

Panel 112:

THE POLITICS OF LAND TENURE REFORMS AND THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

## **From Subsistence to Sale: Institutional Change in Indigenous Women's Access to Common Pool Resources**

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**By Sonja Merten**

### **Introduction**

In precolonial times, livelihoods in rural areas in sub-Saharan Africa used to depend largely on access to common pool resources such as wildlife, pasture, or fisheries. Land for agriculture was tenured by customary regulations if it was scarce, and access to fisheries and wildlife was safeguarded by local groups – and restricted access sometimes contested through raiding neighbors (Smith and Dale 1968). Since colonialisation, the tendency in many African countries during the last century has been to privatize land for commercial farming, and to integrate traditional economies into a wider market system (Alden Wiley 2000). In Zambia, the emerging mining towns in the Copperbelt in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century created a demand for food crops, and the colonial administration tried to a) feed this demand, and b) protect the white commercial farmers by giving them special (and exclusive) rights to bring maize on this new market (ibid.). Considering the whole country, though, only a minor proportion of land was privatized up to now. Most of it still remains under customary rule (Roberts 1976:174f.). Nevertheless, the allocation of private land is not equally distributed over the country. Southern Province has the largest proportion of government-regulated, privatized land compared to other areas. This land lies along the line of rail (railway built at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century to connect South Africa with the Copperbelt). This stripe of good agricultural land close to transport facilities to the urban centers was given to white settlers during colonial rule. After independence, these areas harbored large State-owned farms such as the Nakambala Sugar Estate – the land was now governed by the independent UNIP government, while more remote areas were remaining under customary rule (Roberts 1976, Meyns 1993).

In Zambia, the President has full control over land, a fact contested from different sides. Every change in land ownership has to be authorized by the President, unless where usufruct right in the case of customary land is concerned. In this case the right to use land is allocated by traditional authorities, usually village headmen. By legislation, the only way of owning land privately which today is under customary rule is to obtain a personal leasehold title with a possible duration of not more than 99 years (3 generations), needing the authorization of only the Chief and the President (Land Act of 1995). Collective land titles, such as in Tanzania, where it is possible that a village obtains a title, are not foreseen (Aldon Wiley 2000). Neither is it possible for a community to own common property.

This leads to several problems regarding privatization of land, which is again increased if it previously has been common property:

- who is authorizing the allocation of private land within a community that is collectively used
- problems of identifying the customary use right of land in transhumant groups
- some resources depend on seasonal fluctuations (pastures in the floodplain) and are mobile (migrant species of fish and game) who gets the land title in societies with extended kinship networks
- who gets the land title in a society where leadership of the chief is contested

According to the law, though, no customary land can change ownership or be sold if it has been under customary tenure. There have been cases of abuse of power by Chiefs who were said to have sold land to affluent buyers, or who try to keep political opponents from obtaining a title (see paper of Tobias Haller). Some Chiefs have been facing law cases regarding land titles. The power of the Chiefs in the allocation of leasehold titles is hitherto an unsolved problem.

The problem of land rights for transhumant or nomadic groups is as well not new, but neither resolved. Especially non-sedentary groups usually rely on common pool resources, such as pasture, wildlife, and forest products. The Zambian Land Act does not provide any regulation for such cases.

It often makes no sense to split up land among individual owners. For instance pasture might be of different quality in different times in different areas, or wildlife as well as fish can be migrating. It has to be considered that local indigenous groups were able to craft institutions such as traditional land tenure in order to regulate access to common pool resources (see Ostrom 1990, Becker and Ostrom 1995). One of the strongest advantages of customary regulations is the connection of the different resources, compared to government organizations which are split into

different departments hitherto without intersectoral planning, although some conservation projects now start to integrate the diverse resources (See for example in Tanzania, Rufiji area the Rufiji Environmental Management Project (REMP) from IUCN Tanzania).

In Zambia, common pool resources such as wildlife or fish are today no longer under traditional governance, unlike in the case of customary land. The largest share of the responsibility for these resources lies with the Government. Lack of means due to the economic crisis of the State, initiated long ago through the drop of the copper price in the 1970's and still enduring, leads to a lack of control of these resources and to a de facto open access situation with a consecutive deterioration of the resources (see paper of Tobias Haller).

Another Aspect is the problem of power-relations and conflicting interests within an extended household, and the rapid changes of household compositions. The allocation of land in the traditional system is of high flexibility, although and because they are bound to kinship groups. Women as well as men have different possibilities to obtain arable land by making use of different and sometimes very distant kinship ties. Privatizing means giving advantages to those currently using good land, while others rely on fields of lower quality. Furthermore, in many traditional Zambian societies fields are cultivated by several household members besides the household head, who claim usufruct rights, such as by his wife or wives, daughters, the mother, nephews, or in-laws. It is under the auspices of a headman to give fields to a household. Within the household again, it is the (usually male) household head, who is responsible for allocating fields to individuals. Therefore, especially women rely on kinship and matrimonial relations in order to get access to land. It is not new information that women in indigenous African societies are the ones mainly responsible for subsistence production. Neglecting women's needs for access to resources affects the whole family because she is covering a wide range of needs. Therefore, legal reforms during the 1990s were aiming at giving women the right to own (use) land (e.g. Zambian Law and Development Act LADA). In Zambia, women now have the right to claim their right to use land under customary rule before the traditional court. If land is abundant, it is rare, though, that land is not given to someone. It is often the dispute about good land (good soil conditions and already tilled land), and not land as such, which leads to court cases (own research). What is not regulated (anymore) by the formal customary law, though, is the access to common pool resources, which is equally important for women concerning subsistence production.

As this paper will show for the case of the Ila people of Chiefdom Mbeza, the customary regulation of the right to use land with its recent modifications aiming at more equality might be better adapted in communities, which are organized in extended kinship groups, than the privatization of land, which has been initiated by the introduction of a leasehold title. This is especially true if indigenous people's claims to their customary land have to be considered and if newly emerging social inequality ought to be avoided. In any case, privatizing won't contribute to reduce existing inequalities within indigenous communities. If common pool resources are concerned, privatization is even more problematic. Indigenous livelihoods are complex, usually relying not only on agricultural land, but as well on pasture, wildlife and fisheries, and the access to resources has traditionally been regulated spatially – and not per type of resource. Government regulations are organized by sectors, though, as are legislations. This lacks cultural adaptation as the use of the different resources is traditionally intertwined. In addition, the state today lacks resources to put the regulations into place – leaving a vacuum (see paper of Tobias Haller, who is especially investigating the dynamics between (partly abolished) traditional institutions and the Government). Therefore, as it became clear during the last decades that the state alone was unable to protect resources such as wildlife or fish, participative approaches were postulated aimed at the protection of natural resources (Community Resource Boards, Community Based Management of Natural Resources). Participation again, evoked again many unforeseen problems: Local power-relations in indigenous societies may not be evident to policy-makers, and usually lacks the analysis of gender power-relations with regard to access to resources (See Clever 2001, Cook and Kothari 2001, Hulme and Murphree 2001).

