

Central Yet Peripheral: *The Rural Woman Farmer and Issues of African Development*

Joy C. Kwesiga

**Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences
Makerere University, Uganda**



International Institute of Tropical Agriculture

**Seventh Lecture in the Distinguished African Scientist
Lecture Series delivered at the International Institute
of Tropical Agriculture, Ibadan, Nigeria
5 May 1998**

About the Lecture Series

The Distinguished African Scientist Lecture Series was initiated by IITA's Board of Trustees in honor of a former Deputy Director General of IITA, Dr Bede N. Okigbo, whose knowledge of agriculture has been described as encyclopedic. Dr Okigbo himself delivered the first lecture in the series in April 1989, while Professor O. Aboyade, Chairman, Presidential Advisory Committee, Nigeria, delivered the second lecture in April 1990. The third lecture in April 1991 was from Dr Letitia E. Obeng, formerly of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). The fourth lecture was delivered by Dr Mostafa K. Tolba, formerly the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) while the fifth lecture was delivered by Dr Lydia Makhubu, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Swaziland. The sixth lecture was delivered by Professor Thomas R. Odhiambo of the Research and Development Forum for Science-led Development in Africa (RANDFORUM), Nairobi, Kenya.

March 1999

International Institute of Tropical Agriculture

Oyo Road, Ibadan, Nigeria
Telephone: (234-2) 241-2626
Facsimile: (234-2) 241-2221
E-mail: iita@cgiar.org

International Mailing Address:

c/o L.W. Lambourn & Co., Carolyn House
26 Dingwall Road, Croydon CR9 3EE
England

Copies of this publication may be requested from

Distribution Unit, IITA, Oyo Road, Ibadan, Nigeria

Africa is a vast continent that exemplifies extensive heterogeneity, making it difficult to generalize about its development. But there are important commonalities which justify addressing African issues collectively. These include widespread poverty and underdevelopment, the shared legacy of colonialism, and political instability (Chole 1997). Although the economic performance of African countries varies, some common observations are possible. This lecture focuses on sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) where similarities in development indicators permit for this kind of generalization.

A series of panaceas for getting out of its underdeveloped state have been advanced, since the 1960s, when most African states attained political independence. These approaches have not transformed the character of Africa positively, neither have they removed gender inequalities. On the contrary, there is a growing concern that rural women in SSA, who comprise the majority, are not enjoying the change or visibility that other women have gained in the recent past¹.

This lecture is based on the premise that African economies cannot make any revolutionary leap forward until the various developmental approaches give due attention to its women folk. Specifically, this lecture argues that African economies will continue to depend on smallholder producers for a long time. I intend to show that the woman is or should be the vanguard of rural development. Despite the fact that she carries this heavy responsibility, she is neither recognized nor rewarded through various support services. In order to improve the condition of the woman in SSA, I recommend a multisectoral/multi-issue agenda to tackle the challenges of women-centered rural development.

General development levels in Africa

The 1970s and 1980s have been described as lost decades in Africa. The 1990s have opened a window of hope, during which countries such as Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, and Uganda have recorded positive economic growth.

If we apply the more comprehensive and people-centered measures of development, devised for the UNDP Human Development Report series, Africa still exhibits very low development indicators. The composite measure of human survival (life expectancy, access to health services, and safe water), education, personal security, sustainability of the environment and income levels, includes only two African countries (Mauritius and Libya) out of a total of 64, within the High Human Development Group (UNDP 1997). In the same report only 11 African countries are within the Medium Human Development ranking. Conversely, 35 out of the 45 Low Human Development group of countries are African, mainly from SSA. The SSA share of poor people within the developing region is not only substantial but is increasing over time (Appendix 1 highlights the regional differences).

Over 120 million people in SSA are not expected to survive beyond the age of 40. SSA has a significant share of the deprived people among developing countries (see Appendix 2). It is important to note that only a handful of sub-Saharan African countries have reached the goals set by the UN and other international agencies for the year 2000. Appendix 3 shows that only one SSA country out of 44 has attained the life expectancy level of 70 years and above. Life expectancy in Mozambique, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Uganda is below 50 years (Jubilee 2000, 1997 and Oxfam Documents 1995). In addition, no SSA country has a 100% net primary enrolment.

On average, peoples of Africa, "are worse off today than they were three decades ago, the rising poverty threatening growing numbers of people" (ADB 1992). The poor in Africa are expected to rise to 265 million by the year 2000 (ADB 1992). At least half of the African peoples are below the absolute poverty line (Chole 1997, UNDP 1997). Therefore, whatever strategy can be implemented to get the continent out of this situation should be embraced.

The nature of African economies

Despite the few strides that have been made since the 1960s, little has changed within African economies. The structural transformation has been negligible. Primary production and exports are the major sources of income. Chole's categorization of poverty levels (1997) and various World Bank reports show that no SSA country is an outstanding exporter of manufactured goods. Only one or two commodities dominate each country's export earnings and, therefore, there is very limited room for diversification. Coffee, tobacco, and minerals still prevail. SSA economies have little influence on the world trade order.

Consequently, SSA countries cannot easily alter the situation to their favor. Markets are limited by historical factors such as the balkanization of the continent into ineffective groups of consumers. Although regional groupings are being strengthened, the major markets for the main commodities are outside these regions. The predominant peasant population, whose consumption capacity is limited, is one of the major constraints. A rich and vibrant middle class, which would have a stake in guarding its property and ensuring the creation of more wealth is still lacking.

SSA economies are constrained by a heavy debt burden which consistently limits growth. Over 40 of the world's most indebted countries are in SSA. They form the bulk of least developed countries and their social development process has been negatively affected. Uganda, for instance, spends US\$9 per person per annum on debt servicing, as compared to US\$3 on health per person per annum.

A low investment base is a further limiting factor. Relatively fewer investors are attracted to SSA as compared to other regions of the developing world. The poor infrastructure, lack of access to a financial base locally, limited markets, uncontrolled inflation, corruption, and latent or actual political instability have been stumbling blocks to investment. Notwithstanding the recent visit by the American President and some European leaders to Africa and their pronouncements about the benefits of partnership in trade, European and North American investments, and aid tend

to be directed more to other regions of the developing world, especially Eastern Europe.

Lack of ideological independence in SSA has also been a demotivating factor. SSA has vacillated between leftist and rightist ideologies, which were not necessarily pertinent to local situations (Museveni 1992).

Whatever the causes, it is clear that African economies need to change. Since the theories and approaches so far applied to the challenges of development in SSA have not succeeded, it is important to formulate new ideas and approaches to tackle the African crisis.

Development prospects for Africa

The bulk of the strategies currently being advanced for the quick development of Africa have reinforced the centrality of rural development. Those who are actually the driving force in rural areas must be incorporated in the rural development process. Current strategies to tackle the African development crisis must include the following:

- ***The establishment of peace and political stability***
Many African countries are devoid of peace. West Africa, the Horn of Africa, and the Great Lakes Region are clear examples. There is evidence that with stability, economies can grow rapidly. The experience of Uganda which is now viewed as a "star country" is a case in point (UNDP(U):1997), International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) (1995). By virtue of their roles, women are negatively affected by instability, but at the same time, they have demonstrated that they can help to bring about stability. For example, the civil wars in northern Uganda were short-lived because wives and mothers refused to shelter fighters or give them food.
- ***Execution of pro-poor people strategies***
Over 90% of Africa's poor live in rural areas (IFPRI 1995, UNDP 1997, Chole 1997). Global development focus is on the eradication of poverty. Since women form the majority of

the poor in SSA, they should be the priority target of poverty alleviation and eradication.

- ***Increase smallholder incomes and productivity***

Rural development strategists should put emphasis on assisting the smallholder in agriculture and micro-enterprises (rural and urban) (UNDP 1997, Chole 1997) to improve productivity and household incomes. IFPRI projects that at least a 4% agricultural growth is needed in order to bring about change in such economies by the year 2020. The rural woman is key to this strategy.

