

**HIDDEN POWER: GENDER RELATIONS IN EXPORT-ORIENTED TASKS
AND ACCESS TO RESOURCES FOR UGANDA'S HORTICULTURE SECTOR**

BY

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**A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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PhD THESIS TITLE:

**HIDDEN POWER: GENDER RELATIONS IN EXPORT-ORIENTED TASKS AND
ACCESS TO RESOURCES FOR UGANDA'S HORTICULTURE SECTOR**

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DEDICATION

To Hannington, Jonathan, Joram, Joshua and Joel, who have provided all the support I needed during the Doctoral studies.

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Abbreviations

AGOA	African Growth Opportunity Act
AWEPON	African Women in Economic Policy advocacy Network
AWID.....	
BOU	Bank of Uganda
CAA	Civil Aviation Authority
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CEEWA	Council for Economic Empowerment of Women in Africa
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DAWN.....	
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community for West African States
ENHAS	Entebbe Handling Services
EPRC	Economic Policy Research Center
FAUEX	Federation of Associations of Uganda Exporters
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT	General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HOTEXA	Horticultural Exporters Association
IITC	Inter Institutional Trade Committee
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITC	International Trade Center
JITAP	Joint Integrated Technical Assistance Program
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
LMB	Lint Marketing Board
MAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries.
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MTS	Multilateral Trading System
MTTI	Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry
MWHC	Ministry of Works, Housing and Communication
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NARO	National Agricultural Research Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRM	National Resistance Movement
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PERD	Public Enterprise Reform and Divestiture Secretariat
PMA	Plan for Modernization of Agriculture
PMB	Produce Marketing Board
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSF	Private Sector Foundation
PSI	Pre-shipment Inspection
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
RFS	Rural Farmers' Scheme
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SPS	Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures
UBS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UEPB	Uganda Export Promotion Board
UIA	Uganda Investment Authority
UNBS	Uganda National Bureau of Standards
UNCCI	Uganda National Chamber of Commerce and Industry
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UPPAP	Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Project
UPTC	Uganda Post and Telecommunication Corporation
URA	Uganda Revenue Authority
UWONET	Uganda Women's Network
VEDCO	Volunteer Efforts for Development Concern
WID	Women in Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

Abstract

The aim of the study is to investigate gender relations in the production and export marketing of horticulture produce in Uganda. The study uses gender as an analytical tool in critiquing the Neoliberal reforms that advocate trade liberalization. This is done through examining the construction and perpetuation of unequal power relations within the tasks as well as access to production and market resources needed for effective participation in export trade. The study fills a gap in knowledge by providing an explanation of the factors that hinder effective participation of female and male farmers and traders. It reveals the failure of the assumptions of price, supply and demand as organizing principles in a market economy as those ignore the practices of politics and gender dynamics that shape the production and distribution of products for export trade. In order to reveal hidden control and influence of decisions, the study investigates the manifestation of power in the marketing channel at three sites: the household site (for production); the collection site (for purchase and assembling); and the exportation site (for export arrangements and air freight). Examples are given through a case study of female and male farmers, collectors and exporters of horticulture produce, in particular hot-pepper and okra, in Uganda. The unequal power relations that are examined, show how women and men create a hierarchical setting within the same site, as well as through the interactions they make by linking to the other sites. While female and male farmers require the tasks and resources provided by the collectors, collectors also need the resources given by exporters.

Within such a context, this study shows how gender analysis can be used to examine the dynamics of the relations between women and men who interact within tasks and resource acquisition between the different sites. The question of power therefore becomes a key concern as some categories of men, and sometimes women who are in positions of control of resources, have the "power to" influence decisions on allocation of tasks and acquisition of resources. Yet, such power to influence actions concerning who should perform the tasks and who can have access to resources, is so hidden that revealing it requires examination of its manifestations as well as the way its is exercised differently by men compared to women. Those practices, through which power manifests, create conflicts and hierarchical differences between farmers, collectors and exporters that show gender as well as status differences. Female collectors and exporters can manage to control resources, recognize these power practices, and react by resisting and manipulating them according to their own interests. Unfortunately, in most cases, both female and male farmers cannot challenge decisions of the exporters. Such dynamics create differential access to production and market resources. The characteristics that enable women as well as men to have influence are investigated in addition to what leads to the subordinate position that others experience.

Gender theory is applied and focuses on two arguments: the extent to which men exercise power over women in ways that show how power relations are manifested through the gender division of labour and the way tasks are organised; and how power relations are manifested through different positions that women occupy compared to men in the different sites in ways that enable mostly men to have the power to influence decisions and command allocation of resources. Gender analysis is used as a methodology that enables examination of power practices that are hidden in the way tasks are organized and resources acquired in the different sites at a specified time period. Although these sites are self-contained, the findings indicate that actors also have opportunities to move across and between sites. The ability to participate in more than one site is therefore a means of rescue from practices that disempower women, thus hindering their participation in export trade. The findings do not only affirm the claims by gender critique of macro-economic theories that the markets are not abstract entities, but also provides examples that show how markets have a gendered structure. Women and men engage in relationships of cooperation, conflict and manipulate decisions of others who seek to access resources. Women who undertake activities in more than one site have power to make choices and influence decisions that would otherwise have had adverse effects on their export-oriented activities. Women who are able to access resources are sometimes those who exclude and exploit other women of lower status, just as higher-status men do to those below them. Such women decide to take actions not necessarily with an intention of resisting male dominance but to develop defensive and creative ways through which they can promote their own agenda. Some men of lower status resist actions of exploitation and exclusion imposed upon them by men of higher status. In addition, they can overcome the informality of labour provision and contracts that exist in trade relationships by becoming decision-makers themselves and dealing directly with export trade. This study therefore makes contributions to gender theory in ways that illustrate how gender analysis is an effective tool in investigating the construction of unequal power relations for export trade within an African setting.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND AND POLICY CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The international trade agenda has, over time, successfully focused on gender¹ and trade as critical concerns and major pathway for enabling women and men to gain increased access to resources as well as the resultant benefits. In addition to this, the significance of gender in development policies and programmes, such as those of trade, has been increasingly noted and examined especially since the Fourth World conference on women in 1995 in Beijing, China. However, the context within which such concerns are addressed has varied as understanding of both women's and men's positions and recognition of gender relations have become important factors in examining development policies and programmes from a gender perspective. It has therefore become increasingly necessary to examine development processes and their consequences for women and men, in ways that reveal the differences that exist in accessing the resources that are meant to enable active participation.

This study uses gender analysis to examine the construction and perpetuation of unequal power relations within the organization of tasks in production and marketing of horticultural produce as well as access to and control over resources needed for effective participation. Through such analysis, the question of power² becomes paramount and problematic as it influences the acquisition of these resources in ways

¹ The title as well as the first paragraph of the thesis, uses the word 'gender'. It is emphasised in order to show its importance in policy planning and in day-to-day activities of women and men who undertake export-oriented tasks. Previous studies in Uganda, have noted that there is no direct translation into a local language and definition of 'gender' varies. Those who have looked at the meaning of 'gender' in Luganda (the local language of the area where this study was undertaken), indicate that the word exists mainly with reference to relations and social practices (Kiguli 2001). In day-to-day discussion, it is very common in Uganda to hear people using the word gender to categorise roles and responsibilities, but they mostly refer to what women (*abakazi*) do. Such views inform us about the fact that 'gender' is to do with the relations between women and men and their roles. This study defines gender as those relations of women and men and roles that are socially organised. Further explanations about gender are included in the conceptual framework, chapter three.

² In everyday discussions, power is usually perceived as if it can be quantified: you either have it or not. Yet, no attempt has yet been made to explain how power is exercised and manifested in production and export trade of agricultural products such as horticulture. This study uses the word 'power' as an action that women or men take to do various things, in this case, being able to influence decision or command resources. Its operation is emphasised in order to identify who has the power to influence decisions and who does not. Further explanations are included in the conceptual framework in chapter three.

that reveal how gender continues to be a determining factor in this process. Yet, power is so hidden that revealing it requires examination of its manifestations as well as the way it is exercised by women and men in the tasks they are involved in and the process they take to acquire resources.

This study uses a case study of small-scale female and male farmers and exporters who participate in horticultural production and marketing in Uganda³. Here, just like in other countries in Africa, there are changes in resource and service delivery for agricultural exports as a response to trade liberalization policy⁴. As part of the implementation of this policy, private sector actors, such as exporters and their agents or collectors⁵, have replaced the government system for delivery of resources and services that the farmers require for production of good quality export produce. Apart from that, the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture, which was established in 1999 in Uganda, works towards enhancing the capacity of farmers to organize themselves for purposes of easy access to resources. Members from farmer groups can then be used to assist other farmers in distributing or selling of production resources. With such a situation therefore, differences in the power to do various things, such as commanding who can have access to resources and influencing decisions, are bound to exist within the categories of female and male farmers, exporters and collectors. While some farmers can be given the responsibility of distributing and selling resources, others seek to have access to these resources. Furthermore, the command that female and male exporters and collectors have over the distribution and selling of these resources to farmers is a question addressed in this study.

Hence, this study examines how power is manifested and exercised by female and male farmers, exporters and collectors as they seek to have access to or control over production and market resources and undertake various tasks within three sites of the marketing channel, namely: the household (where production is undertaken); collection

³ Uganda is located in the Eastern part of Africa.

⁴ Trade liberalisation is a policy that deals with opening up of national economies to free flow of goods, services and capital but not labour (Williams 1999a).

⁵ In this study, exporters' agents are referred to as "collectors", a term that farmers and exporters use for such people. The rest of the thesis chapters therefore use the term "collector".

sites (where the produce is purchased, assembled, and sorted); and export sites where produce is labeled, re-sorted and freight arrangements made). The positions and status that different categories of female and male farmers, exporters and collectors hold are also explored. This enables this study to identify the gender values that characterize the powerful and how such men or women exercise the power to influence and command resources while others are excluded and left powerless. Through such analysis, it can then be possible to demonstrate how the relationships between women and men are socially organized. Such relations involve power differentials that usually tend to position men as dominant and women as subordinate. However, in order to provide an understanding of the nature and dynamics of these relations, it is important to be conscious of cases where these positions are contested. This is taken into consideration and exceptional cases are identified to show instances when women invent strategies to resist such power differences in ways that enable them to become decision makers and to gain higher chances of bargaining for different options in accessing resources.

Unfortunately, there is lack of concrete examples and information about how subordination, exclusion and exploitation happen, and the implications for gender inequality. In particular, there is lack of information about how gender relations operate as organizing factors in shaping the outcomes of trade policies and how the process involves power relations demonstrated through aggravation of subordination and unequal status of women and men. In order to address this gap, this study applies gender analysis to the specific power relations that manifest between women and men as they perform different export-oriented tasks and seek to access production and market resources. Such a focus can enable the formulation of strategies through which research can contribute to knowledge on how trade policies can function to achieve gender-responsive outcomes.

1.2 Background to the study

Export trade is part of international trade, which refers to ‘the exchange of goods and services between countries’ (Williams 1999b). One of the development strategies for Uganda is to promote export trade. Trade liberalization is one of the economic reforms

under Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs), which have extended and included Africa's export trade in the globalised world. The proponents of trade liberalization, namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), assumed that it would provide opportunities for economic growth in Africa in ways that would benefit all. This study is concerned about what happens during the promotion of export trade, and how gender features in the process. It analyses the power relations that women and men in export trade engage in while undertaking different tasks, as well as accessing production and market resources. The issue of how unequal power relations are constructed or even reproduced during processes of internationalization of trade has remained a question for long. The challenge is also in identifying how gender analysis can be used to address this question in ways that can inform policy planners about the problems experienced in export trade. This is part of what inspired me to undertake this study.

My involvement in policy planning during the formulation of the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) in Uganda enabled me to realize the challenges that policy makers had in obtaining information that could enable them to use gender analysis in situations that involved macro and micro level issues. The trade policies such as trade liberalization and the Agreement on Agriculture that operate within the framework of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), are formulated at macro level yet their effects are felt at micro level. Being a consultant on the design team of the PMA, I had the opportunity to demonstrate what can be done to address this challenge. As a researcher on gender, with sociology and social policy planning background I felt that there was need to provide examples of how gender analysis can be used to address the implications of those trade policies on rural female and male farmers as well as the collectors and exporters who interact with them. This could be possible through providing evidence of differential access to resources and the trade relationships that these actors engage in. It was therefore important to embark on a study that demonstrates how gender analysis can be used to examine power relations in export trade and the implications this has on the participation of women and men. This study adds to those, which aim at enabling policy planners to obtain case studies that can

inform trade policy planning processes about how to use gender analysis in policy planning.

Export-oriented production and marketing require farmers and exporters to comply with specified standards within market access regulations, ensure quality products and timely deliveries to importing clients. Specific production techniques have to be used thus a need for particular inputs. Women and men as participants in these activities, seek to acquire production and market resources. As such, the forms of provision for such resources and the strategies undertaken by those who seek to access these resources become questionable. This study deals with this by examining the dynamics of the relations between women and men as receivers and others who operate as providers. The use of power to influence decisions determining access to and control over these resources, is key to this study.

Within the implementation process of trade liberalisation, some studies document various efforts made to address gender inequalities on one hand, and the worsening situation of women on the other (McCulloch, Winters, Cirera 2001). Some researchers have reported that there are cases where incomes have increased through employment creation and provision of resources to the poor, mostly women (ibid). However, in other cases, adverse effects have been created. These are cases where poverty has persisted, and women in particular have experienced gender-based subordination, exclusion and exploitation as pointed out earlier (DAWN 1999, GERA 2000).

This study adds to the voices of gender researchers and activists who are advocating for gender equality to be a major priority concern in trade policy planning. At international level, this has been a key issue from the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China in 1995, the World Summit for Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002, to the World Trade Organisation negotiations in Cancun, Mexico in 2003. Such international-level negotiations have tried to show the need to take into consideration the realities of what female and male farmers and exporters experience at national level. Further effort has been made to document case studies that reflect the

voices of small scale female and male farmers and exporters and the challenges they have faced with trade restrictions. Such evidence has helped to provide proof

The issues highlighted above need to be included in the way we problematise the gaps when analyzing the impact of trade policies on the position of women and men in developing countries. There is a need to examine the processes within which export-oriented work is done, and to investigate how individual women and men influence the decisions of others in ways that reflect control and subordination. This is the key to enabling women and men to be effective and efficient producers and traders in international trade. It is through such effective participation that they can be integrated into the development process. In order to understand how this operates, it is vital to recognize that the processes of production and marketing involve interconnections of gender and power relations. This enables the realization that assumptions surrounding trade liberalization (that the provision of work/jobs as well as operating through the forces of demand and supply enable more to participate in export trade, thus improving economic growth and eventually leading to the integration of poor women and men into development) are not correct. Free trade and the work-related opportunities that it offers cannot function in a way that ensures gender equality unless there are strategies to address the differences in power.

The countries within which trade liberalization operates have had to incorporate globalised rules of trade into the day-to-day operation of export activities. Most follow the agenda of free trade, private sector service and resource provision, as well as promotion of export-oriented production and trade. Some of the examples of how trade liberalization has shaped the way countries operate, include: the way marketing channels are being operated through private sector services, employment levels and resultant distribution of income through business ownership, and a move towards export-driven crop farming. The question, which is not yet answered, is the extent to which women and men with limited resources, have been able to have access to these resources and services. This is true for Uganda's case, and in particular the export trade of horticulture produce as explained in chapter two.

The challenges of trade liberalization that this study focuses have been accompanied by changes in agricultural production methods, as products for export must meet certain standards. Such standards were not necessary in the usual production methods of Subsistence crops and they have contributed to transformation of agriculture. Detailed explanation of the effects of the transformation of agriculture is discussed in chapter two of this thesis.

