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To generate and disseminate knowledge by conducting basic and applied research of social, economic and political significance to Uganda in particular and Africa in general, so as to influence policy, raise consciousness and improve quality of life.

**A Dialogue on Gender Dimensions of
Agricultural Policy in Uganda**

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A Dialogue on Gender Dimensions of Agricultural Policy in Uganda

1. Welcoming Remarks - Ms. Josephine Ahikire

Ms. Josephine Ahikire, representing the Executive Director, Centre for Basic Research (CBR), welcomed the participants to the workshop. She observed that when the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) first approached Centre for Basic Research to participate in the current project, we readily accepted because the visibility of gender issues in macro-economic policies has for long been an important concern at the Centre. As an institution established to conduct research on social issues of fundamental significance, the Centre was only too glad to seize the opportunity to bring together in a common endeavour individuals from various sectors of Ugandan society to address the all important question of how gender issues in agriculture are relevant for economic policy, and how policy can be influenced. She also stated that the expected outcome of the workshop was to outline a research agenda and a corresponding work plan to study some of the key questions that will have been identified by the participants. After reviewing the programme for the workshop, she called on the External Consultant, Dr. Matthew Lockwood, to give a detailed background to the project.

1.1 External Consultant - Dr Matthew Lockwood

Dr. Matthew Lockwood gave the background to the UNRISD project: "Technical Co-operation and Women's Lives: Integrating Gender into Development Policy" and explained briefly that the main aim of the workshop was to initiate a process of debate and consultation in five countries: Bangladesh, Jamaica, Morocco, Vietnam and Uganda. For the beginning, the main task was to identifying key questions and ensuring policy dialogue within the broad context of Women-in-Development. In UNRISD's view, despite prior efforts, women had not yet made a breakthrough. This was partly why it had adopted a household analysis emphasising relations of opportunity and constraint, as opposed to the macro analysis which had been gender-blind and had tended to ignore women's non-remunerated work. He also explained that the choice of agriculture was based on the understanding that it was the leading economic sector, and that it was a sector which was dominated by women. Other important and related aims were to share the existing knowledge on gender in order to map out those areas on which more research needed to be done to complement the existing knowledge.

1.2 Keynote Address - Prof. Opio Odongo

Professor Opio Odongo who represented the UNDP Resident Representative, Professor Thomas Babatunde, emphasised that United Nations Development Programme

(UNDP) was focusing on poverty eradication in the global development process. He reiterated that poverty was an overwhelmingly rural phenomenon and mainly affected the agricultural sector which was basically a women domain. The Women-in-Development (WID) programme was established in 1987 with the intention of promoting the participation of women in the development process. With the realisation that the impact of this programme was not far-reaching, it was transformed into Gender and Development (GAD) to ensure the fullest participation of both men and women. With this change, the focus shifted from mere physical needs to strategic needs of women which included access to political power, elimination of domestic violence, economic security and ensuring social equity which needed to be reflected at the level of policy. He concluded by appreciating CBR's role in organising such a timely policy dialogue as well as UNRISD's financial support for the endeavour.

1.3 Opening Remarks - Dr. C. H . Gashumba

Dr. Gashumba, representing the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, stated that he had deep interest in the forum both as a member of the Agriculture Policy Committee who also serves on the Agricultural Secretariat of the Bank of Uganda. He appreciated the gender and agricultural policy dialogue, and pointed out that since women were the backbone of agriculture in Uganda, gender issues had become inevitable in policy analyses of this kind. He pointed out that 61 per cent of Ugandans were poor, and among these 21 per cent constituted the poorest of the poor. The majority of these were rural-based. He revealed that average rural per capita expenditure in Uganda was equivalent to only US \$ 10, compared to US \$ 218 in urban areas. He pointed out that 60 per cent in rural areas were poor compared to 30 per cent in urban areas, and 92 per cent of the poor people were in rural areas and only 8 per cent were urban-based. Therefore, gender parities, he reiterated, were very central in the desegregation of poverty in the country. Since poverty was predominantly rural and associated with subsistence agriculture, he argued, it was imperative that poverty reduction strategies focused on incomes in the rural areas by way of promoting income-generating activities for rural households.

He informed participants that government's Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) under the structural adjustment and liberalisation policies in vogue had focused on creating an enabling atmosphere for investment which he said had resulted in the developments enumerated below.

The first key development, he said, was economic growth of 5 per cent per annum. He, however, pointed out that although this was a very high growth rate by itself, it did not guarantee poverty reduction as earlier shown. What was lacking so far was to spread the effect or composition of this growth especially, by making resources accessible to the marginalised, among them the women. There was need in this regard to increase agricultural productivity and encourage rural income generating activities. There was also need to promote high-value cash crops as opposed to subsistence ones. In other words, he argued, both farm and off-farm activities needed to be encouraged as a way of creating

demand and supply linkages for farm implements and produce. He pointed out that government had three priority areas in this regard:

- i) To promote economic growth and reduce poverty
- ii) Sustain macro-economic policy, and,
- iii) Increase productivity of public as well as private sectors.

Making specific reference to agriculture, he said government intended to focus on the following priorities:

- i) Increasing production and adding value
- ii) Encouraging off-farm activities
- iii) Infrastructure and capacity enhancement in education, health, water, electricity, finance, road networks, entrepreneurship and marketing.

Government planned to achieve these priorities through several strategies.

The first strategy was establishing an effective Rural Credit Delivery system by creating effective rural financial intermediaries. He pointed out that the Agricultural Secretariat had already designed a credit transfer structure which was made up of ginneries, women's groups, and co-operative societies. And in appreciation of their inherent weaknesses, government was already in the process of supporting capacity building in them to equip them adequately for this responsibility.

The second strategy was market development. The main focus of this strategy was to ensure that the biggest percentage of income from agriculture went to the farmers. This would be attained by closing the disparity between the farmer and consumer by reducing the role of middlemen.

Thirdly, government, with the aid of the World Bank, had initiated a study on the legal constraints to empowering women, particularly with regard to access of rural women to land and assets. This, he said, arose from the appreciation of the following problems women faced:

- poor access to land and property rights
- poor access to education and skills
- poor access to nutritive food owing to food insecurity problems
- poor access to primary health care services
- poor access to credit to develop income-generating activities
- poor access to improved markets.

He said on the basis of these bottlenecks which women faced, government had identified the following areas to be addressed:

1. Improving value added in agriculture
2. Encouraging off-farm activities and employment

3. Access to rural credit enhancement
4. Developing rural agro-processing.

Participants appreciated the fact that government was addressing gender policy-related aspects of agriculture especially, the move to get more women into extension service. However, there was scepticism over whether this was enough. On marketing and women's NGOs, it was argued that this might not pay dividends as women's organisations tended to be mainly informal and remained excluded by the formal planning machinery.

On statistics, questions were raised as to whether they informed policy in real life or they were collected for the sake of it? While collecting statistics on women's work was a good beginning, their neglect in the final analysis demonstrated the paucity of gender consciousness at the macro level. It was pointed out that, in general, labour statistics were very poorly quantified and did not adequately reflect women's work. This issue, it was argued, needed serious redress. In the same vein, the habit of males jumping on any new opportunities in agriculture was raised as something which needed serious consideration. In order for policy to capture women, participants were of the view that the household should be the focus of the discourse.

2. First Presentation - Mrs. Rhoda Tumusiime

An Analysis of Women's Access to Improved Agriculture at the Macro Policy Level

Mrs. Tumusiime opened her presentation with the observation that there has been an increasing recognition of the role women play in the development process and a corresponding increasing effort towards planning with women in mind. But when it comes to evaluation of progress made so far, one confronts a multitude of inadequacies. In general, despite their enormous contribution, women have continued to be identified with the domestic sphere and men with the outside world of the modern economy - which largely accounts for the limitations of women's access to improved agriculture.

A number of issues including the gender roles and the sexual division of labour in relation to sectoral interventions, development planning and policy analysis have been identified as the main constraints. This means that women's access to improved agriculture has a lot of bearing on gender relations.

It is also widely acknowledged that from time to time, a number of positive interventions intended to help low-income women have been put in place. However, if such policies are put in a gender-planning perspective, they fall short in meeting women's needs; both practical and strategic gender ones.

First, she addressed the perspective of macro-economic strategies aimed at improved agriculture. Policies aimed at improving and modernising agriculture have been put place in many developing countries. Such strategies seek to attain rapid agricultural growth which raises different issues in each particular case. In India, for

example, a relevant question would be: how have technological changes of the Green Revolution package affected livelihoods of women and men and, among these, proletarian and semi-proletarian households? Similar questions can be raised for countries like Uganda in relation to macro policy decisions on the extension of credit, improved seeds, equity and structural adjustment policies aimed at increasing agricultural production.

Concerning agricultural extension, she observed that the main food producers in Uganda are women. Given this fact, it would appear surprising that women do not enjoy a corresponding share of extension service as their male counterparts. Although the situation may be changing, it was documented by the UNICEF study (1989) that only five per cent of women farmers in Uganda receive agricultural extension service. In addition to this, it was also noted that widespread discrimination against women in extension services and agricultural innovation continues.

There is a further dimension to this. The extension service in the form it is offered cannot meet women's needs as it is highly skewed in favour of men. Subsequently in Muslim countries, women have no access to extension service. In addition, it has been noted that consciously or unconsciously, male officers involve limited numbers of women in development projects.

Such a practice has been seen to be prevalent in most of the programmes in Zambia. The reason is that women are more often excluded at the planning stage and this makes it difficult to graft women to projects during implementation.

Tumusiime then went on to examine gender planning and the household model. She critically observed that the assumption by planners and policy designers that the household is the basic economic unit and a unit of distribution has had a lot of discrepancies and implications on gender and development planning. The limitations to gender awareness planning evolve on the household model which is based on the western notion of a nuclear family assumed to be homogenous with a male head, wife and one or two children. The neo-classical household theory which equates a household to an individual has had repercussions for gender planning. The household is normally represented by a head who is assumed to be a man and subsequently, development strategies have been targeted to the men, excluding women even in women-headed households.

To begin with, collection of census survey and other population statistics which form a basis for planning has often been biased against women. Such a practice has been propagated by the international definition of labour force activity and its interpretation at the national level has meant that certain economic activities typically performed by women are excluded from the definition of the labour force activity and from national income accounts. Based on Marx's theory of productive labour assumed to produce use values for market exchange, most of women's contribution is viewed as being unproductive and, therefore, not recorded and so, not planned for.

Besides, most surveys are designed by men and conducted by male interviewers who interview male respondents. Again the simplistic nature of survey questions concerning output which tend to divide the population into economically active and inactive groups encourages simplistic replies and fails to recognize the complexity of the

household relations and activities pertaining to each individual. As a result, in spite of the fact that population figures always show a 50 per cent female composition in majority countries, when it comes to production statistics, women are grouped with dependents (Rogers, 1980). However, with recent increasing improvement in data collection, women's contribution in subsistence agriculture is beginning to be recognized. For example, as indicated above, women contribute a much bigger percentage than men to the country's food output.

It has been quite common for agricultural development programmes to continue to assume that a farmer is the head of the family and a man except in rare circumstances where a household has no adult male among its kin. On the basis of such assumptions, extension service and farm inputs are often targeted to the head and this practice tends to exclude women farmers.