- ***Arresting environmental degradation***

According to IFPRI (1995) and UNDP, it is imperative to arrest and reverse environmental degradation in order to boost the prospects of rural development. This assumes the introduction of improved technologies and incentives to those at the center of the rural development processes. The woman is the key to the success of this strategy.²

- ***Improved health of the population***

Any meaningful development strategy must limit the spread of HIV/AIDs, provide safe water and sanitation, and halt malnutrition. With 41 percent of SSA population undernourished, SSA has the worst malnutrition rates in the developing world (FAO 1997). Women are affected most here and yet they can be influential as family health carers.

- ***Improved access to quality education***

It is now accepted that the benefits of educating women (including health promotion, population control, education for children, improved agricultural production, positive attitudes to new ideas) are colossal.

- ***Increased access to key resources***

In order to ensure the success of rural development, women must gain access to key resources such as land, credit, housing, improved infrastructure, and markets. By emancipating women from resource deprivation, the rural

development strategies would boost the prospects of poverty alleviation and eradication.

- **Ensure lower rates of population growth**

At the average current 2.8% annual population growth rate, SSA is unable to feed itself let alone improve its standard of living. Women must therefore be facilitated and empowered to control their reproductive lives in order to contain population growth and by so doing improve the quality of life at the household level and enhance economic development.

The above prerequisites are central issues in rural development. They must be addressed in order to reach the right development target. Where should we invest our energies and resources to ensure positive results? Who provides the highest rate of return? That is what this lecture is about.

Rural economy and national development in Africa

Although there is a call for modernization and industrialization in SSA, the economies cannot suddenly shed off their rural characteristics. An analysis by Bryceson and Howe (1996) clearly illustrates (a) the extent to which the rural population outnumbers the urban and (b) the predominance of agriculture in these economies. Of the 44 SSA countries studied in 1992, only in Djibouti was less than 15% of the population rural. Six countries were in the 50–59% range. The rural population of majority of the countries was in the range of 70–80%. As a region, SSA's rural population comprises 69% of the total population.

The same analysis showed that agriculture accounts for 67% of the region's income. A handful of countries depend less on agriculture (Botswana 28%, Cape Verde 31%, Lesotho 23%, Zambia 38%, Namibia 43%) while the majority depend on agriculture with over half registering 70% and above. Conversely, the percentage of the SSA labor force engaged in the industrial sector is only 8%, and 25% for service sector, compared to the industrialized countries, whose percentages are 33 and 58, respectively.

Nevertheless, despite its pivotal role, the agricultural sector is declining (from 79% in 1960 to 67% in 1992). The rural population has also dropped from 85% in 1960 to 69% in 1992. Employment in the industrial sector has not changed from 8%. Though SSA economies are still agriculture-based, the numbers engaged in this sector are declining. As a result, the burden of sustaining the agricultural sector has fallen more and more on the rural woman.

Records also show that the nature of SSA economies, and in particular the low levels of investment, will not push industrialization fast enough to alter the current arrangement (Ndlovu 1996). Wisdom, therefore, points its finger to paying due attention to the rural sector.

The vital contribution of the rural woman farmer to African economies and family sustenance

Women carry a multiple role of production and reproduction as well as caring. Opong and Abu (1985) devised The Seven Roles Framework which provides a useful checklist for the development planner and practitioner.³

In this connection, rural women contribute at least 60% of the agricultural labor force and over 80% of cash crop production in many SSA countries (FAO 1997). Table 1 presents evidence from several countries.

Table 1. Role of women in agriculture in selected in African countries

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Benin | 70% of the female population live in rural areas, where they carry out 60–80% of the agricultural work and furnish up to 44% of the work necessary for household subsistence |
| Burkina Faso | Women constitute 48% of the laborers in the agricultural sector. |
| Congo | Women account for 73% of those economically active in agriculture and produce more than 80% of the food crops. |
| Mauritania | Despite data gaps, it is estimated that women cover 45% of the needs in rural areas. |
| Morocco | Approximately 57% of the female population participates in agricultural activities, with greater involvement in animal (68%) as compared to vegetable production (46%). Studies have indicated that the proportion of agricultural work carried out by men, women, and children is 42%, 45%, and 14%, respectively. |
| Namibia | Data from the 1991 census reveal that women account for 59% of those engaged in skilled subsistence agriculture work, and that women continue to shoulder the primary responsibility for food production and preparation. |
| Sudan | In the traditional sector, women constitute 80% of the farmers. Women farmers represent approximately 49% of the farmers in the irrigated sector, and 30% of the food in the country is produced by women. |
| Tanzania | 98% of the rural women defined as economically active are engaged in agriculture and produce a substantial share of the food crops for both household consumption and export. |
| Zimbabwe | Women constitute 61% of the farmers in the communal areas and comprise at least 70% of the labor force in these areas. |

Source: FAO 1997 (p.15)

In addition to their multiple roles, women have extremely long working days. Table 2 shows that despite the longer hours women spend in agriculture-related activities, they also work more hours than men in other activities.

Table 2. Average daily hours in agriculture and nonagriculture economic activities by sex (Burkina Faso, Kenya, Nigeria, and Zambia)

| | Burkina Faso | | Kenya | | Nigeria | | Zambia | |
|-------------|--------------|------|-------|------|---------|------|--------|------|
| | M | W | M | W | M | W | M | W |
| Agriculture | 7.0 | 8.3 | 4.3 | 6.2 | 7.0 | 9.0 | 6.4 | 7.6 |
| Nonagric. | 1.7 | 6.0 | 3.8 | 6.1 | 1.5 | 5.0 | 0.8 | 4.6 |
| Total | 8.7 | 14.3 | 8.1 | 12.3 | 8.5 | 14.0 | 7.2 | 12.2 |

Source: Saito 1994

It is clear that the work load is unevenly balanced between the two sexes. Broken down into specific tasks, African rural women perform more of sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, food processing, transportation, and marketing. Sometimes women carry out other tasks earmarked for men, such as clearing the bush and tending animals or milking. Although the colonial era virtually relegated women to subsistence farming and food crops production for the households, they are still required to assist men in cash crop production. Their responsibilities have increased and their tasks multiplied over the years (Tadria 1984).

Household work, food preparation, cooking and serving food, cleaning the homestead, and caring for the young, sick, and old are mainly rural women's work. Studies in rural Uganda show that total working hours of women range between 13 and 16 hours a day, compared to men's 4-6 working hours a day (UNICEF 1996).

The situation is made worse by what has been termed the "feminization of agriculture." Women are taking up more and more agricultural tasks as the contribution of men decreases. While more and more men try to find refuge in urban areas, women's burdens become heavier. Between 1970 and 1990, the rural male population decreased by 14.9% in Malawi, compared to 5.4% for

women. The majority of smallholder farmers are female. It is also estimated that 31% of SSA's rural households are female-headed though this varies from one country to another (10% Niger, 46% Botswana, 72% Lesotho). Such households are deprived of male labor, thus increasing women's work load.

But there are other developments that make the unequal division of labor a further burden to rural women. A trend is steadily emerging where young men spend hours and hours at small rural trading centers, either conversing or consuming alcohol (personal experience in Kabale district, Uganda). Mass media reports provide evidence that women in rural areas are even paying graduated tax dues for their husbands! Some men are relinquishing their traditional family responsibilities.

The situation that was dramatized by the late Ugandan anthropologist, Okot p'Bitek in 1966 has hardly changed. The African woman is the sweeper, cook, dishwasher, cultivator, storekeeper, builder, runner of errands, cart, lorry, and donkey. Others have now added to the description—tractor, water tap, and factory (Museveni 1992). These roles are widely depicted in cartoons in different forms. But are these roles recognized? Are they taken into account when planning for rural transformation? Are they included in production computations? What can be done?

Contextualizing the rural woman in the development of SSA economies

The factual picture above shows that SSA economies are heavily dependent on the rural sector. It also shows that the rural sector is more deprived and is shrinking, in comparison with the urban sector. It has also been demonstrated that the main tasks fall on the rural woman. How does she fit in these structures? What level is she, in terms of social development indicators, in comparison to the rural man? A brief situation analysis of the rural woman clarifies this further. While factors that affect rural working women's lives are interrelated, it is possible to separate them to capture the extent of their predicament.

