INCREASING WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY RESOURCES BOARDS IN ZAMBIA

OUTCOMES AND LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE ELECTION PROCESS

INTEGRATED LAND AND RESOURCE GOVERNANCE TASK ORDER UNDER THE STRENGTHENING TENURE AND RESOURCE RIGHTS II (STARR II) IDIQ

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

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<tr>
<td>AGM</td>
<td>Annual General Meeting</td>
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<tr>
<td>CFMG</td>
<td>Community Forest Management Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLA</td>
<td>Community Liaison Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRB</td>
<td>Community Resources Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNPW</td>
<td>Department of National Parks and Wildlife</td>
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<tr>
<td>FZS</td>
<td>Frankfurt Zoological Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender-Based Violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>Gender Champion</td>
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<td>GMA</td>
<td>Game Management Area</td>
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<td>ILRG</td>
<td>Integrated Land and Resource Governance</td>
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<td>VAG</td>
<td>Village Action Group</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>ZCRBA</td>
<td>Zambia Community Resources Board Association</td>
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In October and November 2020, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)-funded Integrated Land and Resource Governance (ILRG) task order provided technical and financial support to Frankfurt Zoological Society (FZS) to facilitate gender integration in the election process of community natural resource governance structures in the game management areas (GMAs) around the North Luangwa National Park, Zambia. This intervention aimed at increasing women’s participation in village action groups (VAGs) and community resources boards (CRBs), serving as a pilot to engage stakeholders, including the Department of National Parks and Wildlife (DNPW) and the Zambia Community Resources Board Association (ZCRBA), on broader reforms to increase gender equality in community natural resource governance in Zambia. The approach included convening key stakeholders before and during the election process to support women and address practical and social barriers to their participation.

This report details the strategies used and the outcomes in the election results, and reflects on lessons learned, challenges, and opportunities for scaling the approach. The report further makes recommendations for stakeholders to facilitate gender-responsive election processes to increase opportunities for women’s participation in natural resource governance in Zambia and elsewhere.
2.0 BACKGROUND

2.1 NATURAL RESOURCES AND GENDER EQUALITY

In Zambia, women and men have distinct traditional social roles and responsibilities at the household and community level regarding their access to and use of the local environment and natural resources. Likewise, depletion of natural resources tends to impact women and men differently. Despite this, gender inequalities and the different ways men and women access, use, control and their knowledge of natural resources are often ignored in natural resource management, thereby undermining the effectiveness, impact, and sustainability of development and conservation efforts. By failing to adopt gender-responsive approaches, programs in the sector fail to sufficiently address the different needs of women and men and consider their unique concerns, points of view, and knowledge.

There is growing evidence in Africa and elsewhere that inclusion of women in natural resource governance has significant positive effects on conservation and development outcomes, though this has been examined primarily in the forestry sector. A comparative study in East Africa and Latin America found the presence of women in community forest governance structures to enhance positive behavior and forest sustainability (Mwangi et al., 2011). In Asia, increasing women’s representation in community forest governance institutions improved resource conservation and regeneration (Agarwal, 2009). The benefits of women’s participation were linked to their indigenous knowledge of the forest, greater rule compliance and adoption of sustainable practices, and greater cooperation among women. Increased participation in natural resource governance can be a pathway for wider empowerment of women in the household and in the public sphere, also leading to opportunities for growth in families’ income from economic activities related to natural resources. In addition, private companies in value chains related to natural resources are more likely to certify products and practices if women have active participation in resource governance (Beaujon Marin & Kuriakose, 2017).

The Government of Zambia recognizes the need for community involvement in the governance and conservation of natural resources and over the past decades has promoted devolution approaches that enable communities to share responsibilities for natural resource management. The legal and policy framework, including the 2015 Wildlife Act No. 14 and the 2018 National Parks and Wildlife Policy, provide for community participation and gender equality in accessing, controlling, benefiting from, and managing natural resources. The policy has an explicit objective of mainstreaming gender, HIV/AIDS, and youth empowerment in wildlife conservation, creating equal opportunities and conditions for women, men, and youth to benefit equally and reduce inequities in conservation. The 2014 National Gender Policy and the 2016 Gender Equity and Equality Act No. 22 ensure gender equality and offer redress for existing gender imbalances by tackling gender-based violence (GBV) and gender disparities in positions.
of decision-making at all levels and across sectors. Despite progress in policy reforms, women’s actual and meaningful participation in natural resource governance and benefit sharing have lagged behind and remain a challenge.

2.2  COMMUNITY RESOURCE GOVERNANCE IN ZAMBIA

Community governance institutions offer an important opportunity for promoting gender equality and women’s participation in the natural resources sector. In Zambia, such institutions are CRBs for wildlife management and community forest management groups (CFMGs) for forestry. DNPW manages national parks and has responsibilities in GMAs and in open areas where wildlife resides. GMAs were established primarily to serve as buffer zones around national parks, which is where most CRBs are established to co-manage wildlife resources.

CRBs are formed from the lower-level VAGs, which comprise not more than 10 elected members and are responsible for deciding on community needs and interests in the utilization of wildlife resources. The members with the highest votes from all VAGs in a chiefdom then form the CRB, which is a higher-level executive body of the community that also has 10 members. The CRB is the decision-making and coordinating body of the community. There are 77 CRBs in the country, grouped together in four regions to form the membership of the regional CRB associations and at the national level, the ZCRBA. Each regional CRB association has a leadership position in the ZCRBA National Executive Committee. Some of the key functions of the ZCRBA are to coordinate the CRBs, unify CRBs to advocate and address collective issues, and provide capacity building to the membership.