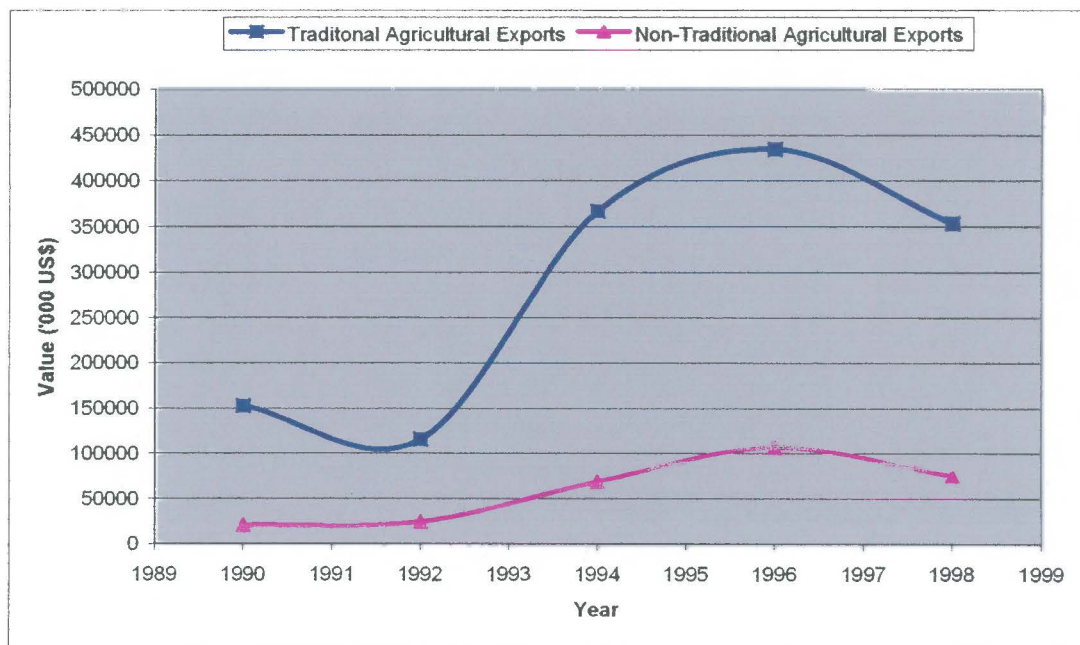
This study addresses export trade for horticulture crops in Uganda as part of the trade liberalization policy. The production and marketing of horticulture crops, such as okra and hot pepper, are part of this process. Horticulture export trade is part of the introduction and strengthening of skills and techniques for production and export of non-traditional cash crops that have been advocated by the Uganda government so as not to rely on only traditional cash crops, coffee and cotton in particular. Information about the situation of production and trade of non-traditional cash crops in Uganda is therefore of importance to this study.

There are changes that have been created in the production and export of non-traditional crops in Uganda over time. Historical trends show that traditional exports rose faster during the period 1990 to 1998, than non-traditional. Figure 2(a) shows the value of Uganda's exports for that period. As can be seen, there was steady growth in non-traditional exports between 1990 and 1996, but this dropped in 1998 and 1999. Between 1990 and 1992, traditional exports halved in value as a result of, among other factors, the collapse of world coffee prices. The situation started to improve in 1994, leading to rapid growth, with exports peaking in 1996 despite the fall in prices. However, by 1999, traditional exports had declined to about 45% below the 1996 level. Export categories that contributed to this downward trend included coffee (which dropped by US\$ 29m), service exports (from US\$ 168m in 1996 to US\$ 95m in 1999) and grains (maize), (which dropped from US\$ 17m to US\$ 5.2 m). Although the production of NTCs has continued to increase to bridge that gap in traditional export crops, the market for NTCs

is so competitive that the standards are still a challenge to farmers, most of them being small scale and lacking the necessary resources to boost the quality of their products.

Within the non-traditional exports, fish dropped from US\$ 45m to US\$ 24m in the same year. Despite the fall in prices, coffee is still the dominant export. Traditional primary agricultural products almost entirely constituted the product structure of exports before 1990 (coffee, tea, cotton, and tobacco). Since then, other commodities, particularly non-traditional primary products and some manufactured products have also been exported.

Figure 1.1: Uganda Traditional and Non-Traditional Agricultural Exports by value, 1990 – 1998



Sources: MFPED 1998, UBS 1999, MFPED 2000.

The increase in value of non-traditional exports rose from US\$ 71.5 million in 1993 to a peak of US\$ 165.6 million in 1997. This has been an additional factor in the overall

rising trend towards exports. Fish and its products, flowers, sesame seeds, maize and beans are among the major non-traditional exports. Other products exported in small quantities include soft drinks, spirits, soap, chemicals and pharmaceutical products, which are exported through the Common Market for Eastern and Southern (COMESA).⁶

The above figure shows how non-traditional export crops have been considered as priority crops during this period of trade liberalization. Among these crops, horticulture production, which is the main focus of this thesis, has taken a key position in the agricultural export sector.

1.3 Rationale for conducting the study

The purpose of this study is to provide an understanding of how gender analysis can be used to examine the manifestation of power relations in shaping the outcomes of export-oriented production and trade. It further examines how this process both aggravates and erodes gender based constraints, in particular subordination, exploitation and exclusion of women in cases where they are in such situations compared to what men experience.

This study addresses a gap in knowledge by discussing the gender-based implications for trade liberalization, in the Ugandan context, as an example of developing countries. Through this information, the study explains the factors that hinder effective participation of female and male farmers and traders within the initiatives made available through trade liberalization policy. It reveals that unlike the assumptions of price, supply and demand as organizing principles for the operation of trade liberalization, there are forms of politics and gender dynamics that shape the way that export oriented production and trade operate. Although gender was neglected during policy formulation of trade liberalization (see Elson 1995, Bakker 1994, Afshar 1994), this study argues that this is embedded in the processes of implementation of the policy. This neglect is a serious omission, which hinders women and men from becoming

⁶ The COMESA is a regional integration strategy that aims at fully integrating the countries of Eastern and Southern Africa into an economic union through trade and investment. One of the efforts made under COMESA was the creation of a Free Trade Area on 31 October 2000. This was after 17 years of the trade liberalization programme and that period had included establishment of the Preferential Trade Areas for Eastern and Southern African States (PTA) in 1982. For more information about COMESA and PTA, see Tina (2001) and Karangizi (2003).

effective actors in liberalized activities, such as the production and trade of horticulture products. This study was formulated and research undertaken during a period (harvesting seasons between August 2000 and January 2003) when studies relating to gender and transformation within international trade had exhausted questions on the effects of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) on women in trade, as well as shifts in labour markets. Although the consequences had been identified, there were very few studies that questioned whether trade liberalization acted to either worsen or erode the existing gender inequalities (see Elson 1995, DAWN 1999, GERA 2000) that keep some women and men in poverty while raising the incomes and status of others. Even though these questions were raised, there is still need to take gender seriously into consideration.

As mentioned earlier, incorporation of power relations into the gender analysis of implications of trade policies on relations between women and men and organization of work is the key contribution that this study makes to the current literature on gender and international trade using Uganda as an African example. This study shows that it is only through analyzing the work relationships and access to market resources within export trade that we can understand the conflicts, manipulations and control that reproduce unequal power relations.

1.4 Scope of the study

The study starts from the perspective that power relations are embedded in the way tasks and access to resources are organized among female and male producers and traders in export production and trade. These power relations elevate some women and men to positions of control while subordinating others. The work performed involves productive, market and social reproductive relations within which power relations are embedded. Thus, the scope of the study involves exploring ways of revealing power relations and how they are gendered within the tasks performed in production and trade.

The analyses focus on export-oriented tasks in the marketing channel for fresh horticulture produce as well as the manifestation of power relations in the way market resources are acquired. Most of the horticulture produce is marketed fresh rather than

processed. The marketing channel used in the study is one that involves three sites: household, collection and exportation sites (*See Figure 3, Chapter 3 Section 3.9*). These form the initial units of analysis as they are the sites where work of production, selling, collection and exportation is undertaken. Emphasis is put on the gender division of labour, as well as the relations that prevail between and among female and male actors. The decisions made by both women and men in households in preparing produce for sale is investigated. However, at the collection and exportation sites, other actors, as well as the rules and norms of the institutions that support export trade, influence these decisions. Productive and market relations exist in the household, as well as at the collection and exportation sites. All are examined in order to find out how different positions that female and male farmers, collector and exporters occupy within the marketing channel enable or hinder them from accessing market resources. So, although the primary units of analysis are the farmers, collectors and exporters, the study goes further and deals with the sites as secondary units of analysis (this is further explained in the methodology chapter).

Although this study presents a case study that deals with a small fraction of women and men in Uganda, it helps to show that gender the relations between female and male actors as well as those between the sexes (women and women/men and men), should be considered in trade policy formulation in any country, and particularly in developing countries. For it is through understanding how power relations are embedded into these interactions, that trade policy planning and implementation can enable women and men to be effective actors in development.

1.5 Statement of the problem

This study focuses on the need to promote gender as a priority factor in economic policy planning. In most cases, policy makers neglect gender, yet it has consequences on the outcomes of economic policies. Trade liberalization is one of such economic policies, whose proponents neglected gender concerns within its design (Elson 1999). Earlier studies (see Elson 1995a,b, DAWN 1999, Williams 1999, GERA 2000) have shown that trade liberalization has led to increased gender inequality, thus reducing what would have been its positive impact. More so, the subordination of women has

worsened. However, these studies do not show how gender inequality is constructed, reproduced or perpetuated. This study fills such a gap, by using gender analysis to examine the manifestation and exercise of power in export-oriented production and marketing. Some of the manifestations are traced through subordination of women, the consequences of which include exploitation and exclusion.

In order to investigate this problem issue of lack of explanations for unequal power relations in export trade, this study formulates an appropriate conceptualization as well as a methodology that can be used to illustrate the construction; reproduction and perpetuation of gender inequalities in export trade. Gender analysis is used to examine the question of how power is manifested and exercised in export-oriented tasks and access to resources, and bases the analysis on two theories and arguments:

- The first one focuses on the dynamics through which **men exercise power over women** and argues that power relations are manifested **through the gender division of labour and the way it is organized** (Whitehead 1979). This study analyses such an argument by reflecting on the way gender relations involve power differentials that create positions of men as dominant and women as subordinate.

These socially organized roles are analysed, taking into consideration the differences between the export-oriented tasks undertaken by women compared to those by men. Male domination over direct income earning tasks is examined as well as cases where women are subordinated through the type of tasks they are allocated at household, collection and export sites. Further more, the extent to which arrangements for provision of resources required for production and marketing, creates hierarchical positioning is examined. The resultant power differences and manipulative actions are also analysed in ways that enable assessment of the characteristics of those women and men who have the power to influence decisions, set rules and therefore command the distribution and selling of production and market resources, while others cannot. This situation therefore brings up a second dimension within the gender analysis of power relations.

- The second, is drawn from a political economy perspective, and argues that such subordination, as mentioned above, is engraved within forces of social and economic power (Elson and Pearson 1984, 1997), which create different positions for women and men, **who have power to influence decisions and**

command resources, while others cannot. **Such power is exercised in various social settings that are institutionalized** (Kabeer, 1999; Rao et al, 1999). The manifestation and exercise of power is therefore analysed within the different sites that have institutionalized way of doing things, especially through having specific categories of people, who have the power to set up rules and procedures. The study identifies those who have such power and describes their characteristics.

In order to investigate such theories and arguments within the context of export trade, the study uses gender analysis to investigate power relations in export-oriented tasks and in access to market resources used for production and marketing of horticultural produces. This study can hopefully contribute to more gender-responsive trade policy planning.

1.6 Objectives and research questions for the study

This study has two main objectives:

1. To provide analytical explanations for the construction, reproduction and perpetuation of unequal power relations between women and men within export-oriented tasks and in processes of seeking access to production as well as market resources.
2. To explore how gender analysis can be used to examine the manifestation and exercise of power in export-oriented tasks, access to and control over resources at household, collection and exportation sites of the marketing channel for horticulture produce in Uganda.

The study was guided by four research questions:

- i) What are the patterns of gender division of labour in the production and marketing of horticulture exports?
- ii) What are the patterns of provision and acquisition of production and market resources among women and men participating in the production and marketing of horticultural exports(the marketing chain)?
- iii) How is power manifested and exercised within the export-oriented tasks (labour), access to and control over production as well as market resources?
- iv) How do the implications of the manifestations of power relations on gender division of labor and access to resources, provide an understanding of the construction and perpetuation of unequal power relations?

This study was further guided by sub-questions that were used in the field as well as during analysis of the information, in order to address each of the research questions given above. These included:

i) Patterns of gender division of labour

- a) What is the institutional nature of the household, collection and exportation sites?
- b) What are the characteristics of the female and male farmers, collectors and exporters?
- c) What are the differences between the tasks that women do and those performed by men in these different sites?

ii) Patterns of provision and acquisition of production and market resources among women and men

- a) How do some of the female and male farmers, collectors and exporters participate in resource provision to serve others? What is the criteria for becoming a resource or service provider; and what are the characteristics of such women and men?
- b) What processes do female and male farmers, collectors and exporters take to acquire the required resources?
- c) Who has access to and who has control over production or market resources among female and male farmers, collectors and exporters.

iii) Differences in the manifestation and exercise of power by women and men within export-oriented tasks (labour), access to and control over resources

- a) How is power exercised within the division of tasks; access to and control over resources at the different sites?
- b) How do differences in tasks undertaken as well as resource and service provision, create power differences among women and men at the different sites?
- c) How do women and men in different positions within the sites, influence decisions and choices of resource and service acquisition for those in lower positions?

iv) Analysis of key issues and formulation of the conclusions for this study were guided by focusing on the identification of the **conceptual and methodological contributions to the explanation of unequal power relations between women and men**. The following sub-questions were addressed:

- a) What are the conceptual and methodological perspectives that can be used to provide an understanding of the construction; reproduction and perpetuation of unequal power relations between women and men?

- b) What contribution does the gender analysis of the manifestation and exercise of power in the tasks (labour) and resource acquisition make towards the conceptual and methodological understanding of the construction; reproduction and perpetuation of unequal power relations between women and men?

The objectives given above, plus the research questions and sub-questions, provided an overall guide to the study.

1.6: Gender, Agriculture and Trade in Uganda: Social and Policy context

This section presents the macro-economic framework of Uganda's economy, within which women and men operate their export trade basing their tasks on the context of the horticulture sector. This is elaborated through identification and examination of gender concerns within the context of the economy and the national policies in the agriculture and trade sectors. The section begins by illustrating the ways in which both the broader economy and the context of horticulture production and export are organized by social economic characteristics that are bearers of gender. Next, attention is paid on gender concerns, especially the gender relations and division of labour which permeate the work as well as farmer-trader relationships in agricultural trade.

1.6.1 Uganda's social economic and demographic characteristics

In order to provide an understanding of the way gender is constructed within the economy, it is important to explain the situation of social economic characteristics which shape the gender differences that exist. Secondly, Uganda's economic performance helps to show the extent to which the agriculture sector has been promoted in ways that enable export trade to be a priority concern in the economy.

The first gender concern is the composition of the population in Uganda. According to the 2002 census, there were 12.6 million women out of a population of 24.7 million (Uganda population and housing census, 2002). Further elaboration of the gender differences by population is reflected in the available workforce. Out of the overall

population of 22 million in 1999⁷, 50% of the overall population was within the main working-age bracket of 15 to 64, with 51.0% of the female population in the working-age bracket. 43.5% of the female population was aged 15-49 years. It is therefore a key concern that such potential female work force can be provided with activities where they can profitably engage their labour. Production and marketing of horticulture products is an opportunity for such workforce.

The second gender concern in Uganda's economy is the household membership, which is considered to be made up of females and males with different needs. These needs have to be taken into consideration when planning for agricultural production that takes place within the household. Knowledge of household composition is essential for this study because the household is used as one of its units of analysis. The Uganda Bureau of Statistics defines a household as a group of people who normally live and eat together. The average household size in Uganda was reported as 4.8 persons in the 1991 Census, 5.2 in the 1999/2000 Household Survey, and 4.8 in the 2002 Population and Housing Census. The study examines the way decisions are made within the household and how power relations are put into action as roles through the division of labour in production and marketing.

