INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

PJW-17

January 1985

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN FORESTRY ACTIVITIES IN BURKINA FASO (FORMERLY UPPER VOLTA)

by

Dr. Paula J. Williams

SUMMARY

Have the past decade's efforts to promote social forestry and to enhance women's participation in development increased women's participation in forestry development activities? Burkina Faso illustrates how women's participation varies with activity type and underlying conceptions of development.

Burkinabè women have traditionally used and managed numerous forest resources. Participation patterns vary among ethnic groups and change with time. Except for the improved cookstove program, few women have participated in forestry development activities. Women have been minimally involved in industrial (block) plantations, (natural) forest management, and forestry education and research. Recent efforts to promote villager management of forest resources -- farming in forest plantations or villager-oriented "Bois de Villages" programs -- offer women greater participation opportunities. Despite rural women's interest in such programs, their participation to date has been limited by existing extension approaches, the paucity of women's groups and women extension agents, traditional beliefs regarding women, men, and trees, and women's lack of land rights and resources. Nonetheless, some women's groups have started mini-nurseries and planted trees. Women's clear interest in forestry activities, coupled with government interest in mobilizing women to play active roles in the country's development, suggest a strong potential for increasing women's participation.

To promote this possibility, foresters must recognize women's participation as vital for effective and equitable forestry development strategies. Forestry development is not, inherently, managing trees, or making a profit: rather, it is managing socially-valued resources to serve human needs. Thus foresters need to adopt a truly social vision of development. In a country such as Burkina, where women comprise 52% of the population, forestry must respond to women's needs and promote their participation.

Paula J. Williams is a Forest and Society Fellow of the Institute of Current World Affairs, studying human uses of forest resources in sub-Saharan Africa. She was invited to write a Special Paper on women's participation in forestry for the 9th World Forestry Congress, to be held in Mexico City in July 1985. This report constitutes a background case study for her Special Paper.

INTRODUCTION

In the past decade much money has been spent on forest development activities in the West African Sahel, following the drought of the early 1970s. Many of these efforts were part of a larger trend towards "social forestry", i.e., a re-orientation of forestry development activities towards meeting rural subsistence needs. From 1975 to 1985 was also designated as the United Nations Decade for Women, to stress the need for the "integration of women into development". Thus, it seems appropriate to assess whether these efforts favored women's participation in forestry activities. Are there certain activities in which women have participated to a greater degree than others, and if so, why?

The country of Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) provides a case study for this question. In the past decade, Burkina Faso has received a wide range of forestry assistance. As one of the Sahelian countries hardest hit during the drought, it received a substantial proportion of the aid for the forestry and ecology sector -- $27 million from 1975 to 1980, or an average of $4.5 million a year (Weber 1982). Outside funding remains high: in 1984, external financing of forestry-related projects exceeded $7.7 million (Zongo 1984). Funding comes from a variety of donors -- multilateral organizations, bilateral assistance, and non-governmental organizations. Most funding for forestry activities in Burkina Faso, in fact, comes from external sources: the Burkina government provides salaries of Burkinabè who work on forestry development projects, as well as a small operating budget for the country's forest service, known as the Direction d'Aménagement Forestier et Reboisement (Directorate of Forest Management and Reforestation). The government is also planning to mobilize the population to participate in development activities, including tree planting. Since most forestry development to date has been sponsored by international donors, the impacts of these activities warrant broad review. The participation of women in forestry is thus of concern not only to the Burkinabè themselves -- who are trying to mobilize women's participation -- but also to the larger development community.

Information on forestry activities in Burkina Faso was gathered from November 1983 to December 1984, through interviews, attendance at forestry conferences, available literature, and field research. This paper presents an overview of various types of forestry activities in Burkina Faso, the extent of women's participation, and discusses certain factors influencing women's participation.

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN FORESTRY ACTIVITIES IN BURKINA FASO

Traditional Uses and Management of Forest Resources

In Burkina Faso, 95% of the population lives in rural areas and sustains itself through farming, raising livestock, and procuring other plant and animal resources. Much subsistence activity remains outside the cash economy. The 1980 estimated Gross National Product was $190 per person (Europa Publications 1983).