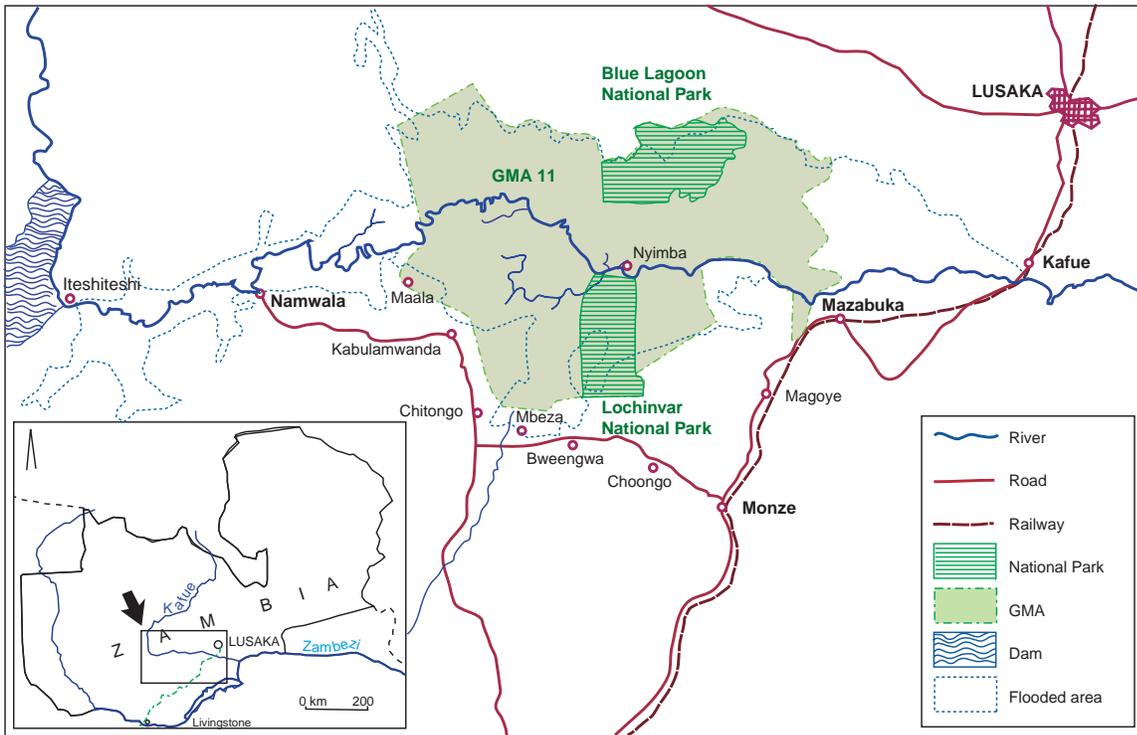
As the example of the Ila of Chiefdom Mbeza, which this paper will elaborate, shows, the traditional system of managing the access to resources such as land, pasture, wildlife and fisheries granted more social and economic security than the recent trend towards privatization. The analysis will especially focus on gender dynamics within this context. During the last decade, development approaches were explicitly emphasizing gender aspects, which usually meant to improve the (legal) status of women as well as their integration into the economy. However, the dynamics between men and women in livelihoods with clearly gender-segregated tasks, as for example women's access rights to common pool resources in relation to men's, are often not taken into account if new regulations are to be set up by different actors.

In addition, economic and social change such as immigration of people from other areas influence property rights for women and have unpredictable consequences for the dynamics in

the use of natural resources. The recent development of the AIDS epidemic has led to a visible demographic change in Southern Africa of an unknown future extent. Household compositions and livelihood strategies are changing. Labour division between men and women becomes permeable, and women become more and more forced to engage in income generating activities. Intersectoral approaches to problems of a high complexity have hitherto as well been rather the exception.

**Research area and methods**

The paper discusses the case of the indigenous Ila women of Mbeza in the Zambian Kafue-Flats of southern Zambia, who are trying to cope with the general economic crisis, which has been ongoing after the turn of the millenium. The data presented here have been obtained during two periods of field research between 2002 and 2004 in the area of Mbeza, in Chiefdom Nalubamba. The fieldwork was extending over a period of twice 6 months, including the living in a village in order to observe the daily activities, to get insight into local power-structures and politics.



The Kafue Flats are a floodplain rich in natural resources in a semi-arid area with approx. 800 mm annual rainfall between December and April. During the last 3 months of the rainy season, between 3000 and 5000km<sup>2</sup> of the plain are flooded. The inundation is caused by water of the Kafue River, which has its catchment area in the industrial zone of the Copperbelt. This special

situation brings about a rich fauna and flora, and there are two national parks south and north of the river, surrounded by a large game management area (GMA11). The area is thus rich in fish and wildlife. The flats provide pasture for cattle during the dry season, and in the woodlands a fertile soil for agriculture is found.

The chiefdom Nalubamba, also called Mbeza, covers about 2000 km<sup>2</sup> on the south bank of the Kafue River. The area counts approximately 27'000 inhabitants, mainly Ila and Tonga agro-pastoralists - the population density with 13 inhabitants per square kilometer is low, and settlements are dispersed in hamlets.

Although there are many commonalities between Ila and Tonga people, their settlement areas differ as a result of the immigration history. The Ila people, who have settled first in the woodlands along the border of the floodplain, have access to better quality of agricultural land and are closer to the pasture and fisheries of the plain. The Tonga settlers, immigrated since the 1950s, have at that time been welcomed by the Chief, allowing him to enlarge his power towards the southern woodlands. The Tonga peasants have specialized in gardening with irrigation all year round, as the groundwater level in their settlement area is very high, despite the fact that the soil is sandy, lacking the qualities of the soil of the woodlands bordering the plain.

In the plain itself, settlements of immigrated Lozi from the Zambezi plain followed the indigenous Batwa fishermen, who used to control the access to the fisheries as well as partly to wildlife. In the last years, in addition, large temporary fishing camps have developed, attracting people from all over the country including neighboring states, while Lozi and Bemba fishermen form the largest part. As this paper focuses on the livelihoods of predominantly Ila women, the ethnographic background shall be limited to the Ila (including Balundwe<sup>1</sup>) people, complemented with information on immigrant groups if necessary. It has to be mentioned here that migration is nothing new in the area, and that it is clearly impossible to draw a distinct line between the first settling Ila and the Tonga livelihoods of earlier waves of immigration in the area. Nevertheless, settlement pattern and in this context livelihoods differ between older and newer residents along an ethnical line. In the case of the fishermen, differences in religious and spiritual concepts, which are always connected with the environment and the access to natural resources, between the indigenous Batwa, the Ila, and immigrant fishermen follow as well ethnical identities.

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<sup>1</sup> In Smith and Dale (1968) these are seen as being Ila-speaking People, Colson describes them as being Plateau Tonga (Colson 195

**Ethnographic background information**

The Ila have once been one of the richest cattle-owning people in Central Africa (Fielder 1973). Among the Ila, cattle has a high political and cultural value, as wealth in cattle means political power in addition to the individual economic success. Traditionally, cattle was seldom sold, but used as for subsistence, bride-price, for different types of compensation payments and for social security (Fielder 1973). There is a complex web of cattle lending and taking. Cattle was in former times owned by the extended family, although most members provided some personal cattle, such as the *chiko* cattle which was handed over to the family of the bride during a marriage. (Tuden 1968, Fielder 1973)

Already during colonial times, the administrators have complained about the reluctance of the Ila to slaughter or sell their animals, as the demand for meat was increasing in the urban centers. Later on as well, the traditional cattle herders were regarded as commercially not successful as they continued to breed their local breeds and showed more interest in high numbers of animals than in their productivity. This external view has principally remained unchanged, despite the fact that already in the 1970ies, Fielder could show that families needed a relatively high number of animals in order to grant the economic security of the household - it was not just for status (Fielder 1973). Cattle for bride-price, for example, was kept for the children in order to grant the sons the possibility to marry. Girls were as well given a head of cattle at their initiation ceremony that could be the basis of a larger herd later on (own research, Smith and Dale 1968).

