroon are increasingly addressing women's strong interest in income generation/livelihood security. Gabon activities focus on environmental education & Cameroon but no particular pro-active steps have been undertaken to address gender issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Peace Corps has both male & female volunteers and management staff. More of the environmental volunteers are women. USPC/Washington has a global gender specialist on staff and she is working with an in-house Gender & Development Team in Africa. To date, efforts have been more related to affirmative action than gender analysis.

Table 2. Gender-Related Activities & Affirmative Action by CARPE Partners*, 1996-2002 (cont'd.)

CARPE Partner	Gender and Programs	Affirmative Action & Staff/Professional Issues
United States Fish & Wildlife Service (USFWS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work is in the early stages. The Steering Committee and the National Bushmeat Officers are aware of the gender dimensions of the bushmeat trade but these issues are of secondary importance to them at this time. They have prioritized work on concessions and licensing arrangement for hunting. • The candidate for Sub-Regional Coordinator has data on Brazzaville women bushmeat traders and has been asked by their cooperative to assist with alternative livelihood strategies. • Repressing illegal trading will have a big impact on women's income and family nutrition. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • USFWS is very involved in supporting the Steering Committee of the CITES Bushmeat Working Group. It includes the Wildlife Directors of six countries. There is also a National Bushmeat Officers in each country. All are male. • Consultants from Central Africa have provided reports to the Working Group and none have been female.
World Conservation Society (WCS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Cameroon, gender issues have been addressed in social research in 25 villages near a park. They have investigated household livelihood strategies, collection and marketing of non-timber forest products and bushmeat extraction. • Social scientists are involved in both the Cameroon and the Republic of Congo activities. • Activities in Congo involve alternative protein and livelihood for villagers living near the park. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For its expatriate and local staff, WCS has hired and trained both male and female staff. The Cameroon project employs three female scientists (our of seven or eight total). Apart from the principal scientist and an expatriate manager, there are very few females working on the Republic of Congo activity. • One female professional was involved in the household/community research done by a six-member team.
World Resources Institute (WRI) – Institutions & Governance Program (IGP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender was included as a cross-cutting variable for a multi-country study, "Accountability, Decentralization and the Environment: Local Democracy and Natural Resources in Sub-Saharan Africa" on decentralization and environmental management. Cameroon was one of the six study countries. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both CARPE-funded researchers in Cameroon were male but one had a female assistant (B.A. level degree). • Female social scientists in Cameroon did not apply to be involved in the study – either not aware or over-subscribed. • WRI-IGP CARPE-related staff are both male; one female consultant has recently been hired for work on vertical commodity chains for timber in Cameroon.
WRI-Global Forest Watch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Males and a few females have been involved in forest concession monitoring, as para-professionals and scientists. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data unavailable
World Wildlife Fund (WWF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Through support for a local Development Committee set up by WWF near Dzonga-Sangha National Park in the Central African Republic, some women's income-generating groups were supported (i.e., garden/farming, sewing). • Some socio-economic studies are just getting underway in the communities near Mikebe National Park in Gabon. • A bushmeat survey of consumption was completed in Gomba town and surrounding villages in Gabon. It is not clear if gender issues were addressed. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apart from a female socio-economist working at the Mikebe office, the rest of the WWF field staff are men, as are the Washington staff for CARPE-related activities.

* As discussed above under Methodology, most but not all CARPE partners were interviewed for this Gender Assessment. The Project Manager recommended the partners listed above because the focus of their work was more likely to include gender dimensions. Staff from Conservation International and WRI's Global Forest Watch were contacted but were not available for interviews during the study period.