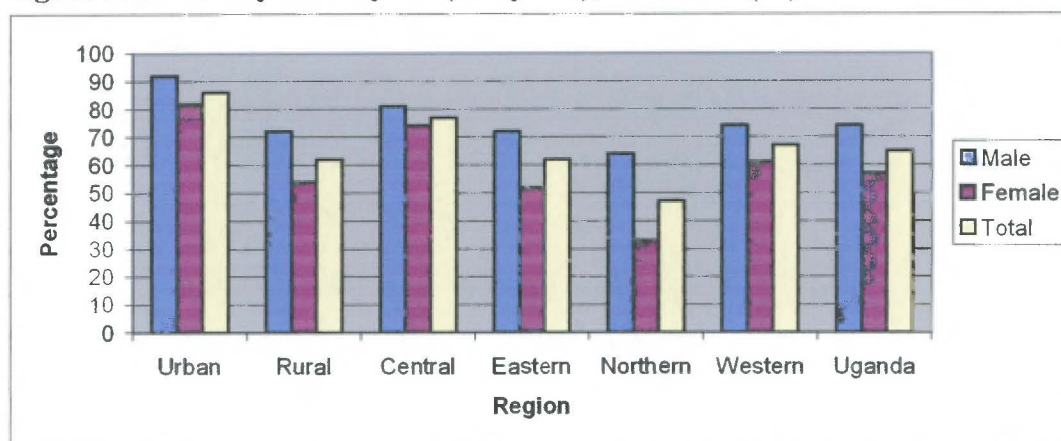
The third gender concern in Uganda's economy is the difference between literacy levels of women compared to men. The Household survey of 2001 indicated that education levels are key in acquiring skills that help in creating employment and gaining income. As such, literacy is a vital tool that would enable farmers and exporters to interpret information that is essential in export trade.

However, as indicated in the figure below, literacy levels in rural areas are lower than those in urban areas. Yet these are the areas where production, collection and sale of horticulture produce is mainly undertaken. Figure 1.1 below shows

⁷ The detailed figures for 2002 census were not yet available by the time this study was concluded.

that in both urban and rural areas in all regions of Uganda, women have lower literacy levels than men.

Figure 1.1: Literacy rates by sex (10+ years), 1999/2000 (%)



Source: Household survey 2001

The fourth gender concern is the gender differences in household income. Crop farming, contributes 46% of the total household income in rural areas of Uganda and 5% for urban households. Table 1.1 below shows that this income is earned by both male- and female-headed households (31% male-headed and 32% female headed). In terms of the government budget, the biggest percentage comes from donations by multilateral development partners and from other bilateral donors. This is not sustainable in the long run, and demands deliberate intervention efforts to address the situation.

Table 1.1: Source of household income and headship of household

SOURCE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME	RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION			GENDER OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Male	Female	Total
Crop farming	46	5	32	32	31	32
Other household enterprises	21	37	26	28	20	26
Salaries and wages	12	33	20	21	15	20
Current transfers	15	10	13	10	25	13
Property Income	6	15	9	9	9	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: household survey 1997, 1999/2000

Gender differences in employment and economic activities form the fifth gender concern in Uganda's economy. Formal and informal sectors are not necessarily separated within the economy. This is due to the fact that in most cases women and men are active in both sectors, not only in terms of the time they spend on activities in these sectors, but also earning salaries in both. Those who are more active in the formal sector, participate in the informal sector mainly to sustain their income. Much of the informal sector activities are made up of casual labour undertaken in farming, which is part of this study.

As Elson and Evers (1997) point out, gender differences in employment status are key indications of women's subordination. They note that the 'most significant source of gender-based price distortion in labour markets' originate from these gender differences within the agricultural labour force. The table below indicates that there are more women in the category of 'unpaid family worker' than men. This study deals with the production and marketing of horticulture produce where it is likely that some of the work undertaken is not paid for.

Table 1.2: Sex and type of economic activity undertaken

Activity	Male ('000)	Female ('000)	Total ('000)
Engaged in Economic Activity			
Self-employed	2429	1610	4038
Unpaid family worker	595	2356	2952
Government employees	194	63	257
Private employees	599	184	783
Sub-total	3817	4213	8030
Not Engaged in Economic Activity			
Too young or old and not able to work	2287	2267	4554
Student	4130	3620	7750
Attending domestic duties	139	719	858
Others	158	73	232
Sub-total	6714	6679	13394
TOTAL	10532	10892	21424

Source: Uganda National Household Survey 1999/2000 - UBOS

1.6.2 Uganda's economic performance and promotion of the agriculture sector

In the 1960s, Uganda had one of the most promising economies in sub-Saharan Africa. Between 1963 and 1970, the Gross Domestic Product growth averaged 6% per annum. The exports base was diversified and the country enjoyed a healthy balance of payments. However, during the 1970s, the economy experienced difficulties arising out of political strife and economic mismanagement by the military government. Real GDP declined by about 20%. In order to address this situation, the government launched an Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) in 1987 with support from development partners.

The ERP focused on several goals. The first of these was to control inflation through fiscal consolidation. Public spending was contained within a budget framework designed to restore financial discipline and macro-economic stability. Priority Programme Areas (PPAs) were identified, and these included the roads, primary education, primary health care, rural water supply, agricultural research and extension. Expenditure on these were protected from cuts.

A second element of the ERP involved liberalizing of the management of the exchange rate. This was a significant reform that provided incentives for major sectors, including agriculture, industry, trade and tourism. In addition, interest rates, as well as current and capital accounts, were liberalised. This facilitated of flow of capital. Furthermore, public finance institutions, notably the Uganda Commercial Bank (UCB) were privatized.

A third goal involved liberalising the trade policy environment and this is the policy onto which this study is based. Reforms in this area have included the removal of import barriers, elimination of licensing requirements, reduction of import tariffs and elimination of export taxes. In some cases, exporters have also been relieved of certain export tariffs. In the context of regional integration arrangements, such as East African Community (EAC) and COMESA, trade liberalisation and harmonisation of tariff structures continue to be implemented.

A fourth element involved promotion of private sector growth. The major thrust in this area involved implementing the investment code which took place in 1991, strengthening the public-private partnership, and abolishing state monopolies in utilities. In addition, the Government liberalised the marketing of agricultural produce that had previously been controlled by state trading corporations. Along with this process, came the deregulation of prices of agricultural products.

Other reforms included the civil service reform, which was aimed at improving public service delivery and the restructuring and repeal of some laws affecting development in the international economic order. Retrenchment, also led to the laying off of public service workers who had been working in clerical and other jobs, in particular those who had no required skills. Most of those laid off were women. The majority of the men who were laid off moved into farming activities, including horticulture production.

Since these reforms, the economy has grown by an estimated 6% per annum. Real GNP has grown by approximately 3.3% since 1990. Annual inflation varies between 7% and 8%. The manufacturing section has increased its share of domestic output from 4.6% in 1986 to a level of 10% in 2001. The average annual growth for the agriculture sector since 1995 has been 14.5%. This is more than twice the rate of growth of the entire economy. There has been considerable improvement in investment. The cross-domestic investment has averaged 15% since 1990. Foreign investment, although still low, has risen to 2% of GDP compared with 0.4% of GDP in the 1970s and early 1980s. Overall, investment forms about 17% of GDP. Tax revenue has improved. Since establishing of the Uganda Revenue Authority in 1991, this has risen to 11% of GDP.

The export sector has shown some improvement. Non-traditional exports, which include horticulture exports, are proving to be an important source of foreign exchange. Exports have continued to rise steadily, apart from the years when coffee export receipts declined. The growth of exports, combined with the increase in foreign remittances, have resulted in an improving balance of payments, from an overall deficit of 3.4% of GDP in 1990/91, to a surplus of 0.6% of GDP in 1998.

1.6.3 The policy environment for promotion of agriculture and trade

i) Agricultural and trade policy strategies

From the mid-1980s on wards, the Ugandan government considered enabling female and male producers and traders to participate in export trade as a major strategy to integrate them into the development process. This strategy was intended to implement trade liberalization policy at national level. It was also one of the efforts made by government to fulfill the commitments made to ensure economic empowerment of women as indicated in the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (1975) and Beijing Platform for Action signed in 1995. The provision of conducive policy environment that would enable women and men to participate in income-earning activities regarding agricultural exports was also considered to be a form of economic empowerment to the poor (PEAP 2000). Strategies that were set up to boost export trade to increase incomes of the poor included the diversification of agricultural products, the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA) and the upcoming Export trade policy. The government has used these strategies, together with the National Gender Policy, to address gender inequalities through policy formulation processes.

Despite these policy efforts, gender-based constraints such as subordination of women and unequal status for men have continuously been reported as persistent outcomes (PMA 1999). These trends have been observed since the implementation of trade liberalization using promotion of export trade. However, explanations concerning the causes and nature of these implications are not easily available in research documents. There is need for a thorough analysis of the impacts of those implementation processes that have excessively burdened women. There also is need to investigate the processes and relations that women and men engage in as they perform export-oriented work and strive to acquire resources needed for trade.

In addition to policy planning, women's organizations in Uganda have been lobbying government on the issues of gender equality in resource access and control, benefits and participation. However, there is little inclusion of gender equality measures at the

implementation level, apparently due to lack of practical guidelines on how to practically solve challenges of gender inequality in access to resources. In some cases, however, advocacy has forced government to consider women's access to resources as a priority issue in policy planning (AWEPON 1999, CEEWA 2001, UWONET 2003). Part of such advocacy actions have focused on gender critiques of agricultural policies, especially that of diversification of agriculture. This policy supports trade liberalization in terms of providing a variety of crops that can be grown to serve the diverse needs of the export market.

ii) Diversification of agricultural exports and its gendered effects

The uptake of agricultural export diversification in Uganda is one of the major policy reforms that was undertaken within the agriculture sector. Historically, since the 1980s, the main economic development strategy has been that of promoting the diversification of crops that could be exported as alternative crops to the traditional cash crops. Traditional cash crops were being hit by enormous price variability due to the decline in world prices (MFEPD 1998). There was therefore a shift to non-traditional cash crops as a way of diversifying the crops available for export (Dijkstra 2001). In the Ugandan context, while traditional exports are "long-term export cash crops formerly introduced to Uganda by colonial masters", non-traditional crops are those introduced from 1986 onwards (MFPEP 1998: 73). Examples of non-traditional crops include fruits, vegetables and flowers, passion fruit, chili, okra, hot pepper, vanilla, sesame seeds, maize and beans, among others; while traditional cash crops include coffee, cotton, tobacco and others.

Although initially the distinction between traditional and non-traditional agricultural exports was linked to colonial versus independent introduction of crops, today the link has more to do with the political and economic goals of the Government. One of the strategies which the NRM⁸ Government followed in reconstructing of a previously war ravaged country and to address poverty alleviation, was to emphasize production of export crops (Dijkstra 2001:2). This government also concentrated on rural women, who were recognized as forming the majority of small-scale producers. They performed

⁸ The National Resistance Movement took over power in 1986.

60% of agricultural work, but cultural practices reinforced their exclusion from decision-making regarding participation in market-oriented production, as well as sale of produce (Bibagamba 1996).

The gendered effects of agricultural diversification are mainly observed within changes that have had to be undertaken in agricultural production practices. This is due to the fact that the agricultural practices for diversified cash crops have to follow specific standards and methods of production since they also operate within the requirements of liberalized export trade. These changes in production methods have in most cases adversely affected farmers compounding already existing cultural and social legal barriers that in turn affect increased agricultural production (Bazaara 2001). Some of such barriers include subordination of women in ways that affect their access to income earning opportunities in agricultural production-related activities, as well as access to credit and capital. The detailed methods of production required for achieving specific sizes of produce, timely production periods, and sophisticated ways of applying pesticides, have also led changes in the skills needed for performing these tasks. Unfortunately, training in such skills has mostly been provided to men, with the assumption that they will in turn transfer these skills to women (UWONET 1995).

In most cases, such changes in tasks undertaken and skills needed have also led to alterations in the gender division of labour (Kasente et al 2001) and these changes in roles are followed by changes in decision-making rights. Men mainly hold these, while women merely implement these decisions, which limit their authority in deciding on production plans and activities (ibid). Moreover, changes in agricultural production methods have led to less remuneration for female farmers' labour because they have unequal bargaining power compared to male farmers (ibid).

The gender focused vision of the government to empower women economically and politically has been realised through the formulation of the National Gender Policy (1995), which is a guiding principle for all policy planning, including the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (see PEAP 2001) and the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture policy framework (see PMA 2000). As pointed out earlier, these two policy strategies

make it a political and economic priority to increase the capacity of female and male poor farmers, as well as to improve their access to markets. This is done through government budgetary allocations to programmes that support production and marketing of non-traditional crops, as well as creating an enabling environment for the private sector to provide essential infrastructure needs for the producers. The 1986 introduction of non-traditional export crops therefore served as:

- ◆ a new economic incentive, as well as reintroducing crops that had been introduced after independence, but which had not brought significant change to farmers' livelihoods
- ◆ a poverty-alleviation strategy to empower women to participate in the global trend of export-oriented production and trade.

Export diversification also promoted both industrial and agricultural products and attempted to increase the number of the country's exports. In this case, export of non-traditional crops (especially horticulture crops) was encouraged in order to increase the country's foreign exchange earnings. Working on these assumptions concerning export diversification, the Uganda government, through its Ministry of Economic Planning (MFPED 1998) indicated that this strategy would:

- Reduce reliance on few export items and crops, and thus increase foreign exchange
- Reduce fluctuations of export earnings, hence maintaining a stable balance of payments position
- Promote economic growth, as there is a quantitative increase and supply of both goods and services
- Increase employment opportunities, as economic activities are expanded.

What follows is an overview of the involvement of farmers in Uganda in the production of non-traditional agricultural exports, especially horticulture produce and the contribution this has made to the economy.

1.6.4 The situation of production and trade of horticulture products in Uganda

i) Production and export of horticulture products

Although non-traditional agricultural exports have increased Uganda's export earnings from US\$ 50 to 100 million a year, more needs to be done. This is due to the need to increase total export earnings and reduce fluctuations in revenues from exports as a

“strategy for restoring Uganda's balance of payments” (Dijkstra 2001:iii). The horticulture sector mostly involves small-scale producers and export traders. However, it has shown much improvement compared to the tea and fish industries, which are heavily funded by big multinational companies and operated by large-scale exporters. This explains why it is so important to research on this sector. The table below shows the situation of the horticulture sector between 1997 and 2002.

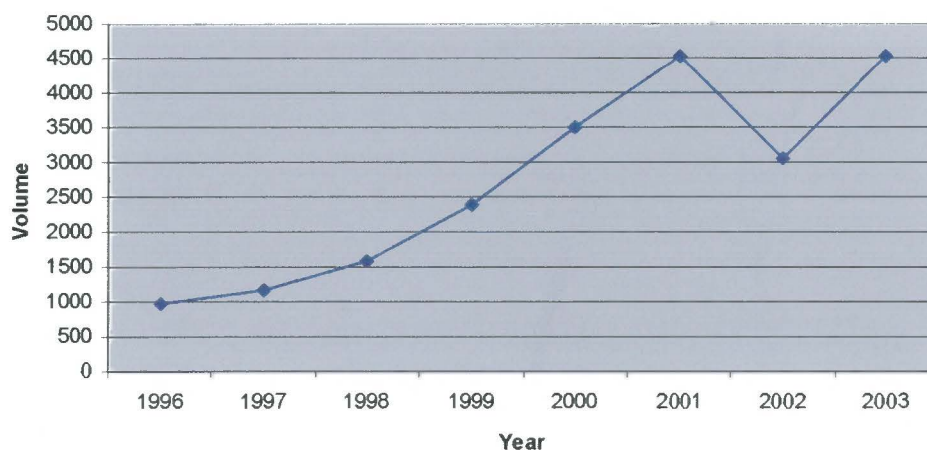
Table 1.3: Volumes of Selected Horticultural Exports 1995-2001(in '000 kgs)

Product	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	Jan-June 2002
Hot pepper	107	254	466	618	541	330
Pineapples		39	52	35.9	75	83
Chilies	92	173	139	112	220	187
Okra	52	113	99	106.1	52	53
Matooke	451	486	665	977	829	609
Apple Bananas	144	111	91	83	87	80
Passion Fruits	38	34	30	8	6	10

Source: Annual Statistics of High Value Exports compiled by Agibusiness Development Center (ADC) IDEA Project

This table shows that the fruit and vegetables sector has realized tremendous growth since 1990. During 1991, the major fresh produce exports were estimated to be worth US\$ 600,000 rising to US\$ 1.42 m in 1996. In 1999, export volumes increased to US\$ 3.3m from US\$ 2.8 in 1998 showing a growth of 17% (UEPB 2002: 24).