*Social and economic aspects of the kinship network*

The matrilineal kinship members as well as the kinship group of the household head could provide access to natural resources such as fish or arable land controlled by members of these kinship groups (Regulations described in the paper of Tobias Haller). Furthermore, the matrilineal side (*mukowa*) was granting social security especially through provision of cattle for its members in need. As many payments of cattle were needed to “buy” stable social relations to other kinship groups, cattle was indirectly providing access to other goods such as food, oxen, labor, or warriors against raiders. The distribution of the *chiko*, best described as a bride-price, which is usually paid in cattle and hoes, make it clear how tight two clan-groups were linked together over a long time period by marriage payments, and how this concerned the whole extended family and not only the parents of the bride and bridegroom. Smith and Dale wrote in their ethnographic books at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the following:

“The amount having been arranged, the bridegroom or his representatives, as we saw in a previous chapter, seek help among their family clan. The help is readily given and the *chiko* paid over, not necessarily in a lump, but often in installments, as it is forthcoming. As the *chiko* is contributed by the bridegroom’s clansmen mostly on the one hand, so, on the other, it is distributed mostly among the bride’s clansmen; the parents, especially the father, getting little of it. The one who gets the lion’s share is the *Shimalelo*, the guardian of the girl. The mother always has her portion called *mukako* (“of the belt”).” (Smith and Dale, Vol. I, p. 50)

Today it is often heard that girls are married by their guardians in order for the latter to obtain the *chiko* animals, but presumably this has not always been the primary interest in marrying a daughter. Although today women who were married against their will can and do go to court (and get right), the pressure from her family’s side can be high, if she has to live in her parents homestead and she can not draw upon other (usually matrilineal) kinship to support her. This pressure upon young women to accept an arranged marriage has increased, as through the splitting up of large herds during the last decades in the process of increasing privatization the herds have become much smaller and the prospect to obtain some *chiko* animals gained economic importance. Before the decline of the cattle population, the *chiko* cattle didn’t considerably increase the size of a herd, as cattle were plentiful and organized in large groups by the extended family, and, furthermore, some cattle was in continuous exchange between kinship groups (Tuden 1968). Apart from the splitting up of the herds, the loss due to theileriosis, a tick-born disease, contributed further to the decrease in number of animals per household. Thus, compared to pre-colonial and early colonial times, the interest of the bride’s family in the *chiko* cattle has changed from a primarily social arrangement to a more economic interest. That the *chiko* was rather regarded a kind of a strong agreement between the extended families of the husband and the wife, than as a payment, was described by Smith and Dale:

“To us [*chiko*] may seem to be a matter of buying and selling, but the Ba-ila would repudiate any such idea. They use quite different words for the two kinds of transaction. To buy is *kuula*; and the word is used not only of ordinary merchandise but of slaves. A slave is *muntu mule* (“a bought person”), but the term is never used of a wife. The woman is not bought. Her husband does not acquire such proprietary rights in her as he does in a slave that he purchases. The *chiko* is more properly regarded as a compensation to the girl’s clan, a return to parents and guardians for the expense they have incurred in her rearing, the seal of a contract by which she is to become the mother of the man’s children, and a guarantee of good treatment. We therefore avoid using the terms dowry and bride-price, and keep to the native term, *chiko*.” (Smith and Dale, Vol. I, p. 49)

Marriage in pre-colonial times thus has had apart from forming a production unit with gender-specific tasks, as described above, an important social aspect, which means providing a man with his own children, although they belong to the matrilineal kinship group (*mukowa*). In addition,

the two kinship groups are linked together as therewith both groups have an interest in the children. The *chiko* is the exchange and the guarantee for the man that the children born during this marriage are his and possibly stay with him (although in cases of divorce, this was not always the case and depended as well on the age of the children). This, however, did not imply that the father was physically the father, as institutionalized forms of what we call adultery were known. In ethnographic literature as well as in the public Ila women have frequently obtained special attention due to these regulations. I will limit the discussion to aspects important for livelihood strategies and changes in the local economy.

Lubambo, as the most important, has been initially described by Smith and Dale as a form of polyandry (Vol. I, p.67), but has soon after been described as prostitution organized by the husband. According to Smith and Dale, it was possible for a woman to have an official lover (*mambakwe*), who was presented to the whole community in a ceremony. To the husband, a compensation payment of one cow or oxen was made, and in return the woman gave the *mambakwe* up to five spears specially made for this occasion.

“[Lubambo] is a recognized institution and one of those things that the Ba-ila very strongly hold to and very much resent any deprecation of. It differs from an ordinary system of paramours, in that there is a public ceremony, so that everybody knows of it, even the woman’s husband. He cannot throw stones at his wife because he does the same. . . . Husbands naturally exhibit great complacency in regard to this custom. To their minds it is the best policy, for they benefit by it.” (Smith and Dale, pp. 66-67)

Brelsford wrote in the Namwala District Notebooks shortly thereafter:

The word [lubambo] itself means literally “an arranged thing”, and although the wife and her lover may have met and talked previously, or even have had sexual intercourse previously, the arrangement of the relationship lies between lover and the husband of the woman, and it is not Lubambo until husband and lover have met and discussed the affair.”

Regarding the payments, Brelsford points at the potential of continuous claims for more cattle by the husband, as the relationship goes on:

“After the first gift of a head of cattle, the husband may desire more, and he still may not be satisfied if he considers that his wife is making more visits to the lover than is proportionate to the payment.” (Namwala District Notebooks)

Clearly, husbands profited from the arrangements. Only later, it has been described that women as well could profit from these agreements, although there seems to be a confusion of *lubambo* and adultery, which, as such, has always been a reason for court cases and high compensation payments to the husband. If a married woman had an affair without consent of the husband, the lover was sentenced to pay between 5-10 heads of cattle by the chief’s court. That women could

deliberately profit from such arrangements as well, has been described by an administrator in the 1950s, who related an increase in cases of “prostitution” of women to the arrival of the plough, allowing women to allocate their time to other activities than tilling:

“The advent of the plough which started to become fairly common in the late twenties and early thirties started an agricultural revolution which was not without its impact socially on the tribe. It was recorded in the middle thirties in an annual report that the change to the plough had become so common that the women, on whom previously the main work of tilling fell, had now on account of the plough, so much leisure that they were able not only, as was traditional, to prostitute themselves on their husbands behalf but now on their own behalves as well, and that they were now even becoming property owners.” (K.M. Chittenden, April 1958, Namwala District Notebooks)

Today, it is said that women are getting involved with affluent business-men and then deliberately inform the husband, claiming part of the compensation for themselves (own research), which is often referred to as *lubambo*.

#### *From lubambo to trading*

Today, the general opinion is prevailing that women get involved in exchanging sex for goods only because of poverty and lack of economic alternatives. This view falls short of the aspect of the sexual and economic autonomy for women the system of *lubambo* provided in the traditional society, and today. The importance of this kind of trade is relevant for the discussion of the depletion of common pool resources, because women are able to engage in trade with natural products such as fish or game meat lacking economic inputs.