Things are not any better when one considers gender planning and the production incentive. The gender division of labour where men take control of the monetised cash sector, while women are presumed to remain in the unpaid subsistence sector has implications for gender planning. It is generally known and has been empirically proved that in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and elsewhere in LDCs, development funding has been concentrated on the cash crop sectors which do not benefit women. As Mosse (1993) observed, of all the agricultural development aid given to the Sahel, less than a fifth was given for food production while in 1982 only 0.05 per cent of the total UN allocation to the agricultural sector was to programmes for the rural women.

Furthermore, the UNICEF study on the situation of women in Uganda pointed out that women contribute a large proportion of both food and cash crops whose relative price is generally low. Gender division of labour and control of funds between the two sectors is illustrated in the table below:-

**Primary source of labour and control of income for
Agricultural Produce by sex, 1988**

	Food crop	Cash crop
Women grow crop	68%	53%
Women sell crop	30%	09%
Women decide use of funds	27%	10%
Women and husband divide use of funds	12%	07%

Source: UNICEF study on the situation of women and children in Uganda, from ACFODE, Survey on Women, Problems and Needs, 1989

The above information shows a highly skewed and advantaged position of men over women as far as production incentives are concerned. Although women provide more than 50 per cent of the labour in both food and cash crops indicated above, they are less remunerated. As Whitehead put it, men and women are faced with unequal economic incentives and opportunities which require special attention while designing programmes

for the rural poor. Planners need to recognize the interdependence which exists between family members in both productive and reproductive spheres.

Next, she highlighted the situation as regards gender planning and new agricultural technologies. First, she observed that unfortunately, programmes aimed at increasing agricultural output tend to ignore the position of women and, as a result, the situation has been disastrous.

For example, new agricultural technologies which help with ploughing, irrigation and harvesting are often aimed at cash crops. On the other hand, women have to continue using indigenous agricultural techniques which require a lot of labour input. Because women play a greater part even in cash crop production, new agricultural technologies tend to increase their burden. Tasks like ploughing - traditionally a male task - are often mechanised while other agricultural processes like weeding - a female task - are not mechanised. This has been observed in most LDCs where new farming technologies have been introduced.

To illustrate this point, she cited a particular case of the Uganda government which was convinced that mechanisation would bring about increased agricultural output. So, interest-free credit was provided for purchase of tractors (Namulondo, 1992). Consequently, large expanse of land was opened up using tractors and this is a traditionally male task. Since these tractors did not have components for planting, weeding and harvesting - traditionally female tasks - the workload for women invariably increased and became unmanageable.

Such a policy which leads to the intensification of women's work is not gender responsive. It assumes wrongly that women's time is flexible and that men can always access women's labour unquestionably. Similar instances of adverse effects on gender labour relations by agricultural development programmes have been cited in many LDCs, e.g. in the Green Revolution in India (Lipton, 1989) and in West Africa (Richards, 1985).

Worse still, as noted by Chambers (1983), pro-male and anti-female bias applies in research. Research and development are seen to have given attention to cash crops from which male heads of households benefit more than to food crops which concern women. Even where research has attempted to focus on what used to be traditionally food crops such as maize and beans in Uganda, they are often taken up by men when they gain access to the market.

Tumusiime went on to analyse gender planning and access to resources. She observed that programmes pushing for agricultural modernisation have made it even more difficult for women to have access to resources. Women tend to lose out against men in the competition for land, labour and improved agricultural resources. It is not surprising to find that in areas with the matrilineal type of culture which allows women to inherit and own land, the practice is dying out (Rogers, 1980). Land registration offices tend to discriminate against women and the process of registering land is too bureaucratic that women with their multiple roles give up in the process. For example, it was noted that in the Arusha Planning and Village Development Project, plots of land were registered under the men; and although women were free to apply in their own right, it was an open secret that women would be unfavourably considered (Overholt et al, 1985).

She emphasised that this lack of access to land has a lot of implications for women. It means that women have no access to institutional credit arrangements which often require collateral in form of land title. Without land rights, women may not be able to meet some of their strategic gender needs since land ownership is a key to capital accumulation and saving for the future. For example, in the Integrated Rural Development Programme of India, women were supposed to get 30 per cent of the credit but they ended up with 15 per cent due to lack of collateral demanded in form of a land title.

This brings us to the critical question: how can agricultural development policy and planning be made more gender-aware? The foregoing discussion has highlighted some of the limitations development interventions face in translating gender planning theory into practice. A lot of literature emphasizes the limitations of the available data which makes women's contributions in economic development invisible. The question, therefore, is: how can planners and policy makers effectively include women's needs in policy designs when the available data is highly skewed?

Tumusiime called for the need to appreciate that there is no single methodological prescription for the problem of gender-blind policy design and implementation. For the majority of agencies involved in development work, there is the will to do it but the problem is how to do it. And one way of working towards achieving gender-aware planning is to modify the conventional blue-print planning approach. Instead of integrating gender issues into the planning process, it has instead 'grafted' women on to programmes. It is common to find one paragraph tagged at the end of project appraisal documents with such phrases, 'As for women..' or, 'In conclusion, women ..' or, 'in the case of women and the disadvantaged...' etc. Gender planning must be part of a complete whole right from the inception of the project through monitoring and evaluation.

In her overall assessment, the process of mainstreaming women into development planning requires basic integrated data collected on the basis of time which will foster the methodological gender analysis and identification of gender roles. Once gender roles are identified at the household level, it becomes easier to translate them into appropriate gender needs. It is vital for the development planners to take note of strategic and practical gender needs so that efforts aimed at women accessing resources such as institutional credit, land and employment would go a long way in working towards achieving gender awareness type of planning and programme implementation. For example, the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India which started a bank and other programmes for low income women is in the right direction.

Tumusiime then proceeded to scrutinise the idea of a separate Women In Development (WID) approach. She reiterated that separate WID institutions and projects for women remain a paradox and if they have to be separate, they should be mandated and strategically positioned. For example, the WID focal point for Britain is appropriately placed in the Aid and Social Policy Group within the Economic and Social Division of the Ministry (Ostergaard, 1992) while most LDCs lump WID with culture, children and the rest of the disadvantaged groups. This is another way of stereotyping WID institutions.

In this presentation, the existing exploitation of women's labour and the denial of women by men from participating in decisions related to family incomes thus limiting women's access to greater crop incomes emerge as the greatest obstacle.

It has been observed that there are some positive responses by different agencies, governments and other institutions towards targeting women. But we have also noted the limitations of gender awareness in planning and women access to improved agriculture at macro policy level. Rural development projects continue to isolate women and to ignore their contribution at the household level. There are limitations of data collection which make women's contribution invisible as a result of labour-force definition. This could be improved upon by adopting time-use data although it has some problems of generalisation and is expensive to collect. In addition, data need not be collected from the male head of a household alone.

All this means that agricultural policies designed to target women in meeting their strategic gender needs will have to lay emphasis on access and control of resources, education, training and information; access to infrastructure, markets and transportation; and access to research and extension workers. It also requires efforts to make women's work more visible through recognition of and support for the role they play in agriculture. This will enable planners to make more appropriate agricultural policy interventions which are gender-responsive.

Above all, Tumusiime cautioned that change is a process implying that gender-aware type of planning may take a long time to take root. But we must appreciate the progress being made, e.g. in the cotton sub-sector development programme where animal traction and credit have been targeted to the women. Several agricultural programmes such as zero-grazing geared towards empowering rural communities in income, nutrition and decision-making have been directed to women deliberately.

3. Second Presentation - Ms. Gaudensia Kenyangi

Constraints to Women's Access to Agricultural Credit: The Case of Uganda Commercial Bank's Rural Farmers' Scheme

Kenyangi opened her presentation with some startling facts. Quoting The Ugandan Banker, the Journal of the Uganda Institute of Bankers, Vol.4 No.1, March 1996, she stated that by August 1995, Uganda Commercial Bank had a total loan portfolio of Shs. 284 billion. Out of this only Shs. 84.2 billion or 30 per cent was in the agricultural sector. Furthermore, out of this only Shs 20.3 billion was in agricultural production while Shs.63.9 billion was in Crop Finance. Thus, agricultural production, in which most of the rural women are engaged, received only about 7 per cent of the total credit in the commercial delivery system. This definitely presents stiff competition for the scarce resources (credit). And there is evidence on the ground that this agricultural credit benefits men and women disproportionately to the disfavour of women.

In the same journal it was noted that only about 28 per cent of its total lending had been for women for various projects; and UWFCT, whose mission is mainly to extend

credit to low income women had a total lending of Shs. 758 million (just about 0.9 per cent of the total credit in the commercial banks) as at 30 November 1995 . Just about 3,000 women had benefited from the trust.

With liberalisation of collateral requirement and adaptation of other special features, the Uganda Commercial Bank Rural Farmers Scheme (UCBRFS) hoped to target women to the tune of at least 60 per cent of its total beneficiaries. However, over the years, various studies and scheme appraisal reports have indicated that the percentage of women beneficiaries remained low - the highest ever being just over 25 per cent in the early years of the Scheme and declining thereafter to well below 20 per cent.

A more recent appraisal of one of the lines of credit (ADF) shows that out of the total line loan portfolio of Shs. 3,742,760,950, only Shs. 766,309,544 was lent to women.

She observed that it has been common to view the problems of women's access to credit on the basis of the premise that women lack collateral (land and property titles) to secure commercial loans. But there is growing evidence that even after liberalisation of collateral requirements; commercial credit delivery systems still benefit fewer women than men. This is because agricultural credit institutions do not consider only land for collateral purposes but also as the basic resource on which agricultural production takes place. Yet, although some women do own and control land - e.g. women (divorced, separated and widowed) having direct access to public land, or sharing their dead spouses' land or sometimes buying land especially as it has increasingly become commoditised - the majority of women in Uganda do not have their own land on which to locate commercial agricultural enterprises. Custom and cultural practices determine that land ownership and control in Uganda is predominantly by men.

The traditional sexual division of labour exempts men from domestic chores and assigns women the most strenuous activities in agricultural production. For example, women are required to perform labour-intensive tasks like weeding, transplanting and harvesting. Such gender-biased sexual division of labour dictates that a woman's duty schedules are heavy and tight, implying a high opportunity cost for their labour time. And yet, most credit institutions follow lengthy bureaucratic procedures that are definitely time-consuming.

In Kenyangi's view, the unequal gender relations with basic agricultural resources (land and labour) presented aversive and unique constraints to women's access to agricultural credit in ways highlighted below.

First, was access to information. This scheme largely depended on the mass media and local government machinery. The proportion of the rural population, and in particular women, reached by this information was limited as the percentage of households owning radios ranged from 13 to 36 (UNICEF, 1988). Even in these households, women could hardly spare any time from their tight work schedules to listen to radio programmes. As for public seminars, which were in any case occasional, it was mainly men who attended them and who could also get the information from their friends in social gatherings.

Second, was creditworthiness. Even after relaxing the conventional lending requirements of collateral and emphasised character and capacity, it demanded that in the

case of women their loan applications be co-signed by a spouse or male kin as surety for their access to basic resources. This reinforced male dominance and proved counterproductive in several ways. Women were used as a front for men. This gave men more power to refuse women from borrowing, either for fear of the repercussions in cases of failure to repay or just maliciously denying women a chance to progress for fear of losing control over their labour when the men needed it for their own enterprises. It also increased possibilities of interference in the economics of female-headed households by their male kin. In effect, this requirement became a sort of intangible collateral for women while men enjoyed totally free opportunities.

Third, was borrowing technicalities and processing procedures. Although the bank waived off the requirement of having an historical banking record to attract rural farmers, particularly women, it maintained a detailed bureaucratic procedure to be followed by all applicants. It involved agreements to be negotiated and documents to be signed. Since women had very low prior exposure to banks, they were disadvantaged.