Figure 1.2: Volume of Fruits and Vegetables exports in Uganda (1995- 2003)⁹



Source: drawn with reference to Annual statistics of high value exports compiled by Agribusiness Development Center (ADC) IDEA Project

This figure, together with the table 1.4 below, show the volume of produce exported and those of fresh produce have been increasing steadily. However, total values have been stable, particularly from the year 1999 to 2001. In 2001, there was a slight reduction in value because total exports of French beans more than halved from 125 Metric tone (valued at US \$ 264,005 in the year 2000) to 51 metric tone (valued at US\$ 56,294) in 2001.

Table 1.4: Total Exports of Fruits and Vegetables from 1991,1996-June 2002

Year	Values in US \$	Volumes in Mt.
1991	600,000	720
1996	1,420,000	985
1997	1,830,000	1,175
1998	2,800,000	1,580
1999	3,300,000	2,393
2000	3,652,813	3,500
2001	3,561,254	4,528
2002	2,055,325	3,060

Source: Annual Statistics of High Value Exports compiled by Agribusiness Development Center (ADC) IDEA Project

This study focuses on two of the crops that small-scale producers have concentrated on for purposes of export. Exports of hot pepper have continued to increase in both

⁹ the data that was used to draw the line graph is attached in appendix 3b.

volumes and values. Hot pepper is now the leading vegetable export, followed by chilies and matooke. Ugandans have become major exporters of hot pepper to the United Kingdom. The market for okra is improving as more orders are being received and new exporters are entering the trade. In addition, the establishment of Fresh Handling Limited, has solved the problem of inadequate cargo space for exporters. This has enabled export throughout the year at reasonable rates.

ii) The demand side factors of the horticulture sector

The demand and supply issues in horticulture production and export trade are essential for this study, because they show the prospects and challenges facing export trade of horticulture crops. Here these demand related factors of the horticulture sector, and how these promote or hinder export trade are highlighted.

The first demand-related factor relates to quality standards requirements for export products. Market access conditions include sanitary and phyto-sanitary (SPS) product requirements, and these have proved to be the biggest hindrances faced by exporters from Uganda (UEPB 2002). Exporters of horticultural produce lost 40% of their export produce in 1999/2000 due to non-compliance with SPS standards set by the importers. Likewise, the European Union's fish importation ban was based on these SPS requirements, and this led to the loss of US\$ 21 million in export earnings between 1998 and 2000 (Sengendo and Tumushabe 2002).

One example of these quality standards is the Minimum Residue Monitoring Requirement. This is an EU SPS entry requirement that is a prospective threat to agricultural (unprocessed) exports, including coffee and fresh fruits and vegetables. Environmental standards are an entry requirement for export to Europe, yet the information on how these standards can be met is scanty, and exporters have difficulty in accessing it (UEPB 2002). Although Uganda's preferential Agreements with the EU should in theory grant access to their markets, these standards have prevented easy entry into the export market.

Another challenging demand factor concerns the distribution channels. The nature of the distribution channels in the EU has made it extremely difficult for exporters to access the most lucrative selling points close to the final consumers (Dijkstra 2001). Exporters cannot sell directly to consumers or the retailers because most of them sell to middlemen and commission agents. Unfortunately, they end up being paid less for their products. Most marketing outlets and multiple retail chains require products for which supply in both quality and volume is guaranteed. These requirements are still too onerous for exporters to meet, and as a result they end up selling through agents, who are mostly men (Dijkstra 2001).

Another factor is that of competition. The globalization of procurement options by European importers has meant that a comparative advantage no longer constitutes a competitive advantage. The Internet has afforded European buyers access to global procurement options. By contrast, Ugandan exporters are often computer-illiterate and lack access to the Internet (UEPB 2002). Lack of access to such technology leads to low bargaining power, as exporters miss out on market information that would enable them to compete with other exporters in other countries (Dijkstra 2001). The geographical location of Uganda also poses challenges because of dependence on airfreight and lack of alternative means of transport by sea. In addition, other elements of production are still more costly in Uganda than elsewhere, capital, finance, labour, packing materials and utilities in particular. When these elements are built into price-quotations, Uganda ceases to be competitive in terms of either price or quality.

Export financing is another demand-side factor that hinders exporters' efforts. Governments and businesses among the importing countries carry out export financing. Meanwhile, Uganda's exports become less attractive to buyers as they are expensive; and exporters sometimes have only small quantities of goods or produce because they lack capital for investment (UEPB 2002). The typical Ugandan exporter requires cash-flow support in the short and medium term through credit facilities. This is crucial in enabling them to deal with the competition they face from other countries and to remain active in the export market (UEPB 2002). Even in cases where export credit was available from the Bank of Uganda, exporters found repayment costs too high to

recover through their trading activities (FAUEX 2002). Lack of local credit and trade Insurance schemes at affordable terms has meant that even those exporters willing to sign letters of credit, cannot take up the opportunities such instruments offer (UEPB 2002).

Another factor is that of limited contractual obligation between the importer and exporters. A survey by the Uganda Export Promotion Board noted that Uganda's exporters have not been able to negotiate the necessary safeguards into their supply contracts. This means that most of the exporters of perishable products operate on an ad hoc open account basis rather than through letters of credit or bank guarantees. Yet such ad hoc accounts are legally binding and some exporters have been cheated and have lost their business capital as a result of non-payment and bad debts. This situation has created conflict between local producers and exporters, because in some instances, the exporters cannot pay the producers due to lack of payments from the importers.

iii) The supply-side factors of the horticulture sector

One of the supply-side factors is the need for up-to-date import data. Exporters lack such information, especially detailed, comprehensive, up-to-date information on product specifications, quality, packaging, prices and varieties relevant to international markets. Where it is available, it is often too expensive for institutions to disseminate this information (Sengendo and Mbowa 2003). Sengendo and Mbowa point out that the information access problems that exporters face are caused by lack of appropriate institutional arrangements for the delivery of the resources needed. This lack of delivery systems affects female exporters more than male exporters, as there is a dearth of other ways of obtaining support, apart from the formal institutions designated for delivering information (ibid). Efforts made by the Uganda Export Promotion Board as well as other institutions to disseminate such information, have mostly not trickled down to the bulk of exporters and farmers (UEPB 2002).

Another supply-side factor concerns inadequate infrastructure, such as the lack of refrigerated transportation, collection centers, export processing zones and storage chains. This has increased the losses that exporters incur, especially between the farms

and the airport (Dijkstra 2002). This in turn increases costs for the export business, and erodes the confidence of buyers of Uganda's fresh produce. Such a bottleneck also escalates post-harvest losses, which are already in the region of 40% for fresh fruits and vegetables (Ulrich et al 1999). Such levels are among the highest in the world (UEPB 2002). Such infrastructural problems have resulted in reduced export volumes of the more lucrative fresh fruits and vegetables, where Uganda would otherwise have enjoyed a comparative advantage (FAUEX 2002).

Another supply-side factor is the need for crop and export-oriented research. Agricultural research is locally focused, concentrating mainly on food security, and sometimes on meeting the raw material requirements of local manufacturers. However, sometimes the varieties of crops, and access to appropriate planting materials, are not compliant with the export market requirements (FAUEX 2002). Agricultural research needs to be sufficiently responsive to international market trends. In an opinion interview undertaken by FAUEX, exporters complained of their "no-win" situation: when the varieties are right, the quality is inadequate; when the quality is acceptable, the volumes are insufficient to meet the demands of the international buyers. And where both the quality and quantities are right, there is insufficient infrastructure to handle the order (FAUEX 2002). Research efforts therefore need to be refocused towards meeting foreign market demand patterns.

Low volumes of products are another challenging supply-side factor. Commercial production of exportable products remains a problem. Households operating on subsistence modes of production produce most of the non-traditional agricultural exports. This farming system makes it hard to ensure the consistency of supply, quality and variety required in international markets (Dijkstra 2002). This has tended to dampen demand for Uganda's exports abroad, as importers are reluctant to deal with the unreliable supplies produced by subsistence farmers (UEPB 2002).

Another supply-side factor concerns the geographical bottlenecks. Being landlocked, exporters have to airlift their merchandise to export markets at higher than average freight costs rendering them uncompetitive. Air transport is inadequate when compared

with other regional airports; flights from Uganda's Entebbe airport costs are 40% more than those of Nairobi, Kilimanjaro and Dar es Salaam airports (FAUEX 2002). FAUEX also reports that in 2002, there was only one cargo carrier at Entebbe, the other carriers were all passenger operators with little cargo space. In addition, passenger carriers are not flexible enough for the cargo market. These transport constraints have had a debilitating effect on the volumes and sales of perishable fresh fruits, vegetable, flowers and fish.

The supply and demand factors described above, reflect the potential of Uganda's horticulture export sector, but also show that there is an urgent need to improve this sector. This would in turn improve Uganda's economic development, enabling its export earnings to move from a marginal to a more substantial contribution to the national budget. In 2000, exports fetched only US\$ 438,910,000 compared with US\$ 1.510 billions in 1998. The horticulture industry contributed US\$16 million to this figure. Trade deficits are also part of this situation. The biggest percentage of the country's budget comes in the form of donations from multilateral development partners and other bilateral donors. This is not sustainable in the long run, and demands deliberate intervention. To this end, government has put in place institutions such as the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS), Plan for the modernization of Agriculture (PMA), and the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) to improve export performance. In addition to these, the government has established several institutions aimed at improving prospects for agricultural exports. The private sector has also embarked on setting up institutions that can deliver services to exporters and farmers. One of these institutions is the Federation Of Associations Of Uganda Exporters (FAUEX).

iv) Marketing channels for horticulture exports

In Uganda, both female and male actors participating in export trade operate within an economy whose marketing channels are not yet sufficiently organized to support the efficient working system that international trade requires. Yet these actors aim to access the same export markets as their counterparts from developed economies, which

have effective marketing channels. As such, this study looks at a situation where both female and male actors are disempowered by both the conditions of export that are practiced inside Uganda and those used in the importing countries. The main marketing channel for horticulture includes movement of produce from household level, through collection centers and exportation firms that link with the airport at Entebbe (Uganda Export Promotion Board 2002). This study focuses on this type of marketing channel.

1.6.4 Access to land as a production resource in Uganda

From the current social and household perspective, customary land rights govern access to land¹⁰ as a production resource. Religion, level of education and exposure has to a certain extent contributed to resistance and changes to customary arrangements of property transfer and allocation that discriminate against women (Ovonji-Odida and Sengendo 1996). Although each household can set up its own rules for property allocation and transfer, customary rules were pointed to both female and male producers as major reference points by many families.

Most of the women in Uganda do not have land ownership rights, but have user rights instead. This enables them to use land that belongs to their husbands, fathers or which is or will be inherited by their sons. In research among the Konjo, Manyire, 1993 observed that men were able to engage in purchasing and selling of land because they owned it, unlike the women. In addition to this, within the labour market, payment of bride wealth by a man to a woman's parents entitles the husband to the wife's labour. The proceeds from that labour therefore belong to the man, as does whatever the woman produces or acquires upon marriage (ibid). The above explanations shape our understanding of the changes in agriculture and some of the results of the move from growing traditional cash crops entirely, to the production of non-traditional crops.

¹⁰ The rules for accessing and controlling land during pre-colonial periods were very different. During pre-colonial periods, peasants had to provide labour, taxes and establish client relations with the *Kabaka* (*Luganda word for King*) in order to gain access to land (Tripp 2000:30). Women were kept in a subordinate position and were only considered as dependants of their fathers or husbands. This meant that only men could become clients. Women's exclusion from clientelism, their status as dependants and the fact that their only chances to lay claim to land came through either childbearing or cultivation (Tripp 2000; Musisi 1991), continued to characterise women's access to land in the post-independence period.

As such, land is still dominantly allocated through either inheritance or marriage (mostly marriage in the case of women). On the other hand, formal rules have been set up in the Land Reform Act. During the formulation of the Land Act of 1998, women's movement's struggled to ensure that the ownership rights of women would be strengthened by joint ownership of land. Although this suggestion put before parliament for approval, it was not passed (MFPED 2001:104). Another proposal that did not succeed was one that sought to link ownership rights to output of agricultural labour (where women contribute the most), (UWONET 1996). By neglecting output of agricultural labour as a determining factor for ownership of land, men are advantaged, while women are disadvantaged. Land ownership in the Buganda region, where the study was undertaken, is mainly in the form of *mailo*¹¹ and *Kibanja*.

1.7 Outline of thesis chapters

This first chapter has provided the introduction and background as well as the rationale for conducting this study. The scope of the study has been highlighted and the problem issue explained. The key concerns within the problem statement have been provided, followed by the objectives of the study. The research questions that guided the study have been given as well as the sub-questions that were used for the collection of information and analysis of data. This chapter has also provided information on gender concerns within the macro-economic and as well as national level policy context. Specific focus has been put on gender assessment of agriculture and trade sectors in Uganda, including the policy context within which horticulture export trade operates.

Chapter two provides literature review of both the theoretical field as well as showing the relevance of this literature to the policy context at international and national (Ugandan) level. The historical perspective of gender theory and how this has been connected with development theory over time, is an important element of this review. This assessment highlights the relevance of feminist theoretical literature to the

¹¹ *Mailo* land is a form of land ownership where the land lord has a land title. He/she can then lease out that land as a plot of land called *Kibanja*

concerns of this study and provides a basis for identification of an appropriate conceptual framework, which is then addressed in chapter three.

Chapter three presents the Methodology that guides this study. It is divided into three sections. The first section explains the theoretical framework, which is mainly the application of Gender and development theory. This theoretical perspective is then explored through section two to identify and define concepts that are used in this study. Such exploration enables formulation of the conceptual framework that provides explanations for the construction, reproduction and perpetuation of gender inequality in horticultural production, marketing and trading. The third section presents the research approach and methods used in this study. It describes and justifies the choice and use of the methods selected. Further more; the section describes how these methods were used to explore the research questions. The category of information that each method set out to generate is given as well as the type of respondents. The chapter ends by outlining the success achieved through different methods as well as the problems that were faced during the fieldwork process.

Chapter four focuses on the description of findings from the three sites of the specified marketing channel. This chapter is divided up into three sections, which represent the three sites: the household, collection and exportation sites. Each section presents findings from a site. Each section therefore describes a specific site according to the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the women and men who participate at that site; the division of tasks undertaken; and the process of provision and acquisition of resources by women and men. Each of these sections presents a description of the findings from the specific site. The issues that depict the manifestation and exercise of power within tasks and resource acquisition are discussed within the analysis of findings that follows in chapter five.

Chapter five focuses on analysis and discussion of the findings from each site. Further analysis is then done across the three sites in order to draw out salient points from the findings that illustrate how gender analysis of power relations in export-oriented tasks and access to resources, provides an understanding of the construction, and perpetuation

of unequal power relations. The strategies, which women and men use to challenge and resist control and subordination, are analysed in order to show the acts of autonomy that result. Finally, the chapter demonstrates the appropriateness of using gender analysis to show the manifestation and exercise of power.

Chapter six provides the final conclusions about the study drawing on the experiences of female and male farmers, collectors and exporters. It highlights the contribution that this study has made on the conceptual and methodological perspectives of understanding the construction, reproduction and perpetuation of gender inequalities in tasks and access to resources by women and men. This chapter therefore points out key issues, which show that gender analysis serves not only as a useful tool that examines how power relations are manifested in concrete ways within export trade. It also provides a basis for understanding how power relations create gender hierarchies that perpetuate situations of subordination and autonomy. Suggestions are made on how to resolve this situation. The chapter also comments on the efficacy of the methodology used. This is done by making conclusions about the appropriateness of the methodology and the role of gender in the organization of the tasks and the relations that female and male actors engage in. It makes conclusions about the extent to which the methodology generated appropriate information. The chapter ends by indicating areas for further research and analysis.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the literature review for this study. It identifies existing information as well as gaps that need to be filled in order to examine the construction and perpetuation of unequal power relations in export trade. This is done through a review of some of the research literature available as well as theoretical literature that focuses on feminist debates on gender and macro economic policies. This will expose the dangers of gender neutrality of neo-liberal macro economic theory, which is the backbone of trade liberalization. The literature review also provides a historical perspective of gender theory and approaches, and how these have been used to intervene into the development agenda. Such literature helps to assess the relevance of these approaches to the concerns of this study, in particular, the analysis of power relations in export trade. The manifestation of power relations in export trade is then reviewed through focusing on the policy context of trade liberalization. Gaps in information are identified, especially in terms of gendered effects of trade liberalization. The literature review begins with a historical trend that shows the contribution of feminist¹² views and ideas in shaping interventions within the development agenda and how gender and trade fit into such concerns.