An economically regulated exchange of sexual engagements is not in every case what might be judged from a Christian or Islamic standpoint a shameful and stigmatized way of prostitution out of poverty, without denying, though, that too often, it is. In societies who don't primarily have a romantic concept of all sexual relations, exchange of sexual engagement with gifts or money might not be seen as stigmatizing, and therefore until the arrival of missions, and later on epidemics such as HIV/AIDS, nothing was wrong with it. This is pointed out as it is problematic to victimize women as sexually exploited in a case, where social stigma is lacking and women do economically profit of such relations. The social and economic subordination of women is mainly based on economical inequalities between men and women, which lead to impair bargaining power, and on aspects of governance, but less in the sexual control of women as in other regions of the world. Concerning “prostitution”, many women engage in such activities out of their own decision, and I heard not seldom an unmarried woman with a series of boyfriends in her past calling herself a prostitute without necessarily engaging herself in any trade.

The cultural concept of *lubambo* has in a changed way kept its importance in the livelihoods of

today, as will be shown looking at the example of the fish-trade. Looking at the change of kinship relations more in general, the increasing privatization of commodities has led to an increase in nuclear households, which are more ready to sell their cattle as the control of the kinship group is lacking, and therefore become vulnerable to lose their livestock and subsequently rely on other sources of income to overcome seasonal food shortages or larger droughts. As together with the herds the social coherence and responsibility of the kinship group vanishes as well, it is often a close-by option for local people to engage in the exploitation of common pool resources. It has been mentioned before that the access is no longer traditionally regulated in a way that people feel obliged to adhere to the rules, as it is now the Government organizations controlling the diverse natural resources.

### **Traditional livelihoods**

The Ila were known for their wealth in cattle. They have a three step transhumance system in which they move with their cattle: In the dry season from July to December most of the cattle stay in the Kafue Flats in cattle camps (*matanga*), which are supervised by one local resident group claiming to be the first-comers to the area, who give out these cattle camps. These *matanga* (sing. *lutanga*) are mostly within or close to ox-bows, tributaries or ponds where the cattle stays during the night. When the first rains come in December, the cattle are moved to the permanent settlements close to the woodlands for a short period (*kubola*) before they are moved to rainy season pastures close to the settlements, where households and extended family groups also have cattle camps. The cattle stay then there or are taken to these pastures during the agricultural period in order not to disturb the plantations. After harvest the cattle are then moved back to the villages where they can roam freely and feed on maize stalks and leaves. In order to coordinate this move, a date is set for the time until every household has to have harvested his fields. Compensation for damaged fields by cattle is only accepted up to that date (in olden times in May, today the 1<sup>st</sup> of June), after this date the whole fields in the villages are regarded as common property. Between July and August then the cattle moves back to the *matanga* in the flats (*kuwila*).

Apart from pastoralism, there were four more subsistence activities, which were equally if not more important with regard to nutrition: fishing, agriculture, gathering, and hunting. Following the information of elderly people, fish and meat used to be consumed on a nearly daily level. Meat, though, was predominantly game meat, including a number of small rodents and birds, as

cattle was slaughtered nearly exclusively at funeral ceremonies (ref). Of the larger game species, the Kafue Lechwe was the most important. Twice a year a collective hunting (*chila*) was organized, and a considerable number of animals were killed and distributed among the villages. Since the 1940s local hunting rules (such as *chila*), controlled and organised by local groups, were regarded as destructive and by the end of colonial times totally banned. Thereafter, National parks (Lochinvar and Blue Lagoon), and a GMA were introduced, where hunting was only allowed with licences. Nevertheless, accompanying the decline of the Zambian economy starting in the 1970s and easier access to the area for poachers and fishermen (also poaching) by man-made change in flooding (dam), the Lechwe population decreased from 100'000 to 50'000 and less. In 1999 the population was estimated to be at 45'000 with an uncertainty range of  $\pm 10'000$  – but unofficial estimates assume a much lower number. Contributing to the misery, an invasion of an alien weed species called mimosa pigra narrows the lechwe grazing ground and forces them to move out of the protected area of Lochinvar.

The two major consequences, apart from a possible extinction of the Kafue Lechwe, are a decline in the fertilisation of water and soil in the area, and the loss of a protein source for local communities.

Fish has always contributed considerably to the daily meals, although in the older literature fishing is described as marginal activity. This might partly be due to the fact that among the Ila pastoralists, even during colonial times most of the fishing used to be done by women for subsistence only, and the Ila men never went into the commercial fishing business – they didn't need to, as they were building up their wealth in cattle (or planning to do so) and by selling maize.

Until today, many fishing techniques are used. It is especially remarkable how differentiated the catching methods are, depending on type of water and on the type of fish that used to be caught. The fishing season starts with the rainy season, when the water of the tributaries meet the water of the Kafue river and the fish start to migrate up into the tributaries looking for food and spawning places. Small breams, bubble fish and small fish such as Striped Robber can then be caught during collective *ikuo* fishing in the shallow waters by the women with baskets and by the men with spears and hooks. When the water is high, fishing becomes an open access for the whole area. After the water goes down again and stops flowing, men put weirs with fish-traps in form of baskets into the river (*buyeelo*). In the dry season then, fishing takes place in controlled

ponds remaining in the tributary systems or in the Kafue Flats close to the *matanga* (cattle camps), where breams can be caught. Those who do not fish at the camps barter fish from the Batwa with milk.

Table 1: Different fishing methods used by men and women

Water and fish type	Methods used by women	Methods used by men
Tributary (Striped Robber; <i>Alestes lateralis</i> , Bulldog, Dwarf Bream, Barble fish)	Ila and Tonga baskets	Spears, hooks, traps, weirs
Ponds and oxbows (Striped Robber, Bream, Barble fish)	Ila basket	Spears
Kafue River (mainly Breams)	-	Spears and hooks

Looking at how differentiated the techniques of cattle husbandry hunting and fishing techniques are, it has to be concluded that agriculture played only a modest part in pre-colonial times. As Smith and Dale described for the time during the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, maize (flint varieties), sorghum and millet were the major staple crops planted in small fields close to the villages, together with cassava in some areas. Sweet potatoes, groundnuts, beans and pumpkins were planted intercropped. Apart from cultivated crops, a much larger number of wild plants, from wild grains to diverse tubers and roots, fruits, nuts, or vegetable leaves, with availability according to season and place.

*Changes in traditional livelihoods*

Table 2: Overview over activities in pre-colonial and early colonial times by gender

	Cattle	Agriculture	Fishing	Hunting	Gathering
Begin of rainy season	Men bringing cattle back, herding village, then in rainy season camps (kubola)	Men preparing field, women cultivating	Collective fishing: Women fish with baskets, men with spears, hooks and weirs	Men hunt individually in village or chichi	Women/men (boys) gather fruits
Flooding period	Men do cattle herding in rainy season camps	Weeding, early harvest	Women fish with baskets, men with spears, hooks and weirs	Men: Collective hunting (chila)	Women/men (boys) gather fruits
Early dry season	Cattle herded on harvested fields, later driven to cattle camps in the Flats (kuwila)	No activity or only small gardens at the river	Closing time Later collective fishing in ponds	No hunting in flats, only hunting in village areas	Little gathering
Late dry season	Cattle herded by men in flats	No activity	Men fish in ponds close to cattle camps, reciprocal and collective fishing days	No hunting in flats, only hunting in village areas	Women gather wild plants for relish

Historically, the role of agriculture in Ila economy is not easy to assess. Agriculture was just a secondary subsistence matter, even if in pre-colonial times there were more different crops than today (not only maize as a staple crop but as also millet and sorghum, cassava, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, some vegetables were planted). Agriculture was certainly seen as being inferior to cattle herding. It was only in the late colonial times and after independence that maize production became an important commercial factor in the Ila area.