There were also constraints related to credit delivery logistics. Shortage of vehicles to deliver inputs, for example, meant that borrowers had to hire their own transport for timely and total loan disbursement and consistent supervision. Borrowing costs became high for scheme beneficiaries, particularly for women whose cash holdings were low and whose opportunity cost for labour was high. Even after securing the loans, many women did not have time to manage their projects effectively and handed them over to their spouses or abandoned them outright.

Group lending presented complex challenges. Though meant to achieve a wider and smoother coverage, it required these groups to have legal status. Few women were members of formal groups. The attempt to go over this hurdle proved futile since most of the associations formed were only for the purposes of participating in the scheme and soon afterwards disintegrated due to lack of commitment from members. Women had little time to devote to the various aspects of group dynamics because of the existing division of labour. Also, the comparative advantage of primary over secondary export crops in terms of market size, availability and organisation, coupled with the fact that men and women groups tended to concentrate more in the primary and secondary crop sectors respectively, not to mention that men dominated the mixed groups, all made group participation more favourable to men than women.

The general conclusion reached is that the UCB Rural Farmers' Scheme failed to meet its target in extending credit to rural women farmers because the adoptions it made for their priority service were not enough to challenge rural gender relations that determine women's specific problems with credit systems. There was a mismatch between the existing household resource and power relations and the scheme's design and implementation. In some instances, the special features adopted by the scheme reinforced the same gender and class relations that are responsible for women's specific resource constraints; which explains why fewer proportions of women than men approached and benefited from the scheme.

However, there is no single factor that can explain this mismatch that is responsible for gender-differentiated participatory trends. Sometimes it was a result of the failure, by

the scheme designers and implementers, to understand inter- and intra- gender relations in women's rural locations which led to various misconceptions and prejudices on which scheme's adoptions and lending criteria were based. And sometimes it was just sheer lack of physical capacity (procedures and logistical support) that bred an environment suitable for the existing rural gender resource and power relations to perpetuate women exclusion from the system.

In winding up her discussion, Kenyangi cautioned that the exclusion of women is not unique to the situation of UCBRFS. It tends to be engrained in the general socio-economic environment of the country indicating that women's economic productivity is yet to receive enough attention. For example, legal systems in Uganda are yet to defend women's resource rights, formal education of women is yet to receive deserving priority and market development for food produce, in which women seem to have a comparative advantage, is yet to take off. Unless these and many other barriers to women's economic involvement are addressed, many rural credit systems will continue to encounter difficulties in addressing women's concerns.

The main critique of the paper was that although it centred on credit as strong factor of production, credit should not be looked at as an end in itself but just a means. The Rural Farmers' Scheme is an example of credit extension that invalidates the main assumption of the paper. Participants were of the view that credit schemes are and should not be blamed on anybody. Instead there is need to focus more on the interface between gender relations and credit delivery systems if more success is to be expected.

4. Third Presentation - Ms. Dinah Kasangaki

Gender Issues in Agricultural Technology, Extension and Knowledge

Introducing the discussion, Kasangaki affirmed that men and women farmers share many characteristics, but often have different constraints and production systems. The farm household is not always a single economic unit with common goals, resources and benefits. Family members may have different, even competing interests. Gender affects the type and extent of women's and men's involvement in farming the constraints on their productivity, the intra-household division of labour and responsibilities, and the control and use of resulting production and income. And these gender effects have widespread implications for extension and for the generation of technologies.

Unravelling the historical background, she explained that the modernisation of agriculture started during colonial times. The colonial masters introduced industrial cash crops such as cotton and coffee to feed their factories back home. The colonies were used as sources of raw materials and also markets for the industrial goods produced in the colonisers' countries. Although women had always been active as agricultural producers, men were singled out by the colonial administrators to be the ones to introduce the new crops and modern techniques of cultivating them. So new seeds and inputs were introduced to men who were also given training in the new agricultural practices that were required to promote the production of those new crops. Classical, commodity-based

research was introduced to produce technologies that would maximise the production of the cash crops and extension was started to channel the technologies to the men farmers. Women continued to grow food crops. No technological packages were introduced to them to increase food production. This created a technological gender gap at the very beginning of agricultural modernisation in several dimensions.

Gender Division of Labour

Both men and women farmers face a number of constraints that influence their productivity e.g. agro-climatic conditions, market characteristics and policies. Women farmers generally have additional problems or constraints due to sociocultural forces and attitudes about gender roles and relationships that circumscribe women activities and result in gender division of labour. Gender division of labour is a major issue in agricultural activities. In subsistence farming, research has shown that there is unequal gender division of labour. Women are responsible for most of the activities such as weeding, harvesting, sorting, processing and storage. Men may participate in opening land and planting and feature prominently in marketing.

Access to Extension Services

Extension is a link between research and farmers. Its role is to provide information to the farmers on improved production, harvesting, processing, storage, marketing and distribution of crops, livestock, fisheries and related products. Both male and female farmers need this information to improve their farming operations. Worldwide, extension systems reach more men than women. Extension messages have been directed to men as heads of households, with lack of appreciation that many women are de facto heads of households, who are responsible for farming.

The extension methodologies quite often do not take into consideration the full participation of women farmers due to their heavy workload. Women find it more difficult to get time to attend meetings, demonstrations and courses, which are usually scheduled when they are busy. A study carried out in 1986 by UNICEF indicated that only 5 per cent of the women surveyed had been visited by Agricultural extension personnel over the previous six months. The situation in Masindi in my case study indicated that 22.5 per cent of the women interviewed had been visited by extension staff. 44 per cent of those visited were either Seed growers for the cotton project or Uganda Seed Project.

Extension messages through the mass media have not benefited the women farmers. Most of them have no radios and even the few who have them have no time listen to them. During my recent case study in Masindi, 60 per cent of women had radios in their families but all of them listened mainly to personal announcements. One woman who had co-wives listened to it only when the husband was at her house. 12.5 per cent had by chance listened to the Agricultural Programme in Luganda around 9.00 p.m. All of them indicated that the best time for such a programme should have been between 9.00

p.m. to 10.00 p.m. The written messages are also not easily available to women due to their high rates of illiteracy.

The situation is compounded by the extension service being male-dominated. Male extension agents have been generally unaware of the need to communicate directly to women. They also tend to view women farmers as wives of farmers and not farmers in their own right. In fact one of the women in Masindi who had been visited by the extension agent many times said that whenever he came, he would talk to the husband and yet cotton seed was being grown by her. This happened because of the assumption that information given to a man would be passed on to the wife/wives. But as we know this does not always happen. The situation was worse in polygamous households. It was also difficult for a man to pass on information when crops or tasks were gender-specific.

Extension agents, therefore, need to understand the production systems within which they are offering advice. They should target information on tasks directly to the person doing that task.

Since 1992, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries with the assistance of the World Bank has been restructuring and strengthening its extension system with the aim of improving the services to the smallholder farmers most of who are women. Special emphasis is being put on to improve planning and involvement and participation of women farmers in extension programmes.

However, there is still need to sensitize and train the extension staff in gender issues.

At the same time, the Uganda National Farmers Association (UNFA) is developing a demand-driven extension system. This system assumes that farmers will identify and request for the types of services needed to support their production and will be able to pay for the services. As the development of this type of extension system proceeds, there is a need to understand the social and economic constraints that may hinder its successful implementation. For example, the illiterate farmers, most of whom are women, may not be able to articulate their problems let alone be able to pay for the services. Also, women's mobility is so restricted that they may find it difficult to look for the services.

Participants concurred with the author that issues of division of labour, access to technology, access to agricultural policy and to extension services are all important and central to agricultural technology, extension and knowledge in as far as women promoting agricultural production is concerned.

5. Fourth Presentation - Dr. Theresa Sengooba

Agriculture Research: Strategies to Incorporate Gender

Introducing her paper, Dr. Sengooba explained that agricultural research in Uganda today operates under the umbrella of the National Agriculture Research Organisation (NARO). This organisation is charged with the responsibility of promoting, co-ordinating, streamlining and implementing research. This institution has responsibility for research in crop, forestry, fisheries, animal production and animal health, and active

research is in progress in these areas. Research in agricultural engineering and food science is also slowly taking root. Agricultural production in Uganda, in particular the crop sector, is dominated by women who contribute 70- 80 per cent of the total agricultural output. Women produce 60-80 per cent of the food and this may be consumed within the home, marketed internally or exported. However, the women's prominent role in agricultural production and in the economy of the country is not fully acknowledged or appreciated. Women remain handicapped by drudgery due to lack of appropriate technology for production. In view of the leading role women play in agricultural production, gender consideration is most crucial and relevant at all stages of the research process.

Expounding on the current situation, she observed that gender consideration has been an issue in the function and development at global and national levels for over a decade. A significant landmark for gender consideration in Uganda was the creation of the Ministry of Women in Development in 1988 currently running as Ministry of Gender and Community Development.

In the pursuance of its mission to accelerate women participation in national development, the Women in Development Ministry identified the formulation of gender-oriented policies as the most critical step in ensuring that implementable sector-specific policies and strategies are put in place. The Ministry of Agriculture Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF) was intensively involved in the exercise. The Ministry was analysed on a sector basis and gender-specific issues were identified. For the research sector the concerns narrated were as follows:

1. There are a few women research scientists. These few are not gender-sensitised and follow traditional research projects which are not necessarily gender-responsive.
2. Women farmers are hardly involved in On-farm and Adaptive Research/Demonstrations since only household heads, mainly perceived as men, are targeted.
3. Research and extension have not exploited women's knowledge of/and experience with local plants and animals in the collection of germplasm, cropping systems, management of pests and vectors in the general identification of researchable areas.
4. There is lack of socio-economic research to address gender variables in agricultural research.

In addition to specific issues for research there are other gender-related factors which have to be taken into account when incorporating gender in the institution. These general factors include:

- i) The rural woman is overburdened by responsibility. She does not only have to look at the family but she has to produce the food and prepare it. In some cultures even building a house is a woman's job.

- ii) Women lack education and information so they remain ignorant of existing opportunities.
- iii) Policy decisions on rural development are gender-blind. In research, reference is made to homogenous groups like producers, small-scale farmers or end-users.

Among recommendations advanced for the agriculture sector, the following are most relevant to research:

1. To sensitise policy makers, planners, trainers, researchers, extension workers, all government relevant officials and women themselves on the marginalized situation of women which does not tally with the contribution they make in agriculture and in the socio-economic development of the country.
2. To sensitise women towards a greater sense of active participation with men and competition for jobs and training opportunities for the benefit of their careers.
3. The sensitisation has been advanced and publicised in a lot of media and fora. The message has been received and appreciated but not enough has been done in terms of policy or concrete action to demonstrate this concern. There is need to identify concrete policy strategies for the agricultural research sector that need to be taken up to entrench gender considerations in agriculture research planning and implementation.

These have several potential policy implications. The first is institutional development and management. NARO should be cautious of gender. Presently the institution is grossly dominated by men. As much as possible equal opportunities should be given to aspiring women and men in case of position, responsibility, training opportunities etc. However, since women are so few, special consideration should be given to them whenever possible. Gender sensitisation is crucial for staff both at management and technical levels.

The apex body, the NARO Board and the top managers should be gender-sensitive and there should be progressive plan to make these bodies gender-balanced. The scientists themselves should be gender-sensitive and give special consideration to the women clients.