The election process for VAGs and CRBs is governed by the 2013 CRB Election Guidelines, developed by DNPW. The following figure illustrates the steps in the CRB election process:

According to the CRB Election Guidelines, the VAG and CRB positions are up for election every five years, though in practice this happens every three years. The election process starts with publicity about the annual general meeting (AGM) a few days prior to the meeting. All community members are eligible
to attend the VAG AGM meeting. Publicity is done through megaphones and headpersons informing people of the date of the AGM, the agenda, and the venue. During the AGM, all individuals interested to run in the election are required to file their nominations, receive an animal symbol as their identity for campaigning and receiving votes, and immediately start the campaign to get elected. The campaign is often for a short period of two to three days. Experience from previous elections show that women are often not reached by awareness-raising efforts and lack information about the process and criteria to participate in the election. The short campaign period also disadvantages women, who have limited financial resources and competing household responsibilities.

During the election, representatives of the candidates sit in as observers throughout the process to ensure transparency; votes are openly cast using symbols. Voters line up outside the voting room and in small groups are allowed to enter, pick the symbol of the candidate of choice, put a thumb print on it, and cast the vote in a transparent box. The top two candidates with the highest number of votes in the VAG election automatically qualify to represent the community at the CRB executive level or board. In the case of CRBs with more than five VAGs, only the top voted candidates get onto the CRB board. The elections for CRB board positions generally happen shortly after concluding VAG elections. The CRB Election Guidelines do not set this timeline, which is left to the electoral committee to determine based on various factors, among them available resources, geographical coverage of the CRB, and capacity within the chiefdom.

2.2.1 CHALLENGES FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Although the guidelines state that any eligible community member is free to stand for election, they do not include explicit provisions on gender equality and/or women’s participation. Women’s representation in community governance structures in the wildlife sector in Zambia has remained extremely and consistently low. At the beginning of 2020, only 10 percent of the over 700 elected members of the 77 CRBs were women (ZCRBA, 2020). Though data is not easily accessible, experience from past elections show that the number of women at the VAG level is slightly higher than at the CRB level, but still remains low compared to men. Studies also show that elected women face challenges to participate equally as men and rarely occupy positions of leadership within CRBs or VAGs. Indeed, in early 2020 only four CRBs out of 77 were chaired by a woman (Malasha & Duncan, 2020).

There are a number of factors that contribute to the low participation of women in community natural resource governance. Strong socio-cultural norms perpetuate unequal participation and gender stereotypes that work against women being elected into leadership. Women are more likely to be illiterate and have limited education, with less access to information about the election and governance processes. Further, women have a disproportionate share of family and caring responsibilities and social and practical constraints to their mobility, which negatively impact their ability to participate in elections and governance. They also have less resources and social space to successfully campaign and compete in the elections. As leadership and public engagement are traditionally associated with men, community governance remains strongly male-dominated. Women who attempt to engage in VAG and CRB elections often experience social ridicule and isolation, harassment, and other forms of GBV. These factors work to discourage women’s participation in natural resources governance structures.

Opportunities for women to overcome these barriers are limited, especially when the role of women in the governance system is not explicitly defined. Gender-responsive and gender-transformative approaches are important to promote sustainable resource management at the community level. Such approaches reflect gender equality and equity and seek to involve men and women equally and meaningfully in decision-making and programming. As women and men use and are affected by wildlife resources differently, gender-inclusive approaches are central to effective and sustainable wildlife management. The different roles played by men and women to support natural resource-based
livelihoods mean that both have valuable expertise and strategies that can be harnessed to manage wildlife sustainably and ensure equitable sharing of benefits.

Laws and policies such as the Zambia Wildlife Act No. 14 of 2015, the Forest Act No. 4 of 2015, the National Parks and Wildlife Policy (2018), the National Forestry Policy (2014), and the National Strategy for Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (2015) all in some ways commit to ensuring equitable and effective participation of local communities. This implies taking into account the interests and needs and promoting equitable access and fair distribution of the social and economic benefits derived from natural resources for women and men. Translating these policy statements into practical actions to actions by institutions remains a challenge.

As the policy framework is centered on community-based natural resource management, CRBs are a crucial structure to promote gender-responsive community participation. The CRB election process provides a unique opportunity for women’s involvement in wildlife management decision-making and an entry point to supporting good governance. Inclusion of all community members leads to greater representation of varying interest and needs within the community and ensures adequate responses to these needs.
3.0 PROMOTING GENDER-RESPONSIVE CRB ELECTIONS

Drawing upon the recommendations from its gender assessment of the wildlife sector in Zambia (Malasha & Duncan, 2020), ILRG worked with partners to develop and implement a number of interventions to increase women’s participation in community governance in the wildlife sector. ILRG provided financial and technical support to ZCRBA and FZS to work with DNPW to promote gender-responsive approaches in the CRB elections in four chiefdoms surrounding North Luangwa National Park: Chifunda, Chikwa, Mukungule, and Nabwalya where partner organization FZS has well-established field presence. The overall objective was to draw learning on successful approaches, challenges, and opportunities to inform practice and broader community governance reforms by DNPW, ZCRBA and other organizations supporting CRB elections.