C. Gender-Related CARPE Assets, 1996-2002

- Gender Awareness and Attitudes. Most of the CARPE core staff and partner liaisons in Washington, D.C. have at least some awareness about the gender issues related to their project activities; some have a fairly deep understanding of the gender issues where they are working. They have gained this exposure through past or current work, particularly in the region. Most would support more pro-active efforts to address gender dimensions. They felt it was important for gender-related analyses and strategies to serve conservation objectives (rather than only gender equity agendas).
- Social Science Expertise. While most of the professionals involved in CARPE-funded work have a background in the natural sciences, there are a number of social scientists that have been involved in CARPE work, either as advisors, consultants or partner staff.
- Affirmative Action. Given the low level of female education and relatively few university graduates in the region, some of the CARPE partners have done an impressive job of hiring and training female professionals.
- Issue: Gender Roles and Livelihood. Through integrated conservation and development activities (WWF, WCS, CI, AWF), as well as agroforestry extension (i.e. U.S. Peace Corps) work, the CARPE partners have focused some attention on income-generating/alternative livelihood activities for both women and men.
- Issue: Bushmeat Hunting and Trading. Although more attention has been focused on hunting than on trading, a number of partners understood the gender-related impacts of reduced bushmeat hunting and trading and believed that work on female bushmeat traders should become a higher priority.

D. Gender-Related CARPE Constraints, 1996-2002

- Assuming that positive attitudes about gender equity will be enough to create positive gender impacts. CARPE core staff and partners have not given systematic attention to gender issues or developed strategies. As noted above, the original CARPE Project Paper gave short shrift to social issues and almost no mention of gender issues. The multiple roles and motivations of men and women in the Congo Basin have not been well understood, including household finances and livelihood strategies. There has been very little social and gender research supported by CARPE nor have partners, consultants and research grantees been asked to address gender issues. The positive awareness and attitudes about gender by partner liaisons to CARPE have not often translated into strategic gender mainstreaming across project activities. No consistent attention has been given to achieving gender balance for capacity building opportunities at the community or organizational level.
- Counting gender beans versus understanding gender dynamics. Most partners first spoke about the male-female composition of their staff or grant/fellowship recipients (affirmative action) rather than the gender dimensions related to their project issues. Programmatically, there has been much greater but incomplete attention to women's roles as household providers rather than the gender dimensions of governance and decision-making.
- Assuming that social scientist involvement will necessarily address gender issues. Gender specialists tend to be social scientists but not all social scientists address gender issues. Several social scientists have been involved with CARPE activities but their input has not been sufficient to re-orient project activities toward household livelihoods and conservation motivations. Not all of them are interested in, or aware of gender issues. In addition, some CARPE partners assume that by hiring female staff, they will be able to address gender issues in their programs, even when these staff have no training in either social or gender issues. In theory, CARPE should have access to the gender expertise from USAID and partners (e.g., G/WID, Africa Bureau, WWF, USPC and the international gender staff of IUCN) but this assistance remains largely untapped. The same is true for host country gender experts.

IV. LOOKING FORWARD: POTENTIAL CONSTRAINTS, IMPACTS AND OPPORTUNITIES UNDER CARPE'S SECOND PHASE

A. CARPE Future Plans

CARPE's new Goal, Strategic Objective and Intermediate Results reflect an evolution over its first 6.5 years (see Table 3). Activities will shift from a research/data orientation to a stronger emphasis on implementation - best practice development, monitoring capacity building and improved laws, policy and governance. Environmental education is seen as part of all of these results and small grants also contribute to results in each area. For the next phase of CARPE activities, CARPE will operate under its own exclusive Africa Bureau Strategic Objective and management will move to Africa rather than Washington, DC.

Table 3. CARPE strategic framework, 1995, 1997 and 2002

1995 & 1997	2002
<u>Goal:</u> Reduce the rate of deforestation of the tropical forests in the Congo Basin, in order to conserve the biological diversity contained in those forests and, in the long-run, to avert potentially negative changes in the global and regional climate. (1995)	<u>Goal:</u> Sustainable natural resource management practiced across the Congo Basin.
<u>Purpose:</u> <i>Identify and begin to establish the conditions and practices</i> required for the conservation and sustainable use of the natural resources of the Congo Basin, in a manner which addresses local, national, regional and international concerns. (emphasis added) (1995)	<u>Strategic Objective:</u> <i>Local, national and regional resource management capacity to reduce forest degradation and conserve biodiversity</i> in the Congo Basin enhanced (emphasis added)
<u>Organizing Themes:</u> (1997) <u>Sectoral:</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> logging policies and practices, protected areas within a lived-in landscape, environmental governance local resource management - systems and incentives <u>Cross-Cutting:</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> monitoring process, training and institutional strengthening, donor coordination 	<u>Intermediate Results (IR)</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Sustainable resource management practices tested, disseminated and applied. Skills, institutions and systems to monitor resource status and changes developed. Laws and policies that reinforce natural resource management enacted. Sub IR 3.1. Governance structures for natural resource management improved. <u>Cross-Cutting Activities:</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Small grant program Environmental education