The Portuguese traders originally introduced maize to southern Africa in the sixteenth century. This was flinty hard maize with low yields and with a variation of colours. In Zambia agriculturalists used to do intercropping, cultivation maize together with a mixture of other crops such as sorghum millet, pumpkins and groundnuts. By the end of 1700 flint maize was an important staple but was not dominant until the arrival of the European colonial powers in 1900. Today maize contributes 70% to the staple crop in Zambia and about the same % in the share of calories (Howard and Mungoma 1997:45-6).

This development can be explained by the colonial and post-colonial agricultural strategy of the state. During the colonial administration, the demand for maize increased in the 1920ties in the urban areas, where mine workers were paid with maize produced by white commercial farmers who's share of the market was being protected, but at the same time, maize farming was as well promoted among small scale farmers. This was accompanied by a change from the traditional hard (flinty) corn varieties to the higher yielding, open pollinated white dent varieties (OVPs) imported from South Africa and from the USA. Thereafter, several different hybrid varieties have been developed for the area, such as the successful SR 52.

After independence in 1964 the maize program was an important political issue for Kenneth Kaunda's government who's political goal it was to involve remote small-scale farmers into the national economy, and at the same time intended to provide the mine workers with cheap maize. The financing of subsidies for processed mealie-meal was seen as part of a social contract between Kaunda's UNIP and the Zambian people. So the whole programme was tremendously politicised which made later reforms difficult (ibid: 51). This was again aggravated by the fact that already during the British government maize prices were controlled and subsidies given in order to maintain market infrastructure during the 1930ties. The independent government then maintained the controls and subsidies of the maize market. 60% of maize production was traded through official channels until the early 1990ties. Maize bought by official marketing organizers was resold to parastatal milling companies in urban areas, where it was processed into maize flour

and other products, which were then sold at controlled prices to urban consumers. After the decline in copper prices, Zambia's main export product, this very expensive system consumed large parts of the national budget (17% in 1988).

The IMF, World Bank and international donor agencies began to promote agricultural markets in the mid 1980ties and started to put conditions to further disbursements of loans to a liberalisation of the agrarian market and privatisation. After Chiluba put Kaunda out of power in 1991, his new policy immediately restructured the maize sector, privatised, downsized the infrastructure and opened up for the international market. Already after 1992 the whole system was changed: There were no parastatal organisations anymore guaranteeing prices and markets that would be maintained at local depots.

On one hand this reform favoured the already strong areas at the line of rail, where infrastructure was well developed, more production and more export was possible, also production of other crops such as cotton and tobacco. On the other hand remote areas in Northern and in Southern province have seen a drastic reduction in maize area and use of inputs and a reversion to subsistence crops. The total area cultivated dropped by 15% because less maize was produced. Also fertilizer use dropped from 60'000 t in 1994. Maize seed sales also decreased from 15'000 t to only 2500 t between 1990 and 1995. Studies confirmed that traders were reluctant to deliver inputs in remoter areas due to transport problems and high markets costs (Bangwe 1995) (Howard and Mungoma 1997:58).

On the local level, agriculture gained commercial importance especially since the 1950ties. During the green revolution maize was widely introduced as major cash crop in the area, whereby loans were given to small-scale farmers for seeds, fertilizer and pesticides, while prices for maize were fixed. In Mbeza, this led to the fact that only a vanishing number of old aged people still possessed the flint old varieties. The advantages of these varieties are their drought resistance and the possibility of a longer storage period without the need of pesticides. In addition, farmers don't have to buy seeds, fertilizer and pesticides like in the case of commercial hybrid varieties. If these inputs are lacking, the yields of the traditional varieties are even slightly higher than of commercial varieties (own research). During 2002/2003, a household survey in seven villages of Mbeza was and it could be shown that The advantage of the hybrid varieties, namely to obtain 3-4 times higher yields with the same available labor force, only applies if fertilizer as well as pesticides are available. This is, though, not the case for most of the farmers.

Although agriculture has expanded considerably in Mbeza, land cannot be regarded scarce as

such, but people may be forced to move in more distant areas in order to cultivate. This again has an impact on the social structure as it promotes the ongoing trend towards individualisation of production and the loss of social coherence. But at the moment there is no sign that the access to agricultural land as common property may be limited, despite a general process towards the introduction of title deeds. In Mbeza, currently only two people hold a leasehold title. Nevertheless land issues are touchy issues in this part of Africa, which is so close to Zimbabwe and where neighbouring people have experienced land appropriation especially in the south-eastern parts of the Kafue Flats around the city of Mazabuka. There a lot of people have lost their land and their pasture to white farmers and to the biggest sugar cane plantation in Zambia, a former state company now owned by a South African Company. Despite this fact, people didn't yet start to make use of the possibility to obtain a leasehold title. During 2002/2003, a household survey in seven villages of Mbeza was conducted<sup>2</sup>, In this survey, the major reason stated for not having a title deed were the high fees, or lack of knowledge. Not land ownership, but cattle is still the most important resource to accumulate wealth, whereby pastoralists make use of pasture held in common. Planting maize as a cash crop has rather contributed to the maintenance of the pastoralist system than to a change towards exclusive agriculture. The possibility to sell maize prevented additional sale of cattle.

The Ila households included in the survey of 2003 owned 13 heads of cattle in average per household. This means that the number of cattle per adult man has declined from 13 in the 1960s to about 3-4 animals (Fielder 1973, own research). According to the number of cattle people indicated that they have owned before 1990, the herds must have declined in average to about 40-

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<sup>2</sup> data on household level from 7 villages was collected, whereby 4 villages are Ila headed, one is Tonga, one Lozi and one Batwa headed – the latter two are fishing villages in the floodplain close to the Kafue river (Nyimba and Nakasale; the other villages are Shikapande, Namachila, Nalubamba, Shikalapu and Mwanamwale). Of Nyimba, the Batwa headed village, only one settlement was included (Nzwanga). The other settlements in Nyimba consisted mainly of highly mobile immigrant fishermen coming from other parts of the country.

In average, a village counted about 30 households or between 120 and 300 inhabitants. If possible, data from every household was collected. Some households refused to participate (4 in Namachila, 10 in Shikalapu). In total, we included 206 households with 1659 persons.

The two major ethnic groups in the area are the Ila and the Tonga people, which are closely related. Out of these 7 villages, 69 households are Ila families, 61 Tonga (mainly Balundwe-Ila), mainly living in the Ila- and Tonga headed villages.