¹² Feminism has different meanings. Even though it may mean an awareness of women's subordination whether at home, work or society, including the response undertaken through group actions (Moore 1988: 10), it cannot be limited to that. The understanding of feminism from a point of view of effort made to challenge subordination of women is very important to note, because it takes on the form of an international political and intellectual movement as Mama (2003:5) indicates. As such, although the issue of concern for unequal power relations in export trade may be local, its connection to the international trade system affects many women and is a concern to women, especially in Africa. There is therefore a growing awareness of women themselves to re-act to development forces, such as liberalization and globalisation, especially since these changes aggravate unequal power relations. Reflection of developmental feminism, as Mama (2003:6) calls it, is currently visible as negotiations and forms of organizing to challenge such unequal power relations are being undertaken by different groups of women. According to Mama, development feminism is a "product of the liaison between Western-dominated feminism and the development industry", and links back to the "global development interest in women" that the UN Decade opened up (2003:6). The African perspective needs to be outlined through examples of the actions that women can engage in and how men respond to such behaviour. This study provides such an example.

2.2 From Women in Development to Gender and Trade

Development practitioners have over years, embarked on various strategies to find ways of ensuring that both women and men participate in and benefit from development programmes. Such strategies reflect the demands made through feminist initiatives to challenge the development discourse and agenda in ways that influence planning and implementation of programmes to be centered on the needs of those who participate. Mobilizing and organizing for purposes of influencing policy and programmes, has been undertaken over a period of time (as discussed through the historical perspective) and the purpose has been mainly to suggest ways of planning to avoid aggravating unequal power relations that already exists in many societies. Such effort has been undertaken not only at international level, especially through the four world conferences¹³, but also at national level. Such events and the discussions that have been undertaken, illustrate how feminists' views have been changing and getting enhanced towards critiques of development and its economic interventions, such as trade. Their views have been getting more and more articulated towards the development concerns and needs that have been experienced during a specified period and according to the global agenda for development at such a time. It is therefore important for this study to review the relevance of such feminist evolving agenda and its intervention into development concerns. This will enable linkages to gender and trade, which is the concern of this study.

Approaches to gender in development have evolved from that of Women in Development (WID) to Women and Development (WAD), and to Gender and Development (GAD). Apart from these, recently, the commitments made in the Millenium Declaration have meant that equal rights and opportunities of women and men are considered as key development goals (Celceski 2004). This historical shift

¹³ Initially women and gender issues were only discussed in fora where these were the basic items on the agenda for discussion and negotiation (such as the UN conferences on women in Mexico 1975, Nairobi forward looking strategies for women, 1985; fourth world conference on women, Beijing 1995). However, women's advocacy organizations have made a head way in making demands and ensuring that policy discussions on the World Trade Organisation and its market access conditions, consider gender concerns as priority issues in the negotiations. Women's participation, their share in the benefits and their access to markets, have therefore been reflected in agenda items for discussion in for a such as the WTO conference that was in Cancun, Mexico in 2003.

from WID to GAD and then to sector concerns, such as gender and trade, illustrates the transformation of the feminists' agenda as a way of striving to challenge and intervene into the development goals operating at a specified period.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the WID approach focused on the goal of integrating women into existing development programmes. The focus during this period was on the role of women as participants in economic development such as agricultural activities. Therefore, development agencies and governments embarked on institutionalizing a women's focus within development projects and programs (Razavi and Miller 1995). It was therefore recognized that women, especially in developing countries, were subordinated as 'women', having been excluded from development (Mbilinyi 1992). Within this approach, it was argued, that increasing women's participation in income generating projects, their access to credit, employment and land, would enable programmes to be more effective, especially in terms of achieving growth and productivity. Policy makers by then assumed that such development programmes, as well as technological advancement and modernisation in agricultural production, would raise the standard of living and benefit all people, including women. Boserup (1970) disagreed with this, arguing that instead within agrarian societies; modernization resulted in intensified oppression of women, as technological advancement drew them back to subsistence tasks than liberating them. This approach of integrating women in development was further criticized for considering women as a homogenous group and neglecting the consequences of different social realities, such as the relationships between women and men. Apart from that, attention was paid to women's productive work (Rathgeber 1990: 492) without taking into consideration their reproductive tasks and the nature and source of their oppression.

The shortcomings of the WID approach as well as the challenges of development in the mid- 1970s, steered the formulation of the Women and Development approach. This approach considered the analysis of class, the exploitation of the third world and the assertion that women's oppression would not end under capitalism. There was a call to recognise the importance of women's unpaid labour to development since women perform work both inside and outside of their homes (Shiraz, 1997). The WAD

approach argued that women should be considered as active participants in development processes. It was assumed that women's position would improve if there were structural changes at both national and international level. As a result, there were calls for increased interventions in the economic, political and social structures at all levels. This approach enabled greater awareness of the importance of inclusion of women in development and guarded against increasing their exploitation. However, the WAD approach failed to take into consideration the existence of patriarchy and its contribution to women's subordination, since it assumed that change in institutional structures would automatically improve women's participation in development.

Later, Western social feminist theory generated 'gender' as concept that was then considered as the Gender and Development approach (Young 1997, Whitehead 1979). This approach argued for the need to understand the socially and culturally defined roles, responsibilities and expectations assigned to women and men within the family as well as at community level. The use of gender as an analytic category was therefore introduced instead of focusing on women in isolation, thus bringing the gender theory into operation. In doing so, this approach provided an entry point to the analysis of development policies and programs, such as those of trade. It was realized that GAD approach could enable understanding of social relations as well as recognition of women's roles inside and outside of the household. Unequal power relation between women and men could then be addressed in ways that could even expose exclusion as an aspect of subordination (Whitehead 1979).

Development practioners and policy makers have taken up the GAD approach through mainstreaming gender in policies and programmes. Such obligation is also part of governments' commitment towards fulfilling the goals of the Beijing Platform for Action that promotes gender equality, development, and peace. In addition to this effort, advocacy institutions and women's organisations¹⁴ as well as researchers are demanding for a rights-based approach to economic policy. Such an approach "aims at strengthening the realization of human rights, including social, economic and cultural

¹⁴ Some of those organizations include: the International Gender and Trade Network, Centre of Concern, AWID, GERA, AWEAPON.

rights and recognizes women's agency, their rights and obligations as citizens" (Grown, Elson and Cagatay, 2000 p. 1154). Although the issue of unequal power relations fits within the concerns of the right-based approach, the details of such an approach are not addressed in here as they are beyond the scope of this study.

The GAD approach offered a wider perspective that enabled gender theory to be relevant to the changing development process, by considering the totality of women's lives. It can therefore be used to examine the inequalities in development related fields such as export trade, including the gender division of tasks and resource acquisition, as this study intends to apply it.

2.3 Researching on gender relations within macro-economic policies

Export trade, which operates within trade liberalization as a gender-neutral policy should be examined in order to explain how producers and traders can respond to liberalized markets and trade activities. Such a policy embodies inherent bias against women (Elson 1992). There is need to take into consideration the social and political dynamics of non-price and institutional factors, such as gender, in order to uncover the gender inequalities involved in its implementation. As noted earlier on, the price, supply and demand factors on which trade liberalization is based, assume that increased prices and free market conditions will stimulate increased production and participation of producers and traders in marketing. The question still not yet answered is whether a focus on institutional issues can be relevant in providing an explanation for gender relations within export trade. As does this study, Kabeer (1994) suggests that the social relations of gender can be an entry point into explaining how gender constructs the tasks and actions (what is done and how it is done) of a complex situation that include institutional issues. As such, these liberalized markets can be considered as institutions that determine the actions of individuals who interact for the purpose of exchanging produce. Unfortunately, as Kabeer notes, there are "few institutions that profess to ideologies of gender inequality" and as such, "the analysis of institutions require going beyond their official goals and ideologies, to unpacking them by examining the actual relationships and processes by which they are constituted" (1994:281). There is therefore need to examine the relations of women and men as they undertake the tasks

and seek to acquire resources within the process of participating in export trade-related activities as this study suggests.

In cases where effort has been made to highlight the importance of gender in export trade, consideration has been mainly put on participation of women and men (AWEAPON 2001). As such, lack of increased participation of women in export trade is considered as the major problem facing liberalised markets. But I argue that it is not participation *per se* that can help us to understand the gendered nature of export trade. We need to analyse the power relations, which govern the rules, resources, activities and the actors within the marketing channels of specific horticultural crops. These power relations form the basis of effective, efficient and equitable marketing channels that enable sustainable and transformative market processes that serve the desired changes in the economy.

Previous studies have not paid attention to the significance of power relations between women and men (of different social categories) in determining the outcomes of export trade. Studies have also failed to provide in-depth assessment of the conflicts and manipulations found within the process of marketing. Yet since exchange transaction involves negotiations and bargaining, there are bound to be differences in power between the actors operating within export trade. So there is a need to understand gender relations within export trade transactions. There are two studies that specifically addressed the embeddedness of gender relations in markets. These include Pujo's (1997) research on rice markets in Guinea and Harriss-White's (1998) comparative study of female and male grain marketing systems in West Africa and India. Through formulating a methodology for examining the embeddedness of gender relations in markets, Pujo focused on gender ideologies and the contrary effects these have on the gendering of tasks, control over technologies and capital markets. She analysed the impacts of these ideologies on structural aspects of the markets. Harriss-White articulated the gender construction of markets by focusing on institutional autonomy through questioning how and why "social institutions of production, household reproduction and the reproduction of gender ideologies enable certain kinds of female participation and constrain others" (1998: 193). She guards against generalizing and

calls for empirical analysis in order to examine what Boserup had identified as a general trend as early as 1970. Boserup (1970) had indicated that female farming systems had female traders while male farming systems had male traders, and that the division of labour was “related forwardly with those in markets” (Boserup 1970: 87-92; Harriss-White 1998:193). Although Pujo (1997) explained the embeddedness of gender in markets as an outcome of “residualisation”, “compatibility” and “cultural”¹⁵ considerations, Harriss-White commented that a general explanation was not possible and there was little empirical support for one (1998:194). She indicates a need for further research into gender and export markets.

The next section reviews the different ways through which the planning of the trade liberalization policy, as one of the development policies, neglected gender concerns, and how its assumptions have failed to support the strategies that address gender inequalities. The relevance of the gender and development approach to the analysis of the trade liberalisation policy is then reflected on through reviewing its gendered effects. Such a review helps to reveal the inequalities that exist in the participation as well as benefits that women and men experience as they engage in the practices and tasks that are undertaken in export trade.

2.4. Feminist debates on gender and macro-economic policies

2.4.1 Critique of gender neutrality of assumptions of Trade liberalization

A combination of “globalisation...new technologies, trade liberalization...have drawn women into employment..and have led to a new model of business practice that requires increasing flexibility through 'just-in-time' delivery, tighter control over inputs and standards, and ever-lower prices. This has had the heaviest impact on workers at the bottom of the supply chain. While retailers (supermarket, departmental store at international level) who are at the top of global supply chains have benefited from increased flexibility, they have used their power in supply chains to

¹⁵ These are concepts which Pujo and Harriss-White used to explain the gendering of trade in West Africa. “Residualisation” indicates cases where production became increasingly dominated by men due to commercialization. “Compatibility” refers to situations where women are found in the market in cases where social reproduction requires market exchange as well as labour; and with the “cultural” argument, considers female identity as involving both fertility and independence.

systematically push many costs and risks of business on to producers, who in turn pass them on to workers, especially women” (Raworth, 2004: summary and p.6)¹⁶.

The quotation above, points out issues that are based on the global context of economic processes, which include trade liberalization. These processes impact on the production as well as export tasks that women mostly participate in. This is true for the agricultural sector in the African countries, including Uganda, which are involved in the implementation of trade liberalization. Farmers and exporters have to comply with the requirements of the importers in developed countries, which include timely delivery of the products, use of specified in-puts as production resources and ensuring quality standards, to point out a few. Some of those importers deal with retail trade through supermarkets and departmental stores, thus have specific customers who require the products to be on time, be of a specific quality and quantity and be delivered in specified packaging materials. However, women who are the ones mostly dealing with such tasks, are excluded through being “denied their fair share of the benefits” (Raworth 2004: 4). The proponents of trade liberalization based their planning on assumptions that, unfortunately, are not always applicable to the situations within which the implementation process operates. Such mismatch of what was assumed at policy as well as international level and what is practically happening at local level can be one of the contributing factors for the perpetuation of gender inequalities as indicated in the review that follows.

2.4.2 The assumptions, conditions and operation of trade liberalization policy

Trade liberalization is among the array of economic policies advanced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank for adoption by highly indebted poor countries (HIPC), a group that includes Uganda. It involves relaxation of government control over the economy. African governments embarked on trade liberalization as a strategy for economic growth that takes into consideration strategies for poverty reduction. They also wanted this policy to take into consideration strategies for poverty reduction. However, literature on trade liberalization points out that what

¹⁶ Words in italics have been added in for emphasis

has remained challenging is the failure to achieve equitable distribution of gains as an outcome of this policy (Fontana et al 1998). Increased competition, the expansion of products for sale and the widening of market opportunities (as part of trade liberalization), have benefited women and men from developed countries more than those in developing countries. In Uganda, trade liberalization started between 1990 and 1994 as a result of the stabilization and structural adjustment policies introduced during this period. Trade liberalization in Uganda was undertaken under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) while establishing stable exchange rates and financial assistance for countries in trade difficulties was the task of the IMF. Dean et al (1994), Thomas and Nash et al (1991) identify three main characteristics of liberalization: trade neutrality, trade liberty, trade openness. Neutrality refers to a reduction in policy biases so that incentives are equalized between exporting and import substituting sectors. Trade liberty refers to reducing restrictive controls or barriers to trade, regardless of the biases it may introduce or retain. Trade openness refers simply to the importance of trade in the economy regardless of the policies that govern it. In Uganda, liberalization has been in terms of price and markets as well as foreign exchange.

Trade liberalization operates according to a number of conditions and assumptions that govern the way the policy can function. The main conditions include those of replacement of qualitative restrictions with tariffs; reduction in the level and dispersion of tariff rates; and some efforts to improve export incentives and correct biases against exporting. First of all, trade liberalization policy assumes that exchange of goods and services is undertaken through forces of demand, supply and price as the major determinants of the business operation. As such, at the national level, farmers are expected to produce and supply what is demanded and to make use of the price provided by market forces at the international level. Such an assumption neglects the fact that exchange involves negotiation and bargaining over the price for selling the goods and services. As this study argues, such actions can easily play into the differences between individuals in terms of their power which can create situations in which one benefits and the other loses out. Moreover, there are cases when the goods that are supplied are not necessarily those demanded. One of the reasons for this is lack

of appropriate institutional arrangements for the delivery of market information to the farmers, especially women who are expected to obtain information from their husbands or the male adult in the home (Sengendo and Mbowwa 2003).

Secondly, trade liberalization policy assumes that foreign exchange is easily available. In the context of this study, this would mean that the private sector's involvement in selling and buying foreign exchange would enable ready access to this facility by exporters and importers. However, in one of the studies done in Uganda by the Joint Integrated Technical Assistance Programme (JITAP), exporters in the fruit and vegetable sector pointed out that although access to foreign exchange was possible, rapid fluctuations in the prices of this facility hinder their export activities (UEPB 2002).

Thirdly, trade liberalization assumes full government support in terms of financial assistance to traders. Such incentives may include subsidies, tax holidays, and removal of taxes on pesticides, equipments and imported inputs (raw materials). However, lack of information about financial facilities hinders exporters from accessing even those that have been created to help export financing schemes, such as those set up by the Bank of Uganda and micro-finance institutions (MFIs) (UEPB 2002). Due to lack of gender sensitive rules for lending (loans that require collateral), women face more challenges in accessing financial services that could help them in increasing their capital base. In cases where alternative ways of lending are formulated, such as the Capital Asset Loan (KIKALU) of the Council for Economic Empowerment of Women in Africa-Uganda (CEEWA), women have been able to access loans because this method of lending has taken into consideration the need to plan for loan disbursement according to the differentiated needs of the clients (CEEWA 1999). According to CEEWA, improved lending methodologies of MFIs can increase accessible loans to women (Yawe 2002).