Economic roles and benefits

Access to tools of production

The point needs to be emphasized that women are producers without land. Though rural women in SSA contribute up to 80% of agricultural labor, they own less than 1% of the land.

Table 3 demonstrates women's limited land ownership and the almost meaningless size of women's land/farm holdings. Their access to this resource is obviously made worse by the farm sizes. Yet "land and land use provide the basis, either directly or indirectly, for all economic activity and hence are a primary focus for development" (Prodger 1998: 77).

Table 3. Women and land ownership

| Country | Women's land holdings as percentages of total agricultural holdings | Average size of holdings (hectares) | |
|----------|---|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| | | Women's | Men's |
| Benin | 11 | 0.98 | 1.75 |
| Congo | 25 | | |
| Morocco | 14 | 0.5 | 1 |
| Tanzania | 25 | 0.6 (1986/87) | 0.53 (1990/91) |
| | | 0.89 (1996/87) | 0.73 (1990/91) |
| Zimbabwe | Small-scale commercial sector 3 Large-scale commercial sector 10 | 1.86 | 2.73 |

Source: FAO, Women Agriculture and Rural Development: A synthesis report of the African Region 1995.

Examples from Uganda show that women are deprived of prime land (by husbands) which is exclusively reserved for cash crop production (such as tobacco). Women have user rights only. Different land tenure systems, whether freehold or communal, do not allow for women's easy access to land. This condition limits innovation and opportunities to improve production.

A Land Act was enacted in 1998 in Uganda. The issue of women gaining access to, and control over land seems to be unacceptable to the male folk. The President himself said that the only way women could claim ownership of land and property was to devise a formula that took into account the length of the marriage of the concerned couple! (*Monitor* newspaper 24-4-98). In this

connection, it was telling to note that the amendments to the Land Bill which were publicly approved, were not included in the final Act. Women's organizations and the Uganda Land Alliance have started a campaign to effect the omitted amendments.

Agricultural production

Although rural people depend heavily on agriculture, this sector remains backward due to lack of capital, modern implements, poor distribution networks, and market outlets. Women's efforts are constrained by inadequate tools, the hoe and *panga*, and scarcity of labor. The commercialization of food production has often had negative results for rural women because their husbands appropriate the sales of these crops (they own the land and the women's labor). Seasonality problems burden the rural farmer further. While some food crops can be exported, women get cheated through brokers and middle persons. For example, through the policy of diversification of exports in Uganda, beans, maize, and other crops are exported to regional and international markets. Rural women lack the knowledge and the means to organize themselves and export the produce directly. They, therefore, earn less than they should (Eтуру 1997). It is unlikely that significant changes will occur here in the near future.

Household food security and nutritional status of women

Appendix 2 shows that about 28 million SSA children are undernourished. Almost half of SSA children have stunted growth. Women also suffer from chronic underweight. The few nutrition programs focusing on women and children tend to be narrowly conceived, and rarely reach the intended beneficiaries (Barugahara 1996). There is lack of knowledge and assistance to anticipate unpredictable seasons and to handle natural disasters.

Women's access to credit

Rural women are constrained by lack of collateral as well as knowledge about any existing credit schemes. A 1990 study of such schemes in Kenya, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Zambia, and Zimbabwe revealed that women only took 10% of credit earmarked for smallholders, and only 1% of total credit to agriculture (FAO 1997).

In Uganda, many schemes are being run, especially by NGOs, and they supplement the traditional methods of operating informal borrowing/lending schemes (see Saito's categorization 1994: 90). Unfortunately, these efforts are still scattered and have not reached desirable levels. Even where efforts are made to extend facilities to rural women, other factors, such as intimidating procedures and inadequate information present formidable obstacles. For instance, the Rural Farmers' Scheme in Uganda had planned to target 60% women, but only 20% of them actually benefitted from the scheme (Musoke and Amajo 1989, Acigwa 1992). Kateregga's (1997) survey shows that even with more credit participants on the scene (FINCA, FOCA Uganda Women's Finance and Credit Trust, VEDCO, ACFODE, and many small locally-organized schemes), the desired target has not been achieved.

Women and employment

For historical reasons, women in SSA are still lagging behind men in paid employment. Since paid employment has always been tagged to educational levels, women have been underrepresented in the labor market because their access to formal education has been more limited than that of men. Even when they have been employed, their jobs have been stereotyped.

The situation for rural women is even worse. Apart from farming, women are engaged in petty trade, and food service. Poor infrastructure and lack of capital have also curtailed their efforts. It is important to note that policy-making-level jobs demand higher education and this invariably excludes virtually all rural women.

Access to social services

Women's access to education and functional literacy

In the SSA region, 122 million adults are illiterate. The majority of them are women. While in rural Uganda 43% of rural women are illiterate compared to 28% men, in urban areas only 21% of women are illiterate compared to 12% for men. Adult literacy programs have existed for a long time, but illiteracy is still a problem.

Within the formal sector, females do not fare as well as men. SSA has the lowest enrolment rates in the world at all levels of education (UNESCO 1996). It is only in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland that you can find higher female enrolment at primary and secondary levels. Rural centers are more deprived of quality education. Mango tree schools still exist.

In Uganda, for instance, while girls account for 53% of primary one enrolment in Kampala, the corresponding figure is 35% for the remote northern Kitgum district (Education Statistical Abstract 1997). In general, the quality of rural education is below what is offered in counterpart urban institutions. Rural schools are aptly termed Third World schools. Fewer girls continue on to secondary level and their performance is poorer. At the tertiary level, there are clearly fewer and fewer women and significantly fewer rural women (Kwesiga 1994). Issues of accessibility, achievement, attainment, and wastage are more intense in rural than in urban areas. Girls in rural areas, therefore, suffer with greater intensity. They have less educational opportunities than their urban-based sisters.

Access to health care

Indicators in Appendix 2 do not speak well for SSA. The current focus of interventions in the delivery of rural health services depends on a reliable physical infrastructure, equipment and drug supplies, adequate and well-motivated personnel, and a sound referral system. These are scarce inputs in rural areas, in comparison to the urban centers. In some parts of Uganda, rural women in labor are carried on traditional stretchers because of lack of modern transport. Rural women are also trapped in the web of traditional values which make child bearing a principal role. Child bearing begins early and continues to the end of the reproductive cycle.

In Uganda, clear urban/rural differences exist. Total fertility rate is 5.0 in urban areas and 7.2 in rural communities; teenage mothers account for 31% of the female urban population as compared to 45% in rural areas. The median age at first marriage is 18.3 for urban woman and 17.2 for the rural. Women using any family

planning method constitute 35% of the total group in urban areas and 12% in rural areas (Uganda Demographic Health Survey 1995). The issue here is that while rural women are constrained by heavy workload, their health status is at the same time wanting. The Idi Amin expression of "milking the cow without feeding it," is pertinent here.

Access to other amenities

Good housing, access to clean water, and adequate sanitation facilities are some of the key requirements of a healthy life. These are much more inadequate in rural areas. Women and children walk long distances to collect water, and many households have no proper toilets – which increases their vulnerability to illness and diseases. Even a casual observer is able to gauge this hopeless situation.

Access to strategic information

Women in rural SSA need to be well informed in order to perform their multiple roles. Basic knowledge related to health, education and training, employment, and membership of specialized clubs and associations is very important. The rural setting inhibits women's access to this vital information. Whatever is available is not a vertical two-way process. The radio has been found useful, but obstacles arise regarding timing of broadcasts, language use, and affordability of radios.

Perhaps the vital areas where women need information is through extension services. A lot of work has been carried out to assess accessibility to these services (Saito 1994). Since accessibility of extension services to women increase agricultural productivity, every effort must be made to reach the majority of rural women.

Several suggestions have been made and will be revisited as solutions are proposed. Constraints ranging from lack of adequate facilitation to extension workers and lack of understanding of women's roles and how extension workers can fit in their programs have hitherto limited the usefulness of extension services. Sometimes, the extension services content is limited and detrimental to women's advancement (e.g., the Home Economics Extension Program in rural Uganda led to higher gender

awareness, but resulted in less application of the methods advanced (Saito 1994, World Bank 1993, FAO 1997, Williams 1996, Barugahara 1996, and Nayiga 1996). The urgency is how to respond to the question why rural women farmers are rarely reached despite extensive and long-term programs by governments and, more recently, by NGOs.