Regarding client orientation, she stressed that NARO is demand-driven and result-oriented; and this policy guideline enables the organization to constantly focus on the need of the clients. The clients include producers, policy makers, agro-business agencies and donors and all these emphasise relevant research results that will be useful to the end-users. Client-orientation of the research programmes and projects is ensured through a set of mechanisms in the research execution right from conception, through implementation stages and up to impact assessment. It is important that this client-

orientation policy gives due attention to gender issues and specify women as a special, important group of clients instead of assuming that their needs and interests will be sufficiently catered for when generally included in the producers or end-users in general. Client-orientation should emphasise the needs of women right from the planning stage. The planners or reviewers involved should be gender-sensitive and gender-balanced as much as possible. The compositions of teams should be reviewed periodically to enable improvement in this aspect. Gender should be one of the criteria in selecting individuals to serve on the research planning committees. Presently the people involved are selected on basis of collaborators and include extension workers, university, non-government organizations, donors, end-users and producers. Agro-ecological factors are also considered in selecting research planning teams for each institute.

She also emphasised that gender consideration must begin at priority-setting. NARO has undergone a priority-setting exercise to identify the commodities in the different sectors and rank them. The constraints that affect the production, productivity, quality and value of these commodities have been examined and ranked according to importance. The priorities set will be reviewed periodically. Gender consideration should feature among the important criteria used in setting priorities. For example, the method of cultivation in Uganda remains the hoe. Women have to labour with this hoe and spend so many hours of their life digging in the field. By emphasizing gender in priority determination, getting the woman off the hoe will attain high priority than it does at the moment. There should also be gender-strategic research which will stress opportunities for and enhance women development.

On gender consideration and technology development, Dr. Sengooba made a definite suggestion. At the research proposal, development and discussion stage, gender consideration should be highlighted to ensure that the technologies developed are suitable for women as well as men. Presently, there is a lot of emphasis on need, demand, applicability, expected output and impact. Gender consideration should similarly be given due attention at this stage. For example, if it is a field problem diagnostic exercise, the methodology should be scrutinized to ensure that the interests of women are taken care of. Women may have to be interviewed separately from men as they may not be given sufficient opportunity to express themselves when there are amongst men. On the other hand it may be necessary to include women in the interviewing group. In case of development of tools or small-scale machinery like animal traction, grinding machines, fishing gear etc., it is necessary to consider the physical stature and energy of women who may be expected to use these innovations. In case of designing a pump which women will also use, it should be considered that women at one stage will carry it on the back when they are pregnant and at another time they will strictly have to carry it on the front as there may be a baby in the back.

She then outlined the relationship between gender and technology transfer. She said that at the technology transfer stage women should proportionately be targeted depending on the innovation being advanced. Whether this transfer is through on-farm trials or through field demonstrations, the proportionate gender representation should be included right from the planning stage and appropriate methodology put in place. For

example, if a researcher is advancing a new variety of a crop which is largely grown by women, it is mainly women who should be involved in the on-farm trials. If an entomologist is advancing an integrated pest management package for food crops it is important to target women farmers be it for training or for on-farm work.

Technology transfer should be a two-way process whereby indigenous knowledge obtainable from producers or end-users is recognized. Farmers have information on variability in flora and fauna, on utilization, system productivity and in pest management in both animals and plants which is useful to researchers. Women often have more of this knowledge than men and it is important to tap this information and incorporate it in designing researchable projects.

Besides all the above, monitoring and evaluation is an important process in the research system as it provides indicators as to how well the system is performing and identifies gaps for future direction. Gender desegregated information is crucial at this stage to establish if women's interests are sufficiently taken care of. Specific assessments may have to be done on accessibility, and appropriateness of the technologies being developed or advanced. Examination of the remaining gap should consider the interests of women specifically and also those of men. Adoption studies and impact assessments should aim at gender-desegregated information whenever appropriate.

The situation is compounded because there is a lack of social economics research addressing gender in NARO basically because there is a shortage of social economists in this organisation. There are eight social economists of whom only one is a lady. A lot of research has to be done in this area if women are to come up with a more recognized and respected role in society. Given their due status, women will be able to contribute more to both the family and national advancement.

According to Dr. Sengooba, this calls for research to investigate policy implications. The research needed is basically in the area of social economics and it is that research which will bring about change in attitudes, enhance women recognition and bring about affirmative action to alleviate the problem. The attitudes need to be changed for both women and men so that women can freely engage and benefit from research programmes. For example, they should be able to participate freely and in large numbers in training or technology transfer programmes when mounted by researchers

There is a need to develop the idea of gender-strategic research and identify what type of research could be done and how it could be implemented, monitored and evaluated. Gender-oriented proposals should be developed.

There is a need to articulate the performance of women in programmes they have been involved in so far. This should be done to identify the strong and weak points of both women and men and seek for solutions.

Research in policy and their implementation should enhance translation of the so many suggestions and recommendations made into action.

In conclusion, she emphasised that incorporation of gender in agricultural research cannot operate in isolation of the general gender imbalance problems prevailing in Uganda today. So efforts in this sector can only be meaningful if backed by progress in other areas such as women education, adult literacy, adequate women participation in

management and political positions and gender sensitiveness to all people. Women should be looked at as a high potential human resource for the country - a resource which should be sustained and explored for self-benefit and also for family and national development

Participants were of the view that on top of the reasons raised in the paper that needed to be revisited if agricultural research was to address women's concerns, it was important to add engendering technology and communication right up to the level of engendering extension workers themselves. Secondly, on marketing, it was pointed out that given the relative weakness of women's organisations compared to the formalised male ones, there was need to seriously devise ways of breaking legal barriers to women entering the formal markets. How this could be achieved was not resolved in the ensuing discussion. Otherwise, the general view was that accurate information of a gender-sensitive type was lacking and especially at the level of macro policy. As such, costing labour remained very problematic and continued to obscure women's production. The idea that more education necessarily led to more control over resources by women was criticised. The role of NARO was appreciated but it was pointed out that there was a lot more to be done before fruits became evident. While appreciating women's relative weaknesses arising from over-burdening reproductive responsibilities and failure by those in the planning machinery to extend development to them, it was emphasised that women should strive to become more competitive in future.

6. Fifth Presentation - Dr. C.H. Gashumba

The Export-led Agricultural Strategies and the Relationship with Uganda's Poverty Agenda

Introducing his presentation, Dr. Gashumba cited a few established facts, beginning with the points that agriculture contributes 95 per cent of the total export earnings and 50 per cent to the GDP. The expansion of the agricultural export sector is, therefore, the sine qua non for improving the badly needed balance of payments position of Uganda. Secondly, 80 per cent of the Ugandan population live in rural area and depend on agriculture for their livelihood. The average per capita income of the household is estimated at present US\$ 22 per annum which is one of the lowest in the world, making Uganda one of the poorest countries in the world. The key objective of the economic policy in Uganda, therefore, should be export-led growth with focus on export diversification and poverty alleviation.

The Government Rehabilitation and Development Plan recognises the importance of export diversification and states the need to increase and diversify agricultural exports so as to involve the majority of Ugandans in the generation of their country's wealth and also to reduce the country's dependence on a limited number of agricultural commodities. The objective of Dr. Gashumba's presentation was to review, the export-led agricultural growth strategies in relation with the Uganda's Poverty Agenda. In order to achieve this, he reviewed the past and present agricultural policies and their impact on the agricultural

sector. He also highlighted future policy objectives, strategy, and priorities within the overall perspective of sectoral and macro economic policy framework.

First, he explained the need for an export-led strategy. In the past, Uganda enjoyed a buoyant and diversified export base shared between cotton, copper and coffee; but with increasing diversification into tea, sugar, tobacco and food crops. Since the mid-1970s, however, the export base started to narrow around coffee which accounted for about 99 per cent of the total export earnings of the country. The exports of other products had dwindled, if not virtually ceased. Not only had the diversified structure been replaced by a mono-crop-based export structure, but the decline also resulted in the loss of traditional outlets for Uganda's exports in other countries. Even in the case of coffee, Uganda had lost some of its traditional markets, especially in the USA and it was being restricted to highly competitive and selective markets in Western Europe where quality considerations were paramount. Since export crops were grown predominantly by small holder farmers, the collapse of the export sector affected adversely incomes of rural people and aggravated rural poverty.

He then turned to the dimensions of poverty in rural areas. He said the analysis of the Integrated Household Survey 1992/93 income and expenditure data clearly revealed the following features in regard to extent and characteristics of poverty in rural areas.

- i) 61 per cent of Uganda's population was classified as poor and 20 per cent as poorest of the poor or core poor. The average rural expenditure per capita per year was valued at about US\$ 10 compared with US\$ 218 per capita in urban areas.
- ii) 57 per cent of the population in rural areas was poor compared to 38 per cent in urban areas. Since 90 per cent of the population lives in rural areas, 92 per cent of poor people were in rural areas and only 8 per cent in urban areas. In the case of the poorest of the poor 6 per cent lived in rural areas.
- iii) Gender inequities and high incidence of poverty in women were key features of poverty patterns in rural areas. Rural women who were at the centre of agriculture constituted a deprived group. Rural women were disadvantaged in terms of literacy, access to health facilities, access to safe water, production assets, credit and rural employment. Households headed by widows were common in the poorest of poor communities.
- iv) Only 57 per cent of rural households had access to safe and clean drinking water. 97 per cent of rural households had no electricity. In terms of infrastructure development such as feeder roads, electricity, communication services, health and education services, the situation in rural areas deserved urgent attention.

All this indicated that poverty in Uganda was primarily a rural phenomenon. It was also evident that the incidence of poverty was highest where subsistence crop production predominated and per capita income was the lowest. The regions which were growing export crops and as a result achieved higher per capita income were also found

to have lower incidence of poverty. Poverty reduction in Uganda had, therefore, to focus on value added export crops and income-generating activities in rural areas. The export-led growth strategy in agriculture was, therefore, crucial for economic growth and poverty reduction in the country.

After this Dr. Gashumba explained the impact of the agricultural policy agenda and its impact on poverty reduction. He said the Government Policy Agenda under the Economic Recovery Programme during the last ten years mainly focused on achieving a stable and broadly undistorted macro-economic framework and promoting growth through providing a conducive and enabling environment for private sector investment. Agriculture being the dominant sector, the Government agricultural sector policy objectives launched in 1987/88 mainly aimed at:

- i) Rehabilitation of traditional export sectors of coffee, cotton, tea, and tobacco with a view to increasing export earnings and thereby improving balance of payments;
- ii) Development of non-traditional exports to diversify the export base;
- iii) Removal of physical, technical and institutional constraints for sustainable agricultural development.

To achieve these objectives, the Agricultural Policy Committee in collaboration with the World Bank designed and adopted a Policy Agenda for the agricultural sector in 1989/90 which focused on the following six areas of policy and institutional reforms in the sector:-

- Agricultural pricing
- Trade liberalisation and promotion
- Restructuring of Marketing Boards
- Rationalising Crop Processing Capacity
- Financial Rehabilitation of Co-operative Unions
- Strengthening Agricultural Research and Extension institutions.

An Action Plan was worked out to implement the Policy Agenda and mainly emphasized the prevention of erosion of farmers' price incentives, increased efficiency in the processing of crops and livestock products, improvements in marketing arrangements for agricultural inputs and provision of research and extension services.