B. Potential Gender-Related Constraints

- While most of the CARPE partners interviewed were positive about doing more to address gender issues, many of their conservation/NRM counterparts in the US and overseas retain negative attitudes about local people. As wildlife or forest advocates, it is difficult for some of members of this professional community to see how local people can be conservation partners. More often, local people are still viewed as resource "threats" or unenlightened targets in need of environmental education or as instrumental means to international conservation objectives.

- Past gender-related constraints for CARPE, as described above, include unsystematic attention and a passive approach to gender and social issues by partners and core staff, weak understanding of how to strategically mainstream gender across project activities, an uneven knowledge base across the project regarding gender and social issues and insufficient involvement of gender experts.
- Group planning activities with CARPE partners have not included specific and pro-active gender strategies and partners have not been required to address gender issues.
- CARPE partner links with local development-oriented NGOs and women's associations are weak.
- In terms of capacity building (CARPE Strategic Objective), CARPE partners have had very little experience incorporating gender issues and gender analysis skill building into the training that they have offered.
- With respect to sustainable resource management practices (IR 1), strategies for protected area management, farm level demonstrations, alternative livelihoods and income generation seem unlikely to be successful without information on the gender division of labor, marketing, household finances, etc. for agriculture and forest use.
- Activities associated with on-the-ground monitoring of resource status and changes for forests (IR2) will only capture a partial picture of forest resource use if data is not collected about male and female collection activities.
- Laws and policies about natural resource management (including trade) (IR3) often have differential impacts on resource users and traders. CARPE does not have sufficient information at this time to understand potential negative gender impacts of policies and laws. Governance reforms should be approached with equal caution.

C. Potential Gender-Related Impacts

- IR1 (testing, disseminating and applying sustainable resource management practices)
 - Plans for activities with logging concessionaires involve better harvesting practices, wildlife management plans and hunting policies. While the gender impacts of better harvesting practices do not appear to be significant, the wildlife management plans and hunting policies are likely to impact households living in or near logging concessions. *Household income and nutrition* may decline as a result of these policies. While most women associated with logging villages (e.g., those who come with their husbands and those attracted by enterprise opportunities associated with feeding workers and their families) are not involved in hunting, they are often involved in the processing, trade, food businesses and transport of bushmeat. The livelihood and nutrition needs of these women and families need to be taken into account in any strategies to reduce hunting near logging concessions.
 - There are several gender-related impacts of protected area management work. Without pro-active efforts to be gender equitable in hiring and training staff, project activities are likely to only benefit male professionals. Protected area policies about resource use by villagers often exclude women collectors who rely on non-timber forest products for family subsistence and livelihood. With reduced resource access to protected areas, household members (including girls who should be in school) may have to unsustainably exploit other natural resources to meet their needs. In addition, environmental education activities may not alter female knowledge, attitudes or practices because messages, format or materials may not be

appropriately tailored (e.g., not geared to illiterates or those without language competency or unappealing messages form women).