Political participation

In colonial times, rural women played a vital role in the fight for independence. The Mau Mau War in Kenya is an example where women played a serious part as informers, food providers, and fighters. However, postindependence politics limited rural women's participation in politics. Formal education became an essential precondition for political participation, and this inevitably limited rural women's opportunities to influence community decision making especially in those areas that affected women. In many cases, women were used to campaign for, and entertain, male politicians. That may explain why no SSA national parliament has more than one third of women representatives.

As the democratization process improves in various SSA countries, opportunities for rural women to participate in the political process will hopefully grow. In the case of Uganda, a positive development is the introduction of the Local Committee/Council system. In this structure one position is reserved for women and all other positions are open to women to compete. Nevertheless, the rural environment still limits women from embracing this chance. For instance, the time scheduled for committee meetings tends to ignore women's roles. The educational levels required also limit rural women.

Cultural practices and expectations still present obstacles to women's political participation. Since women were never chiefs in many societies, their interest in politics is a relatively recent development. Illiteracy and poverty levels indicate that rural women can be easily manipulated and bought by corrupt politicians. As a result, they are less involved and their concerns and are not adequately articulated.

Legal and property rights and social status

Rural women's roles in SSA are clear, but traditions and customs do not accord them economic rights and benefits. Women and men are not functionally equal before the law. Customary, religious, and statutory laws are running parallel and in some cases are contradictory and conflicting. Widespread payment of bride wealth weakens the rights of women and reduces their social status. Violence against women, such as wife battering, sexual harassment, rapes and defilement, features frequently in Uganda's mass media.

Table 4 is the result of a study on new trends in inheritance systems in one part of Uganda where higher levels of education, general gender awareness, and the effect of the HIV/AIDS pandemic have opened the door for women. However, the patriarchal system of inheritance still prevails.

Justice is inaccessible to rural women. The structures in the judiciary systems, long distances, and long and complicated procedures discourage rural women from taking up causes. Addy's (1997) analysis of the Ghana situation confirms that these are common features in Africa. The work of the Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF) also confirms this trend. Other limitations to the rural woman's life outlined in this section reinforce their disadvantageous situation.

Table 4. Property inherited by women in Kashari subcounty (Mbarara, Uganda)

| Property | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------------------|-----------|------------|
| Land | 7 | 12.1 |
| House | 8 | 13.8 |
| Household items | 3 | 5.2 |
| Livestock | 6 | 10.3 |
| Shares in business | 1 | 1.7 |
| Car | 4 | 6.9 |
| Bank account | 14 | 21.1 |
| Others | 15 | 25.9 |
| Total | 58 | 100.0 |

Source: Kibaaju 1996: 64.

A current case study of the situation of rural women in Uganda summarizes these constraints in Box 1. VEDCO is a grassroots-based NGO working in rural Uganda, with hands-on experience.

Box 1: A case study of rural women farmers by Volunteer Efforts for Development Concerns (VEDCO)

Women rural farmers contribute a lot to the Ugandan economy (household food, cash crops, and through their labor). However, general government policies and plans rarely focus on their needs and requirements, e.g., extension services, marketing produce, infrastructure, research, export policies, etc. If poverty eradication has to be achieved VEDCO's findings point to the following problems that should first be addressed:

The local government budget allocation to agriculture in the area of study is only 0.5% of the total national budget. Yet 60% of the people engaged in agriculture in the Nyimba subcounty are women. This means that rural women farmers cannot get adequate agriculture extension services. Because of the low budget allocation, the available government extension services are not well supplied with inputs such as transport or stationery, to enable extension workers visit farmers regularly. For example, in Nyimba, one extension worker services 2498 households. It is therefore not possible for him to reach each household. The services are provided at the Parish level, where women find it cumbersome to travel whenever they need this service. Another problem is that the local government has given priority to identified taxable crops (in this case coffee), because such crops facilitate local government plans. Therefore women at the household level who produce other crops are not a focus for the service. Similarly, the land policy does not favor women's control over land and therefore women are insecure and cannot invest in long-term, high-value projects such as coffee growing or horticulture. Yet, these are priority areas for government extension and are highly taxable. One of VEDCO's clients, Adiya Nalwanga of Kweese village, Nyimbwa subcounty, Luweero District, planted 15 passion fruit plants, 100 banana trees, and 1000 pineapples, but when her husband realised how profitable the land was he sold it secretly and she lost everything! Women are not well represented at the decision making level, especially for micro-credit transactions. This hinders women from getting access to credit facilities such as Entandikwa (seed money), or the National Poverty Eradication Plan funds.

In this connection, out of the 18 beneficiaries of Entandikwa in Nyimbwa subcounty in 1997/98, only 5 were women. Out of the US\$4,000 granted, only 25% went to women. In addition, there is no policy framework at the local level to build capacity among women, such as access to information and mobility to get credit. With regards to marketing, lack of a market information system affects women's access to information on price trends and requirements by different market outlets. There is clear lack of knowledge on tax dues among women, which leads to exploitation by local tax collectors. These taxes are not ploughed back into the system to facilitate more production for the benefit of the household, e.g., maintenance of roads, increased agricultural extension, or health services. Lastly, there is no policy at the local level to organize the women to effectively participate in tradeable crops and to market their produce directly.

In order to reach and improve the income of rural women farmers, the VEDCO study (focus group discussions, interviews, and long-term observations) yielded the following recommendations:

- *Local governments should increase budget allocation to agriculture because it is the main source of revenue at both the local and national government level. This allocation should not be less than 15% if prevailing poverty has to be tackled. In 1997/98, 60% of the total budget for Nyimbwa subcounty was from tax (both graduated and market dues). However only 0.05% was ploughed back towards production.*
- *The government should also come up with a "farmer to farmer" extension policy and their curriculum should include the integration of participatory skills and gender analysis into the agriculture extension system.*
- *The local government should allocate a budget for women's empowerment to enable them take up more responsible roles at the decision making level and to strengthen their groups for effective negotiation of available resources within and outside their area.*
- *With regards to marketing, local governments should establish a market information databank at subcounty level.*
- *A government policy framework should be developed at the subcounty level to strengthen women's organizations to effectively participate and compete in the market.*
- *Community and women's groups should be sensitized about taxation at the local level.*
- *The district development offices should provide outreach services to the community in potential tradeable crops and gross margin determination for profitable agricultural production.*

April 1998

Development approaches and the advancement of women

This section briefly deals with the attempts that have been made to implement the agenda for the advancement of women. Though those attempts vary over time and from country to country in SSA, we can learn from past experiences in order to improve our planning strategies and priorities for rural women in the twenty-first century.

The welfare approach, dating back to colonial times, was mostly promoted by voluntary bodies and churches. It basically provided relief to vulnerable groups and did not make a radical change in the lives of recipients. In the case of women, the approach tended to focus on the mothers immediate needs, but did not transform her condition (Buvunic 1983).

The manpower (human resource) approach prevailed in immediate postindependence days. Emphasis was on training cadres to replace colonial officers in the various fields. Apart from its other failures, it ignored the needs and constraints of women. Women continued to lag behind men in education and training, and in assuming decision making positions.

The equity approach emerged in the 1970s in the wake of the growing concern that the modernization process had not helped all groups, especially women (Boserup 1970). As a result, women activists began to demand an equal share of the benefits for men and women. A few significant results, such as the passing of CEDAW 1981 (The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) were realized. However, women were not effectively integrated in the development processes in SSA. The official national machineries for implementing the proposals were often not so well structured or empowered.

The antipoverty approach also a product of the 1970s, focused on the poor and how to satisfy their basic needs. By focusing on the poor, it was assumed that women would automatically be included. However, this approach was revived in the early 1990s and has gained momentum in the last four years. Regretfully, it did not tackle the redistribution of power nor has it enhanced gender equality.