Since 90 per cent of the rural poor derived their main source of employment, source of cash income and livelihood from agriculture, there was a close correlation between measures that promoted agricultural growth and those that would contribute to a reduction in rural poverty. As a result of various policy measures, the agricultural sector witnessed export growth under diversification and an average growth rate of 4 to 5 per cent during the last five years. The real income of small-holder farmers and their share in the world price realized had gone up significantly in the case of export crops. Also, the rehabilitation of the processing industries boosted commercial activities and employment.

He then outlined the strategy for export-led growth and poverty reduction. To begin with, the Ugandan economy was now moving beyond rehabilitation and adjustment stage towards the development phase with focus on growth and poverty reduction. With the aim of promoting economic growth and reducing poverty, the Government had set out three clear priorities for medium-term development strategy:

- To promote economic growth and to reduce poverty.
- To sustain macro-economic stability.
- To improve effectiveness and efficiency of Government and publicly provided services.

And being the dominant sector of the economy, agriculture would continue to remain the engine of growth. As he had already highlighted, poverty in Uganda was largely a rural phenomenon; 90 per cent of poor lived in rural areas and depend mainly on agriculture for their livelihood. Accelerated growth and poverty reduction in the rural areas should, therefore, be the overriding policy objective in the next five to ten years. The policy agenda already initiated for rehabilitation of traditional crop processing facilities, strengthening research and extension and creating conducive environment to provide market-based incentives for agricultural production growth and diversification should remain the main policy focus.

But in order to export more, Uganda must produce more. Further, to export more, Uganda's products must be competitive in regional and international markets. The analysis of competitiveness of exports was important not only to determine the profitability of exports for the exporters but also to assess the comparative advantage of Uganda's exports. To an exporter, a commodity was profitable for export only if the realizable border price in Ugandan currency covered the costs of exports and provide an adequate profit margin. For the economy on the other hand, the comparative advantage of an export depended on the value added in foreign exchange and the domestic resource costs incurred to realise the export benefits.

He also elaborated that macro-policies were often considered as the primary source of policy-induced discrimination against exports and their competitiveness. The government's policy initiatives designed to control inflation, strengthen value of the currency, provide easy access of production sectors to foreign exchange and open market exchange rates for exports would go a long way in removing these distortions and improve competitiveness of Uganda's exports. However, in addition these macro-economic measures, there was an urgent need for specific package of policy measures oriented towards export development to improve the quality of products to realise high unit value of export, reduce unit cost of production and marketing, and provide incentives to improve comparative advantage of Uganda's exports in the world market.

Sustainable export sector diversification and growth in Uganda was at present impeded by technical, financial, economic and institutional constraints, in the form of subsistence-oriented small-scale production, marketing inefficiencies, poor infrastructure, weak agricultural support services including research, extension and credit delivery, lack

of export support services and absence of export incentives. The Government had already strengthened the Uganda Export Promotion Council (UEPC) in the Ministry of Trade and Industry and Export Policy Analysis Unit (APAU) in the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, with the task of identifying constraints and developing and implementing appropriate strategies for export promotion. These initiatives have resulted in the identification of constraints and recommendations of policy measures for export promotion.

The main areas of action which require immediate attention for export promotion are:

1. Product development for export
2. Market and processing facilities
3. Infrastructure development
4. Trade facilitation and information
5. Comparative advantage of export products

Notwithstanding this, it was important that the following additional parameters be analysed and included in the future export strategy:

- a) The increase in the realisable unit value of exports which can be achieved through both reduction in domestic costs of production and cost of export and by improving quality and hence earning premium prices.
- b) Administrative and infrastructural improvements (and/or development) which would have the impact of facilitating greater access to international markets.
- c) Encouraging and increasing participation of private exporters.

By way of conclusion, Dr. Gashumba emphasised that infrastructural development such as feeder roads, health, education and communication facilities which had not been addressed in the presentation were integral parts of the rural poverty reduction strategy. Without them development of the private sector and competitive markets for agricultural products, and land, labour and capital could not take place, and also the trickle-down effect of growth could not be realised fully.

Secondly, if the development agenda for export-led growth and poverty reduction were properly planned and implemented, then the benefits of development would be sustainable generating a significant inroad into rural poverty.

He wound up the presentation with the caution that the long-term solution for rural poverty lay with the development of the service and industrial sectors and the transfer of a significant portion of the surplus rural labour to these sectors through human investment.

While the presentation provided an optimistic view that privatisation would finally capture women's production in agriculture, participants emphasised that liberalisation had not benefited everybody equally. There had been a tendency to benefit farmers in

high-value export crops which was still a male domain. The government's poverty reduction programme, it was pointed out, was still in its infancy. This programme had a strong rural component, and, laid special emphasis on women farmers.

7. Sixth Presentation - Dr. Germina Ssemogerere

Women and Structural Adjustment: The Case of Arua District

According to Dr. Ssemogerere, the leading agricultural policies under SAPs were intended to improve the market mechanism so that it could transmit the price incentive directly to the producer. With this in mind, the liberalisation of the exchange rate regime removed the implicit tax on agricultural exports, especially cotton, coffee, tea, tobacco and cocoa.

On the other hand, the dismantling of parastatal marketing monopolies was presumed to remove the marketing inefficiency costs imposed on the producer from state intervention, the state monopolies being: the Coffee Marketing Board, the Lint Marketing Board and the Produce Marketing Board. In the case of produce, the removal of barter-trade restrictions liberalised the marketing of non-traditional exports especially beans, maize, and soya bean. It should be noted that the possibility of private monopolies replacing state monopolies, still remained a question to be investigated, especially in remote rural areas.

Along with this liberalisation, crop finance was reformed to make it possible for producers to be paid cash on delivering the crop which removed the inflation tax on producers due to late payments. The control of domestic inflation improved the rural/urban terms of trade in favour of the farmer.

The above policies were in place and being fully implemented by 1990/93. The policies for agricultural research and integrated extension service were formulated later and implementation did not start until 1993.

The material for this case study of Arua district was obtained from interviews conducted by students taking the course 408: Women Issues in Rural Development, in the Department of Women Studies of Makerere University. The case study was originally published in *Women and Structural Adjustment* by the Uganda Women's Network and the points in this presentation referred to Chapter 1 and were merely intended to guide discussion.

Concerning women's access to the cash incentive, Dr. Ssemogerere observed that the price incentive could only be transmitted to the producer if that producer fully participated in the market. But in the case of Arua, men marketed the cash crops and got the cash payments which they had the authority to spend without consulting the women. Even in cases where the women carried the produce to the market (like in the case of tobacco) the men took over the marketing.

As for food crops, the women sold small ad hoc quantities to meet domestic emergencies and cash from larger quantities could only be spent with the consent of the

men. It was only recently that the NGOs had begun encouraging women to start new crops, particularly horticulture, which they could market directly and control the cash. The men-controlled cash was often used for drinking, and in polygamous situations women often had to compete for favours, including the cash.

The result was that there was a strong disincentive to increase the "marketable surplus" and cash income. There were barriers to poverty alleviation and improvement of household welfare (it was the women who were more likely to spend for improved nutrition, child education, and health care and, consequently, there arose a psychological stigma on women who did the work for no cash benefit, and were often forced to engage in local brew to tap some cash. Dr. Ssemogerere, therefore, pointed to the need for an education programme to break this cultural barrier, this being directed to both men and women.

Her second point dealt with access to productive assets including land, extension service, and credit. The research findings suggested that 74 per cent of the land accessed by women was through their husbands. Only 26 per cent was accessed through relatives or inherited. The consequences were that where land was scarce, cash crops took priority and women had to look for fragmented pieces of land for food crops, which led to loss of time and hence productivity. Secondly, women were discouraged from growing land-intensive crops, or tree crops, regardless of their market value. And thirdly, land conservation became a problem when control was not assured. For example, women were not encouraged to grow small forests for firewood. The restricted choice of what to grow and the time lost looking for scattered pieces of land reduced potential output.

Ssemogerere's third observation was that rural credit was scarce throughout Uganda. But in Arua of the total amount of credit, both savings and current (1986), only 174 belonged to women. This meant that women could not build a savings record which would enable them to borrow since they had no access to cash; women could not provide collateral since they had no access to land; without credit, women could not use purchased inputs, hired labour, or engage in produce marketing.

She also noted that for every 6 extension workers, only one was a female in Arua on the average; and that the tobacco crop was the one covered by the private extension service, provided by the BAT to men farmers. Training to use oxen was addressed to 15 men and only one woman in a class of 16. The women were stuck with the Kongoro for hallowing. Although extension service was scarce for the entire country, the scarcity was more severe for women because the little extension message available was addressed to men and there was the further question of whether the extension message chosen, even if it became available, e.g. oxen-ploughing, would be suited to women.

The study by the AGSEC on barriers against women's access to productive assets and property in general, was long awaited and efforts by the Unified Extension Service to address women needed to be intensified and the messages made appropriate for women's needs. But, above all, the design of rural financial services by the AGSEC just about to begin ought to take women's needs into account, especially since UWFCT was a participant in the rural micro-finance dialogue with the Bank of Uganda (BOU).

The other major point highlighted was the gender division of labour in agriculture. In Arua, women did the most labour-intensive work: for example, watering the tobacco seedlings. This was on top of their usual domestic chores, and done when often the men were sitting idle which resulted into serious labour distortions. Cotton was favoured because it was less time-consuming than tobacco. As a consequence, households were not able to expand the most profitable crop in response to the price incentive because of the time constraint on women. Also because the women were so busy, they were unable to invest in human capital formation: attend extension, adult literacy, or other training programmes.

She, therefore, recommended that education programmes to change the cultural attitudes regarding the gender allocation of labour be undertaken, and time-saving devices to enable women to have more time for economic activities be improvised. There was also need to consider a survey research into how serious the gender-biased time allocation constraint in different cultural groups in Uganda was and how it could be addressed.

Other wider issues for discussion included the food sector. It was clarified that trade need not be detrimental to, and could in fact enhance, food security provided it was followed by other policies which increased productivity and improved exchange. The staple could be viewed as a wage good which determined the cost of unskilled labour in other sectors of the economy.

She also dealt with marketing in rural areas and food exports. She observed that market places needed improvements in sanitation and safety to become attractive places at which to do business. In addition to this, standards, weights and measures, along with packaging and labeling and preservation, were key to ranking exportables by premium quality and quoting prices unambiguously, to enable farmers to benefit from the exports market. They should be part of extension education, and should be directed at women as well. Finally, she proposed that women set up their own marketing channels to export or explore the feasibility of co-operation with the private sector.

The Teaching/Research Institutions should play a leading role. One case cited was the M.A. in Economic Policy and Planning which taught a course in Agricultural Policy Analysis. This course benefited from the training programmes conducted in co-operation with the AGSEC Programme on Macro-economic Reform and Agriculture, and developed practical skills for Agricultural Policy Analysis at the Macro-level. Besides this, the Department of Economics needed assistance to add training materials on Decentralized Agricultural Planning in order to train for suitable skills at the district and local levels as well. The students also needed assistance to conduct research for the M.A. dissertation on topics of interest in Agriculture and Gender. The research menu could be agreed upon by women networks, policy makers and donors.

There was also the M.A. in Women Studies under which Course 408: Women Issues in Rural Development had a field practicals component which should be assisted to carry out situations analysis on a wide range of topics on Agriculture and Gender. The research presented at this workshop had been assisted by SNV, and other sources of assistance would be highly appreciated.