Gender-responsive election processes pay attention to gender roles and power relationships at every step of the process and define specific actions to mitigate gendered barriers and increase the opportunities and chances for disadvantaged groups – such as women – to equally and fully participate. To promote gender-responsiveness in the CRB election process, ILRG adopted a phased approach, with activities in the pre-election phase, during the election process, and after. The activities were focused on convening stakeholders, intensive sensitization, and close support for women. They were designed to be cost- and time-effective and context appropriate, so that they could be repeated by civil society organizations or private sector partners that support CRBs throughout Zambia. As such, the approach sought to rely and build upon existing community engagement staff and structures.

3.1 PRE-ELECTION PHASE

Approximately one month before the CRB elections, ILRG began to convene and engage with key stakeholders, mobilize existing local structures, and sensitize communities. The key stakeholders meeting involved all organizations that were party to or had a role in facilitating the CRB elections. A key output of the stakeholder meeting was a consolidated workplan for the entire CRB election process agreed by all stakeholders and shared responsibility for gender integration.

Work at the pre-election phase ensured buy-in from all relevant stakeholders and allowed for activities in the election phase to be implemented effectively over a limited timeframe.

Stakeholders meeting (five weeks before elections): Stakeholders included staff from different organizations supporting the election process. These include DNPW extension agents, field staff of civil society organizations, and community liaisons. The aim of the full-day meeting was to bring all stakeholders together to provide background information about the barriers and benefits of increasing women’s participation in natural resource management and agree on approaches to increase women and youth participation/representation in community resource governance. The outcome of the stakeholder meeting was a consolidated joint workplan that included a detailed list of gender-responsive activities for each step of the upcoming election process.

Training of community liaison assistants (CLAs) (four weeks before elections): In North Luangwa, ILRG’s partner, FZS, relies on community-based staff called community liaison assistants (CLAs) to carry out many day-to-day community outreach activities. CLAs are champions that facilitate community engagement and work closely with all stakeholders at communities in natural resource management. Similar field structures exist for most non-governmental organizations working in GMAs throughout
Zambia. A two-day training was held for CLAs and gender champions (GCs) from their respective communities, focusing on the agreed gender activities to be implemented. The training provided practical skills for delivering gender equality messages and activities to various community segments, aimed at empowering women to get involved in the CRB election process. Participatory approaches were used to deliver the training, and the tools were made available as reference materials for the CLAs. A total of 14 CLAs and GCs were trained to work across the four CRBs.

**Dialogue with traditional leaders (three to four weeks before elections):** Inequalities in women’s participation in community governance are largely a result of gender norms in traditional systems, as such traditional leaders hold an important role in promoting positive norm change within communities. Although chiefs are often committed to gender equality at the national policy level, translating such commitments to the local level is frequently a challenge. Traditional leaders (chiefs, chiefs’ advisors, headpersons) in each of the four chiefdoms were engaged to seek support and collaboration to increase acceptability of women and youth leadership. These meetings both acted as courtesy calls and helped to identify champions working closely with and under the chief who were seconded to provide support at the community level. The traditional leaders overwhelmingly supported the work, which can be explained by their familiarity with messages on gender equality, trustworthy relationship with CLAs from partner organization FZS, and the widespread frustration with corruption allegations against men in the CRBs.

**Community gender sensitization at the VAG level (three weeks before elections):** The activity involved reaching out to community members and creating awareness on the role of women in natural resource management and their contribution to management and conservation and the need to support women to participate in the CRB elections. The CLAs and the GCs held sensitization meetings and reached out to women’s groups in all the VAGs of the four chiefdoms. The sensitization message was based on the developmental benefits to be derived if women were included. Communities were generally aware about gender but the suggestion to incorporate women in the CRB leadership was received with mixed sentiments. Given the strong cultural beliefs on the leadership role of men, some members of the community (both women and men) did not support the idea of women acting “outside their role” and also voiced the many challenges that such women in leadership would face, such as the risk of divorce, neglect of a home, and loss of respect. Overall, the sensitization helped to lessen resistance to women standing for election.

**Mobilization of women to file nominations (from four weeks before elections):** CLAs interacted with communities and traditional leaders to identify women willing to serve in natural resource governance leadership roles. They targeted families and women’s groups such as the community conservations banks, church groups, clubs, funerals, and food distribution points to provide information about how VAGs and CRBs work, the election processes, and the importance of women’s participation, as well as answering questions from women, their families, and other community members. Through these discussions, potential women candidates were identified. Other women were mobilized during
discussions with traditional leaders, who proposed potential women candidates. Only a few of the women approached outrightly expressed willingness to stand. Most of the women had to be encouraged to agree to participate. The offer of technical, social, and moral support, as well as the endorsement received from the traditional leaders, encouraged most of the women to agree to stand for election. The traditional leaders also engaged the women’s families to negotiate participation and solicit support.

**Knowledge and skills training for aspiring women candidates (two weeks before the election day):** Women willing to nominate themselves to participate in the CRB elections received knowledge and community-based skills training. Access to information had been identified as a major barrier to women’s participation. Most of the aspiring women candidates were participating in VAG elections for the first time and had little information about the process. They received information about the election stages and what they were required to do at every stage. CLAs and the GCs also provided skills training to a total of 150 women in the 27 VAGs, with the goal of equipping them with skills to go through the election process and potentially take on community leadership roles. The skills training focused on communication, self-confidence, public speaking, campaign tactics, and networking. Negotiation skills were provided to women for securing support from their spouses and family members. Emphasis was placed on conducting an effective campaign, and women were given chances to practice these skills.