Rural activities are generally organized by age and sex, with different division of labor patterns among more than sixty different ethnic groups. Women are active in farming, raising small livestock, obtaining firewood and water, preparing and cooking meals, and caring for children and the sick. Rural women may earn money through craft activities, such as basketry or pottery, selling vegetables or wild produce, or preparing and selling foods. Rural female literacy and women's salaried employment are extremely low.

Typically, married rural Burkinabè women live in their husbands' village. Rights to land and trees are usually inherited from father to son. Rural women may receive land to farm individually and may also work on their husbands' plots. Land-use decisions, such as allocating farming land or planting and protecting trees, are predominatly made by men.

Certain activities, such as collecting forest leaves, fruits, and nuts, for human food, animal fodder, and medicine, procuring firewood for cooking, other home uses, brewing dolo (local beer), firing pottery, or other cottage industries, and harvesting other woody materials for artisan and other purposes have long been women's work. Men traditionally obtained wood for woodworking and construction, fodder, and artisinal materials. For both women and men, woody vegetation has long been important for subsistence needs and for generating income, either by selling surplus resources or using them to manufacture goods for sale.

Rural women and men not only use, but actively manage, valued woody species. Valued trees may be protected against cutting, grazing, and fires. Less commonly, trees are planted from seed or as seedlings. Among most ethnic groups, men traditionally plant or replant trees, whereas women or girls water them. Under certain circumstances, however, women plant trees. Both women and men have a wide knowledge of the uses and occurrences of various species in their environment, and the conditions under which they grow (Williams 1984).

Changing Participation Patterns

In recent decades, forest resource use patterns have undergone dramatic shifts. As human population has increased, more land has been converted to agricultural fields, and less land has been left in fallow or as "bush". Consequently, demands for resources have increased, while their availability has declined. This has changed patterns of women's and men's work. For example, many rural men cut firewood, to sell to merchants supplying urban areas. Rural women rarely have the means to purchase firewood, so they now have to travel further in search of firewood for their daily needs (Williams 1982, 1983).

Other forest resources are becoming scarcer as well. Although gathering tree leaves for the family cuisine is typically women's work, in some areas men now cut large quantities of baobab (Adansonia digitata) leaves to sell. Where the abundance of shea-nut (Butyrosperum parkii) trees has declined, it is increasing difficult for women to collect enough nuts to make shea-nut

butter, a staple cooking oil. This food is important to women for their own use, as well as for cash income. A similar situation exists for soumbala, a condiment prepared from the seeds of nere trees (Parkia biglobosa). A marked decline of medicinal species is also of great concern to rural women, as is the loss of knowledge concerning traditional medicines (Williams 1984; GRAPP 1984).

Forest Development Activities, 1975-1984

Industrial Plantations

Following the 1970s drought, several forest plantation projects were started. Several donors, such as the Germans and the World Bank, financed these projects. Supposedly fast-growing exotic species, such as Eucalyptus sp. or Gmelina arborea, were planted on classified (national) forest lands to grow firewood for urban needs. Although rural residents were legally entitled to collect leaves, fruits, nuts, and "dead wood" from classified forests, not much attention was paid to how local villagers had been using the native vegetation that was cleared in order to plant the exotic species.

Only men were hired by these projects, for activities such as collecting seed, nursery work, site preparation, tree planting, and, as the trees have matured, harvesting. The World Bank project at the Maro Forest employed 300 men as laborers, but no women (Croise 1984). The German project at the Gonse Forest similarly employed only men. Until recently, 96 men worked full-time at Gonse: this has been reduced to 12 full-time employees, with seasonal laborers to be hired as needed. The project would like to hire local women for seed-collection, but local men feel that they should have priority over women for paid employment (Sepp, D.-S. 1984).