50% compared to the time before. But at the same time, the number of cattle-owning households has diminished: while before 1990 92 households were owning cattle, it were only 62 in 2003. The major reason for this decline was a theileriosis epidemic, a tick-borne disease that affected the area after the 1970s. Responsible for the epidemic was possibly the increased migration of cattle through the import of new breeds into the area, combined with the fact that the flooding pattern has changed in such a way that the plain was no longer working as a natural dipping tank drowning the ticks. Although a vaccination program was initiated, it didn't reach the smaller cattle-farmers, which today means the majority of the pastoralists. Thus, presumably over two thirds of the cattle in the Kafue Flats were killed by the disease, and cattle still continue to get sick. In addition to the disease, the rising economic pressure and the droughts has hindered many farmers to rebuild their herds until now. Together with the individualization process leading to an increase in sales the decline of the herds accelerated. Cattle today are sold at many occasions to affluent traders, whereas Fielder described that in the 1960s, the Ila were selling cattle very reluctantly. He showed that the social security of a household only permitted the sale of an animal if the herd was counting at least 40 heads. Today, this would imply that out of 130 only 5 households would be economically and socially secure enough to sell cattle (own research).

The role of cattle for subsistence production has changed as well. Traditionally, every herd of cattle was protected by a type of magic called *isambwe*. The magic should grant the thriving of the herd and protect it. *Isambwe* is considered responsible for the wealth of a rich cattle owner. Apart from some destructive magic attributed to *isambwe*, what shall not be discussed here, it was linked to several taboos related to cattle economy. For instance it was taboo (*tonda*) to sell milk for some if not all cattle owners using *isambwe*. Therefore, large quantities of milk were available for consumption, and sour milk (*mabisi*) and butter was produced in abundance, a fact supported by the detail that butter was as well used as a body lotion. Dairy products were widely available for the members of the extended kinship group. Another taboo was the sale or slaughtering of cattle with the exception of funerals. This means that in earlier times milk and butter were available, but beef meat was usually not consumed. Instead, there was game meat and fish contributing to the daily meals. This has dramatically changed during the last at least 30 years. Both cattle and dairy products are regularly sold, and neither meat nor butter are consumed on a regular basis anymore. The importance of these changes for common pool resources is not so much related to the access to pasture these times as the livestock in the area has declined and pasture is sufficient. But as dairy products and beef meat are rather sold than consumed, other

sources of protein are needed. This is fish and game meat.

Although hunting today is either expensive as licenses are needed, or otherwise illegal, it contributes still to the meals or serves to get cash, but no longer on a regular basis. Young men go to areas, which they know cannot be controlled by game scouts and hunt with dogs and guns. As the management of the Game Management Areas is not effective hunting remains an option but it is risky. So it is mostly done for cash. The meat, usually Lechwe, is dried and often sold by women who go to town with the dried meat. This type of hunting is on a small scale compared to hunting by townsmen, who hunt with modern rifles illegally or who buy a licence but shoot much more animals than they are allowed to.

Fishing for subsistence, in turn, has gained importance. Especially during the rainy season before the crops are ripe, fish of the tributaries is a reliable food source for local women who go fishing with baskets during that time-period. Men, who go fishing as well, only partly contribute to subsistence nowadays, but rather sell the fish in order to get cash, independent of the fishing technique they use. Especially during the early dry season, men fish in ponds and sometimes catch considerable amounts of fish.

Fishing in the Kafue River and the lagoons is, however, done by fishermen from other ethnical groups. In pre-colonial times, the indigenous inhabitants of the Kafue Flats floodplain were the Batwa, who settled along the river and were controlling the fisheries. Trade was limited to a local barter system where fish was exchanged with milk of the Ila pastoralists. The Batwa used to control the Kafue River and were fishing with boats and spears, sometimes using a special shadow fishing technique (covering themselves with a blanket in order to attract and see big breams) unique to them. The Ila, though were always regarded as cattle herders who do not put much mind in fishing. Nevertheless, detailed studies show that fishing in tributaries, ponds, lagoons and oxbows were an important feature of Ila and Balundwe subsistence (see Smith and Dale 1968, research T. Haller and own research).

After the 1930s and more intensively in the 1950s, commercial Lozi fishermen came into the area fishing with nets. Technology used were seine nets (draw nets) and gill nets, allowing big catches especially of highly valued bream. In the mid 1970s after the decline in copper prices the commercial fishery was booming and the methods became more and more destructive (mesh sizes under the demanded 76 mm, fishing with mosquito-nets and with plastic sheeds used for agriculture for sun protection) and closing times for the regeneration of the fish stock were not respected due to bad monitoring and sanctioning by the state controlling the fisheries. Large

fishing camps have developed close to a big lagoon called Chunga close to Lochinvar National Park attracting fishermen and traders from all over Zambia. For the Ila, commercial fishing, which hitherto was of no interest to them starts to be come of more interest because of the crisis in which they are in due to decline in maize yields (less subsidies from the state) and loss of cattle during the theileriosis epidemic. In recent years, more and more violations of the traditional as well as government regulations concerning the access to the fisheries have been reported. Some, but not a considerable decline of the fish has been described, which local people been connect to the lower water levels in the river.

If the problems of the fisheries today are discussed, the emphasis is on commercial fishing and underestimates the economic aspects of subsistence fishing. This issue will be discussed more in detail in the following section.

At last, one additional pillar of subsistence has equally lost importance, although not completely: the gathering of wild fruits, tubers, roots, and vegetables is still of importance especially during drought years. Due to the increase in population in some areas, bush-plants are further away to reach, and the effort to collect these plants is no longer made on a regular basis. It is more common that those who are wandering through the bush, meaning especially young boys herding cattle, feed themselves on wild fruits whenever they come across some on their way.

The five pillars of subsistence have been profoundly shaken during the last decades, leading to massive changes in livelihoods. An increasing number of households has started to sell cattle in times of need, as the data from the household survey in 7 Mbeza villages during the famine in 2002/2003 showed Only 35 out of 69 Ila households were still owning cattle, and of those, 13 indicated that cattle was among their main cash sources. Despite the bad yealds and at some places complete crop failure, maize remained a major source for cash for 48 of 65 households who completed the question.

Table 3: Main sources for cash during drought year 2002/2003, 65 Ila households in 7 Mbeza villages:

Maize	48	Groceries	5
Chicken	25	Milk	4
Fish	20	Carpentry	4
Cattle	13	Beer	3
Pigs	12	Game meat	3
Goats	7	Commerce	3
Vegetables	6	Handicraft	3
Paid labour	5		

*Changing livelihood strategies, engendered*

Before colonialisation, activities drawing on natural resources throughout the year were partly gender-specific, partly done jointly by men and women. Through monetarisation, the segregation between the work of men and women became much more prominent, as well as it became clear that women were remaining responsible for subsistence production, while men contributed primarily money, as it is the women's task to make sure that food is provided every day. How women have lost economic power through the monetarisation process has been described many times and is not the focus of this paper (see e.g. Etienne 1977). But as women might as well need to acquire cash to provide for their own needs and those of their children, although this is often not acknowledged by their husbands, women had to develop specific income generating activities as well. This leads to a problematic constellation within many households, where the economic interests often seem to be highly individualized. One problem is the fact that men control most of the cattle, today an important source for cash, while chicken, goats, or pigs, usually bred by women, are less profitable. Maize, the major cash crop in Mbeza, apart from some cotton planted by Tonga immigrants in the South, is usually as well sold by the men, although they ought to have the consent of the wife responsible for the planting of the respective crops. Apart from the sale of maize and cattle, which is organized by traders coming from the urban centers, it is especially the trade with fish or illegal game meat that is profitable for both, men and women, although with some remarkable differences.