- With respect to farm-level demonstrations, the promoted practices may easily have a negative impact upon women unless gender dynamics are well understood, particularly with respect to land tenure. Most Bantu or Sudanic village women do not have secure access to land and they only obtain access via their husbands, fathers and brothers. Forest forager women typically gain access to agricultural products by providing farm labor to the women of the Bantu and Sudanic families with whom they share long-standing cultural and economic ties. Men are often involved in cash crops, depending on the market price for a particular crop. Any new crops or changes in practices or new markets may reduce women's access to land and her ability to provide sustenance for her family (and the families of the forest forager women). As noted by the agroforestry Peace Corps volunteers in Cameroon, lack of female involvement in demonstration activities can indicate either inadequate extension approaches or women's insecure access to land for demonstration activities (US Peace Corps 2001).
- Alternative livelihood/income generation strategies are extremely important for women and men but it is very important to understand current household dynamics related to who earns what income and how women and men spend different types of income. Many new types of livelihood activities have the benefit of not being pre-assigned to women or men. However, women do not always have control over the income that they earn and lucrative new activities have often been taken over by men. Sometimes, it has been helpful to work through or help form women's producer or trader associations.
- IR2 (developing skills, institutions and systems to monitor resource status and changes)
 - Capacity building around remote sensing activities is likely to include only men unless pro-active steps are taken to train female professionals. The same is true for analytical and advocacy work for forest monitoring data and on-the-ground monitoring technicians.
 - Further, on-the-ground monitoring work, particularly related to non-timber forest products, is likely to miss more than half of the story if data is not collected on male and female resource collection.
- IR3 and Sub IR 3.1 (enacting laws and policies that reinforce natural resource management and improving governance structures for NRM)
 - Any resource policies and laws developed from incomplete gender data appear more likely to have negative impacts on women if their resource use falls "below the radar screen." Further, the process of policy-making, at any level, is often critically important to the success of the policy and local ownership. Consultative processes should include the input of both male and female resource users and managers.
 - To improve governance structures for natural resource management, projects have been working more with national and local government than supporting capacity building for civil society organizations and citizen advocacy. Yet, women are consistently underrepresented in national and local government agencies and so government-focused efforts are unlikely to improve the engagement or empowerment of women in decision-making. In addition, efforts to improve community-level empowerment and decentralization will not necessarily benefit women because they typically have not addressed intra-community empowerment.

D. Potential Gender-Related Opportunities

1. Opportunities Suggested by CARPE Partners

In CARPE's next phase, there are a many opportunities to collect gender-related information and mainstream these considerations into partner strategies and activities. Table 4 provides a synopsis of ideas suggested by those CARPE partners who were interviewed for this assessment. These ideas, in addition to several other strategies elaborated below, can be used to enhance the accessibility and equitability of CARPE programs for both women and men.

Table 4. Possible Gender-Related Opportunities Identified by Interviewed CARPE Partners

	Resource Decision-Making Gender Issues	Household/Livelihood Finance Gender Issues	Knowledge, Attitude and Capacity Gender Issues
CARPE Core			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender issues training for US partners & field staff. • Set aside at least 1/3 for all small & SOS grants for gender issues or female researchers. • Add gender section & rating criteria for all grant proposals. • Develop a CARPE communication strategy related to gender impacts
AWF		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Address gender aspects of enterprise for the Community Service Center by partnering with different Rwandese and DRC NGOs • Build upon the socioeconomic analysis that is now underway for the Virungas. The first stage addresses demography, land tenure, livelihood and female-headed households. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-service ranger training modules could include more on social and gender issues, communication, facilitation and conflict resolution. • Build upon existing relationship between AWF staff (K. Frohardt) and the current Rwanda Minister of Women's Affairs. • Leverage additional donor resources for gender issues & conservation (e.g., AWF's past grant from Ford Foundation).
IRM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involving women and men in resource decision-making after mapping and inventory activities. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build capacity of community men and women to map resources. • Build capacity of male and female staff at Limbe Botanical Gardens.
USFS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand community and civil society role in keeping logging concessionaires accountable to communities. • Encourage multi-stakeholder processes with women and men to discuss hunting & forest concessions and policy changes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore community and gender rights and benefits from forest concessions. • Use bushmeat issue to expand conservation discussion of gender and socioeconomic issues. 	