The efficiency approach of the 1980s has mainly sought to make the bureaucracies more efficient to curb huge expenditures and channel the savings into education, health, and sanitation, among others. The well-known social costs of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) such as loss of family income and longer hours of work have worsened the condition of the poor, especially women. It continued to focus on the conventionally defined economy, thus excluding different actors.

The empowerment approach was initiated by women's groups and individuals in developing countries who were dissatisfied with UN prescribed strategies, especially at the end of the UN Decade for Women. Development Alternatives with Women for a

New Era (DAWN, a Third World women's association, 1988), and Longwe (Zambian Woman Activist) (1989) are the some of the major promoters. DAWN emphasizes the essential political will, while Longwe demarcated the various levels of empowerment (welfare, access, conscientization, participation, and control), as measures to enable development planners and practitioners to gauge the nature of change they make.

Lastly, the **human development approach** initiated by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in the late 1980s, focuses on development with a "human face." UNDP has carried this process forward through its annual Human Development Report since 1990.⁵ This people-centered approach has also helped to assess women's advancement using different indices, including assessment of the gender gap.

To date, there is no significant change in the lives of African women and, in particular, in the lives of rural women. In the last two decades, a two-pronged approach to advance women has been followed.

The women in development (WID) approach. The UN and its agencies have promoted this approach. Programs and projects specifically focusing on women have been embarked upon. At the UN, a special fund was put side under the UNIFEM unit. The weaknesses of this approach have included the isolation and further marginalization of women through underfunding.

The gender and development approach (GAD). With time, the weaknesses in the WID approach required reexamination. As a result, GAD, whose aim was to resolve the shortcomings of the WID approach, was adopted. The thrust of GAD was to integrate women's issues in a wider development agenda that embraced both men and women. The concept of mainstreaming gender has found root here. GAD highlights the need to address both concerns of men and women, their different needs and status. Thus, all gender issues should be taken through the stages of development plan design, programming, and implementation. GAD seems to offer more room for women. If carefully applied,

GAD also provides space for attention to gender-specific issues, if and where necessary.

With all these promising developments, why has the situation of women not changed? Longwe (1989) proposes that the missing link has been a lack of gender awareness, "the ability to recognize women's issues at every stage of the development project cycle" (Oxfam 1994)—hence the need to apply the framework of women's empowerment described earlier. What will cause radical change? Moser (1993) suggests that development must clearly distinguish between everyday needs and long-term ones that can transform the status quo. She classifies these into practical needs and strategic interests.⁶

Obstacles to recognizing and promoting the rural woman farmer

The 1990s have been years of hope in general. New approaches to rural development have been devised. Among these has been the recognition that farmers possess skills and knowledge that can be reinforced by interventions through participatory methods such as rapid appraisal (RA) and/or participatory learning appraisal (PLA). The liberalization and diversification of agricultural production, the improvement of the infrastructure and extension of social services to rural areas, and decentralization are some of the interventions aimed at improving performance and recognizing the centrality of the rural sector SSA economies. The work of rural analysts such as Chambers (1983) have helped to pinpoint areas of the highest deprivation.

The 1990s have also been positive years in that gender has been legitimized as a concept at national and international levels. The Beijing Conference on Women (1995) and the Platform for Action for the Advancement of Women have provided useful guidelines for states. But the status of women, and in particular that of rural women, has not registered concrete changes. Uganda's case study (Box 2) illustrates this slow change.

Box 2: Advances in gender equity: Uganda's case

Within the SSA region, Uganda is acclaimed for its efforts to address the gender gap. The vice-president is a woman. Affirmative action, mainly in the political arena, has brought about change. Women's voices are loud in parliament for the first time and the contribution of women MPs is quite visible. In local government, at least 1/3 of the local councils have been reserved for women. At university level, eligible women applicants get an additional 1.5 points bonus for admission purposes, and this has raised female members from 20% to a consistent one third. Political appointments routinely include at least a woman. There is an established machinery (Ministry of Gender and Community Development) to deal with gender policies. A National Gender Policy has been published (1997).

The question remains, however: Why is it that women's status, in the eyes of society has not changed drastically? Why is the contribution of women not yet commensurate with their benefits? Why is their control over the development process still limited? Why is there no specific policy to bridge the gap between rural and urban development despite the knowledge that rural women hold Uganda together? A fundamental change is yet to be made.

The 1998 Land Bill which had some proposals to open up inheritance rights to women was seriously opposed at different consultative fora. Similarly, proposed amendments contained in the Domestic Relations Bill nearly caused riots in 1998 because of a suggestion to limit polygamy to two wives only, with specified conditions before taking on the second. Most of the policies to effect gender balance are state initiated, but policy-makers can also demonstrate the change at individual level, through their attitude to proposals. Political will sometimes wavers.

What is the missing link? The following are some of the clues.

- i. The widest gap is the fact that while rural women are undoubtedly the vanguard of SSA economies, this is not officially recognized or valued. This is clear through analyses of national budgets, as well as agricultural and other policies to improve the performance of SSA economies. For example, despite the apparent high gender awareness levels in Uganda, rural women do not feature in important documents such as *Background to the Budget* (1997). The Ministry of Agriculture executes gender- and women- specific projects (Heifer, Home Economics, Extension Services), but these are not evaluated within the context of important national exercises such as budgets. The Poverty Eradication Action

Plan (1997–2007) does not seriously discuss gender issues, especially how men's and women's needs and experiences can be tapped to push the plan. There is a stated government commitment to give land rights to women, widows, and orphans, but actual official support for this did not reflect this commitment during the Land Bill debates. Top policy makers, including the President, have already expressed doubts about its applicability.

- ii. The compartmentalization of structures and policies does not highlight the role of rural women, nor does it accord them the services they require. Examples of this include the fact that:
 - a. The administrative units which cater for rural communities (districts and subcounties in Uganda) work separately on their own programs—community development, health, education, road improvement, housing, or trade. The technocrats (District Team) run individual specific programs instead of combining efforts for impact and cost-effectiveness, and
 - b. Different NGOs conduct projects targeting the same group but from separate angles, and therefore a group is bombarded with unrelated activities.
- iii. The collection of relevant gender disaggregated data which will provide a valid basis for interventions. The Seven Roles Framework for Data Collection and Analysis (Oppong 1985 and 1996) is an example of a good tool which takes into account the specific roles and needs of men and women, and is relevant to the SSA situation. Other participatory methods can also be applied to collect relevant data. These methodologies should bring out the differences among rural communities, men, and women, since their socioeconomic status vary, and relevant solutions can be identified more easily. However, lack of gender disaggregated data is still a hinderance to proper planning.

- iv. Research programs and projects have not targeted rural women, the producers in SSA economies. At one level research is focused on improved productivity – in crop or animal production. But it is only recently that researchers are beginning to focus on the end-user (Johnson 1996)(in this case rural women). Another aspect of research that would improve the rural woman's work is appropriate technology. Appendix 4 identifies the needs in three areas of farm, home, and income-generating activities. The third issue is how to ensure that rural women are partners in the research process. They possess knowledge that the researcher can utilize effectively (sustaining the environment, disease control, storage of produce, etc.). Extension workers are not always regarded as researchers and yet they are constantly required to solve rural development problems. They need to be part of the continuous investigation process, and to provide researchers with on-spot practical data – such as consumers' tastes of new varieties of crops, acceptability by communities, social biases, and other normally hidden factors.

- v. Interventions are usually planned at macro level but implemented within the micro environment. National plans, NGO projects, and agricultural researches are virtually made at macro level. However, rural-based activities are carried out at the micro level. We have already demonstrated that SSA economics depend on and consequently need to promote the smallholder farmer. Research needs, packaged information, and other interventions have, therefore, to relate to the smallholder farmer. Improved technologies have to consider the needs and aspirations of the smallholder farmer rather than the progressing farmer of the 1960s, who was predominantly male. If this is taken into account, the quality of rural life will gradually improve. Improved rural life will in turn spill over to urban and national economies. Micro enterprises, cottage industries, and sustainable agriculture practised within a typical small rural farm will alter lives as the case study of Paskazia Zalibugire in Uganda (See Box 3) clearly illustrates.