By way of conclusion, Dr. Ssemogerere proposed that as we discussed the Gender Dimensions of Agricultural Policy, we needed to:

1. Conduct a situations analysis on the ground, document the problem, and identify the gaps.
2. Set targets to be achieved by specific policy measures.
3. Monitor progress to ensure that the policies were being implemented, the intended beneficiaries were being reached and the conditions at the grassroots were improving.
4. Conduct an annual review on progress.

A few questions were raised on the paper by participants. The major question was whether markets functioned properly or, even if they did, whether they served the basic interests of women farmers. Where markets existed, participants wondered whether they were accessible. In Arua, Dr. Ssemogerere pointed out, poor access to cash incentives seriously constrained cotton and tobacco women farmers' access to the market and as a result, the majority lost their incomes to their husbands. Without cash incentives, she argued, there was reluctance to increase non-marketable surplus. It was argued that female participation rates in extension services were very low. Women hated tobacco farming for its being too labour-intensive. Generally it was observed that there should be a very strong discussion on food security measures as opposed to liberalisation and cash cropping to save households the crisis of food insecurity.

Having discussed market imperfections in her paper, participants wondered as to whether there were any efforts to assist women reap the fruits of structural adjustment programmes. It was questioned as to whether donor NGOs had the capacity and will to approach the real poor women and assist them in developing income-generating activities.

8. Seventh Presentation - Mr. Clive Drew

Women's Role in Non-Traditional Agricultural Export Policy and Practice

Mr. Clive Drew explained that the USAID-funded Investment in Developing Export Agriculture (IDEA) project dealt with Non-Traditional Agricultural Export (NTAE) development. He emphasised that this project deal directly with the private sector. He said that the Agribusiness Development Centre (ADC) was established to service clients and that the commodity focus was market-led. This entailed assessing the competitive advantage of Uganda and adherence to a set of criteria in evaluating clients to work with, because, after all, the success of this project was based on the ability to pick and work with the winners.

The focus of the project covered 2 main areas:

1. Low-value commodity production and marketing - the primary commodities being maize and beans for supply to regional markets.
2. High-value commodity production and marketing - where the commodity mix was broader and included cut flowers, vegetables and fruits, essential oils and spices which could penetrate more distant markets.

The project had been on the ground for just over one year, a period long enough for one to reflect on some of the experiences, particularly as they related to the gender aspect. Drew did not dwell on the subject of the role of women in Uganda's agriculture, as this had already been well-documented and would only be a repeat of what was already known. However, he pointed out a couple of issues.

First, he observed that the AIDS pandemic affecting Uganda was having serious social consequences - the effect of which would magnify over the coming years. There were many widow/female headed households as a result of both war and now AIDS. These tended to be the poorest income groups. There were also a growing number of orphans. Whereas many of these had been absorbed under extended family arrangements, the burden was increasing and becoming very taxing. This made it necessary for more attention to be focused on orphans.

Secondly, he noted that Uganda had witnessed a slight decrease in reproductive rates. Even then, women continued to spend a good part of their productive life nurturing the young, which limited productivity in employment and added to the burden of household poverty. And this called for family planning efforts to be accelerated.

Thirdly, he reiterated that there was a relatively high percentage of adolescent pregnancies in Uganda which certainly condemned many people to a life of poverty, and this further increased the spread of AIDS.

Furthly, there was still a low percentage of females being trained for higher rewarding professional positions. Only about one-quarter of graduates from Makerere University were female, the percentage being less in agriculture - about 20 per cent. Even at the Agribusiness Development Centre there were eleven professional positions - all male!

The IDEA project had a mandate to assist women in NTAE; and to facilitate this effort, they used a lower score as a cut-off point in pre-qualifying individuals or groups that were majority women-owned. This was due to the fact that many women failed to meet the required criteria due to a number of factors, among which were lack of land, limited access to credit, limited transport, and lack of knowhow/ technology.

The project was assisting some individual women directly as ADC clients who included grain traders, mushroom growers, chilli producers and outdoor floriculture producers. One approach was to encourage these women acquire the entrepreneurial skills to conduct a business in an aggressive and enthusiastic manner with technical support from the project.

Another approach adopted was working directly with women's groups. This would allow the project to utilize the available resources effectively in spreading them out to a large number of beneficiaries. These included maize, beans, vanilla and chilli

producers; and in some instances this particular activity was the only cash generator for the household. Some of the interventions included demonstration plots to show improved technology, multiplication and distribution of improved seed, post-harvest handling technology, and linking individual producers through group marketing with traders to ensure access to the market and fair prices. Some of the groups involved in this project were the Uganda Women's Effort to Save Orphans (UWESO), National Strategy for the Advancement of Rural Women in Uganda (NSARWU) and North Kigezi Orphan Aid Project.

In other instances, growth in NTAE enterprises had increased employment opportunities for women. In the case of growing roses, this was a capital-intensive enterprise, and many of the operations were jointly owned by husband and wife, in part because the family's entire collateral had to be pledged as security. Important, however, was that the "green thumbs" represented about 75 per cent of labour employed. In the case of outdoor floriculture and florists, it was almost 100 per cent women-owned and operated.

This presentation was a highlight of those areas where the project was assisting women and this included direct technical assistance, training, financial mediation, market linkages and others. It was evident that the NTAE development had taken off, providing opportunity for enterprise development, employment and income generation with a high sensitivity to the role of women in this effort. With the objective of increasing production and marketing of Non-Traditional Agricultural Exports (NTAE) rural incomes were being increased through direct assistance to the private sector, women being major beneficiaries. It simply sought to introduce the Investment in Development of Export Agriculture (IDEA), which dealt directly with the private sector and was a market-led development project i.e. based on the principle of comparative advantage. Otherwise, it was still a very nascent organisation. Pooling more groups together was the priority. At the end of the discussion the presenter suggested that policy recommendations should be practical and not generalistic.

9. Eighth Presentation - Mrs. Enid Rwakatungu

Dried Mushroom for Export: A Case Study

This presentation was a real life experience of Mrs. Rwakatungu's mushroom project she had designed, planned and had implemented for four years. In the process, she had had to contact several local and foreign organisations for both technical and financial assistance. According to her, the project had both local and international reputation, not only for promoting the export of a high-value non-traditional horticultural product but also in demonstrating that a private enterprise was capable of designing and effectively implementing a scheme which directly benefits the rural grassroots population.

The project had three main distinct sections at various levels of progress:

1. A mushroom seed (spawn) laboratory - which had the expertise and capability to produce all spawn needed the project in their laboratory with minimum equipment.
2. Gloca Investments Ltd production unit - This Company based in her home had trials and demonstration mushrooms production building complex with a production hall, pasteurisation cooking stoves, six growing rooms and roof-top drying facilities.
3. The Women Involvement Programme (WIP) - An out-growers scheme of rural women had been experimented with and implemented through a comprehensive training programme, extension services and facilitation of supplying spawn and solar driers. Out of the 2,500 women trained, many produced for own domestic consumption. But there were over 30 commercial production units of single or group women farmers mainly in the districts of Kabale and Rukungiri divided in four extension service zones with about 200 rural beneficiaries produce for export.

To conceive and set up this project, she initially needed a business of her own. This wish coincided with a visit by a mushroom farming expert from the national research station who ran some training lesson which she attended and picked interest in. With several trial runs, she could produce her own spawn. All that was left was contact with financiers which although troublesome, she was able to do especially as the project had the blessing of government. The Ministry of Gender and Community Development enabled her contact seven different funding institutions.

The organisations she mentioned from which the project got financial assistance include:

- United States Agency for International Development(USAID)
- Volunteer for Overseas Cooperative Assistance(VOCA)
- Export Policy and Development Unit(EPADU)
- Africa Project Development Facility (APDF)
- Investment in Development of Export Agriculture (IDEA) project

The project had been honoured by memorable distinguished guests like:

- American Senators
- The Director of USAID in Uganda, Mr. Donald Clark
- The overall Administrator of USAID from Washington DC, Mr. Brian Atwood.

She, however, pointed out that it was not easy to develop the project to the extent it had reached and, therefore, raised the following questions for policy consideration:

1. Do we have a policy in place to guide and unite designers of funding objectives with project designers to enable them develop common goals?

2. Do we have a policy in place which provides technically sound guidance to Ugandan women in their quest for identification of viable projects?
3. Do we have a definite policy in place through which the rural women who are definitely unable to identify viable projects on their own could be systematically reached and helped by those more capable?
4. Are there policies installed to narrow the gap between the funders' requirements and the rural woman's ability to fulfill them?

She concluded that given the facilities existing on the ground, the experience so far accumulated by the farmers, the attention accorded to the project by funding institutions, the expert training she recently acquired and the prospects of advice from an expert consultant, the future of the mushroom production project pointed towards national and international significance.

Members were of the view that generally, women were likely to benefit marginally from agriculture. In the case of mushroom farming in particular, several questions were raised. How does mushroom farming feed into households and gender divisions of land? How does the activity impact on land access needs of women? It was noted that issues of gender allocation of labour and time in agriculture need to be assessed within the policy framework. How is the mushroom project addressing the gender gap? Consequently, it was suggested that income generating activities ought to be given a multi-faceted agenda. On top of growing mushrooms, for example, the project could consider introducing adult literacy programmes as well.

10. Ninth Presentation - Ms. Elizabeth Kyasiimire

The Role of Women in Food Security in Uganda

The author noted that the problems of agricultural production and food security in Africa had been a concern in the last two decades and had been discussed in many fora. Although Uganda as a whole may not have an obvious food shortage, some parts of the country, especially the north and the north east, had experienced problems of food security.

Among the factors addressed which affected food security was gender relations in production which had been inadequately addressed. Although women farmers played a critical role in food production, they were often ignored by programmes meant to improve production. The author pointed out that household food security was the domain of women. This was because they combined time and energy with other resources essential for performing different activities in the food chain in order to provide for the household. Women contributed 68 per cent of the labour needed in food production and 53 per cent of labour in export crop production. Despite this role, they faced various problems in food production. These included, among others, heavy workloads, lack of control over land, inadequate access to agricultural technologies, inter alia . On top of

food production, women were exclusively responsible for food storage. Unfortunately, we were informed that the traditional food storage techniques were poor in quality and as a result, there was considerably high loss of about 20-30 per cent for most crops. It was also pointed out that on top of the above functions; preservation and preparation of food were the domain of women.

Food availability to the family and the ability of the women to prepare enough food as dictated by the heavy workload, also determined the intra-household food distribution. Although on the decline, traditional taboos involved foods that could not be eaten by women, adolescents and children and, unfortunately, often these taboos included protein-rich foods. This compounded with the fact that women continued to receive less formal education than men to increase women's food insecurity. And a result of poor education, women failed to exploit existing opportunities to improve their status which in turn affected their role in food security. The economic status of women in Uganda was reflected through their participation in agricultural production as a major employment sector.

It was, however, pointed out that the new constitution had provided a general framework for a policy outlook that concretely integrated gender. Chapter five provided for equality of men and women under the law in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life.

On implications for policy, the author re-affirmed that there was need of food security and agricultural policies to address gender issues. Food security policy required comprehensive knowledge and analysis of the existing gender issues. To ensure adequate inclusion of gender issues and a well balanced gender-sensitive policy, gender implications needed to be considered at all stages throughout the policy formulation process. A gender-responsive food security policy should be formulated. Areas of possible research the author suggested were:-

- Research on women's specialised knowledge of food crop production, crop rotation and sustainable, traditional agricultural practices.
- Research on increasing commercialisation especially regarding its implementation and its implications on household security.
- Research was needed to understand how incentives affect women farmers in different cultural groups.
- There was need to research into the broad policy framework of laws, regulations and formal and informal practices and how they impacted on policy implementation.