To reduce plantation maintenance costs, some projects have begun to allow nearby residents to farm in forestry plantations. If villagers farm in the firebreaks or between the rows of trees, less hired labor is needed for clearing firebreaks or weeding, and the availability of agricultural land for villagers is increased. In the Maro project, primarily women are cultivating in the firebreaks. The region around the Maro Forest, however, is sparsely populated, and the project has been unable to find enough people to cultivate all the firebreaks (Croise 1984).

For the German program in the northern Sahelian region, planting activities have been shifting from exotic to local species, as well as trying to interest villagers to farm in the plantations. The one area where this approach has been successful has been in Djibo, where over 300 villagers -- all women -- are farming on small (900 m^2) plots, growing sauce vegetables and calabashes (Sepp, D.-S. 1984; Sepp & Zoure 1984).

Village Reforestation

Five years ago the "Bois de Villages" (Village Wood) program began with the objective of having villagers grow trees for their own firewood needs. The program is currently funded by five donors -- the Swiss, the Dutch, the UN Sudano-Sahelian Office (UNSO)(with Swedish funding), the Germans, and a locally-based "Fond de Developpement Rural " (Rural Development Fund). The program has broadened from an initial emphasis of planting exotic species for firewood, to protecting and managing native vegetation, and planting local species. There is also growing interest in "agroforestry systems" rather than planting woodlots (Zongo & Samyn 1984; Zongo 1984).

The Bois de Villages program relies heavily upon extension work with rural villagers, trying to raise rural consciousness about the causes and possible solutions for environmental degradation. This approach is part of a long-term strategy to encourage villagers to assume responsibility for managing their environment. Typically, project forestry or extension agents, who are generally men, hold meetings with interested villagers. Often only men will be invited to the sessions. When women are invited, they usually come in small numbers and listen -- but may not be able, or willing, to participate actively. In some cases, it is not customary for women to freely volunteer their opinions in village meetings, but if called upon, they may voice their opinions. In other areas, women may not talk freely when men are present. This may be due to customs of deference, such as not talking in front of the (male) village chief, or perhaps feelings of fear and shame, being afraid to speak in front of their husbands, lest they say something that their husbands might not agree with. Women may only be able to participate in separate groups -- a group of young married women, for example, could discuss the issues and then choose a delegate to express their sentiments at the larger village session. (If all the women are grouped together, the younger women will generally defer to the older ones.) (GRAPP 1984).

In some cases, reforestation efforts have been undertaken by groups of villagers, as well as by families and individuals. Women have participated in these activities, but in varying degrees. In many villages only men's cooperatives exist. Where a men's group decided to start a community woodlot, women may contribute by preparing food for the men planting the woodlot, and by watering the trees. In one village, a group of women decided to start their own mini-nursery, because they believed that they would not be able to obtain seedlings from the men -- that the men would tell them that reforestation was not women's business. Researchers have found a great deal of interest among village women for forestry activities, although there has not been much participation by women in Bois de Villages programs to date (GRAPP 1984; Camilleri 1984).

The lack of women's participation in project planning, decision-making, and training is detrimental to project success. Some women have said that they are expected to work on projects, but without training they feel that they do so in "ignorance". Alternatively, women may not understand the project's purpose, or who will benefit. In one village, women were upset that the men's group harvested wood from the village plantation to obtain poles to

build a village pharmacy, but the women were denied use of the wood for firewood. The project also did not address the women's needs for edible and medicinal species. This issue will become more important in the next few years, as many Bois de Villages plantations become harvestable, and decisions will have to be made on the distribution of benefits (Bloemburg 1984; GRAPP 1984).

Management of Classified (National) Forests

The Directorate of Forest Management and Reforestation is responsible for managing the country's Classified Forests. While past efforts focused on protecting the forest from exploitation and on planting trials of various (usually exotic) woody species, the current emphasis is on developing sustained-use management strategies for the existing vegetation. Initially such efforts concentrated on maximizing wood production, for timber and firewood. Interest is increasing in management of "natural forests" for a variety of locally-valued resources and involving local villagers in management activities.