The fourth assumption is that all people who participate have equal opportunities to be involved in free trade, regardless of their level of income, gender and other inequalities. However, the concern of this study is that such assumption does not take into

consideration the differences in opportunities and benefits that exist between women and men, and how gender inequalities are constructed and perpetuated. The assumptions mentioned above are based on the neo-classical economic development theories, which assume that economic agents, such as households and firms, maximize decisions in the exchange of goods and services. Neo-classical economists also assume that individual expectations are rational, meaning that, they are based on the best predictions for the future using the available information. They argue that since individuals act rationally with selfish interests in markets, government intervention is likely to make things worse (Kigundu 2002). Government intervention is therefore discouraged and a strong increase in private sector involvement promoted. However, such efforts still fail to address the gender inequalities in society (Kigundu 2002).

Various researchers have explored the conditions and operation of export trade within liberalised markets both at international and national level. Pointing these out helps to provide further context for this study. These are outlined below.

As indicated earlier, a major criticism of export trade is basically that it depends on consumer needs in the developed countries while neglecting those who deal with production and trade of these goods and services, including the way decisions are made in these activities (Williams 1999, GERA 2002). Yet, at national level, such as in Uganda, female and male farmers produce goods and services, provide labour and use time to produce what is needed for export. This neglect arises because in international accounting system, the household sector where these production activities take place is considered to be outside of the productive sector of the economy (DAWN 2001, Williams 1999, Elson 2000). As such, its contribution to national production and social development is made invisible. This makes it impossible for economic decision-making to include the needs and requirements of producers and traders who work at this level. The issue of consumer needs overtaking the requirements of those providing goods and services occur not only in agriculture, but also in other entrepreneurial activities (Spring and McDade 1998). The challenge with the situation of export trade is that the consumers are distant (international), and expect internationalized quality standards of the produce they can buy. Yet, access to information about these

standards¹⁷ and how to meet them is questionable and is one of the challenges that this study examines.

Export trade requires establishing marketing links or channels that enable the efficient and effective distribution of goods from the production to the export stage. These have to be streamlined at national level to ensure efficient distribution of the goods. The ways through which women and men from developing countries seek to access international markets can therefore be hindered by lack of effective and efficient ways of production, collection and distribution of the goods for export. Trade liberalization requires specific marketing arrangements and today, the supply chain involves several sites where export trade-related work is undertaken (JITAP 2002). These changes have altered the location and type of work done by women and men (Sengendo and Tumushabe 2003). Most African countries, including Uganda, have worked on the problem of malfunctioning marketing systems for food trade by encouraging private-sector collection and distribution systems (other than state-controlled ones) (Dijkstra 1997).

While there are no formal restrictions on either participation in production and trade or acquisition of resources, gender relations and power differences characterize the processes within which such export trade-related activities are performed, as this study will show.

2.4.3 The gendered effects of trade liberalization

Literature on the effects of trade liberalization on women, on their own or in relation to men, has pointed out both positive and negative outcomes (UWONET, 1996). Various social groups experience differential benefits and losses. Research has been done on the differential benefits of export trade that operates within liberalized markets, especially in the African context (Bazaara, 2001; AWEPON 2002). While some of the effects are related to labour in-put in relation to employment, others are concerned about access to resources. The outcomes of trade liberalization are assessed according to the objectives,

¹⁷ Information about quality standards, is one of the market resources that this study investigates

as well as assumptions, that were set for this policy (as pointed out in the previous section).

i) Increased burden on women's tasks

Trade liberalization is implemented within an economy defined as comprising market goods and services. In doing so, this definition omits the care sector, where women are the majority and occupy various positions within this sector (Elson and Evers 1998). Various researchers have also observed that the problems women face arise from lack of recognition by prevailing development strategies, of the challenges related to women's reproductive and care-taker roles (see Massiah (1989), Strassman (1987), O'Brien (1985) and Mutemba (1989). The World Bank (1990) has also noted that men spend less time on home production and household work and more time in market work than women. This explains why according to Ellis (1988), gender is a critical variable in determining the influence of adjustment on upward mobility. In terms of changes in number of hours spent in trading markets, women have been more constrained than men by working hours that would instead have been spent working on income-earning activities located in their homes. Mukhopahyany (1992) argues that because the macro-economic policies are gender-blind, the reality of the social-economic environment in which such policies are applied remains hidden. Indeed, clear demarcation of the care sector (which is currently unrecognized) and the paid sector (which is recognized) is needed if we are to have conceptual clarity as well as being able to design effective policy interventions to counter such bias (ibid). Others have further noted that women and men are affected differently because of the gender division of labour, which allocates unpaid and reproductive labour to women and paid labor to men (Spring 1995, Elson and Pearson 1984). As such, the tasks women get involved in as part of export trade, in most cases end up adding burden to their already existing care activities (AWEPON 2002). Yet, their domestic related tasks are not considered as essential to their performance and participation in the paid tasks. Women therefore end up performing both their usual domestic tasks as well as the paid labour that they provide emerging export oriented tasks. In such cases, the status of women is not necessarily changed, especially if they do not achieve improvement in skills or income (GERA 2002). Fontana et al (1998) note that the effects of trade liberalization and expansion for

women partially depend on resource endowments, infrastructure, labour market policies, skills and education level, socio-culture norms and women's and men's position in the processes of production and reproduction.

ii) Employment benefits and losses

The objective of increased levels of employment has produced both positive and negative effects. There is a decrease in real purchasing power and fewer employment opportunities in the formal sector, particularly market trading, where women are already over-represented (Choi 1987). Although there are cases in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, for example, where export production has expanded and provided paid work to previously unemployed women, Fontana et al (1998) point out that the terms and conditions of this employment of women are not usually conducive for appropriate working environment, and the benefits are short-lived. Yet they note positive gains in cases where such women have managed to improve their well being, as well as gaining autonomy. The shrinking of employment opportunities affects women more than men (Basirika 2001). This is because they often lack competitive qualifications, skills and information, while facing the persistent inflation triggered by price liberalisation. As a result many women resort to the informal sector, where they work as casual workers, employers, self- employed or petty entrepreneurs. These survival strategies are chosen because they require little capital and enable women to perform their home duties in addition to paid work. Although it is possible to identify such direct benefits, in particular, the number of new jobs created for women compared to men, there are cases when it becomes a challenge to point out the change. This is especially in cases where the benefits are not directly observable, as in agricultural export production in African countries where most of women's labour is part of unpaid family contribution to the farm tasks (Fontana et al 1998). The nature of benefits in such a situation is not very well known and it is part of this study to contribute to the information that can highlight cases in Uganda, where some women and men gain while others loose out.

It has also been noted that trade liberalization has led to a growing down-ward pressure on men's income or wages, and this is forcing many women into earning in order to supplement male income (see Sengendo and Tumushabe 2002). It also seems that once

women begin working (as a response to export-oriented influence), many men tend to totally abandon their responsibilities and keep their cash for personal use (Bazaara 2001). Men even abandon their responsibility to provide food, once it appears that women can successfully take up this role (ibid).

iii) Slow gains in primary products

There have been arguments about the extent to which trade liberalization has benefited the various social and economic sectors. Ssemogerere and Fieldings (1995) argue that, in Uganda, it is mainly trade in manufactured goods that has flourished. They emphasize that exports of primary products, specifically horticultural products, have not yet benefited as much. In the same way, Choi (1987) noted that trade liberalization has concentrated on the modern and manufacturing sectors rather than on trading and services, where the majority of women are found. Aboyade (1988) noted that SAPs, especially trade liberalisation concentrated on improving the balance of payments and managing debts rather than protecting the vulnerable, among which women, widows and children predominate. This study will help to provide some of the information that can illustrate the situation of women and men who deal with export-oriented activities of the horticultural sector.

On the impact of liberalisation on agriculture and food security in Uganda, between the period of 1987 and 2000, Bazaara (2001) indicates that exchange rates have made it expensive for foreign traders to buy agricultural products. As a result, Uganda has experienced a balance of payments crisis, and farmers cut back production. He further indicates that over-valued exchange rates act as an implicit tax on agriculture in Uganda because they undervalue agriculture output. What is more, if exchange rates are over-valued, producers' prices are forced lower than they need be. However, consumers of food and users of imports are subsidized. People in urban areas therefore end up benefiting more than those in rural areas because over valued exchange rates tip the domestic terms of trade in favour of those who consume imports.

iv) Simplification of export taxation

Concerning the objective of easing the export taxation process, the Uganda government has boosted the horticulture exports' process by replacing the tedious and cumbersome export licensing system with a system of export certificates valid for six months. These certificates allow the trader to operate without any value limitations (MFEP 1994). In addition to this, the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) rationalized tax and revenue systems in 1991 and passed a new investment code, which enables businesses to benefit from tax exemption. The Uganda Investment Authority (UIA) was also established by the 1991 investment code to act as a one-stop clearing agency that promote, facilitates and supervises investments in Uganda. The government has slowly but steadily rehabilitated the country's physical infrastructure and road networks have improved (MFEP 2000). The above measures have helped to facilitate and promote horticultural diversification and the liberalization process in Uganda. However, the strategies do not cater for small-scale female and male farmers and exporters, who are disadvantaged by low-capital input and other resources needed for effective participation in export trade (UEPB 2001).

v) Resource constraints

Resource constraints have been outlined as major hindrances to export trade, according to impact studies on trade liberalization (GERA 2000, Randriamaro 2002). These studies point out that there are pre-existing gender inequality in access to and control over resources, which are further aggravated by the demands to acquire export-trade related resources. In export-oriented activities, these resources do not only include land, capital, education and time, but also labour and access to power and decision-making. However, there is lack of information on how the actors in export trade develop strategies for participation; and how some of these strategies can be manipulative or conflictual at times. The results of this study will provide some of the information needed.

vi) Opportunities for income and creation of the 'new poor'

Generally, it is observed that liberalization, specifically in agriculture, has had both negative and positive impacts on the economy. In Kabarole district, UPPAP (2000)

established that marketing boards were the only channels for marketing agricultural products during the period of 1980s (Obote's regime). Since these channels ceased operating, traders have been free to sell to any market of their choice. This gives room for bargaining, as prices are no longer dictated. Now it is mainly the large-scale farmers and traders who can directly sell their produce abroad and the rural poor have to rely on traders, who set their own prices (Semwanga center 2002). The poorest of the poor (rural women, widows and children who are not economically empowered), have not directly benefited, as they lack resources to participate in export production and marketing, especially since in most case, men control the benefits (Kigundu 2002). It has therefore been observed that while there those who benefit from liberalization and diversification of crops, there are those who deteriorate even further in terms of low income. It is these differences in terms of gender that this study explores.

Trade liberalization has led to the creation of two categories of poverty: the new poor and the chronically poor (Kato 2002). According to Kato, the new poor are those who were involved in government parastatals like the marketing boards of lint and coffee, but they lost their jobs due to privatization and liberalization. The chronically poor are those who were poor before trade liberalization, but who have subsequently become even poorer. The latter mainly include vulnerable groups, especially widows, children and landless women. There is need for necessary conditions (such as good infrastructure, free flow of market information, secure land tenure, and increased access to production and market resources) to be taken into consideration when implementing these policies in order to include these emerging categories of the poor (UPPAP 2000).

vii) Changes in gender division of labour

Some research has been done on trade liberalization and gender division of labour. It has been noted that in some cases crops grown for cash are usually dubbed 'men-crop', that they further expand the gap in the work load between men and women (Bazaara 2001). The woman is expected to contribute to the growing of cash crops and also to ensure the food security of the home, in addition to other chores such as looking after the children and cooking. Apart from that, those tasks where women used to provide labour and obtain money have been taken over by men, especially those who find

agricultural production as a rescue after being laid off from their jobs due to retrenchment (Kasente et al 1999, Sengendo and Tumushabe 2003).

viii) Effects on women's mobility

It has also been observed that unlike men, women's mobility is limited due to their family obligations, especially child care (Binswaga 1984). Thus, they cannot easily move from farm to farm looking for employment opportunities that would provide better remuneration than they receive while providing labour on their family plots. Some researchers have argued that this lack of bargaining power is part of the factors that bring about gender differences in labor exchange, which are themselves products of deeply rooted asymmetries in status and bargaining (see Folbre, 1986; Evans, 1991; Kabeer, 1990; and Sen, 1987). These differences are found not only in division of labour, but also in access to resources for production, especially land.

ix) Access to technological resources for production and processing

It has been reported that women are usually excluded from technological training, and production resources that involve new techniques of production and processing (UEPB 2002). Such exclusionary power is similar to the situation foreign processors created in Ghana where Transnational Corporations like Nestle and Unilever out competed products of the locally processed and packaged products of cocoa, maize, soya and palm oil which women used to process locally (reported in Randriamaro 2002). In that case, women lost the opportunity they would have had for greater sales of added value. On the other hand, the Trans national Co-operations gained even more market opportunities especially those that were provided within ECOWAS exporting arrangements in West African countries (Randriamaro 2002).

2.5 Towards a gendered model for macro-economic policies

After reviewing the feminist debates on gender and macro-economic policies (with a focus on trade liberalization), it is questionable as to what can be done to plan for a gendered macro-economic policy. The ways through which unequal power relations can be analysed have been revealed through the review. This can enable us to have a starting point and then search for possible ways of engendering macro-economic

policies through work that has been done on gender and development planning. These can enable this study to assess the extent to which the findings point towards a gendered planning practice, and can also provide pointers to what can be done to correct the gender inequality that exists. Three ways of addressing gender in policy planning have been suggested by various researchers and theorists:

First, there is need to analyse the social relations and how economic, social, cultural and political aspects of society affect women and men differently (Young 1997:52). Analysis of gender differences would therefore be a key guiding factor in examining trade related tasks and resource acquisition.

Recognition of women's roles inside and outside the household is the second key consideration. It is through such a focus that it can be possible to examine social relations between women and men within the workplace and any other spaces where they interact in ways that build relationships and networks. Such assessment enables consideration of the gender division of labour at household level and the fact that the tasks that women undertake are unpaid, and are invisible in economic terms. Yet, these tasks have significant impact not only on the improvement of women's lives but also on the extent to which they can be able to participate in paid tasks, such as those related to trade. The triple roles within which women participate can then be revealed in ways that show where they engage in paid tasks, their already assigned domestic, as well as community roles that demand their time. The invisibility of women's unpaid labour has continued to be a major concern of African governments ever since they started implementing the structural adjustment policies (SAPs) (Bazaara 2001). In some cases there were reductions in government subsidies to the social sector services. In such instances, it was reported that those reductions led to a need for the necessary services to be undertaken at household level, thus increasing the burden of women's unpaid labour (Riley 2001). For the case of export trade as a form of implementation of trade liberalization, the changes in the methods of production led to increased and intensified labour for tasks that are done at household level in Uganda, yet such tasks are unpaid and mostly supplied by women (Bazaara, 2001).

Thirdly, there is need to use methodologies that can enable realization of unequal power relations between women and men. Exploitation should not be seen as the only through which development can affect women. Exclusion is also an issue as well as an explanation for subordination of women (Whitehead 1979, Elson and Pearson 1984). Power relations should be seen as driving forces within development (Kabeer 1994). Since patriarchal relationships are socially constructed and embedded in various cultural, social and economic situations, these should be examined to find hidden practices that oppress women. This can enable power relations to be located within a development perspective, thus making it possible to be used as a basis for tracing patterns of subordination, including its resultant exploitation and exclusion, in development aspects such as export trade. It also enables indication of ideological and cultural constructs of roles and responsibilities within which women and men's realities are defined.

2.6 Concluding remarks

The literature review has illustrated the trend in which the thinking and views on women and gender were used to intervene into the development agendas that were prevailing during specific periods. By reviewing the policy of trade liberalization as an example of a macro-economic policy, some evidence has been obtained. It has been possible to illustrate that the overall outcome of such development objectives, in terms of increased export production and earnings, cannot be achieved if gender concerns are neglected. Application of gender analysis into both effects as well as practices that are undertaken by women and men during the implementation of these development objectives can provide even a more in-depth picture of the perpetuation of gender inequalities.