### 3.2 ELECTION PHASE

Integration of gender during the election phase involved bringing gender interventions into election activities, according to the election phases articulated in the CRB Elections Guidelines. The first activity was publicity and awareness about the AGM of the VAGs, followed by the actual meeting, when candidates file their nominations and start campaigning. The official campaign period is often short (two to three days). Prior to implementation, the consolidated and joint workplan had identified entry points and targeted gender activities for each step of the election phase detailed in Figure 1.

#### 3.2.1 AGM AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

**Publicizing the VAG election (around five days before election day):** The VAG AGM was publicized to make sure everyone in the community was aware of the event and its importance in the election process. It involved informing community members about the election process and the date, time, and venue of the meeting. The publicity was done mainly through megaphones and village headpersons. Publicity through megaphones also targeted places where women were likely to be found such as clinics, markets, and group gatherings. As women often miss out on information, potential candidates were individually reached via phone: all 150 women who were previously identified as willing to stand were called or sent text messages. For the few that were not reachable by phone, physical visits were arranged. This ensured that women were present at the meeting and were equipped with the necessary information and requirements to file the nomination papers.

**Support for women to file nominations (two to three days before the election day):** At the AGM, further information on the election process was shared, and the nominations and screening of candidates were carried out. Traditional leaders
led the screening process. Women that needed interpretation services were supported to file nominations and to appropriately record information on the nomination form by the GCs and the CLAs.

**Gender sensitization during the AGM (two to three days before the election).** The CRB Election Guidelines provide for gender sensitization during the AGM. As those attending the AGM are potential voters, sensitization messages on women’s participation and representation were delivered to the community by the CLAs and GCs, emphasizing the right for women to stand for an election and the importance of having both women and men in the CRB. The gender conversations with community members generated considerable discussion of gender roles. Representatives from traditional leaders also used the opportunity to share and reinforce the message that the leaders support women in CRB leadership.

**Support for women while campaigning (two - three days before the election day).** The official campaign period begins immediately after the AGM until the election day, which is often three days or less. During this short period all candidates reach out to potential voters and solicit votes. The 150 women candidates had the support of their spouses and families, some of whom also assisted in their campaigning. They were supported with resources such as photocopying of symbols and slogans, hire of bicycles, and drums for mobilizing community members. Individual women devised campaign slogans such as “if paid to vote expect to pay to be served,” building upon perceptions and experience of male candidates practicing vote-buying (more information on this on Section 5, Lessons Learned below). Communication between women candidates was also facilitated to provide peer support. In some cases, women paired up to share experiences and the costs of campaigning. For instance, in distant villages women travelled together to campaign for security reasons or used the same individuals to distribute their symbols. Due to limited resources, most women preferred door-to-door campaign instead of larger gatherings offering free food and drink, which was often practiced by male candidates.

### 3.2.2 VAG ELECTIONS, CRB ELECTIONS, AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FORMATION

**Election day:** In line with the election guidelines, the electoral committee provided logistical support for a transparent CRB election. Elections in most of the VAGs started as early as 6 am and closed at 3 pm; voting centers were mainly schools. All voters had an opportunity to vote for their candidate of choice by selecting their assigned symbol, signing/placing a thumb mark on it, and placing it in a transparent box. The voting process was closely observed by the candidates’ monitoring.
agents that stayed in the voting room during the whole time. In some locations, scouts were engaged to provide security and orderliness at voting centers, but not in all of them. Women candidates were encouraged through text message to vote early and wait for the results at home for their safety.

**Results and establishment of CRB Committee:** The polling stations officially closed at 3 pm, followed by counting of votes and the announcement of results. The top two vote winners from the VAGs were then gathered at one central place to form the CRB. Formation of the CRB involves electing, from among themselves, individuals into executive positions for the term of the CRB. These internal elections were conducted on the same day and happened during the evening and in some cases late into the night.

### 3.3 POST-ELECTION PHASE

**CRB orientation (one week after the election):** Before CRB elected members start performing their duties, they are required to undergo an orientation. A two-day orientation of the CRB executive committee helps acquaint the newly elected members with how CRBs work and what their roles entail. With ILRG support, the orientation included a specific session on gender to sensitize CRB members on the importance of women’s participation and how to conduct CRB business in a gender-sensitive and responsive manner. The spouses of women CRB members participated in the orientation to increase their knowledge about their roles (including time commitment), reinforce support, and dissuade any confusions that could hinder women’s participation or increase risks of GBV.
4.0 GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTION RESULTS

4.1 OVERALL GENDER REPRESENTATION AT VAG AND CRB LEVELS

In the four chiefdoms (Chifunda, Chikwa, Mukungule, and Nabwalya), 287 people were nominated for the elections, out of which 150 were women (52 percent). A total of 252 people were elected for the VAGs, including 125 women (50 percent). In both Mukungule and Chikwa, more women than men were elected: 62 percent and 53 percent, respectively. In Nabwalya, women were 44 percent of those elected, and in Chifunda only 34 percent. In Nabwalya and Chikwa, there was a low level of nominations of both men and women, with many VAGs barely getting enough community members to run for election. This could also explain why 83 percent of women who ran were elected overall.