Box 3: Going out of poverty: The case of Paskazia Zalibugire, Kabale district: Uganda

Paskazia Zalibugire is a 51-year-old rural woman farmer of Maruhita village, Muyumbu parish, Kyanamira subcounty of Kabale district. She is married to Peter, a retired primary school teacher. She has 8 children aged between 6 and 27. The ninth died in infancy. She completed junior secondary education and got married at the age of 20. She has always been stationed at the village farm, even during the years that her husband moved around the district in active teaching service.

Life became more difficult when her husband retired 10 years ago. His pension could not meet the education needs of their children. Paskazia had keenly observed the changing life of a progressive woman farmer in a neighboring parish. She attended various clubs and joined local women's associations where she was introduced to new ideas in organic farming. She tried to improve her family income, but lacked capital, despite the proceeds from a lending informal group she belonged to.

Four years ago her fortunes changed when the Africa 2000 Project identified her as one of the women farmers they wanted to train. She has been trained in making different types manure, in halting soil erosion within her farm holding, which consists of scattered plots amounting to 6 acres. She has been helped to tend her crops well and to grow all the nutritionally required vegetables. She grows useful herbs and shrubs for fodder and medicine as well as fuelwood. She has one lactating heifer provided by the project. She fondly names the cow Kashemeire (the fine one) and keeps rabbits and wide-range poultry. She produces all her manure on the farm. She has constructed a special cooking stove which saves fuelwood.

Asked what she sees as change in her life, Pasikazia quickly wonders how she would have managed to educate all her children. Two have completed tertiary education and are working. School fees for the remaining six children are derived from her farm. She has arranged with a boarding secondary school 10 kilometers away to charge fees in kind, for three children. Each term, the school values her fields of sweetpotatoes to provide part of the school meal, and she does not pay cash. She is able to provide a balanced diet to the family. She employs a helper to tend the cow, while she, her husband, and the children who stay at home perform other duties.

If it were not for the burden of a big family (which she warns younger mothers against), she would have built herself a better house. She feels over-worked, but since she sees good results, she is encouraged to continue. Her status with the community has been raised; she is called upon to join civic and religious bodies in her community. She is also grateful that her parents were able to send her to school because her literacy level enables her to embrace extension sources easily.

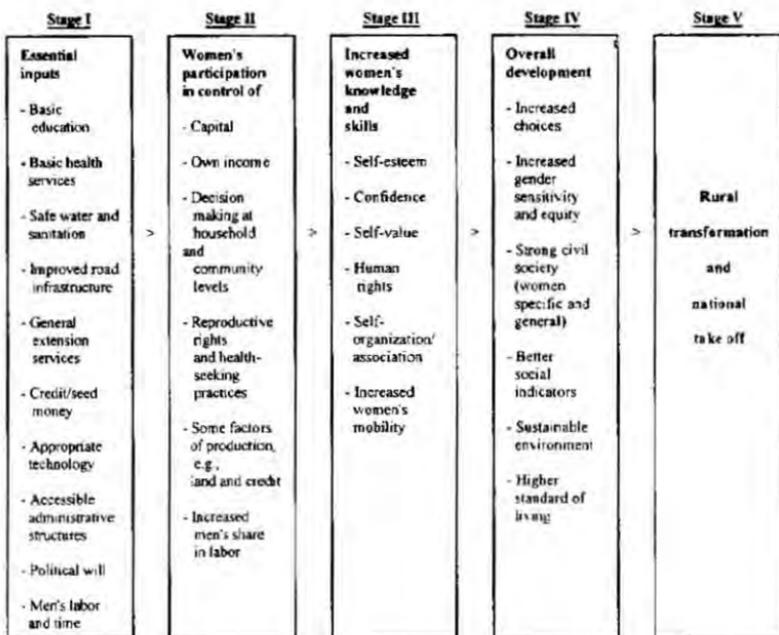
Unfortunately, only a handful of households have had a chance to put into practice these farming methods and to acquire a cow and receive professional guidance. She now encourages her neighbors to come over and learn from her.

- (vi) The lack of a strong, clear ideological rural-based women's movement is a hinderance to sustainable rural development. SSA countries have national machineries aimed at uniting and coordinating female activists' work. These structures, which are usually umbrella bodies with branches in rural areas, have various limitations. They are voluntary associations limited by funds and managerial know-how and cannot fully mobilize all rural women. Programs and strategies originate from headquarters rather than from the rural area. It is true community-based organizations (CBOs) exist and have achieved a lot in providing nonformal education and income. However, these efforts are locally based and fragmented and cannot cover one meaningful administrative unit, nor can the CBOs act as strong civil society units to demand change. Short of a rural-based revolutionary social movement involving the majority of SSA women, the rural woman's life is unlikely to be transformed. It has to be recognized that educated urban women's groups and associations have assisted rural women. For example, in Uganda, the Women Lawyers' Association (FIDA-U) provides free legal aid to rural women, but it cannot reach all those who need legal services. How can self-organization by rural women result into an effective pressure group? Perhaps we can learn from the widely publicized Nigerian Rural Women's Association though information regarding its operation is still inadequate. With these few examples in mind, we can now visualize the solution.

A framework for empowering the rural woman for purposes of collective national development in sub-Saharan Africa

The foregoing discussion has emphasized the important role played by rural women. It has depicted the web they need to break through. The women communities and the state need to get involved in this process.

Stage one requires a commitment to providing the minimum basic education. The benefits of educating women are now well documented.



Framework for empowering the rural woman

The possession of basic education multiplies other inputs – health, sanitation, extension services, utilization of available markets, new technologies, and efficient use of credit. Civic and political leaders need to be reminded of the need for change in order to value and support women's initiatives. Women will continue to provide labor time, but require more input from men.

By stage two, women have gained control over important resources including their own bodies. They are able to contribute to decisions and regulate their time and labor. There is room for them to make decisions that affect them, their families, and communities.

At stage three, women have gained strategic information, knowledge, and skills. They now know who they are and can effectively organize themselves to get rid of negative forces. They have the confidence to forge ahead.

Stage four produces the many choices that human development yields, leading to the last stage of rural transformation and take off.

At different stages, the tools to investigate, monitor, and evaluate will be utilized to keep the momentum going. Since any revolution must be spearheaded by those affected most, women's education is crucial throughout the proposed process. Another requirement throughout the same process is the political commitment of the government, the community, and the family.

The central requirement is that the condition of the rural woman must be addressed in a holistic manner. For instance, education without access to health services, extension services, or seed money cannot increase income. Awareness of the disadvantages within one's environment, as well as mobility, enhance the change. The basic requirements are interrelated and impact on one another. The few role models who have transformed their households have done so in collaboration with their spouses. These role models have shown that rural life can be transformed, starting from the household rather than the national level.

Conclusion

SSA economies are still backward. In many ways, SSA social indicators are worse than those of other developing regions. Agriculture, which plays a dominant role in the sustenance of SSA populations, mainly depends on small rural holdings. Women provide most of the required labor. At the same time, they are overburdened by other work – reproduction and care. The support social services are inadequate. Their lives are further constrained by tradition and customary practices which limit access and control over important resources.

To get out of this entanglement, rural women's work must be recognized, appreciated, and valued by giving them access to the required inputs. Empowering rural women is a long and protracted process that requires commitment and redistribution of national resources in order to cause change. One vital ingredient is consciousness raising so that part of this strategy can be initiated and implemented by the women themselves. The evidence in the field provides hope. Commitment will provide the fuel to transform Africa once the identified logistics are put in place.

Notes

1. A constant attack is made against elite women. They only promote themselves and have made no in roads in raising the status of their sisters in rural areas.
2. Mazrui: guest article. *Finance and Development* 1992. In many traditional African cultures, there is a belief that God made woman the custodian of fire, water, and earth. God himself took charge of the fourth element of the universe - the omnipresent air (Mazrui: guest article. *Finance and Development* 1992). Mazrui goes on to explain this "triple custody." Fire means provision of energy and therefore African women have had to collect firewood under whatever circumstances. Water is a symbol of survival and cleanliness, and the African woman has had to traverse distances in search of this resource. Earth relates to dual fertility – ensuring survival of humanity through cultivation and preservation of fertile soils. As long as things went on smoothly there

appeared no need to reflect on this study. Men went on with their roles of running society and organizing economies. Attention turned to women when African economies started to go wrong, and environmental degradation intensified. Now women's role in sustaining this environment has to be reinforced.