American assistance was financing a project to develop a "model management plan" for the Dinderesso Forest. Although the Forest contains eucalyptus, teak, and cashew plantations, 85% of the area is in native species. The project established a wood market to sell firewood, poles, and stick fencing to local residents. Only men were employed by the project as laborers. Research on local uses of forest resources had been conducted by (male) staff and students at the Forestry School, and by a female Peace Corps Volunteer.

Contracting with nearby villagers has been tried for the past two years. In 1983, 373 agricultural contracts were let; average plot size was 0.8 ha. Nineteen contracts with local herders permitted grazing of livestock in specified areas (to reduce grass, and hence fire hazards). All the contracts have been with men. Contract holders are typically assisted in farming activities by family members or hired help; women participate in planting, and particularly harvesting, of cereal crops. The project was unsuccessful in recruiting women to harvest cashew nuts and fruits, so had signed a contract with one man to harvest cashew nuts for the coming year (Christophersen & Bastyr 1984; Bastyr 1984).

Project personnel were not particularly concerned with the degree to which local women participate in management activities. Rather, their approach was to develop a management plan to maximize biological production of desired resources and minimize costs to the project, to make management economically feasible and ecologically sustainable. Because local residents complained that the past system of assigning agricultural contracts by lottery was arbitrary and unfair, the project had planned to work out contracts with village representatives, and let village groups themselves decide on the allocation of parcels. Thus the project was planning to leave questions of the social distribution of benefits up to the villagers; whether rural women might be allocated parcels under this new system remains to be seen (Christophersen & Bastyr 1984; Bastyr 1984).

Greenbelts

Greenbelts have been planted in the capital city, Ouagadougou, as well as in other towns. To date between 900 and 1000 hectares have been planted in Ouagadougou. Some trees have been planted by paid male laborers, working on a German-financed project, while others have been planted by volunteers. In 1983 the Federation of Voltaic (now Burkinabè) Women -- a consortium of four major, national women's organizations -- planted 18 hectares. Currently about 50 hectares is open for farming: there are 500 participants, with plots averaging 0.1 ha. 71% of the participants are women, 12% men, and 17% families. Typically women grow sauce vegetables and condiments on their plots. While some women participate as individuals, others do so as members of a widows association (Muhlbauer 1984; Nikièma 1983).

Improved Cookstoves

Besides trying to increase the country's wood production, the national forestry service is attempting to decrease fuelwood consumption. With 95% of the country's energy coming from firewood, "improved cookstoves" are being promoted to cut fuelwood consumption.

This is the only forestry program directed towards women. Since it is believed that women professionals will be more successful in disseminating cookstoves to urban and rural women, the three Burkinabè women who have received forestry degrees -- two engineers and one technical agent -- have all been assigned to the Service of Improved Cookstoves. Expatriates working on dissemination projects are women, whereas some of the technical design reseachers have been Burkinabè and expatriate men. Women extension agents are employed to demonstrate stove-building and use to rural and urban women (Kabore 1984).

While efforts to introduce cookstoves have been ongoing in several regions of the country and in Ouagadougou for at least five years, efforts are now underway to cover the entire country. Every provincial forestry service office will have its own cookstove unit.

In rural areas women are being taught how to build their own "improved three-stone cookstoves" using rocks, banco (a clay, manure, and straw building material) and scrap metal. These stoves are built with locally-available, "free" materials, using construction techniques similar to those women use for their granaries (Dillingham 1984).

In urban areas, ceramic and metal stoves are being manufactured by male craftsmen and sold in local markets, predominantly by men merchants. These stoves are more fuel-efficient than the banco stoves and more transportable. Although the stoves cost money, they can reduce wood use by 40%: for a large urban family, two stoves can pay for themselves in 12 days. Research has shown that in Ouagadougou, the improved cookstove is considered to be part of a woman's cooking equipment, and generally women buy their own stoves (Sepp, C. 1984).

Forestry Education

Three institutions offer professional forestry training in Burkina Faso. There are five and three-year forest engineer programs at the University of Ouagadougou, a two-year program for technical agents at the Polyvalent Agriculture Center at Matourkou, and a one-year program for forest "preposes" (guards) at the National Forestry School at Dinderesso. None of the three schools have any women forestry instructors.