As explained in section 3.2 above, the candidates who receive the highest number of votes in each VAG in a chiefdom form the CRB for that area.1 Although a considerable proportion of those elected at the VAG level were women (50 percent), they struggled to be among those who received the highest number of votes and secure a place in the CRB, the higher level, decision-making governance body. Chikwa had the best result, with five men and five women in the CRB, followed by Mukungule, with three women and seven men. Chifunda had only one woman go to the CRB level and Nabwalya no women at all. However, it must be noted that in Chikwa, the chief implemented a 50/50 gender representation affirmative action measure for all governance structures prior to the election.

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1 There are ten VAGs in Mukungule, five in Nabwalya, five in Chikwa, and seven in Chifunda.
4.2 GENDER REPRESENTATION IN LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Women’s lower representation among highest scoring candidates also influenced their ability to attain leadership positions. Both VAGs and CRBs have an executive committee, with a chairperson and secretary; these positions are assigned automatically to the top highest voted candidates. Fewer women than men managed the highest result at VAG level, and hence missed the opportunity to lead at both the CRB as well as the VAG level. At the VAG level, 12 women (28 percent) compared to 42 men hold leadership positions. In Mukungule, more women received a high number of votes, resulting in better gender representation at least for the secretary position at VAGs.

At the CRB level, although the number of women holding leadership positions increased compared to previous years, male dominance remains, with a total of six women compared to 18 men holding the top executive committee positions. The gender difference is a result of fewer women being top vote-getters in the VAG elections. Fewer women than men performed highest in the VAG elections, which undermined the chances of women to be elevated to the executive committee. Chikwa had the best performance with a 50/50 split in executive committee positions, whereas in Nabwalya no woman made it to top leadership. Chikwa CRB benefited from the chief’s gender-equal policy as noted above, which may have caused the communities to give a high vote to women for them to be at the CRB.

4.3 COMPARISON OF GENDER REPRESENTATION IN 2017 AND 2020

At the VAG level, overall women’s representation increased from 21 percent in the 2017 elections to 50 percent in 2020. Representation increased in each chiefdom: from 16 percent to 34 percent in Chifunda, 37 percent to 53 percent in Chikwa, 25 percent to 62 percent in Mukungule, and six percent to 44 percent in Nabwalya. The gender assessment conducted by USAID in 2020 found that the cultural norm of women being subservient to men was very strong in communities in Chikwa and Chifunda, which may explain the slower change compared the other chiefdoms. The results also show that the extent to which communities hold on to tradition and gender norms is different, hence the variations in acceptability levels of women leadership. In some communities like Chifunda the cultural norm still strongly sees men as symbols of power, strength, and control and has barely accepted women taking up
leadership roles, while in other communities women’s status is changing as evidenced by results in Mukungule.

At the CRB level, in 2017 out of the 40 positions in all chiefdoms (ten per chiefdom), only two were occupied by women, whereas in 2020 nine out of 40 were occupied by women, which represents an overall increase in women’s representation from five percent to 23 percent. Women’s representation at the CRB level went from zero to 10 percent in Chifunda, 10 to 50 percent in Chikwa, and 10 to 30 percent in Mukungule. There was no change in Nabwalya, where no woman made it to the CRB level in either 2017 or 2020.
5.0 LESSONS LEARNED

Based on the interventions implemented and the outcomes detailed above, some lessons learned were collected across the following areas: building acceptance among leaders and communities; identifying women candidates and supporting their campaigning; removing barriers to women’s participation in elections; and delivering cost- and time-effective gender-responsive approaches. The lessons reflect on the main challenges and opportunities for scaling the approach and for future interventions by DNPW, ZCRBA, FZS, other civil society organizations, and other donors.

Building acceptance among leaders and communities

Engagement and dialogue with traditional leaders on gender norms influenced perceptions of women as potential leaders. Before community sensitization, traditional leaders (chief, indunas, and headpersons) in all chiefdoms were reached and gave women’s leadership overwhelming support. The traditional leaders were engaged in discussion of cultural issues that affect women’s participation in natural resources and developing strategies to address these barriers, which often included their direct involvement in mobilizing women from the community and negotiating support from spouses and families. In all the chiefdoms, the chiefs demonstrated commitment to gender equality and were active in reaching out to their subjects. The chief’s representatives participated in most of the community meetings to share the message of commitment. At the village level, headpersons were involved in community sensitization activities, which contributed to the mobilization of women.

Organic and community-driven nominations are essential. As mentioned, traditional leaders have an important role in driving gender equality messages and broader change in social norms. However, they are not the only source of legitimacy in the communities. The program welcomed recommendations by traditional leaders of women who might be interested in running for VAG and CRB positions, but some of these individuals performed poorly in the election. This underscores the importance of encouraging community members to identify potential candidates and not relying solely or heavily on the suggestions of the elite.