Table 4. Possible Gender-Related Opportunities Identified by Interviewed CARPE Partners

	Resource Decision-Making Gender Issues	Household Livelihood/Finance Gender Issues	Knowledge, Attitude and Capacity Gender Issues
USFWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Address the human rights concerns involved when illegal goods trading by outsiders occurs at the expense of subsistence hunting rights for forest foragers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Understand how men's and women's profits from bushmeat trade get spent (e.g., core household needs, agriculture investments, etc.). Understand how bushmeat trading restrictions affect the incomes and household well-being for both traders & the forest forager women hired to work the female trader's fields. New Sub-Regional Coordinator candidate for CBWG has contacts with Brazzaville female traders association with alternative livelihood interests. 	
USPC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work more with NGOs in Cameroon. Get involved in conflict management related to land tenure and use. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasize livelihood security through CARPE-funded grants to agroforestry and environmental education volunteers. Involve volunteers in bushmeat trade research in Gabon, including in urban areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tap the expertise of the USPC/Washington global gender expert and her new Gender & Development team in Africa. Coordinate with Peace Corps focus on girls' education for environmental education & conservation career mentoring. Develop more adult literacy activities related to environmental education & enterprise.
WCS		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Address gender issues in upcoming WCS Lessons Learned report on community-based conservation. Identify a gender-informed strategy for micro-enterprise. Examine threats to household livelihoods. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Include some social science & gender topics in training for protected area staff. Take a gender approach to institutional capacity building. Address gender issues in publications. Support male and female student research.
WRI-IGP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Upcoming study in combination with Global Forest Watch – looking at forest cover by concession status and who represents communities before the Chad-Cameroon pipeline compensation payments to communities are made. Local people clashing with extractive industries. Involve community women and men in policy discussions about core performance indicators for forest concessions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explore men's and women's access to the profits related to timber concession revenues via upcoming WRI commodity chain study. Understanding which resource rights government is recalling and gender implications (e.g., women's subsistence collection rights). Understanding the gender-related social outcomes of new forestry and decentralization policies in Cameroon. 	
WWF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Involve women and men in new or existing committees that are supported for resource decision-making and community development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expand the gender dimensions of a current socioeconomic study. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ensure that opportunities for training and graduate research/employment are gender-equitable. Mentor girls for conservation careers via environmental educ. Increase collaboration with development organizations to expand the conservation skills of their female staff or hire their female former staff.

2. Other Strategic Opportunities for Gender Mainstreaming in CARPE's Next Phase

For the issues of interest to the CARPE partners, there are some important gender differences that reinforce the importance of tailored strategies for conservation and sustainable NRM. It is clear that women in the Congo Basin typically have significant involvement in bushmeat trading, non-timber forest product collection/trading, agricultural production/trading (subsistence and some cash crops) and household welfare. Men are more often involved in paid labor, bushmeat hunting, cash crop production and meeting fewer household expenses. Men often control women's access to land and finances. Men are more often involved in public decision-making about resource use issues. Female-headed households and forest forager households are particularly disadvantaged. Young men who engage in resource destructive practices are often driven by the need to pay dowries and set up a household for their wife.

Capacity Building

- *With a strong emphasis on capacity building in CARPE's next phase, partners will have many opportunities to introduce and build skills in gender analysis (collecting, understanding and applying gender-related information) and social analysis. These skills do not have to be taught in stand-alone training. For CARPE's work, it is more desirable for partners to introduce these skills along side of other essential skills needed by professionals and technicians working on conservation and NRM issues in the Congo Basin.*
- *The gender accessibility of CARPE activities and approaches would be further enhanced through regular input by gender experts. While there are international experts that can be tapped (e.g., USAID/G/WID, IUCN, WWF, Peace Corps, CIFOR, IITA), a greater emphasis should be placed on working closely with gender experts from host country organizations and institutions and help them form a Congo Basin civil society network on gender and conservation. Where appropriate, they may need additional training in conservation/NRM concepts.*
- *Because the dearth of host country female professionals working in conservation and NRM in the Congo Basin countries reduces the innovation capacity of these professions., CARPE partners should take a three-pronged approach. First, female professionals working for development NGOs and other institutions can be hired and trained in conservation and NRM concepts. Second, CARPE core staff and partners can set organizational policies that aim for equal access by women and men to research grants, mentoring, graduate education and training opportunities. Third, from a long-term perspective, conservation partners can help to set up mentoring programs between female professionals and secondary schoolgirls and also introduce these careers in environmental education programs for those in primary schools.*
- *For capacity building and environmental educational activities at the community level, CARPE partners will need to adapt their materials, schedules and activity locations to ensure accessibility for women. Illiteracy among adult women (forest foragers, forest villagers and urban/town market women) is high. Materials need to be adapt to illiterates and tailored for the different messages that resonate with male and female audiences. They need to include examples and images of both men and women involved in sustainable NRM/conservation practices. In addition, adult literacy education, particularly for women, could be a powerful tool to promote conservation values if it is incorporated into environmental education or enterprise trainings. Further, if CARPE partners want women to participate in trainings, then they need to be sure to schedule them at times of day when women can attend and at easily accessible and safe locations (particularly in conflict areas or where women are subject to rape or domestic violence).*