The university program has always been open to both women and men students. Of the twenty-one students receiving five-year forest engineer degrees from 1979 to 1983, three were women (one focused on fish culture, rather than forestry). Of the twenty-one students currently in the five-year program, three are women. None of the eleven who received forestry degrees in the three-year program in 1982 and 1983 were women. Currently there are approximately 45 students in the three-year program, of whom perhaps five are women (Zoungrana 1984).

To date only one woman has graduated from Matourkou. The school had not previously been open to women students, so she had been admitted as an exception. A few women are currently students.

The school at Dinderesso, in existence since the late 1950s, trains approximately 40 students a year. In the past only men were admitted: now, however, the school is theoretically open to women. As of yet, none have been admitted as students.

Forest Research

The two major organizations carrying out forestry-related research are the Institute of Research on Tropical Biology and Ecology (IRBET) and the Center of Tropical Forest Technology (CTFT). IRBET and CTFT do not currently have any women researchers on their staffs in Burkina Faso, nor are any of their researchers focusing on women's forestry activities.

Integrated Development Programs for Women

Some programs for women have chosen to work on forestry-related activities. For example, some women's groups funded through the Directorate for the Participation of Women in Development (located within the Ministry of Family Development and National Solidarity) have participated in tree planting activities (Yameogo 1984). In another project, sponsored by the German Program for the Sahel, approximately half of the twenty-five women's groups in the sector of Djibo are interested in starting mini-nurseries, to grow trees to plant in their cooperative fields, and also to sell -- to earn money to finance other projects. To date, because of a water shortage, no mini-nurseries have been started (Esser 1984).

Mobilizing Women for Development

The present government of Burkina Faso, the Conseil National de la Revolution, (CNR), has been in power since 4 August 1983. Mobilizing women to take part in the activities of the Revolution has been a high priority of the government since its beginning, and is explicitly mentionned as a priority in the government policy document, the Discours d'Orientation Politique, issued on 2 October 1983.

The CNR is now developing plans for a Popular Program of Development (PPD), targeted for 1985. This program will encourage citizens to participate in a number of self-help development activities. One activity is tree planting: each citizen will be asked to plant two trees during the next rainy season, i.e., July or August. The government realizes that it will not be possible for everyone to plant trees in all parts of the country, but has set a target of planting 10 million trees (3,000 ha.) in 1985. The PPD, thus, could be an important supplement to other reforestation efforts. (From 1975 to 1983, a total of 15,000 hectares of trees have been planted throughout the country.) Women will be expected to plant trees as well as men, but details for mobilizing their participation have yet to be worked out (Zongo 1984).

FACTORS UNDERLYING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Socio-cultural Factors

Customarily Burkinabè women marry young and have six or seven children. This pattern affects female education rates, which are substantially lower than male education rates, particularly in rural areas. Low rural female literacy may limit women's participation in some extension efforts.

Rural women are busy with daily work activities and thus often have less disposable time than men to engage in discretionary or income-generating activities. Although some rural women recognize that they now have to go farther in search of firewood, and that growing wood to meet their needs might save them time in the future, they may have limited time to plant and care for trees (Bloemburg 1984).

Beliefs regarding the roles of women and men, as well as beliefs about trees, also influence women's participation in forestry activities. Planting trees is regarded by many as men's responsibility, and women's genuine interest in tree planting may be dismissed by men. Men often express other sentiments, such as their belief that women cannot work on such activities because they will quarrel among themselves (GRAPP 1984). Some people believe that if one plants a tree, one will not live to see it bear fruit. Such a belief, where it still exists, may deter younger people from planting trees, particularly women of child bearing age (Camilleri 1984; Yameogo 1984). In addition, there are also still lingering associations of tree planting with forced labor under French colonial rule (Kabore 1984).

The paucity of organized women's groups and women extension agents to work with such groups seems to be a major constraint on women's participation. The Bois de Villages program has discovered that it is often difficult to contact rural village women, as they are not well-organized. Men extension agents can sometimes work with rural women, but in other cases village women may only be receptive to working with women agents (Bloemburg 1984; Camilleri 1984; GRAPP 1984; Whiteman 1984).