Social norms generally resist woman’s role in leadership, but the depth of resistance varied across communities and between women and men. Although women’s participation was well received in all chiefdoms and the plans for gender integration devised in each of them were similar, the level of effort required to get women involved was not the same across communities. While in some chiefdoms the message on women’s participation was quickly embraced, in others it required more effort and outreach. Indeed, chiefdoms where gendered roles that link women to subservient roles and men to leadership are very strong had a more modest increase in the numbers of women elected to VAGs. The highest increase took place in chiefdoms where women’s leadership role was more accepted. Areas that require additional support can be identified through initial discussions with CLA-type officers that work closely in these communities. As a response, planning should focus more deeply in these communities, increasing the number of activities, outreach capacity, and time and resources allocated. In most communities, women and men showed similar levels of resistance to change, and effort is required to convince both about the importance of equal representation. When women attempt to occupy positions of prominence and leadership, there is often pushback. Indeed, during the campaigns men undermined women candidates with comments that reflected ingrained gender stereotypes such as, “you are just wasting your time, you (women) cannot manage CRB work,” “how can you even get votes if you don’t even have finances and time to campaign, this is a game for men,” and “you can’t read, write, or speak English, how will you represent the people.” On the other hand, women were often overly critical of women candidates, in some
cases questioning their character and mocking their efforts, which they did not usually do with men candidates.

**Messages on gender equality were often already present in communities but had not previously been applied to CRBs and natural resource management.** Though most communities had been exposed to gender programming through other donors and government programs, community members generally still held the belief that CRB positions were for men only and women should not be involved. Focusing gender messages on inclusion of women in CRB leadership and in the context of the election helped communities relate to the change required. However, persuading women to challenge the existing norms required targeted sensitization, consistent reassurance, and support from key stakeholders. Making gender equality messaging relatable to the context was important to promote women’s confidence in challenging these social norms, including stressing the role of women in supporting family livelihoods and how women’s choices affect or impact forestry and wildlife.

**Targeting women’s groups was effective, but largely missed communicating with men.** The gender sensitization strategy mostly involved meeting women’s groups at places such as markets, savings groups, church gathering, funerals, etc. This enabled information to reach a large number of women within a short period of time. However, not as many men were reached until the AGMs, limiting the opportunity for wider discussions of gender norms. In addition, gender sensitization during the election period was challenging due to poor turnout during AGMs and limited time and inconsistent involvement of electoral officials, some of whom had less interest in gender messaging. During the AGM, time allocated to gender sensitization was limited, such that reach out for support from among men remained weak. Future sensitization efforts should increase both the reach and intensity of engagement of men.

**Identifying women candidates and supporting their campaigning**

Women lack basic information about the CRB elections. Women were generally only introduced to the CRB elections at the AGM, at the point of nominations and start of campaign. Unfamiliar with the election process, they did not have enough time to process the information. The
short official campaign period made it difficult for them to prepare and fully implement their messaging and campaign strategies. Symbols were only given at the point of nomination. Apart from the women previously mobilized by ILRG, very few other women managed to file nominations. Community members, including men, complained that often information is only shared secretly among a few men, who would also begin campaigning informally before the nomination day. This approach disadvantaged women and men who were not part of the existing CRB leadership. In general, the AGM was called at short notice, resulting in low participation, and in some VAGs AGMs did not even happen as mandated by the election guidelines. Without advance notice, most women (and men) who may have wanted to stand missed out. In addition, broader information about the role of the community members in governance of wildlife resources is not communicated out much. As a result, few women understood their role in holding CRB leaders accountable or the expectations associated with the positions. This also affected their campaign, as they did not have enough information to convince voters.

**Misunderstandings around the roles of different players in the electoral process caused conflicts and threats of violence that scared away women from participating.** Conflicting views between traditional leaders and officials on electoral guidelines in Chifunda escalated into threats of violence, leading some women to retract their intention to participate at the point of nominations. Some of the women were among those who had been mobilized and trained to participate in the election and were ready to file their nominations, but decided not to following the acrimonious AGM.

**Candidate screening by traditional leaders during nominations had no significant impact on women but could in the future.** Traditional leaders vet candidates but the process is unclear and subjective. The screening process is too close to the election and sometimes it was not possible to replace candidates screened out, resulting in some VAGs having less candidates than positions available. Screening women out after nomination also raised speculations about the reasons, whereas if the screening happened before the nomination, the candidate's intention would have not been so public. Fear of public humiliation and reputational rumors can discourage women from participating. The public screening process at the AGM also exposed some chiefs and headpersons to ridicule by those who were screened out, such that the election process can lead to community conflict. The electoral guidelines do not describe conflict resolution mechanisms, leaving disputes to be resolved by those with power, who are in some cases party to the conflict themselves. A clear conflict management system would increase confidence in the CRB electoral process and encourage women to participate.

**Women were disadvantaged by “old member vs. newcomer” power dynamics.** Encouraged by the lack of term limits to serve on the CRB, men who have held CRB positions for a long time started their campaigns long before other potential candidates were even aware of the election process, and often practiced intimidatory practices to prevent the election of new members. Male candidates frequently belittled female candidates and made disparaging remarks about their capabilities, affecting women’s confidence. Even after the elections, candidates who lost were publicly mocked by the supporters of winners, which can impact women’s willingness to run in the future and increase their vulnerability to violence and harassment.