The review has exposed the gender inequalities that are experienced through the assumptions focused on during planning and implementation of trade liberalization. This review has further shown that gender inequality can mean more than simply hindering participation by female farmers and traders. Gender inequalities can be embedded in and originate from the way the development policies and strategies were designed and this affects the benefits that could have been achieved by women and

men. However, through government's encouragement of production of export crops as a strategy that accompanied trade liberalization, women have found opportunities to produce and market horticultural crops in the same way as men. Among the prospects for export is the development of the horticulture sector. This sector has great potential for exports, as its outputs are generally high-value items.

The next chapter adds to the literature review by focusing on the conceptual perspectives that guide the study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE METHODOLOGY: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, CONCEPTUAL ISSUES AND RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction:

This chapter presents the methodology that guides this study. It is divided into three sections: the theoretical framework; conceptual issues and research approach as well as the methods that were used for field investigations as well as literature search. The first section explains the theoretical framework using Gender and development theory, specifically the application of gender analysis, gender division of labour and gender relations as they are permeated with power practices. Section two explores this theoretical perspective to provide explanations on how gender analysis is applied as a methodology for this study. Such exploration also guides the identification and definition of concepts that are used in this study. This enables formulation of the conceptual framework that provides explanations for the construction, reproduction and perpetuation of gender inequality in horticultural production, marketing and trading. The third section presents the research approach and methods used in this study. This is done through describing and justifying the choice and use of the methods selected as well as explaining the processes that were used to explore the research questions. It explains what sort of information each method set out to generate, and justifies the selection of the specific areas targeted for research. The process of selecting the respondents is described. The chapter ends by outlining the successes as well as challenges faced during the fieldwork process.

3.2 The Theoretical Framework

This section provides the theoretical framework for this study. The subsections below explain Gender and development theory as the theoretical perspective used in this study. Explanations are provided on how gender is applied in this study; how gender relations have been problematised in ways that expose power practices; and how decision making

can be explored within the household based division of labour as well as within work relationships that exist at collection and export sites.

3.2.1 The use of gender in this study

Gender can generally be defined as the socially, culturally and historically constructed roles, rights, values and norms ascribed to females and males in a given society (see Young and Whitehead 1984, Scott 1996, 1988, National Gender policy of Uganda 1997, Smyth and March 1999; Pearson and Cecile 1998, Imam 1997, Young 1997). Scott's definition of gender has particular relevance to this study because it shows both the social context and how the construction of gender comes about. It helps us to situate power and locate it in the analysis. Scott provides two propositions. The first is that "gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes", and secondly, that "gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (Scott 1996, Scott 1988:42). This definition indicates that relationships of power depend on the specific culture, history, social construction and ideologies shaping the way females and males behave at specific times or in particular situations.

In addition, by focusing on gender as a system of socially constructed roles ascribed to males and females, it is possible to distinguish gender from sex, which is the biological distinction between males and females (Oakley 1972). These roles are learned and as such, they change over time, as well as between cultures. These roles involve obligations as well as responsibilities that are culturally and politically defined, and men and women feel constrained to conform to them. They are therefore not static. They can be challenged and remodeled through policy reform, changes in cultural practice as well as economic pressures. How such processes and policies are implemented as actions undertaken by men and women will vary according to context and situation.

The study considers gender by analysing the roles and responsibilities that female and male farmers and traders undertake, contribute to or allocate to others in order to participate in the production and trade of horticultural produce. Beginning with an analysis of the division of labour, this study examines the participation of female and

male producers and traders in the different sites of the marketing channel. It then analyses the social relationships that exist between women and men, as well as those in which they both engage due to the work they perform. As such, the study explores both the relationships of women and men, especially the women-men-work relations, which involve productive and market relations.

3.2.2 Problematizing gender relations

i) Gender relations

Gender relations are defined as relations between women and men (Kabeer 1988). Within the perspective of the GAD approach, two different types of gender relations are analysed: ascribed and achieved relations (Young 1997, Elson and Pearson 1984, Whitehead 1979). Ascribed relations are those based on the position of the person in a network of kinship and affinity. On the other hand, achieved relations are those that have been obtained through skills acquisition and relationships outside of the family set-up (Kabeer 1988). In other words, these are the relations in which female and male producers or traders are involved in by virtue of the fact that they are members of a family, either through birth or marriage. In this study, achieved relations are considered to be those established on the basis of a person's involvement in the different activities undertaken in the export-marketing channel. This study analyses both ascribed and achieved relations within the activities undertaken in export-oriented production and trade.

Export trade-related activities do not only involve women and men who are in a household, or who are linked by marriage. There are relations beyond the household, and gender is embedded in the various activities including those that occur in the marketing channel. Gender relations therefore include a broader ambit than simply male-female relations. The study examines male-female-work relations in addition to male-female relations. These relations are analysed with reference to the gender relations framework, which provides three key lessons or relevant points for this study:

- An insistence on placing relations between women and men at the forefront of any analysis of development;
- A need to analyse both the division of labour and the work relations; and

- The importance of examining the power context within which development takes place (Kabeer 1994).

The above mentioned lessons are reflected in some of the earlier studies which used gender analysis to examine the impact of economic policies on women and men's position and status. Firstly, these emphasize the need to analyse relations between women and men rather than women on their own (Elson and Pearson 1981b). This does not necessarily mean that 'women' as an essential analytical category should be ignored. Rather, this perspective shows that within the type of activities we are concerned with, export trade in particular, the relations between and among women and men, provide a more appropriate analytical category, as they are socially constructed relations that are typically present in trade interactions. According to Kabeer (1994), acts of power are embedded in these relations.

Secondly, in order to understand the causes and nature of subordination and unequal status of women and men in export trade, such studies illustrate that there is a need to analyse both the power relations that exist between women and men, as well as the work relations that are embedded in the gender division of labour. One example of this kind of analysis, is the one on 'the subordination of women and the internationalization of factory production' (Elson and Pearson 1981, 1984). This study shows the value of focusing on women and men as people who obtain their roles through engaging in certain trade relations, and who have differences in social and economic power.

Thirdly, these kinds of gender relations involve not only harmony and co-operation, connection and mutual support, but also conflict, manipulation, competition, difference and inequality (Smyth and March 2000:18, Whitehead 1979, Elson and Pearson 1984). In view of this, power relations are embedded in these relations and the socially constructed women and men exercise and make use of this power in different ways. Women and men as individuals therefore do not necessarily conform and cooperate with each other. Manipulation, conflict and resistance exist within their relations. These struggles are socially determined (Whitehead 1979, Elson and Pearson 1981b). So examining processes of export trade from the perspective of assessing the social and

economic changes that women and men face when trade policy is implemented can be undertaken using the gender relations framework.

ii) Researching on power relations

It has been a challenge for long to establish a theory of power within a feminist perspective. Feminists have looked elsewhere to find a theory of power that addresses gender as well as agency. Giddens' structuration theory addresses power in terms of different forms of resources (Giddens 1984, 1994) and women and men can use these to gain positions of influence. According to Giddens, power is considered to 'involve skills and resources which members bring to and mobilize in the production of interaction, thereby directing or influencing its course' (Giddens 1984, 1994, Davis 1991:72). It is therefore possible to focus on power in terms of differential access to and control of rules and resources. However, Giddens does not consider gender in his theorization of power. Bradley (1999) theorized power as a resource and related it to gender. She was then able to illustrate the variations in power, as women and men can have control over and access to different forms of power as a resource. In addition to this, she noted that there are differences in the amounts of power as a resource that women and men can hold at different times. Therefore power is not only complex, but can also be exercised in a flexible way between and among women and men. As such, power is exercised beyond patriarchal tendencies that view 'men as power-holders and women as oppressed victims' (Elson and Pearson 1984, Bradley 1999). It suggests that power is a resource that can be acquired and used by both men and women, and that it can operate differently in the various sites of the marketing channel. Men may be able to have more control over resources in the collection and exportation sites, which have more institutionalized rules, but women may be able to find ways of controlling resources in the household or vice versa. This perspective on power enables us to realize that there are 'asymmetries of power'; and with these, we can be able to tell who the 'power-holders' are, what their 'interests' are (Bradely 1999:33), and what makes some women and men subjects and others objects of this power.

The study focuses on gender relations as the key to analyzing gender inequalities in export trade as a development issue and through this; the study acknowledges that gender theory is about power. This helps to place women's subordination in the context of what goes on in their lives as well as the power relations that are exercised between women and men and members of the same sex. This study illustrates how both women and men can experience exclusion and exploitation at the hands of women or men of higher status. The focus thus shifts from considering women as the analytical category while assessing gender inequalities in development, to addressing the relations women have with men and with each other (fellow women or fellow men). These power relations are examined in different ways. From a capitalist form, the household where women and men are found may be viewed within the perspective of its structural relationships through the way it links with capitalist forms of economic production. In this way, it would be useful to find out how women are exploited due to their participation in economic production. Such exploitation will be either through labour as they provide services within the workplace/household or they are exploited by men within the household (Elson 1981). Therefore there is provision of 'free service or use value' (Livesey 1998) that is expressed in terms of the 'value of unpaid female labour'. In this study, such use value can be explained in terms of the extent to which women's labour enable the collectors and exporters to undertake economic exploitation. These are indeed acts of capitalism. The emphasis put on the economic dimension of relationships means that we are dealing with a situation where there are dependent relationships that are characterized by *relations of domination and subordination* (see Kabeer 1994, Livesey 1998, Whitehead 1979, Stewart 2001). The study deals with two such relationship patterns: *male-female relationships*; *male-female-work relationships* (referred to as *trade relationships* in this study).

Further more, gender inequality can also be traced through examining two interlocking systems of subordination and oppression: capitalism and patriarchy (Kabeer 1994, Walby 1988). Neither patriarchy nor class, on their own, explains women's subordination. Instead, a combination of factors characterizes the experiences of women, as in the case of men. There is a need to consider factors, such as skills, age,

location and other contributing factors to subordination. Walby (1990) argues that in order to understand male-female relationships, we must focus on two issues:

- The exploitation of women on the basis of gender through a patriarchal set-up, which is embedded in the work they do
- The exploitation of women and men on the basis of class, which is reflected through an economic set-up.

In explaining how these operate jointly, Walby shows that discrimination against women always involves forms of economic exploitation. Furthermore, because this exploitation is embedded in economic development, it is unseen and difficult to reveal. However, socialist feminists, Walby included, admit that it is not necessarily a rule that capitalism and patriarchy always interconnect (see also Elson and Pearson 1983, Kabeer 1994). There can be cases when the interests of the capitalist class do not match with the interests of men. Such cases do not only create not only conflict, but also resistance (by both women and men) towards capitalism.

There is also need to deconstruct the relations among and between men and women in order to allow issue of power relations to be addressed. The issues of export trade need to be considered within the context and local circumstances in which they operate. Through this, it can be possible to challenge the 'essentialist and universalistic' interpretations of development (Udayagiri 1995:160, Mohanty 1988). This is vital because the contexts within which export trade is undertaken in developed and developing countries are different. Yet the globalised rules of quality standards are meant to provide a universal way of undertaking export trade. Moreover, the organization of work in export trade does not only involve the domination of women by men, a patriarchal issue, as generally assumed. As pointed out earlier, this study to examine cases where women of higher status dominate women of a lower status, and how this also happens to lower status men compared to men of higher status. As such the study considers women and men as a heterogeneous group. If power is theorized only in universalistic and essentialist ways, the scope would then be limited and will not enable situations where we need to reveal the hidden subordination and resistance that characterizes the operation of export trade. This study deals with a situation that is not just an issue of 'possessing power versus being powerless' (Udayagiri 1995:161) in

which 'women are a powerless unified group' (Mohanty 1991: 71) in comparison to men. Rather, this is a situation where power manifests itself in different forms that can be used by either women or men to work towards their own interests. As such, women are not just 'powerless *but* are agents' (Udayagiri 1995:161) of the social change that is embedded in the interaction and work done in export trade. Women, just like men, can be either subordinated, exploited or excluded, but at the same time, some of them can resist such actions. This study addresses the way gender differences provide a basis for women and men's agency as they participate in the process of export production and trade. Although Foucault's theories of power can help in challenging universalized perceptions of women (Udayagiri 1995), I find Giddens's (1979) thinking on agency (the ability to act) to be a more useful model for explaining the situation of women and men in export trade.

The way power relations interconnect with trade-related work relations is significant for this study. These work relations and their connection with the gender division of labour are discussed further in the next section.

3.2.3 The household and decision-making

The household is a key site in this study and the decisions made by females and males therein, need to be examined as potential sites for power. The household can be defined simply as a unit where one or more people live and eat together. However, Sen 1990 points out, such explanation does not reveal what actually goes on within this setting. It is as if there is only one decision maker in this household (as the Unitary model¹⁸ indicates), yet there can be many. As early as the 1960's theorists who were concerned about human capital designed the 'New Household Economics' (Becker 1965), which enabled application of market concepts in relation to time-use within household production. It was then possible to use such a model to understand the gender division of labour, and authors like Beneria (1995) indicate that it was also possible to illustrate

¹⁸ The Unitary model of the household assumes that there is a single decision maker and others are not recognised. It also assumes that economic resources such as labour and information, are pooled together so that members of the household plan together in order to agree on intra-household expenditure of their income. Such a model does not take into consideration the differences in preferences or interest. As such other models were developed provide further analysis of how members in the household behave.

how individual members of the household spend their time and how they access resources. Through application of such concepts it was then possible to address issues of discrimination within the labour market. Alternative analysis helped to reveal the necessity of considering bargaining as an element of behavior within the household. Further analysis done on household models showed evidence that there are aspects of cooperation, power and conflict as women and men get involved in decision-making (Sen 1990), especially as they engage in acquisition of resources needed in the household. Therefore there can be different choices and interests, not only about who does what task (such as taking care of the kids, as explained by Folbre 1984), but also concerning ways of accessing resources that women and men need, especially in agriculture as well as trade.

With such background, there is need to reveal today's reality as women get involved in export trade just like the men. If there are gender differences in access to and control over resources, then it is likely that decision-making power is a reality in the households and in places where women and men interact. It is therefore necessary to question how such power to influence the way resources are accessed, is illustrated through the differentiated behavior and actions undertaken by women and men within the household. Several researchers have pointed out that if development practitioners take such differentials into account, it would then be possible to address the gender inequalities that exist in society (Elson 1994; Johnson-Welch et al 2000; Randriamaro 2001; Sengendo and Tumushabe 2002).

3.2.4 Work relations and the gender division of labour in trade

In terms of work relations, this study focuses on productive relations that involve marketing activities, as these show man-woman-work relations. However, these do not exist in isolation of the relations between women and men and as such the relations of social reproduction form part of the way work is done. All these relations are constructed within a patriarchal society, as well as capitalist forms of operation of export-oriented tasks that also involve class relations.

In order to understand the social position of women in the production and trade of horticulture produce, their relations with men, and the relations they engage in within the work they do, it is important to examine the gender division of labour. While some activities are allocated to women, men do others, and some are carried out by both women and men. However, as economic changes take place, the type, nature and location of the place where work is undertaken can change due to the quality and quantity requirements (Sengendo and Mbowa 2003). This increases the burden on women in cases where the shift in location is far from the home (ibid). This situation is worsened when it comes to activities that are new (did not exist previously) and are created by globalization. Such new forms of work require tasks to be done in specific ways, within a certain time period and in specified spaces. This is the case in horticulture production and marketing.

Export of horticultural produce requires production at specific periods of the year and spraying, if done, should be at specific stages of growing season of the crop. Further more, harvesting should be done at a certain time of the day. Using a political economy perspective as well as a historical account of the lace makers of Narspur, Mies (1982) analyzes productive, reproductive and market relations in a situation of production for the world market. Mies's (1982) study focuses on a household industry in which 'housewives' produce lace for the world market. This type of production and marketing, which takes place in a similar context to that of this study, focuses on women and men producing exports for the international market. Mies's analysis looks at relations from two points: man-woman-work relations, that are referred to as productive and market relations; and man-woman relations, which are forms of social reproduction relations. This study investigates how these relations are depicted in the context of the horticultural export-related work in Uganda. The analysis of the gender division of labour in the production, collection and exportation of horticulture produce provides a basis for the investigation of these relations.