3. The Seven Roles Framework breaks down roles into parental, occupational, conjugal, domestic, kin, community, and individual roles played by men and women. Each role has associated material, political, and social status attributes, and has associated behaviors and expectations. The framework helps to collect relevant data and provide relevant solutions in accordance with gender-specific roles.
4. Local councils/committees are sociopolitical institutions. Every community is organized into a council along the lines of local government, ascending the hierarchy through village, parish, subcounty, county, and district levels. These are usually designated LC I, LC II, LC III, LC IV, and LC V, respectively. At the village level, members elect an executive committee comprising of chair, vice-chair, secretary of the committee, and secretaries for information, security, mass mobilization, youth, and secretary for women (9 positions). Up to 1995, these were known as resistance councils, having been devised by NRA/NRM during the guerilla war period.
5. The Human Development Index (HDI) measures the average achievement of a country in basic human capabilities. Do a country's people live a long, healthy life? Are they educated and knowledgeable? What is their standard of living and how are national resources distributed? The Gender-related Development Index (GDI) measures what has been achieved by the HDI but takes note of the inequality between men and women. There is a penalty so that however well a country performs in the HDI if there is a big gap between men and women, the score goes down. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) examines whether women and men are able to actually participate in economic and political life and take

part in decision making. GDI focuses on the expansion of capabilities-widening choices, but GEM is concerned with the use of those capabilities to take advantage of the opportunities of life (UNDP 1995).

6. Practical needs relate to performing functions in relation to accepted patterns of division of labor. For women, these relate to their productive roles and community management roles – cooking and firewood gathering. These are short-term, unique to particular women, and relate to daily survival needs such as food, housing, and income. These can be addressed by provision of certain inputs – wells, clinics, better designed kitchens, etc.

Strategic needs interests challenge the status quo – the roles that need to change in favor of women – for equity purposes. The assumption here is that women are subordinate to men and this leads to discrimination in several ways. Strategic interests relatively cut across all women but in different degrees. Strategic interests help to make women become agents in self-empowerment so that oppressive gender relationships can be transformed. Strategic gender interests, when achieved, more often also mean that practical needs are fulfilled. If, for instance, the restrictions on property ownership are removed and women attained easier access to credit and became as mobile as men, their level of income would help to eliminate many of the practical needs – labor saving devices, choice in selecting type of business, higher attainment in education, and others.

Moser's (1993) approach clearly brings out the triple role of women; producers of goods and services, reproducers of life and its maintenance, and community workers.

7. One of the current complaints by rural communities in Uganda is the frequent visits from various ministries and NGOs from the headquarters. Rural officials and civic leaders express exhaustion brought about by many workshops and meeting visitors with missions to promote rural health, water

and sanitation, agricultural extension, education, income generation, and others.

8. A female researcher at one of Uganda's research stations has for some time worked on improvement of indigenous green vegetables. She has tried to disseminate her findings and educate women about the high nutritional values of these vegetables in relation to imported varieties. She has found this impossible since the programs at the station do not utilize direct methods of disseminating findings to such users. When will rural women be mobile enough to make fact-finding missions to research stations?

Appendix 1. Trends in income poverty in developing countries (poverty line at US\$1 a day per person, 1985)

| Region or country group | People below the poverty level (%) | | Share of all poor people (%) | | Number of poor people (millions) |
|--|------------------------------------|------|------------------------------|------|----------------------------------|
| | 1987 | 1993 | 1987 | 1993 | 1993 |
| Arab states | 5 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 11 |
| East Asia and Southeast Asia and the Pacific | 30 | 26 | 38 | 34 | 446 |
| East Asia and Southeast Asia and the Pacific (excl. China) | 23 | 14 | 10 | 7 | 94 |
| Latin America and the Caribbean | 22 | 24 | 7 | 9 | 110 |
| South Asia | 45 | 43 | 39 | 39 | 515 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 38 | 39 | 15 | 17 | 219 |
| Developing countries | 34 | 32 | 100 | 100 | 1,301 |

Source: Human Development Report (1997: 27)

Appendix 2. Human poverty in developing countries (millions)

| Region or country group | Illiterate adults 1995 | People lacking access to health services 1990-95 | People lacking access to safe water 1990-96 | Malnourished children under 5 1990-95 | Maternal mortality rate (per 100 000 live births) 1990 | People not expected to survive to age 40 ^a 1990s |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|---|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| All developing countries | 842 | 166 ^b | 1,213 | 158 ^b | 471 | 507 |
| Least developed countries | 143 | 241 | 218 | 34 | 1,030 | 123 |
| Arab states | 59 | 29 | 54 | 5 | 380 | 26 |
| East Asia | 167 | 144 | 398 | 17 | 95 | 81 |
| Latin American and the Caribbean | 42 | 55 | 109 | 5 | 190 | 36 |
| South Asia | 407 | 264 | 230 | 82 | 554 | 184 |
| Southeast Asia and the Pacific | 38 | 69 | 162 | 20 | 447 | 52 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 122 | 205 | 249 | 28 | 971 | 124 |

a Among population aged 0-39, b Excludes Cyprus and Turkey. Source: Human Development Report (1997: 27).

Appendix 3. Achieved development goals for 2000 and beyond

| Goal | Sub-Saharan Africa | Arab States | South Asia | East Asia | Southeast Asia and the Pacific | Latin America and the Caribbean | Eastern Europe and CIS | Total |
|---|--------------------|-------------|------------|-----------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|-------|
| Life expectancy above 70 years | 1 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 23 | 13 | 53 |
| Under-five mortality rate below 70 per 1,000 live births | 4 | 13 | 2 | 4 | 10 | 31 | 23 | 87 |
| Net primary enrolment ratio of 100% | 5 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 16 | - | 28 |
| Girls' primary enrolment equal to or greater than boys ^c | 44 | 18 | 8 | 5 | 15 | 33 | 25 | 148 |

Source: UNDP Human Development report (1997: 107).

Appendix 4. Technology needs of rural women

| Activity | Priority ¹ | Comments |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Farm activities | | |
| Clear bush | High | Collective or hired labor |
| Till or ridge | Medium | Improve hoe; information on flat vs. ridge |
| Plant or transplant | Very high | Simple and manual; grains, legumes, and cassava |
| Apply fertilizer | Very high | Reduce wastage of expensive input |
| Weed | Very high | Mechanical rotary hoe; avoid dangerous herbicides |
| Harvest | Very high | Legumes in particular |
| Home activities | | |
| Fetch firewood | Low | Use kerosene |
| Cook | High | |
| Wash clothes and dishes | Medium | |
| Childcare | High | Playpen, and so forth, to reduce carrying on back |
| Thresh | High | |
| Dehusk | Medium | To enhance preparation of dishes |
| Sort, sieve, or clean farm produce | Medium | Put cleaning unit into thresher |
| Income-generating activities | | |
| Weaving | Medium | Training needed |
| Dyeing | Medium | Training; use of local herbs |
| Knitting or crocheting | Medium | Training |
| Sewing and mending | High | Training |
| Drying farm produce | High | |
| Grinding or milling | High | Family sized equipment needed |
| Oil extraction | Very high | Simple inexpensive machine |
| Storage | High | Cassava and yams |
| | Very high | Vegetables |
| Packaging | High | Using local materials |
| Trading or hawking | High | Suitable containers |
| Transporting | Very high | Improve carrying capacity of bicycles and motorcycles |

Source: Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Water Resources and Rural Development, Government of Nigeria, 1987.

1. Priority as accorded by rural women surveyed.

References and reading list

- Acigwa, C. 1992. An evaluation of the rural farmers' scheme. The Uganda Commercial Bank, Kampala, Uganda
- Africa Development Bank. 1990. Policy paper on women in development, Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire.