**The example of the fisheries**

Two aspects of the engagement of the local indigenous Ila men and women in the fisheries shall be looked at more in detail:

- A) Fishing in the tributaries was traditionally restricted concerning the time-period, and in addition, it was only allowed to the indigenous people. Any foreigner found fishing in the Mbeza river, for instance, was chased away.

“When we set a date, we send one person to the Chief and the Chief sends letters to the headmen in order to inform the people from the entire Chiefdom regarding the collective fishing. After [the first] fishing all the people go to their homes. And at this time also a date can be set for a second fishing. If someone is found fishing minus my consent he is given a confine. After this, there are no restrictions, everybody is free to fish on his own because the fish now is in abundance. ... When the water stops flowing everybody is aware that he is not supposed to fish anymore. Anyone who is found fishing has to pay two heads of cattle. ... People from far places were not allowed to come unless they have relatives. So one can go through the relatives, especially through marriages.”

Fishing in the shallow tributaries with baskets, traditionally started by women after *ikuo* fishing, has today become of commercial interest. This is related to the different opportunities regarding to gender: For the men it is much more difficult to engage in commercial fisheries on the river and the lagoons because they lack the inputs (boats, nets, manpower). For them one of the only option is to engage in fishing in the tributaries, catching fish with baskets during the time when fishing traditionally is not restricted – using the women’s technique – and sell the catches to fish traders who are coming to the tributaries with cars. Women heavily complain about this because they see their fishing for subsistence needs put in jeopardy. The cash the men earn is often not at the disposal of the households, but for their own consumption needs. But as this period of fishing in the tributaries is traditionally not restricted, there is no possibility for the women to complain in order to defend their customary right to the resource. However, women have always known regulations of access to the fisheries among themselves: once they get to the river, they mark a place with an *imbero*, a stick they put in the ground, if they want to come back to fish at the same spot again the day after. This is usually respected by other women, and conflicts are discussed among themselves. No formal traditional sanctioning exists. The activities of the men, though, challenge the rights to the common pool resource of Ila women who used to fish for subsistence. Indigenous Ila women who do fish are not considered as ‘fishermen’ and their customary access rights are not explicitly regulated.

- B) The situation in the plain, though, is again a different one. Until now, the Ila men have never engaged in commercial fishing on the river and the lagoons, but instead in the fish-trade. The women on their behalf, however, have the better opportunity than men to trade fish with the Lozi and other seasonal immigrants (mostly Bemba) in the fishing camps in the flats. Men, in order to get engaged in fish trade, need initial capital to start with. Women, on the other hand, “go to the flats with nothing and return with a lot of fish”, as informants were putting it. Some Ila women have their boyfriends in the camps, whom they visit and from whom they get a lot of fish for them staying with them and maintaining sexual relations. The fish is then dried and sold in small quantities, especially also in the closing times. As fishing by the fishermen for their own subsistence is tolerated during the closing time, women can dry the fish of their boyfriends without doing something illegal. This promotes the continuation of the fishing during this time further. A woman from Mbeza explains the activities in the fishing camps during the closing season, when fishing

is actually not allowed, as follows:

“There are now [in December 2002] about three hundred men still there [in the fishing camp]. There are also people from town coming to the camp. They brew beer and they exchange with fish, fresh fish and then they dry it. Some buy alcohol even here in Chitongo ... and bring it to the camp in order to buy fresh fish for drying. These people come with bicycles other they come with the ox-carts. ... There are now not many cars because people were afraid of the people of the fishery department. ...

There are women who have their boyfriends there so that when they come they get the fish. Now it is already prepared (dried) because the fish cannot be sold fresh now. I saw about five women from Mbeza whom I know that they are married. They also go with bicycles (and come without anything) ... but they do not sell it locally in Mbeza, they take it to Lusaka to sell it.”

Women who do have boyfriends in the fishing camps do get the fish for free, usually on a regular basis. It is of advantage to have a steady boyfriend, as the living in the camps is rough, and alcohol is going along with violence. In addition, it is more profitable to have a boyfriend, as otherwise expenses for clothes are necessary, and it is not sure if enough fish can be obtained. This is different in the case of a steadier involvement. One woman describes her activities as follows:

“I came to the fishing camp to see if the fish was ready. I staid for a day ... then I came back to Mbeza, where I got a lift in the car of A [to Lusaka]. I spilled a little bit of parfume on top so that the fish did not smell too much. Because this time it is not allowed to go to town. So I avoid the smell. In Lusaka I go to see my friend and stay there for selling. In Lusaka I never go to the market because at that time selling fish from the Kafue is not allowed. I start to tell the people at the compound in order to sell it there at the compound in Lusaka.

I am not going to give any money to the boyfriend [in the fishing camp]. Actually it was an agreement. I stay with the boyfriend and get [all] the fish.”

It is a petty trade, which allows the women much easier as compared to the men to be engaged in this sort of trade. Additionally this form of business has its cultural basis in the institutions such as *lubambo* (see above) and is therefore easily accepted by men (and husbands) and taken up by the women. Even if the quantities traded by each woman are relatively small, such as one bag with approximately 5-10 kg of dried fish, the amount traded in this way seems considerable, although difficult to estimate, as there are many women involved, and a demand for fish even during the closing season is created.

Compared to the women of Mbeza, local men are trading on a smaller scale. They don't take the fish to town, and they have to pay for the fish or barter it with mealie-meal. This is usually fresh fish, which is locally sold in the villages, and the profits are much lower than in the case of the female fish traders mentioned above.

This is a second way how women today get involved in fish trade, while fishing actually would only be allowed for subsistence – namely to feed the permanent fishermen during the closing season. Contrary to the first example, it is now the women cashing the subsistence products.

To conclude, men and women have both found ways of converting subsistence fishing into sale, ways, which are not explicitly regulated. The major impact on the local level is once more that an additional one of the few remaining protein sources for the indigenous population is today rather sold than consumed. Apart from the still quite small contribution of the indigenous Ila men and women to the decline of fish as a consequence of an intensive fishing during closing time and its effect on the fish population, other negative impacts have to be considered. The growing fishing camps are tentacles of urban life in a very remote area, bringing many problems, which were believed to be confined to the cities, into the rural area. Furthermore, a basis for potential ethnical conflicts is laid due to the activities of immigrant fishermen. Indigenous Batwa and Ila inhabitants have started to complain heavily that their resources are appropriated and “finished” by these outsiders.

### **Summary of institutional changes**

The analysis of local livelihood strategies allows insights in the complexity of how natural resources are used and intrinsically linked among each other. As complex as the livelihoods are, as much interact the effects of institutional changes with regard to these livelihoods with the different types of resources. In the case of the Ila, the socially shaped access to cattle and arable land, previously tenured by the collective of an extended family and their kinship groups, has undergone a process towards privatization. The consecutive decline in access to cattle and its products, together with the decrease in social coherence and security has, in addition to environmental and macroeconomic change, created new consumption needs, formerly satisfied by (subsistence) production of the extended family, but what nowadays has to be bought elsewhere. This creates an additional need for cash. As opportunities for income-generating activities in remote rural areas with a low population density and low infrastructure are rare, people quickly rush into informal sectors such as the fisheries, as soon as there is a market, out of different reasons: Common pool resources, which used to satisfy subsistence needs, and of which the indigenous people have the knowledge and technology how to use them, are easily transformed into products for sale – by men as well as by women. Secondly, a new market attracts foreigners to come and exploit the resources, which have formerly been regulated and

used exclusively by the indigenous people. This de facto open access situation can be seen in a game theoretical approach as a classic prisoners dilemma as described for many open access situations (see Ostrom 1990): In this constellation (Following game theory,) it is still better for local users to profit first from one's own resources than to wait until the immigrants have taken everything.