**Electoral malpractice and corruption disadvantage women, but also create opportunities for women to stand out as alternatives to such practices.** Electoral malpractice was largely accepted and campaigning was not regulated or monitored. There were no punitive measures in place for candidates who engaged in malpractice, so women had nowhere to file grievance or seek redress. High poverty levels also played a factor, leading to practices of buying votes or exchanging votes for benefits. One voter openly said, “my registration card is for a benefit or else no vote.” Benefits included money, nshima (local food), alcohol, paying for grinding of maize into mealie meal (chigayo), sweets, mojo (energy) drinks, super dip (powdered) drinks, biscuits, and participation in very popular
after-voting parties. In some chiefdoms, children aged 15 – 18 had just acquired national registration cards weeks before the CRB elections and were excited to get some “benefits.” These practices provided an advantage to those with financial resources, who were mostly men. They also have the potential to encourage corruption in the CRB, since candidates who spend considerable resources during the campaign might feel encouraged to recover such expenses when in office. For instance, in one chiefdom a young man sold his motorbike to fund his campaign and when he won the election, he openly remarked that he would be able to get a bigger motorbike. Women candidates felt extremely intimidated by these practices and felt they were unable to compete due to the lack of social and material resources compared to those already in power. However, because men are commonly associated with corrupt practices, this offers an opportunity for women to present themselves as an alternative, which worked well in some chiefdoms, where because of the corruption tag on the men, community members opted to give their votes to women. Some women capitalized on the corruption allegations in their campaigns but did so cautiously to avoid risks of pushback and potential GBV from opponents.

The short campaign period disadvantaged women. The official campaign period opened immediately after the AGM/nominations and was usually a day and a half to three days long. In the absence of a level playing field, as discussed above, this prevented women from reaching out to all potential voters in their catchment area. Informal campaigns that started before the official period mostly benefited men, who had the information and resources to do so. This also led men to obtain the highest number of votes and consequently make it to the CRB level, securing leadership positions within VAGs and CRBs (chairperson and secretary). Extending the campaign period could discourage vote buying practices (difficult to sustain over a longer period) and provide women with more opportunities to network and reach out to a larger audience.

Family connections often influenced women’s success. Given the power dynamics and electoral malpractices described above, campaigning was difficult for women and there was not a level playing field. Women who got a high number of votes were helped mostly by family lineage. The larger the family and the better the perception of the family by the community, the more support and the chances of winning increased. Candidates without such family connections did not receive support, regardless of individual qualities.
Removing barriers to women's participation in elections

The absence of gender-responsive efforts perpetuates gender inequalities in participation and representation in the CRB structure. The election guidelines are considered “gender neutral,” failing to acknowledge and address barriers faced by women. In the context of strong socio-cultural and practical obstacles to women’s participation in community leadership, deliberate gender-responsive action is necessary in terms of policy. The experience in the CRB elections in North Luangwa shows that that the implementation of specific activities to reach women and address barriers prior and during elections resulted in increased numbers of women elected to VAGs and CRBs. It also increased awareness on gender equality in community management of natural resources and access of information by women about CRB elections. As one woman put it at a meeting in Kazembe VAG, “in the past, we had no information that we too can stand or how the process works, we were only informed that we should go and vote, which we did.” These issues can only receive attention and broadly addressed if they are part of the policy that guides the process.

Affirmative action can be an effective strategy to increase women's participation. In Chikwa, the chief implemented affirmative action measures for all governance structures. This resulted in a 50/50 gender representation at the VAG and CRB levels, including on the executive committees, and overall a smoother process for engaging women in the elections.

Though education level is not a requirement in the election guidelines, it was often treated as a requirement and made women shy away from standing. It is a widespread belief – including among election officials – that only those with secondary education and who can speak and write in English can stand in an election. These perceived criteria systematically disadvantage women, who have less access to education. Some women who were in principle interested in running gave up because they believed they did not have the perceived necessary qualifications. There was no evidence however to show that all the men who have held CRB positions for many years have secondary education, an example of how the perception of women as “uneducated” and men as “educated” is used to systematically exclude women.

Voting scheduling can both benefit women and put them at added risk. Women have a disproportionate share of household and caring responsibilities that limit their availability to campaign and attend voting. To accommodate this, the voting time was scheduled for an hour earlier to encourage women to go vote. On the other hand, elections ended late and the assignment of leadership positions at the CRB Executive Committee took place immediately after the elections and into the evening (in some cases as late as midnight), exposing women who win elections to the risk of GBV by those who may resent or not accept the result.

Votes are not secret, posing potential risks to voters’ safety. The system allows for candidates to send observers to the electoral room to monitor voting – usually the observers are men, as women find it difficult to stay for the whole day to monitor on behalf of their candidates. Candidate who buy votes take advantage of the presence of their election monitor to note who showed up to vote and who he or she voted for. Those who vote otherwise risk facing consequences that include verbal and physical attack, intimidation, missing out on after-party activities, isolation, etc. This in some cases, and depending on the social status of the individual involved, can be extended to the family. Public voting also exposes voters to retaliation and violence, including GBV. Secret vote through private voting booths and foldable vote pads would discourage vote buying and related intimidation, a practice that disadvantages marginalized groups such as women.

Lack of order and security during voting delays the process and in some cases posed risks especially for vulnerable groups. In some polling stations, there was high turnout of voters and inadequate logistics to manage the crowds. As a result, the voting process in some places lacked order and electoral officials had a difficult time controlling the situation. In some cases, candidates and
their supporters took advantage of the confusion to push their supporters to the front of the lines, monitor voting, and practice intimidation. The disorderly situation discouraged some vulnerable members of the community from voting, especially the elderly, people with disabilities, pregnant women, nursing mothers, and women with caring responsibilities. In Chilima VAG, for example, an elderly woman gave up on voting due to the chaos.