In conclusion, the author pointed out that it was obvious that much research was required to undertake appropriate development planning by policy makers for incorporation of gender issues into development policy and food security policies specifically. There was need to support continued research efforts undertaken

concurrently with policy formulation and project activities directed at ensuring national and household food security.

As the paper created an impression that Uganda did not have an obvious food insecurity problem, participants were of the view that this position was not realistic given that food security was persistently eluding some regions of the country. It was also noted that a good model for analysing food security should consider both quantity and quality of food available to households as well as analyse the problem from both a micro and macro perspectives. For policy purposes, this mode of analysis was considered crucial in order to avoid a narrow conception of the problem and hence poorly conceiving solutions for ensuring food security in the country. However, the paper was commended for highlighting the role of women in ensuring that against odds, there was food for their families.

11. Tenth Presentation - Ms. Maggie Mabweijano Kyomukama

The Contribution of the Ministry of Gender and Community Development to Agricultural Gender Policy

The paper outlined the role of the Ministry of Gender and Community Development in mainstreaming gender in national development with specific interest in reviewing the processes within the Ministry of Gender that had influenced agricultural gender policy. Achievements and constraints were discussed in the process. It was pointed out that the mission of the Ministry of Gender and Community Development was to "empower communities particularly marginalised groups, to realize and harness their potential for sustainable and gender responsive development". To achieve this, the ministry had adopted the Gender and Development (GAD) approach based mainly on the understanding of gender roles and the social relations of women and men so as to address gender imbalances between them. The key issue here was identified as the need to improve women's socio-economic and legal status.

In general, it was stated that much progress had been made to integrate gender considerations into the policies and programmes of the agricultural sector in Uganda. This had been made possible by:

1. The Gender-oriented Policy Development Exercise

In this exercise, the Ministry acted as a co-ordinating organ in the development of gender-oriented policies. The aim was to make national policies and plans gender-responsive and ensure that they were appropriately implemented. A joint committee composed of officials from the then Ministry of Women in Development, Culture and Youth and the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries supported by two consultants was established in 1992. This committee reviewed existing policies and programmes of the Ministry of Agriculture and identified gender concerns to be addressed. The exercise resulted in the drafting of a "Proposed Gender-Oriented Policy

Document", as framework for action in this ministry. The document recommended four major areas of action which were:

- sensitisation of policy makers and key actors in the agricultural sector about the role and contributions women make in agriculture socio-economic development at large.
- identification of extension needs of women, men and the youth so as to target each category and ensure each had equal access.
- integration of gender analysis in the training programmes of the ministry.
- ensuring gender analysis in agricultural planning as well as gender balance among the staff of the ministry.

In terms of the influence of the Ministry of Gender and community Development in agricultural policy, the exercise served to stimulate action on gender concerns within the sector. Secondly, it established a starting point for the Ministry of Agriculture for gender-responsive planning.

2. National Gender Policy

The Ministry of Gender and Community Development had finalised a National Gender Policy the purpose of which was to provide the necessary overall policy environment to implement gender-responsive policies within the sectors. This aimed at guiding and directing all efforts on planning, resource allocation and implementation of development programmes to ensure equal participation of and benefit for both men and women. In pursuance of these objectives, there was need for a National Gender Policy to be approved by Parliament.

Among others, the specific objectives of the National Gender Policy included:

- i) promotion of recognition and value of women's roles and development contributions as change agents as well as beneficiaries of development.
- ii) promotion of equal access to and control over economically significant resources and benefits.
- iii) identifying and establishing an institutional framework with the mandate to initiate, co-ordinate, implement, monitor and evaluate national gender responsive development plans.
- iv) ensuring participation of both women and men in all stages of the development process; *inter alia*.

3. Sensitisation

Gender sensitisation of policy makers and key actors in the development process had been a major activity of the Ministry since its inception as the Ministry of Women in Development in 1988. Through the UNDP-supported Umbrella Project for Women (1990-1993) the Ministry carried out sensitisation of legislators, permanent secretaries and senior officials of line ministries among them the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries. This set the pace for the initiation of gender policy development.

4. The role of the Ministry of Gender and Community Development in advocating for the collection and use of gender statistics among data producers and users

In November 1995 the Department of Gender organised a five-day gender sensitisation workshop for data producers and users. The aim of the workshop was to sensitise data producers and users about the need for gender statistics in development. The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries was among the participants. The major output of the workshop were action plans for the various sectors to ensure that gender-relevant and gender-desegregated data were collected. It was hoped that the gender statistics programme would ensure the availability of timely and accurate gender statistics in order to influence decisions at the policy and planning levels.

There existed, however, certain limitations to this process of collaboration basically with regard to the required support from Ministry of Gender and Community Development to follow-up the gender policy development process in the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries as well as other sector ministries. Secondly, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries faced certain technical and logistical constraints in operationalising the recommendations of the gender-oriented policy document.

It was recommended that in future, the Ministry of Gender and Community Development should create the necessary overall policy environment necessary for gender-responsive development in Uganda through the approval of the National Gender Policy.

The second phase of the GAD/DANIDA programme involved a process of designing a mechanism for monitoring and evaluation to strengthen the integration of gender considerations into sectoral policies.

In addition to this, the programme would support a system to link gender desegregated data/gender statistic collectors and users with the relevant information to guide their planning processes.

In reaction, participants raised several recommendations. Most important was need to counter-balance gender bias in agriculture. Land as a barrier should not undermine other factors of production women had access to. In terms of policy, models of development and Gender and Development (GAD) theory should not be unilinear and top-down but flexible and grassroots-based. In terms of methodology, the household was advanced as the best unit of analysis. And if alternatives were to be sought, how should

this be done? It was further noted, that practical achievement needed to be highlighted and emphasised and not what the official from both the Ministry of Agriculture and that of Gender had on paper. In other words, was the ministry delivering? How was it co-ordinating its activities with women NGOs? It was emphasised that the foot-dragging associated with government bureaucracy needed to be avoided as the concerned ministries grappled with the heavy task of engendering agricultural policy. Finally, it was reiterated that the invisible rural women should be the major target of such policy debate and praxis.

12. Eleventh Presentation - Dr. Elizabeth Kharono

Threats and Constraints to Food Security; Some Highlights

The paper highlighted three major factors that constitute threats and constraints to food security.

1. Feminisation of peasant, subsistence agriculture:

- Low investment in agriculture has resulted in the continued marginalisation of this sector; it continues to be rain-fed, the hoe is the main tool, production is for subsistence, extension services are either irrelevant, disjointed or do not reach actual farmers (women);
- Low prioritisation by government and policy makers: lack of clear policy and strategy for enhancing national and household food security; emphasis often on cash crop production with a view to enhancing national income;
- Agriculture is not lucrative; it is unattractive; its benefits are not immediate: resulting into withdrawal of male labour and the labour of youth;
- There appears to be a functional link between over-exploitation of women's labour, their lack of bargaining power within the household, and the declining food and agricultural production.

2. Policy formulation and intervention strategies:

- Assumed gender neutrality translates into male bias, in fact and in practice e.g. the definition of "farmer", "household", etc.;
- Policies and intervention strategies in the majority of cases are gender-insensitive, and have a welfare orientation towards women;
- Analysis of problems and setting of priorities: top-down and non-participatory generally, within this context female peasant farmers are even more marginalised;
- Linked to this is the tension between considerations for household food-security and needs for cash incomes (which is often articulated along gender

lines), and household food-security *vis-a-vis* national income (which tends to be the main consideration of government and policy-makers).

3. Land Tenure systems, in particular women's lack of ownership and control of land:

- Improvement of productivity and willingness to invest in long-term sustainable processes are linked to control over both land and benefits; a lack of control often acts as a disincentive for adoption of new technologies and methods;
- So far the national debate on land tenure and ownership is treated as a sensitive issue, women's rights, ownership and control over land is even more of a "taboo subject";
- Serious consideration has to be given to short-term interventions, particularly if there are direct benefits, and if there is reasonable guarantee for control over these benefits.

Key issues raised on the paper by discussants included the need to highlight the role of women in food security. Again, it was pointed out that in Uganda, quantity was not a major issue compared to quality of food accessed by many a household. This, it was emphasised, should be seriously highlighted and tackled at the level of policy. It was further observed that labour as a commodity was constantly being withdrawn from agriculture leaving the old and mainly women which was one serious source of the food security crisis. The issue of women merely having usufruct rights over the land they tilled was also mentioned as an area that called for serious research consideration and affirmative action in order to boost food security. It was pointed out that so far, policy was eluding and shying away from actual farmers who were the rural women. Export-led agricultural strategies were also blamed for contributing towards food insecurity as they more or less totally undermined food cropping. The trend in research into food security problems was also criticised for duplicating itself. It was argued that it was time to co-ordinate such research in a manner that would identify gaps and new areas or aspects of the problem. All in all, participants called for all efforts that would make food security visible, more knowledge about agriculture visible, and women's role in food security visible.

13. Twelveth Presentation - Ms. Dinah K. Kasangaki

Gender Policy in Agriculture Implementation and Outcomes

The paper brought out the big role women play in agriculture especially as producers of food. Estimations from FAO, IFAD and UNICEF cited in the paper indicated that women accounted for 70 per cent to 80 per cent of household food production. With this realisation, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries in

collaboration with the Ministry of Gender and Community Development reviewed its policies and drafted a proposed gender-oriented policy document. In this document, the following were some of the problems and issues cutting across all sub-sectors identified for redress:-

1. Stereotyping of roles based on gender leading to overburdening of women, blocking their access to opportunities and ultimately creating attitudes of self-resignation.
2. Lack of information by women on opportunities that exist for both women and men.
3. Lack of the necessary facilities for women in public institutions for training and employment.
4. Lack of access to and control over production resources such as land, credit, information, inputs.
5. Lack of gender-desegregated data for policy makers
6. Male-dominated extension service
7. Under-representation of women at policy-making level in the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries *inter alia*.

On the basis of these issues and others, the following priorities were identified:

1. The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries shall sensitise:
 - its policy makers, planners, trainers, researchers and extension workers;
 - relevant government workers such as Local Councillors and District Development Committees;
 - the general public with particular emphasis on women, about the role and contributions women make in agriculture and socioeconomic development of the country. This will be done so as to target both men and women.
2. The Ministry shall integrate gender analysis in its planned and existing training programmes for extension workers with the aim of educating parents and children on the need to allocate responsibilities and benefits equitably within the household
3. The Ministry shall specifically identify extension needs of women, men and youth and shall target each category and ensure that each has equal access to extension services.

4. The Ministry shall ensure that gender analysis is part and parcel of agricultural planning.
5. The Ministry shall ensure that mechanisms of appointment, recruitment and staff development guarantee equal participation of women and men at all levels of management.