An institutional change affecting the access to a common pool resource, can either lead to a change in subsistence production, or of income generation strategies – or, more likely, of both, engendered. Many consumption needs of today concern foodstuffs formerly produced by the extended households themselves. Smaller, nuclear households, though, lack the capacity of producing especially proteins throughout the year in an extensive way of production (cattle-herding, fishing, and hunting). There will be a tendency to substitute the lacking foodstuff with other foodstuffs, often less valuable. Goods such as foods are not freely interchangeable, but their qualities have to be considered. In a rural area lacking market and storage structures, exchangeability of goods is again limited. Starting out from subsistence needs that ought to be fulfilled, strategies of substitution have to be looked at. These depend on different variables such as the subtractibility of a specific common pool resource: after extraction of a unit this unit is at the moment not available for other users and therefore these have to look for other resources (see Becker and Ostrom 1995). That foreign and local users are attracted to common pool resources, which are subtractable, is related to the relative prices, which can be gained from selling these resources. The reason for them being attractive in a specific situation and season as a cash income has got to do with external factors in socio-political, economic, demographic and technological environment in which they are placed (f.e. new roads, markets structures and less flooding give easier access to CPR in the flats, less formal job opportunities due to economic crisis and high fish prices make fishing and fish trade attractive for urban people compared to looking for jobs in the city, see Ensminger 1992).

Table 4: Institutional and technological change

*Change of institutions*

Cattle	no (or little) sale of cattle, slaughtering only at funerals isambwe, associated with different other taboos	sale of cattle major source for cash Some of the commercially relevant taboos abolished (prohibition of sale of milk), negative magic persisting Cattle individually owned
Pasture	Cattle as common property of a group or extended family Female initiation provided women with cattle Common pool resource	abolished Increasing trend towards privatisation/open access situations (absentee herd owners)
Fishing	Traditional fishing regulations	Traditional regulations not followed, state regulations not implemented
Agriculture	For subsistence only, later subsidised agriculture	Since 1990ties (structural adjustment) no more subsidies
Hunting	Collective hunting (chila)	Traditional hunting abolished, introduction of GMA, National Parks and licenses
Colonial economy	Subsistence economy: Pastoralism, hunting, fishing, agriculture	Monetarisation, introduction of cash crops (maize)
Recent economic change	subsidies for cash crop varieties	no more subsidies
Property rights,	Customary land rights, headman and chief: No individual property; enough agricultural land	Leasehold title, all rights with President. Increasing pressure on good agricultural land, possibilities for privatisation introduced
Gender equity	Traditionally, land was left to male relatives. No land ownership for women.	Women can equally own land and produce for themselves.
Inheritance	Only one successor of deceased (“eating the name”), he is administrating the wealth for the group, widows and orphans can stay within the group but did not inherit	Law and Development Act (LADA) introduces western inheritance system; widows and orphans share wealth,
Gendered economic institutions	Merely subsistence activities for women; Lubambo as institutionalised possibility for women to obtain cattle or other goods/cash	Women increasingly involved in increasing opportunities for women such as chicken breeding and trade, or trade of fish and game-meat. Lubambo still exists.

*Change of technologies*

Agriculture	Hoe, intercropping, diversified. Millet, sorghum and maize combined with beans, groundnuts etc. Technology of the women.	Plough, no intercropping. Maize monoculture combined with little gardening. Tilling now technology of the men.
Livestock	Traditional maize varieties: low yields, but crops are more drought resistant, and can be stored longer with less pesticides Local breeds, low in milk and meat production	Change to hybrid varieties which cannot be stored for a long time: sale immediately after harvesting Introduction of new breeds during the 1980s. Problems: less resistant to theileriosis.
Fisheries	Spears, baskets etc.	Introduction and stop of dipping tanks, immunisation campaigns Nets introduced by immigrants

*Social change as a consequence*

Marriage	Arranged marriages	Marriage for love
Kinship ties	Large polygynous households, different kinship groups related through marriage	Trend to smaller households and female headed households: increasing choice for women
Pacification	Households clustered in villages: High social control	Hamlets, no longer villages, as a consequence of pacification and monetarisation. Low social control

*Changes in livelihood strategies*

income	High diversification in production Little sale before maize was introduced as cash crop Then: mainly sale of maize through men	Low diversification in production uptake of other income generating activities: trading natural resources as last resort possibility of sale of maize came late for women: illegal trade Men now increasingly step into these sectors
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*Change in spatial organisation*

Infrastructure	Access difficult to flats for outsiders	Access made easier for outsiders, roads to Namwala and to Lochinvar National Park
Settlement structure Environment (flora)	Households live in fenced villages Abundant bush-plants close to villages	Scattered hamlets Larger distances between settlement and bush (more difficult to gather plants and fruits)

**Conclusions**

It is somewhat notorious that on a local governance-level commercial activities regularly obtain more attention than subsistence activities, although it is evident that as soon as there is some pressure on a natural resource used for subsistence (usually by creating an open access situation by the state), local people join in the sale of this resource as soon as they fail to protect it, and in turn the pressure on these resources increase. One reason why subsistence production drawing on customary access rights to common pool resources falls short in land policy considerations is the lack of its integration into economic scenarios. Meanwhile, the diversified system of subsistence production, today mainly done by women, loses one of its pillars after the other, and the vulnerability of households even in rich natural environments increases enormously (see other examples, e.g. Howards). Traditional livelihoods still heavily rely on all the natural resources of the surrounding environment.

Negligence of indigenous women’s access rights to common pool resources is externalising costs drawing on social security and the health of the extended family. Therefore, women’s role in subsistence fishing as well as in the fish trade has to be taken into consideration in the political design of the tenure of natural resources in order to grant a basis of subsistence for the indigenous

population. As long as the economic pressure on men and women increases, and gender-specific livelihood strategies exist, even participative governance can only work if all strategies are equally considered and feasible alternatives to the exploitation of natural resources for both men and women can be elaborated. As long as gender-inequity is found in bargaining power regarding resource allocation through sale of maize or cattle, which is creating the largest income in most Ila households, the illegal trade with natural resources such as fish during the closing season or game meat will prevail. If besides a sustainable use of natural resources a sufficient nutritional basis has to be granted, it is essential to offer women the possibility to engage in regular, legal economic activities and to increase their agency within a household regarding the use of assets. It is not sufficient to empower women to engage in any business. Their access rights to common resources have to be granted in culturally adapted local and state laws.

Prospects for solutions might lie in modified traditional laws and regulations if the tenure of land is concerned, but as soon as common pool resources are concerned which are covering vast areas, are difficult to control and under high pressure, traditional governance will lack sufficient means and power. Therefore also the state has to step in - but exactly herein lies the danger that the local livelihoods and its gender-dynamics are not adequately considered in the governance of resources.

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