The electoral system that automatically appoints candidates with highest votes as CRB members and as chairperson/secretary deposits power in a few individuals and weakens accountability. It is difficult for the VAGs to hold the CRB leadership accountable if the CRB leadership is at the same time the leaders of the VAG. As women are disadvantaged in the nomination and campaign processes (as discussed above), they have a harder time obtaining a high number of votes. The electoral malpractice and corruption allowed in the system helps men secure the largest number of votes, and consequently the leadership positions. With existing entrenched socio-cultural leadership preference for men, the system also remains highly favoring of men and discriminatory to women’s participation in leadership.

Involving spouses during CRB orientation increased understanding of the roles and responsibilities of their wives and earned trust and support. The inclusion of a gender session during the CRB orientation enhanced acceptance of women’s leadership and participation among male CRB members. The presence of the spouses of female CRB members increased their understanding of the responsibilities involved, including the time commitment, helping to increase their support to the women’s roles and to dissuade any confusion that could hinder their participation. In the local context, women performing roles outside the home has the potential to cause misunderstandings and expose women to GBV. Including gender in the orientation and fostering greater support from their spouses increased women’s self-confidence and status in the home and the community. For instance, a woman in a polygamous marriage reported that her husband gave her more attention and felt proud of her. The male spouses and male CRB members appreciated the discussions on socio-cultural barriers, gender roles, and how to integrate gender into operations. The members who had held CRB positions before remarked that it was the first time that the CRB had a discussion on gender. The need for continued support on gender-responsive approaches and women’s leadership was emphasized by most CRB members.
Delivering cost- and time-effective gender-responsive approaches

A cultivated relationship of trust between facilitators and communities enabled successful implementation of activities within a short period of time. The existing community development capacity and understanding of natural resource management among CLAs proved crucial for success. Their knowledge and close relationship with communities allowed the identification of existing barriers, gaps, opportunities, and entry points. During the stakeholder meetings and gender training, the CLAs and community-based GCs identified context-appropriate strategies for increasing women’s participation, leading to the design of flexible and adaptable activities and tools. At the community level, gender equality messages were generally well-received by traditional leaders and women, partly due to the trust and confidence they had in the bearers of the message, who were seen as trusted members of their communities and not outsiders. The CLAs and GCs assimilated their roles very well, demonstrated commitment, and were able to lead gender-responsive activities that were not seen as add-on extra activities but as an integral part of the election process.

Recognition and use of existing capacities within the community minimizes the cost for gender integration and increases opportunities for successful gender responses. Specific activities for gender integration such as sensitization of community members and leaders, outreach to women, and support to women candidates required additional financial resources and technical support. Activities were implemented at the community level by community-based staff before and during elections and the approach adopted minimized costs. Rather than financial support to women, the focus was on gaining the backing of traditional authorities to push for changes in social norms and promote acceptance of women in natural resource governance.
6.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Efforts to increase gender responsiveness and women’s participation in CRB elections in four chiefdoms surrounding North Luangwa GMA show that high participation and representation of women in community governance in the wildlife sector is possible, especially with deliberate activities that address key barriers and gaps. It also demonstrates that dynamics that affect women’s inclusion vary across chiefdoms in the same GMA, highlighting the need for practical approaches that respond to local contexts. In addition, this experience demonstrates that gender-neutral policies, guidelines, or systems are in fact gender-blind or biased, so they fail to safeguard the rights of women and ensure gender equality. Instead, it is critical to ensure that policies are gender-responsive. Differently from gender-blind (or neutral) approaches, gender-sensitive policies acknowledge how men and women are impacted differently, taking into consideration gender norms, roles, and unequal access to opportunities and resources. Gender-responsive policies go further and not only recognize these gendered barriers, but also devise measures to actively address them.

Based on the discussed lessons learned in the previous section, the following recommendations are made to strengthen gender equality and women’s participation in community resource governance of wildlife/natural resource in Zambia by various stakeholders:

1. Stakeholders involved in the community governance elections, including civil society organizations and donors, should adopt systematic and deliberate gender-responsive approaches to the election process, including affirmative action. Best practices implemented by a variety of stakeholders across Zambia and other countries can inform and be adapted, complemented by simple and practical gender tools such as practice notes.

2. Stakeholders managing CRB election processes should review the election guidelines to address some of the barriers that hinder equality and the participation of marginalized groups such as women and youth. The blurriness in some of the provisions, such as roles of the traditional leaders, limitations in the term of office, campaign period, and conflict management, among others, negatively impact the participation of such groups. Strengthening the guidelines will ensure alignment with current policy and legal provisions and promote gender equality and inclusiveness. Revision of the guidelines would also present an opportunity for stakeholders to review the voting processes and systems that currently favor those with power and disenfranchise marginalized groups, particularly women.

3. Prioritize the engagement of traditional leaders and men to address socio-cultural beliefs and norms around women’s participation in leadership, including broad sensitization and working with gender champions to encourage and support women who take on new roles.

4. Promote flexible approaches to addressing gender challenges that are relevant and responsive to the local context and implemented by local actors that have a good understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics within communities and who have an established relationship of trust with the communities.

5. Invest in the capacity building of CRBs to become champions of gender mainstreaming in natural resource management and in community governance more broadly.

6. Provide hard and soft skills training and continued support for women elected to community leadership positions to increase their effectiveness, ensuring that their participation is meaningful and that they serve as role models to other women and girls in their communities.
REFERENCES