Household Livelihood/Finances Program Choices

- *To successfully modify bushmeat hunting and trading practices, CARPE partners need to better understand and apply information related to the gender division of labor and the intra-household use of income, for forest villagers, forest foragers and urban/town traders.* It is clear that the bushmeat problem will not be solved simply by focusing on male hunters, alternative protein schemes, alternative livelihoods for hunters and logging concession wildlife policies. Alternative livelihood schemes must also address the income needs of female bushmeat traders and small-scale purveyors of cooked bushmeat in towns, as well as the food subsistence or income needs of forest forager women hired to transport smoked bushmeat and work in the fields of female traders. New livelihood activities are less likely to be associated with a particular gender and should be selected by their ability to reduce women's labor demands. The bushmeat crisis solutions must address household livelihood strategies, including agricultural activities.
- *It is also important to learn more about the role of bushmeat for social purposes and the investment of bushmeat income.* Bushmeat is often used for gifts among households and for bartering. It is traded or given to build social capital, pay dowries, gain social status and cope with poverty. Gender differences in the expenditure patterns related to bushmeat income should also be better understood.
- *Existing efforts to support the formation of existing or new producer or trader associations for sustainable use should be continued and include both sexes.* While some support has gone to male hunter associations, there will need to be mixed sex groups among those forest forager groups where women hunt. Some partners have already noted interest in alternatives to bushmeat products among urban/town female (and sometime male) trader associations and this interest should be supported by CARPE partners.
- *Partners should build upon existing non-timber forest products work (particularly under the Small Grants Program) and routinely include gender-related information on collecting, marketing and use.* CARPE already has a considerable body of knowledge about non-timber forest products. However, what is missing is gender-related information on who collects and who markets which products and how this has changed over time. In addition, information about gendered knowledge about how to use different plants would be a worthy addition to community-based environmental education and efforts to help Congo Basin residents appreciate the value of their natural patrimony. Sometimes, culturally specific spiritual/religious beliefs about humans and nature can also be incorporated into the tailored educational and communication activities for specific locales.
- *Analyses for policy/legal and regulatory changes should routinely address gender-related impacts on the status of women and men, particularly their access to resources and income.* While policies, laws and regulations can stop environmentally destructive/unsustainable practices and increase the adoption of sustainable NRM practices, each change has a chain of gender-related impacts on the subsistence and income-earning opportunities for households and communities. It can help to identify what incentives (financial and other) can be used to motivate changes in resource use behaviors for women and for men. Gender-related information can help to identify supporter and opponents.
- *In terms of targeting efforts for livelihood activities, CARPE partners should be sure to pay special attention to the more vulnerable segments of communities.* As noted above, these include the livelihood needs (and secure access to natural resources) for female-headed households and forest forager households, everywhere but particularly in conflict and post-conflict areas. For the forest forager households, communication and assistance should be as direct as possible to avoid cooptation of benefits by neighboring villagers and leaders. CARPE partner strategies also need to take recognize the considerable location-specific variation in degree of market engagement among and within forest forager groups.