Political Factors

Public policy is an important factor influencing women's participation. National-level policy encouraging, or even mandating, women's participation is vital. With the current government's emphasis on women's participation, women should become more active in development activities over time.

International donors and private voluntary organizations vary in their commitment to women's participation. Some have specific strategies to encourage women's participation, whereas others have general principles that women should be included in all development projects, and still others do not explicitly consider women as a group to be addressed. Many donors currently emphasize the integration of women into general development projects, rather than having separate "projects for women". Although special women's projects were popular a few years ago, many development workers concluded that such projects were unsuccessful. Too often "women's projects" were marginal to women's priority needs, underbudgeted, and failed to address larger social constraints influencing women's participation. Consequently there is now more interest in including women in general projects (Rogers 1980). This approach, however, runs the risk of losing sight of women's special needs -- of women becoming "invisible" in development once again. The Burkina government has recently been stressing projects to involve all family members, rather than just targeting projects at women (Yameogo 1984).

To date these general policy principles have not been widely applied in the forestry sector. Written documents discussing forestry activities typically do not mention how project activities affect women or whether women participate. Most forestry conference participants are men, and rarely are women's activities, or the impacts of forestry development projects on women, discussed. Interviews with project personnel can yield some information on women's participation, but often women have not been explicitly considered and detailed information on their participation is unavailable. The impact of general and forest policies on women's participation has never been analyzed.

Much debate has recently focused on the need for policy changes, such as reform of land and tree tenure laws, to encourage individuals to grow trees. Women's lack of land rights may be an important reason why women do not generally plant trees. The importance of land rights will depend on the types of trees being planted. Some local fruit species, such as shea-nut, mature slowly, so people primarily plant or protect them for their children's future. Other species, such as mangoes, can produce fruit within a few years of planting, and can be quite lucrative for their owners. Generally only men

purchase grafted mango seedlings and plant them. The Burkina government has recently declared that all land belongs to the government, but that all citizens have rights to use land. It is unclear whether this legal change will affect individual's willingness to plant trees, or make it easier for women to obtain land rights and plant trees.

Women's participation in forestry activities has also probably been discouraged by the para-military orientation of the forest service. Now, under the current government, all government civil servants -- as well as many civilians -- undergo military training. This may change the relative attractiveness of forestry as a career for women (Kabore 1984). Perhaps, too, with time rural women will become used to working with forestry agents, instead of fearing them.

Development Program Factors

Professional women working on development programs are important for insuring women's participation in two respects. First, it is much easier for rural Burkinabè women to talk to visiting professionals about their needs and interests if these outsiders are women. Second, professional women commonly tend to think of women's participation development more broadly than do many professional men. The cookstove program has Burkinabè women foresters, and expatriate women professionals are working with the Bois de Villages program.

The cookstove program director, Marguerite Kabore, hopes that in the future, as more Burkinabè women foresters are trained, her program can expand to work on other forestry activities that concern women. Alternatively, women foresters could be assigned to work with other forest service departments. Initially it is important to assess where the few trained Burkinabè women foresters can make the greatest contribution.

Development projects seem to be more successful at reaching rural women and obtaining their participation when these are explicit project goals. This does not mean that separate women's projects are needed, although that can be valuable under certain circumstances. But, for example, where forest agents consciously try to obtain women's participation, inviting women to meetings and demonstrations, work with homogenous sub-groups, and work to minimize women's perceived constraints to participation, success is more likely. This calls for patience and persistence, to gradually build up women's participation over time, and to accustom rural women and men to working together on issues of mutual concern. Short-term projects are less likely to achieve significant results.