Toward the achievement of these objectives, the Ministry of Agriculture has already implemented the following;

- Several female officers have been promoted to higher positions and many have been sent for higher-level training at different levels.
 - The intake of girls in agricultural colleges was stepped up to 50 per cent of the total intake as an effort to increase the number of female extension workers. Unfortunately these are being appointed by the decentralisation policy implementation as the few female staff the Ministry managed to send in the field have been retrenched by local authorities, which have now assumed the power of recruiting and firing staff in the districts.
 - Women components have been integrated in most of the Ministry's extension programmes, so as to improve the extension agent contact with women farmers. Also, special women projects have been initiated as a formative action to enhance the status of women farmers. For example, the Heifer projects in Mpigi and Jinja are some such initiatives.
 - Last year (October - November) with FAO assistance, the ministry carried out gender analysis of agricultural policies in Uganda. This exercise came up with the following recommendations:-
1. Institutional leadership within each ministry and respective departments should designate specific responsibility for developing a plan of action for gender-linked policy and supporting activities.
 2. Persons responsible for developing the above plan of action should include a systematic sequencing of proposed activities to cater for gender inequities
 3. Both the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries and that of Gender and Community Development should move ahead to have proposed gender policies approved as soon as possible.
 4. Gender policy action plans should be developed in a programmatic approach, with careful linkages to and support for other ministry programmes.
 5. A gender-sensitisation and training project should be developed and funding should be identified to support the project.

6. Research about gender issues should feed into each commodity research team in order to identify further research on gender.
7. Research for women - in some instances, for example, technology development; special research for women may be needed.
8. All future national surveys and other reporting mechanisms should present social data in a gender-desegregated format. As such, all planners should develop skills in using gender-desegregated data as a planning tool. A gender-desegregated data bank should be established.
9. All monitoring and evaluation guidance should include information about gender considerations. Substantive impact should be evaluated, not just counting participants.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries is in the process of implementing these recommendations and will need some donor assistance because of lack of adequate resources.

14. Thirteenth Presentation - J. B. Mubiru (Presented by Ms. Dinah Kasangaki)

Gender Policy in Agriculture: Implementation and Outcomes

In this brief presentation, the achievements of the Ministry of Agriculture towards engendering its activities were spelt out. The starting point, participants were told, was the appointment of Mrs. Victoria Sekitoleko as the Minister of Agriculture who worked tirelessly to promote women in the ministry and as much as possible train female extension workers. She is remembered for this affirmative action.

Secondly, at the national level in order to increase the number of highly trained women in the country, the Ministry of Education has lowered the entry point for girls entering the university by offering 1.5 points for each girl above her Advanced Level marks. This has enabled more girls join the university. As a result, many more women are able to compete for better jobs in the restricted market.

There has also been a lot of effort injected in ensuring that more women join agriculture training institutions. At the moment, the enrolment of women has shot up to 70 per cent which has never been achieved in the history of Uganda. However, and rather unfortunately, the majority have received training for certificates in agriculture and yet the current demand for agricultural officers required by employers (including government) is a diploma. This has rendered the majority of these women unemployable. Through the Rural Farmers Scheme, the ministry has ensured that credit reaches rural women farmers. The agriculture credit extension programme has been fully supervised to ensure its success.

Participants noted that the role of the Ministry of Agriculture in fighting to include women both as bureaucrats in the ministry and in targeting them was commendable. Especially, the role of the former Minister of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Mrs.

Victoria Sekitoleko, in engendering the ministry and highlighting the role of women was given mention. However, it was pointed out that there was still a big problem in the way the ministry failed to push through its reforms. This was raised in consideration of the fact that while the ministry took a lot of time capacity-building its women staff as well as training more female extension workers even at the level of certificate holders, after decentralisation policy was implemented, they were retrenched. It was advocated that an integrated policy planning machinery was seriously needed to avoid such contradictions happening in future. It was pointed out that both the ministries of Gender and that of Agriculture, should become more serious on implementation of programmes suitable for engendering agricultural policy in spite the budgetary limitations facing both. On top of the technical aspects of the agricultural policy such as access to technology, it was advanced that there was need to push for socio-cultural reforms as well as they too had serious implications for women's role in agriculture.

The time given to consult before coming out with policy designs was considered little and needed to be lengthened in future in order to ensure more grassroots participation in designing policies that affect them.

15. Fourteenth Presentation - Ms. May Sengendo

Gender Agricultural Policy: A Critical View

This presentation focused on the problems of implementing gender agricultural policy. The following were highlighted as the omissions and source of problems in the policy:

1. The author was critical of the women in development (WID) jargon such as targeting women. Which women are targeted? Are women a homogeneous category? Can such an ambiguous conception of women achieve any success?
2. Implementation has in most cases been non-participatory. This has not been seriously countered in the implementation of the gender agricultural policy.

The following were suggested:

1. There is need to improve the methodology applied in accessing women in a manner that appreciates differentiations among them.
2. There is need to establish simplified modes of communication to ensure that even the less literate women benefit from development programmes.
3. There is need to emphasise capacity-building.
4. Caution must be taken to ensure that new interventions do not destroy women's priorities.

5. Empowering women should be at the centre of the initiative to engender agricultural policy.
6. The training of women agriculturalists should be very critical in identifying the gaps in extension and how best to reach the right beneficiaries.
7. There is need to link up data with users.

Plenary Discussion

It was generally appreciated that there were gaps and lack of effective networking among women NGOs. This needed to be addressed at all levels, beginning at the village and community. Instead, participants criticised the common tendency among women organisations to conflict and duplicate one another's efforts. There was a call for ways of bridging such gaps so that the manner in which women were being emancipated in Uganda is not reflected through different but similar voices. Comment was raised to the effect that the women's movement was proceeding with "hard ware" before dealing with "soft ware" which was considered problematic. The need to exploit grassroots knowledge so rich among the rural women was emphasised as a priority. The need to "deepen" existing women's development groups as opposed to sheer proliferation of others was reiterated. Participants wondered what steps government was taking to augment a social network of capital, information, education and skills upon which women can base to tap liberal markets. Unless a land reform that appreciated gender dimension was undertaken, it was asserted that women were unlikely to benefit from agriculture, no matter how much it was improved.

Group Discussions

Groups One - Theme discussed: Land and Credit

The group pointed out that their theme was very narrow and instead, they analysed their topic from a broader perspective by considering resources in general. The recommended the following;

1. The need to investigate women's own perception of land ownership and control and the implications thereof for agricultural development. This they said was very important for policy.
2. The need to investigate into lending: the questions of group lending as opposed to individual lending; which gender benefits and what are the determinants of such choices?

The group pointed out that thorough literature review and understanding of correlated studies is very necessary. On land, utilisation factors should be complimented with analyses of control and ownership. On research into agricultural and credit programmes should be added research into their sustainability. Also it is important to

analyse the criteria used in group identification and ultimately modes of credit extension. It was hinted that it was important to research into mixed groups as well since findings so far suggested that males in them benefited more from the credit than their female counterparts who only provided dressing.

Group Two - Theme Discussed: Women's Groups, Formal and Informal

The group recommended the following:

1. The need to uplift the status of women's groups: there is need for capacity-building through literacy and credit programmes. It is important to establish stock location and operations of women's groups, especially the way these groups relate in terms of attitudes, needs and interests.
2. There is need to analyse the impact of external groups on local women's groups in order to understand their agenda (which are at times negative).
3. Since women have cultural-based patterns of linking with one another, there is need to know what sort of information channels/needs and opportunities exist that can be accessed by women's groups/donors/policy-makers and technical staff in general.
4. There is need to investigate into what institutional problems militate against women's groups and how they influence policy. This is in appreciation of the varied demands and assumptions placed on women's groups.

Participants added that when taking stock of women's groups, their successes, failures, character, binding factor and perceived needs should be taken into consideration.

Group Three - Theme Discussed: Statistics and Dissemination: Collection, Analysis, and Use

The group argued that so far research methodologies were not perfect and needed reformulation. Secondly, policy and research should be linked. One of the major gaps in research, they argued, was the impact of export-led agriculture policies and liberalisation on gender relations in agriculture. The group made the following recommendations:

1. The need to establish a national research co-ordination unit.
2. The need to review existing research to identify impacts and gaps and research into them.
3. All research to be done should be cleared by the proposed national research co-ordination unit.
4. The need to take stock of research on food security so far with intent to establish its quantity and quality.
5. The group re-emphasised the need for research on the effects of market-led agricultural policies on food security and the agricultural sector in general.

Participants in reaction felt setting up a national unit to co-ordinate research might duplicate what the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology is already doing. However, the need to reinforce the capacity to monitor research activity and gaps to be filled was appreciated. Secondly, another way of co-ordinating the research suggested was to encourage donors of any proposed research to throw out any duplication. If possible, they should carry out an annotated bibliography as a follow-up and back-up of literature gaps.

**Group Four - Theme Discussed: Labour - Issues of Control, Burdens,
Intra- household Relations, National Economic Policy**

The group focused on labour as articulated during in the workshop. The group recommended that more research was required on women's labour in agriculture; and especially given the fact that men continued to withdraw from agriculture. One of the issues raised for research was how men could be brought back into agriculture? The other gaps in agricultural research identified were as listed below:

1. Who is putting how much labour into which crops and for what returns?
2. How are men and women's work perceived?
 - by women farmers;
 - by men farmers;
 - by district land administrators/community leaders agricultural office;
 - by the ministries concerned - of gender/planning/and that of agriculture;
 - by the ministries concerned - of gender/planning/and that of agriculture.

In all instances, the group recommended that research should be participatory involving Participatory Research Approaches. In any case, what should be clearly focused on are the objectives and expected outcomes of such research. In this case, the major objective according to the group was to make women's role in agriculture - and hence food security-visible.

In reaction, participants added that essential research into the issue of gender relations in agricultural labour was necessary. In addition, it was observed that research in itself was not enough; hence advocacy in terms of dissemination should be emphasised for research users. In pursuance of this research project, it was suggested that the Statistics Department in Entebbe be consulted for data on time use. Efforts should in general be made to carry out a thorough literature review in order to avoid duplication.

Concluding Discussion

In his concluding remarks, Dr. D. Lockwood pointed out that the workshop was just the beginning of a long process. As such, there was need to set up a basis for moving into phase three of the programme. He called upon participants to form a steering committee through which to keep informed, monitor and link up activities for the next phase. The steering committee, he said, should have a working secretariat where records can be kept, convene meetings, and act as a pressure group to work along issues of common interest to the parties concerned.

The steering committee agreed upon, it was suggested, shall be composed of representatives from the following institutions:

1. The Ministry of Gender and Community development.
2. The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries.
3. Non-Governmental Organisations.
4. National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO).
5. Centre for Basic Research.
6. Makerere University.

List of Participants

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CBR Workshop Reports

1. **Pastoralism, Crisis and Transformation in Karamoja**; Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR and held at the Faculty of Science Makerere University, August 14 - 15, 1992, by Joe Oloka-Onyango, Zie Gariyo and Frank Muhereza; 26p.
2. **Women and Work: Historical Trends**; Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR, and held at the Faculty of Science, Makerere University, September 7-10, 1992, by Expedit Ddungu, James Opyene and Sallie Kayunga; 61p.
3. **Workers' Education**; Report of a CBR Workshop held at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, Makerere University, March 19-20, 1993, John Jean Barya, Sallie Simba Kayunga and Ernest Okello-Ogwang; 47p.
4. **Pastoralism and Crisis in Karamoja**; Report of the Second CBR Pastoralism Workshop held at St. Phillips community Centre, Moroto, January 28-29 1994, by Frank Emmanuel Muhereza and Charles Emunyu Ocan; 19p.
5. **Regional, Workshop on Public Interest Environment Law and Community-Based Initiatives for Sustainable Natural Resources Management in East Africa** held at Colline Hotel Mukono, in August, 1996 by Samson Opolot and James Opyene; 37p.
6. Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR on "**A Dialogue on Gender Dimensions of Agricultural Policy in Uganda**" held at Fairway Hotel Kampala, May 3-4, 1996, by Samson James Opolot and John Ssenkumba; 58p.