- Badiane O. and C.L. Delgado (eds.). 1995. A 2020 vision for food agriculture, the environment in Sub-Saharan Africa, National Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, D.C., USA.
- Barugahara, Daisy M. 1996. An assessment of the agricultural home economics programme: A case study of Mpigi District. A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Arts (Women Studies), Makerere University, October 1996.
- Boserup, Esther. 1970. Women's role in economic development. St. Martin's Press, New York, USA.
- Bryceson, F.D. and J. Howe. 1996. An agrarian continent in transition". In Africa Now, edited by S. Ellis. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Hague, The Netherlands, and James Currey Ltd.
- Buvinic, Mayra. 1983. Women's Issues in Third World poverty: A policy analysis, Pages 14-32 in Women and poverty in the Third World. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, USA.
- Chambers, R. 1983. Rural development: Putting the last first. Longman, New York, USA.
- Chole, Eshetu. 1997. Prospects for economic recovery in Africa. In Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review XIII (No. 1) OSSREA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Eturu, L.E. 1997. Assessment of ACC/IDEA projects impacts on the promotion of beans in Kasese, Kibaale and Iganga districts, Uganda, An evaluation report.
- FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) 1997. Rural women and food security: Current situation and perspectives, FAO, Rome, Italy.
- Gakwaya, H. 1996. Gender aspects of accessibility and utilisation of fuel efficient stoves: A case study of Kasangati Sub-District, Uganda. A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts (Women Studies), Makerere University, October 1996.
- Geertje, Lycklama and A. Nihehold. 1992. Women and the meaning of development: Approaches and consequences. Unpublished paper, Institute for Development Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands.

- Goetz, A.M. 1995. The politics of integrating gender to state development process. Occasional Paper No. 2. United Nations Research Institute on Social Development, Geneva, Switzerland.
- IFPRI (International Food Policy Research Institute). 1995 Report.
- Kibaju, N. 1996. Emerging inheritance patterns of women: The case of Kashari County, Mbarara District, Uganda. Master of Arts in Women Studies dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala
- Korang-Amoakoah. 1996. Agricultural extension and constraints to women's productivity. Paper presented at the workshop on women, agricultural intensification and household food security, Sasakwa Centre, University of Cape Coast, Ghana, 25-28 Jun 1996.
- Kwesiga J.C. 1994. A strategy paper for the advancement of rural women in Uganda. Desk research commissioned by UNDP, Kampala, Uganda.
- Longwe, S. 1989. A framework for the empowerment of women in the Third World in Wallace T. and March C. (eds) 1991. *Changing Perceptions: Writings on Gender and Development*. Oxfam, Oxford, UK.
- Mazrui, Ali A. 1992. The economic women in Africa: An African commentary from a sociological perspective. Guest article in *Finance and Development*. A quarterly publication of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, Jun 1992.
- Mgonja, M.A., C.A. Kuwite, C.L. Mushi, Z.O. Mduruma, and Mmbaga. 1996. Agricultural research issues as related to gender: Gender-sensitive technology dissemination. Paper presented at the Workshop on Women, agricultural intensification and household food security. Sasakwa Centre, University of Cape Coast, Ghana, 25-28 Jun 1996.
- Ministry of Planning and Economic Development. 1997. *Poverty Eradication Action Plan, Vol.1*.
- Ministry of Gender and Community Development. 1997. *The National Gender Policy, Kampala, Uganda*.
- Ministry of Planning and Economic Development. 1997/98. *Background to the Budget*.

- Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries. 1990. Action Plan for Agricultural Policy Agenda, Entebbe, Uganda.
- Moser, C.O.N. 1993. Gender planning development. Routledge, London, UK.
- Museveni, Y.K. 1992. What is Africa's problem? NRM Kampala, Uganda, NRM Publications.
- Musoke, M.G. and M. Amajo. 1989. Women's participation in the existing credit schemes in Uganda. A research report to UNIFEM, New York, and Ministry of Women in Development, Kampala, Uganda.
- Nayiga-Kaweesa, Maria M. 1996. A gender-sensitive analysis of the factors determining the utilisation of available agricultural extension services: A case study of Mpigi district. Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts (Women Studies), Makerere University, October 1996.
- Ndlovu, L., 1995. "Constraints to manufacturing production. In Africa Now, edited by S. Ellis. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hague, The Netherlands, and James Currey Ltd.
- Oppong, C. and C. Abu. 1985. A handbook of data collection and analysis on the seven roles and status of women. ILO, Geneva, Switzerland.
- Oppong, C. 1996. Multiple roles of rural African women: Some implications for agricultural production, family nutrition and survival, and women's well-being. Paper presented at the workshop on Women, agricultural intensification and household food security, Sasakwa Centre, University of Cape Coast, Ghana, 25-28 Jun 1996.
- Oxfam. 1995. Poverty. A package report launched in 1995 by Oxfam, to lobby for the cancellation of external debts of poor countries.
- Prodder, D. 1998. The land tenure system—a key factor. In The Courier, ACP-EU, Brussels.
- Razavi, S. and C. Miller. 1995. From WID to GAD: Conceptual shifts in the women and development discourse. UN Research Institute on Social Development. Geneva, Switzerland.
- Saito, K.A. 1994. Raising the productivity of women farmers in sub-Saharan Africa. World Bank Discussion Papers. Washington, D.C. Africa Technical Department Series No. 230.

- Sen, Gita and Caren Grown. 1987. *Development crisis and alternative visions: Third World women's perspectives*, Monthly Review Press. New York, USA.
- Tadria, K.M. 1985. *Changing economic and gender patterns among the peasants of Ndeje and Ssguku in Uganda*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, USA.
- Uganda Debt Network. 1998. *Special documentation to coincide with the visit of President Clinton of USA, Kampala, 24 Mar 1998*.
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). 1997. *United Nations Development Program. Human Development Report. United Nations, New York, USA*.
- UNDP (U) 1997. *United Nations Development Programme. Human Development Report: Uganda Country Report*.
- UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund). 1996. *Equity and vulnerability: A situation analysis of women, adolescents and children in Uganda. Kampala, Uganda*.
- Watkins. K. 1995. *The Oxfam Poverty Report*, Oxfam, U.K.
- World Bank 1993. *A strategy to develop agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa and a focus for the World Bank. Agricultural and Rural Development Series No. 2, Washington, D.C., USA*.
- Yambi, O. 1996. *Linking women, household food security, and nutrition: A conceptual approach*, Paper presented at the workshop on Women, agricultural intensification and household food security, Sasakwa Centre, University of Cape Coast, Ghana, 25-28 Jun 1996.

IITA

The International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) was founded in 1967 as an international agricultural research institute with a mandate for major food crops, and with ecological and regional responsibilities to develop sustainable production systems in tropical Africa. It became the first African link in the worldwide network of agricultural research centers supported by the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), formed in 1971.

IITA is governed by an international board of trustees and is staffed by approximately 80 scientists and other professionals from over 30 countries, and approximately 1,300 support staff. A large proportion of the staff are located at the Ibadan campus, while others are at stations in other parts of Nigeria, and in Benin, Cameroon, and Uganda. Others are located at work sites in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Funding for IITA comes from the CGIAR and bilaterally from national and private donor agencies.

IITA conducts research, training, and germplasm and information exchange activities in partnership with regional bodies and national programs in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa. The research agenda addresses crop improvement, plant health, and resource and crop management within a farming systems framework. Research focuses on smallholder cropping systems in the humid and subhumid tropics of Africa and on the following major food crops: cassava, maize, plantain and banana, yam, cowpea, and soybean.

The goal of IITA's research and training mission is to "improve the nutritional status and well-being of low-income people of the humid and subhumid tropics of sub-Saharan Africa."

Global links. Cosponsored by the World Bank, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the CGIAR is an informal association of over 40 governments and about 15 international organizations and private foundations. The CGIAR provides the main financial support for IITA and 15 other international centers aro

**International Institute of
Tropical Agriculture**

Oyo Road, Ibadan, Nigeria
Telephone: (234-2) 241-2626
Facsimile: (234-2) 241-2221
E-mail: iita@cgiar.org

International Postal Address:
c/o L.W. Lambourn & Co., Carolyn House
26 Dingwall Road, Croydon CR9 3EE
England