Project evaluations need to assess the conditions under which women are most likely to participate. Experience to date with agricultural contracts, for example, poses interesting questions. Why have more women than men participated in farming in forest plantations at Djibo, Maro, and the Ouagadougou greenbelt, but not at Dinderesso? Is it a function of plot size, where women may have the time and interest to cultivate small (0.1 ha.) plots, whereas men are only interested in larger-sized (1.0 ha.) plots? Or are other fac-

tors involved, such as the relative availability of farming land to women and men in the different regions, ethnic differences, the manner in which the contracts are advertised and let, or the history of forest service interactions with local villagers?

CONCLUSIONS

While some progress has been made in incorporating women's participation into forestry development projects in Burkina-Faso, much more could be done. Women's existing uses of forest resources need to be better understood, in nature, location, and extent, as well as women's own desires and priorities vis-a-vis forest development activities. As more Burkinabè women become foresters, it should become easier to contact and work with rural women. Efforts should be made to recruit qualified women students to enter forestry at all levels, but especially for the National Forestry School -- as forest preposes do much of the extension work with villagers. In the meantime, however, forestry projects can work with existing women extension agents. In Senegal, for example, the pairing of a woman rural extension agent with a man forestry agent has been shown to be an effective way of working with rural women on forestry activities (Hoskins 1979).

The social impact of various types of forestry activities and forest development projects needs to be assessed. To date only the Bois de Villages programs have done much socio-economic evaluation, in addition to technical and economic evaluations. The goal should be to evaluate not just how responsive programs are to women, but to all social groups -- such as herders, farmers, merchants, or artisans.

The major obstacle to broader social participation in forestry development activities is, I believe, the overly narrow concern of most forestry development projects. Usually projects emphasize easily-quantifiable economic criteria and the technical problems of forest management, rather than considering social issues such as who will or will not benefit from project activities, and how. Despite all the rhetoric about "social forestry", most foresters still believe that forestry is about trees, rather than about people.

Foresters often "cannot see the forest for the trees" -- they fail to fully comprehend the social milieu of which, and in which, they operate. Forest development activities have not yet incorporated women to any significant degree because foresters have failed to come to grips with the inherently social, and hence political, nature of forest resource use. The definition of forest resources is a social process, and social values determine the ends to which various forest resources are used.

Forestry development must be tied to the central issues of mainstream development -- helping people develop themselves. Forestry development must, therefore, consider the participation of women. In a country such as Burkina Faso, this is vital. Women comprise 52% of the population, so it is only equitable that their needs be responded to. Furthermore, in a society where much labor is divided between women and men in a complementary and

interdependent manner, development efforts make no sense when they focus on one group and ignore the other. Forestry development will only be effective when it broadens its social base of participation. The interest of Burkinabè women in forestry activities, coupled with the government's emphasis on women's participation in development, suggest that great potential exists for increasing women's participation in forestry development activities. The question that foresters working in Burkina now must answer is, when will this potential be realized?

REFERENCES

Bastyr, Ben. 1984. (Based on the research of Mahir Saul.) An evaluation of proposed local participation activities in the Dinderesso National Forest. U.S. Agency for International Development Forestry Education and Development Project, Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso. 16 pp.

Bloemburg, Martha. 1984. L'Unité Bois de Villages, Direction de l'Aménagement Forestier et du Reboisement, Ministère de l'Environnement et du Tourisme, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Interview, 21 December.

Camilleri, Jean-Luc. 1984. Etude Socio-Economique. Deuxieme Partie: Village de Sourgou, Centre-Ouest, Mossi. Projet "Bois de Villages", Koudougou, Burkina Faso. 60+ pp.

Christophersen, Kjell and Ben Bastyr. U.S. Department of Agriculture Team, U.S. Agency for International Development Forestry Education and Development Project, Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso. Interview, 7 December.

Croise, Jean Louis. 1984. Etudes et Recherches Forestières, Projet Forestier, I.D.A. (Banque Mondiale), Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso. Interview, 7 December.

Dillingham, Susan. 1984. Cookstove-building training session for American Peace Corps forestry volunteers, Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso, 18 February.

Esser, Helga. 1984. Programme Allemand Pour le Sahel/CILSS, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Interview, 11 December.

Europa Publications. 1983. Africa South of the Sahara 1983-84. 13th Ed. Europa Publications Ltd., London, England. 971 pp.