Resource Decision-Making/Environmental Governance Program Choices

- *For conservation/NRM professionals, CARPE should be pro-active about providing opportunities for both females and males to influence decision-making at local, national, regional and international venues.* CARPE partners engage with many Congo Basin professionals at a variety of decision-making levels. Other projects have found it possible to let partners know that both male and female professionals are to be nominated for participation in these meetings and committees.
- *For citizens and civil society representatives, CARPE partners should consider devoting more attention to improve the gender equitability of access to resource decision-making at different levels.* They must help to ensure that resource decision-making involves all resource stakeholders, including both women and men, and resource policies are developed with due consideration of gender impacts. For work with forest forager communities, it is important to understand existing patterns of decision-making and be sure to not assume that men are the only leaders or community decision-makers or that local government leaders (Bantu/Sudanic) do not make false claims to represent the interests of forest foragers.
- *Through CARPE work, partners have opportunities to improve the effectiveness of both male and female citizens to advocate their interests, accountability and transparency in resource decision-making venues.* In some cases, special efforts may be needed to improve women's literacy and leadership skills (e.g., via enterprise and/or environmental education programs) and to provide gender equitable opportunities to learn data collection and analysis skills (e.g., mapping, inventory, forest concession monitoring). The same may be true for forest foragers, both male and female. In other situations, it may be helpful to support the associations that are able to represent both women's and men's interests or just women's interests or for forest foragers. It is important not to provide opportunities only for males from forest forager groups.
- *For CARPE, support of civil society networking should also include more development organizations and those working for gender and social justice related to conservation/NRM (e.g., indigenous rights for forest forager ethnic groups).* In other regions (e.g., Asia), donor support for national or regional civil society networking has been extremely important. This regional networking helps to promote accountability and transparency for regional conservation/NRM bodies dominated by government representatives.

Core and Cross-Partner Opportunities

- *As a multi-partner project, CARPE has an opportunity to set forth a gender policy that promotes equitable access and opportunities and the collection and use of gender-related data.* Both men and women associated with CARPE should feel responsible for addressing gender issues (reducing barriers, increasing opportunities). This policy can be reinforced by a required discussion of gender-related activities and accomplishments in annual partner reports and workplans. In addition, performance measures can set targets for gender-related accomplishments and track the relative access of men and women to project resources and benefits and improvements in the status of women. The grant proposal criteria and consultant scopes of work should also include requirements to address gender issues.
- *Core publications and communication should routinely address gender issues.* For example, when the Congo Basin Information Series is expanded or updated, gender issues, activities and accomplishments should be highlighted (e.g., Non-Timber Forest Products, Forest Governance, Management Watchdogs, Community Management of Forest Resources, Mobilizing Communities to Conserve Forest Resources, Bushmeat Crisis and others).
- *Gender should be considered as a cross-cutting theme for CARPE partners.* In general,

CARPE partners express interest in knowing more about each other's work and opportunities for synergism. Some potential joint work could include work on gender and the bushmeat trade, gender and non-timber forest products, gender and alternative livelihood, gender and governance, gender analysis and capacity building. The small grants program can be used to build up a body of knowledge on gender issues and training materials on gender analysis can be shared. However, as noted above, there are many other ways besides small grants to mainstream gender and create synergies.

V. CONCLUSION

At this strategic juncture, CARPE core and partner staff have the opportunity to remedy previous inattention to gender issues. Mainstreaming gender issues has many benefits for those trying to achieve sustainable conservation/NRM and gender equitable development. However, it is important to not just "add women and stir." Simply adding a few women here and there or directing some support to an occasional women's group or hiring one or two female staff is not enough. On the other hand, a female-focused strategy is no more likely to be no more successful than a male-focused strategy. Gender mainstreaming means understanding the situation of both men and women and tailoring strategies to address these realities.

Deforestation and defaunation in the Congo Basin are complex livelihood-related behaviors with multiple stakeholders, including both women and men, urban and rural residents, commercial and subsistence actors and a plethora of ethnicities including the intertwined relationship between forest villagers and forest foragers. As is, the proposed activities for the next phase of CARPE will have only an incidental positive effect on women. They are more likely to have a negative impact on women and the more vulnerable segments of society unless pro-active steps are taken by CARPE core and partner staff to understand gendered resource use, incentives, constraints and opportunities, including capacity building ones for professionals. This knowledge will help partners to develop more much effective strategies for reaching CARPE's new intermediate results, strategic objective and goals.

VI. INFORMANTS INTERVIEWED

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