GRAPP (Groupe de Recherche et d'Appui pour l'Autopromotion Paysanne). 1984. Rapport de recherche (sans titre) pour: L'Unité Bois de Villages, Direction de l'Aménagement Forestier et du Reboisement, Ministère de l'Environnement et du Tourisme. GRAPP, Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso.

Hoskins, Marilyn W. 1979. Women in forestry for local community development: a programming guide. Office of Women in Development, U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C, U.S.A.

Kabore, Marguerite. 1984. Service des Foyers Ameliores, Direction de l'Aménagement Forestier et du Reboisement, Ministère de l'Environnement et du Tourisme, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Interview, 21 December.

Muhlbauer, Gunther. 1984. Environnement Urbain, Programme National de Lutte Contre la Desertification, Direction de l'Aménagement Forestier et du Reboisement, Ministère de l'Environnement et du Tourisme, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Interview, 12 December.

Nikièma, Albert. 1983. Etude du Milieu. Rapport de 2e Année Stage, Institut Superieur Polytechnique, Université de Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

Rogers, Barbara. 1980. The Domestication of Women in Developing Societies. Tavistock Publications Ltd., London, England.

Sepp, Cornelia. 1984. Service des Foyers Ameliores, Direction de l'Aménagement Forestier et du Reboisement, Ministère de l'Environnement et du Tourisme, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Interview, 29 November.

Sepp, Dietrich-Steve. 1984. Programme National de Lutte Contre la Desertification, Direction de l'Aménagement Forestier et du Reboisement, Ministère de l'Environnement et du Tourisme, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Interview, 29 November.

Sepp, Dietrich-Steve and Leonard Zoure. 1984. Rapport d'Activités, 1er Semestre 1984, et Programme Previsionnel, 2eme Semestre 1984. Programme National de Lutte Contre la Desertification, Direction de l'Aménagement et du Reboisement, Ministère de l'Environnement et du Tourisme, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

Traore, Eva. 1984. L'Unite Bois de Villages, Direction de l'Aménagement Forestier et du Reboisement, Ministère de l'Environnement et du Tourisme, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Interview, 20 December.

Weber, Fred. 1982. Review of CILSS Forestry Sector Program Analysis Papers. Prepared for: USDA/OICD/TAD/ww and AID/USDA/USFS. Forestry Support Program, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. 40 pp.

Whiteman, Michael R. 1984. Forest utilization surveys of local residents near the classified forest of Dinderesso: survey methodology, results, and recommendations. U.S. Agency for International Development Forestry Education and Development Project, Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso. 21 pp.

Williams, Paula J. 1982. Women and forest resources: A theoretical perspective. In Women in natural resources: An international perspective, ed. Molly Stock, Jo Ellen Force, and Dixie Ehrenreich. Proceedings of a Conference, 8-9 March, University of Idaho. Forest, Wildlife, and Range Experiment Station, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho, U.S.A. pp. 93 - 130.

Williams, Paula J. 1983. The social organization of firewood procurement and use in Africa: a study of the division of labor by sex. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A. 311 pp.

Williams, Paula J. 1984. Series of monthly newsletters written to Peter Bird Martin, Director, Institute of Current World Affairs, 4 West Wheelock Street, Hanover, New Hampshire, U.S.A.

Yameogo, Cathérine. 1984. Direction de la Participation de la Femme au Développement, Ministère de l'Essor Familiale et de la Solidarité Nationale, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Interview, 13 December.

Zongo, M. Alfred. 1984. Service du Reboisement, Direction de l'Aménagement Forestier et du Reboisement, Ministère de l'Environnement et du Tourisme, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Interview, 13 December.

Zongo, A. et J. M. Samyn, eds. 1984. Programme National de Foresterie Villageoise. Direction de l'Aménagement Forestier et du Reboisement, Ministère de l'Environnement et du Tourisme, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. 33 pp.

Zoungrana, Issaka. 1984. Institut Superieur Polytechnique, Université de Ouagadougou, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Interview, 11 December.

Received in Hanover 5/22/85