Although the co-existence of ideological views with economic systems can be used to explain subordination from a labour point of view, and as a condition in which women

and men are embedded within patriarchy and capitalism, the study cannot fully rely on such an explanation. If we do this in isolation of other issues, especially the power relations that women and men engage in as they perform their work, then we run the risk of using a narrow perspective that defines labour as the only problem. If we argue from that perspective, we will only be able to consider women as people who simply take on what society expects of them in terms of their perceived roles. They would then be seen as victims of the globalised world and the internationalization of the division of labour (Mies 1982, 1998). But this study argues that some women may resist and challenge the ideology attached to the gender division of labour; that is, there are ways in which they can become autonomous in making decisions about their participation in export trade. Much as this study agrees with and borrows from the above explanations, it points to the need to take into consideration the hierarchical rankings of the women and men who participate in export trade. This study argues that it is through such hierarchical ordering that while some women and men are pushed into subordinate and subservient positions, others gain control and autonomy in ways that enable them to become integrated into development initiatives such as the export trade activities. This perspective of power relations forms the second and major theoretical arm of this study, as explained below.

3.3 Gender analysis as a methodology and basis for conceptual framework

3.3.1 Gender analysis and the manifestation of power

Gender analysis provides information that recognizes that gender, and its relationship with status achieved through holding positions of power, is important in understanding how women are constrained in different ways from men in export trade. With gender analysis, all these issues are taken into consideration. This study therefore uses gender analysis as the methodology to examine the manifestation of power relations in tasks and access to resources as it enables the incorporation of lived experiences of women

and men into the economic activities of export trade. It also enables assessment of the diverse ways in which women and men exercise power.

Gender analysis is used as a methodology in a way that considers the major contribution of gender as that of power. Power requires specific explanations due to the various meanings it can have when applied in a research context. As mentioned in Chapter 4, power can easily be considered to mean the dominating characteristic of men, a tendency of masculinity, especially in terms of patriarchy (Kandiyoti 1988). Yet it is more than that. This study has specified that power can be applied through positions from which some people have the capacity to influence the decisions of others. In this case therefore, the research part focused on the actions that women and men undertake to gain those positions and capacity through which they become powerful, while others become powerless, thus creating hierarchies. This study takes into consideration both the powerful and powerless, for it is through examining how the powerful control and manipulate the allocation of tasks and acquisition of market resources that an understanding of the construction and perpetuation of unequal power relations can be possible. Such power relations are therefore investigated to find out their implications for tasks undertaken by women and men, as well as access to and control over market resources. The most important question for this study is that of the factors that enable the powerful to subordinate, exclude and exploit those who are powerless. However, it takes into consideration the fact that those who are assumed to be powerless can resist actions that hinder their export-oriented activities.

3.3.2 The conceptual framework and explanation of concepts

With reference to above mentioned theoretical understanding, the conceptual framework provides ways of analyzing gender relations. The conceptualization traces the exercise of power within the marketing channel of hot pepper and okra. Firstly, the study considers the differences between actors who are located within different sites, and then explains how these locations/spaces can be viewed as sites of power. Secondly, each of the sites is then explained in terms of the functions which that site enables the whole marketing channel to achieve. Thirdly, in order to show the manifestation of power relations in activities and interactions undertaken in these sites,

the study describes and analyses the gender division of labour and the interactions that take place as the actors perform activities. This is followed by analysis of the manifestation of power relations in access to and control over resources. The diagram below shows the visual presentation of the conceptual framework.

Table 3.1: Visual representation of the conceptual framework: key concepts and issues

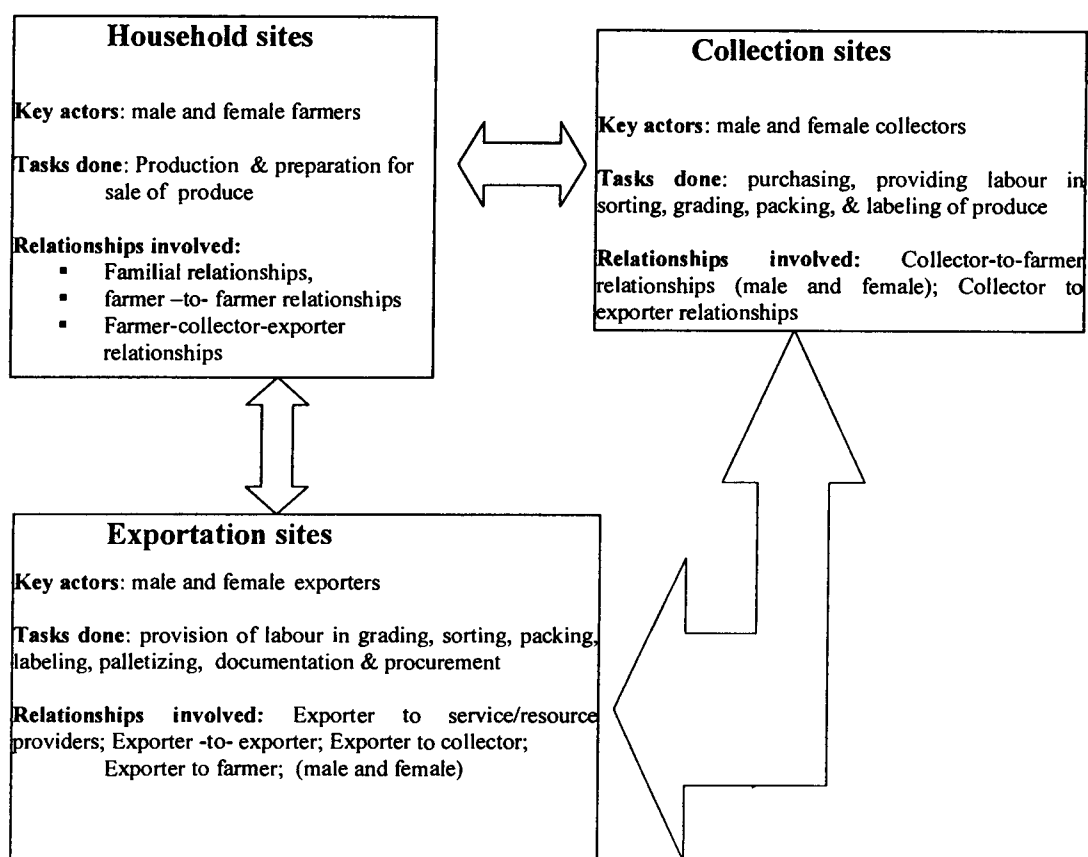
<p>Actors and within the sites (Household, collection and exportation sites)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Gender desegregation of actors in the different sites <i>Analysis of differences by sex, age, economic status, education level, crops grown and sold by women/men</i> ➤ female and male's participation in decision making within the different sites ➤ Analysis of manifestation of power relations: Who is included, who is excluded and why? 	→	<p>Manifestation of power relations in different sites</p> <p>i) Gender division of labor Who performs the different tasks in various sites? How do they undertake these activities? How are decisions on division of labor made in different sites? In which way do the different forms of power manifest through activities that are undertaken within different sites?</p>
	→	<p>ii) Access to and control over production and market resources How is power exercised within the different sites? How do women of a higher status exercise power towards women of lower category? What about men of different status? How do different forms of power promote or hinder access to and control over these resources? How does the exercising of such power by female and male actors promote opportunities and choices or aggravate gender inequalities?</p>

The conceptual framework indicates that when the locations/spaces of the marketing channel are analysed as sites of power, we can be able to examine power relation of women and men as actors who are located within different sites; and the cooperation and conflicts which these women and men engage in within the work done in various sites. It is through such analysis that the study addresses the manifestation of power relations in the division of labor for women as well as men in activities and work related interactions they engage in.

This is also intended to enable an explanation of how production, collection, distribution and exportation functions of the sites are connected through the functions of the sites and how the actors serve and depend on each other. Each of the sites is then analyzed in terms of the resources needed to undertake the activities. Analysis is further undertaken to explain how the different forms of power within and beyond each site, are

exercised by female and male actors in ways that either promote or hinder access to and control over these resources. The tasks undertaken in production, collection, distribution and exportation are examined in relation to the way they facilitate the functions of the sites. The way these sites are connected is of importance to this study, because different actors depend and are connected to each other for the operation of the marketing channel as shown in figure 3.2 below.

Figure 3.2 Diagrammatic presentation of the marketing channel sites, task involved and work relationships undertaken



The figure shows how actors serve and depend on each other. Each of the sites is analyzed in terms of the resources needed to undertake the activities. Further analysis explains how power practices are exercised by female and male actors within and beyond each site in ways that either promote or hinder access to and control over these resources.

With reference to the theoretical review given earlier and the conceptual framework above, the study shows that examining and revealing power relations can illustrate the ways in which men and women respectively, get into control and subordinate positions, and how some of them can resist these conditions. The study demonstrates that there is a need to find out how work is organized, and to examine the relations that women and men engage in as they participate in buying and selling, as well as the social and economic power that shapes an individual's capacity to influence another individual. Examination of Gendered power relations is undertaken through analyzing: the gender division of labour, status and trade relationships; power relations; and decision-making. Below is an explanation of how these concepts are applied in this study.

i) Gender division of labour

This is viewed in terms of the ideological perspective of women versus men's roles, and how these coincide with economic systems. Women as a gender are excluded from some activities, as their work is considered to be non-income earning. On the other hand, men are allocated direct income-earning activities in horticulture export trade. Female and male producers and traders are researched according to the roles they play and the division of labour that results from this social construction of roles. The roles can be ascribed to societal rules, norms and values, or they can stem from learned behaviors that shape skills to perform the role. They can also be specific to a certain location, where rural and urban areas have different roles allocation to females and males.

Using the gender relations framework, this study examines the gender division of labour through the questions "Who does what" and "How". This illustrates the social separation of roles within the gender division of labour. These roles are further examined as forms of 'social organisation of work', which enable women and men to engage in 'relationships of co-operation and exchange' (Pearson, Young and Whitehead 1983, Kabeer 1994). Inequalities in division of labour are therefore examined to address this interdependence, taking into consideration the extent to which they are symmetrical or not. The influence of male authority and coercive power over women manifests in the rules governing who can participate in production and trade, and who cannot.

Women's decisions on how to use their time and labour in production and trade of horticulture products are questioned. The extent to which export trade decisions are based on women's choices to perform specific roles, are also questioned.

In seeking to examine power relations in the tasks undertaken in production and marketing of export produce, this study pays attention to the roles undertaken in the activities at the different sites, by both women and men, and how these are performed. A distinction is made between those roles that are conventionally ascribed and those that stem from learned behavior or skills. The choices about how to use time and labour, and what to produce and sell, are examined in order to find out which actions can be improvised and negotiated by women compared to men.

ii) Conceptualising “power to do” various things

In this study, power is considered to be an action that can be done to: influence decisions, command resources, set rules and other things undertaken within selling and buying of horticulture produce. In taking such action, it implies that to be a form of that some women and men have that ‘capacity to influence’, while others don't. The relations of gender are shaped within these relations of power. I use the concept of power relations to refer to the actions and the capacity women or men can have to influence others of different or the same sex. This study therefore considers power relations to include those between same sex as well as different sexes; for example, some women have more power over other women. Hierarchical ranking is therefore present among female and male actors. I therefore use gender analysis to examine power relations.

As stated earlier, what is not known is how some actors in the horticulture trade obtain power over others and within themselves, and how they use this ‘capacity’ to exploit others in ways that subordinate them. I consider the processes and areas of operation for production, selling and buying (both at farm gate and collection points, as well as the processes of exportation), to represent different sites of power. I take these to be sites of power that have time and space-bound practices. I examine how such ‘capacities’ are

constructed and made use of in the processes of production, selling and buying in ways that create exploitation and subordination of some women and men, while others gain control and autonomy.

The study identifies a variety of forms of power that show the diversity of power as a resource, which women and men use in the way they carry out tasks in export-oriented production and trade. Although men exercise more of these power resources, the study shows how women also use their influence in ways that do not necessarily aim at challenging male power, but at finding means of exercising their own rights.

Just as Bradley (1999) helps to focus our attention on this capacity by indicating the different forms of power, Rao et al (1999) provide an entry point to suggest how this power as a resource can be investigated within institutionalized rules such as those which characterize the household, collection and exportation sites. Rao et al observe that individuals use their abilities to influence others and that this occurs within institutional rules and norms.

By adding Lukes' classification of power to this consideration of power as capacity to take action, Rao et al (1999), provide a guideline to five different ways through which "power to do" can be examined in ways that expose results of exclusion and subordination. The influence might be possible due to ones' *position* or ones ability to make decisions and *set the agenda*. However, in other cases, such influence can be hidden within other forms of *excluding others*, or through being able to influence through participating in *dialogue*. Others may be able to influence decisions in ways that *create conflict*. These different manifestations may overlap. Below, I explain what each manifestation can refer to.

The power to influence through ones position, is defined as the "authority derived from an office or title in an organisation" Rao et al (1999). It comes into play when individuals use the positions that they hold in the community or within a site to influence the decisions of others. This study shows the hierarchical positioning of actors in the community and market chain, and explains the reasons for these hierarchical

categorizations. The study also shows how this position power is used to empower some while excluding others, by influencing and persuading people to do what they would not otherwise have done. In other cases, position power can be applied to control or limit the power of others (ibid).

The power to set the agenda is also relevant. In marketing structures, just as in organizations, there are decisions that have to be put on the agenda for discussion. This analysis considers the extent to which agenda-setting eliminates some members in the marketing channel from participating while promoting the interests of the others. Although agenda-setting power can be an opportunity to ensure that issues of concern to the actors in the marketing channel are brought up during interaction and negotiations, some of the actors may not know what issues are at stake, which can be oppressive.

The actors may consider negative aspects or constraints as normal; meanwhile those who exert this “*hidden exclusion*” would ensure that others “accept some ideas as normal and [do] not question them” (Rao et al 1999:7). Lukes refers to this as the “unobtrusive exercise of power” (Fletcher 1999, Rao et al 1999). There is a need for access to resources that can enable informed selection of choices and actions undertaken. However, some actors may not have an opportunity to voice their concerns, nevertheless, “influencing through *dialogue*”, it can be possible to address these challenges, thus addressing what Lukes refers to as false consciousness (ibid:8). Rao et al, point out that apart from these forms of power, there is *conflict*. They note that although alliance-building can be used together with dialogue and pressure tactics to build consensus, choice and conflict are both needed to enable change.

Apart from analyzing the activities and interaction of female and male producers and traders as individuals, this study takes into consideration cases where there are actions of co-operation. What actions are undertaken as organized groups of women and men try to empower themselves or challenge situations that would be detrimental to their production and trade activities? Such co-operation, and the forms of organized effort formed, increases the countervailing power of the actors (Dijkstra 1997). This study also analyses the ways in which traders organize themselves and the producers to enable

both categories of actors to work towards a high degree of market concentration at both household and collection stages.

iii) Power relations, status and subordination

As indicated earlier, this study investigates the different manifestations of power relations and how some women or men can manage to influence decisions of other individuals' in the process of producing, selling and buying horticulture produce. The factors which enable some women and men, and not others to gain that 'capacity' to influence decisions and the positions they hold within the marketing channel, are all questions of concern to this study. Gender relations are shaped within these relations of power and these are bound to result into hierarchical positions. These hierarchical positions are likely to create status structures that facilitate the way these positions are used to influence decisions. These practices are key concerns for this study, as are the implications, which they pose to the participation of women and men in production and marketing. Another question, which this study addresses, is the way differences in status form the power structures that operate within export trade. The implications these status differences have on the relationships and interaction between female and male farmers and traders is of interest to this study.

Subordination is considered to be both a gender-relational issue and a result of work assignment. In the context of this study therefore, subordination refers to the character of 'male/female relations' and conceptualizes the presence of 'male dominance in gender relations' (Whitehead 1979). This is different from the view that considers women as historically exposed to exploitation and oppression, realized as a form of male domination from a patriarchal perspective.

Although this study acknowledges that patriarchy causes subordination, this concept is only used in cases where there is a need to acknowledge its existence. This is because export trade in fact provides a situation where patriarchy can be challenged, but earlier writings indicate that its usage suggests an 'unchanging, historically constant'

(Whitehead 1997) situation, as if ‘women are in a stagnant position’ which they cannot challenge (Elson and Pearson 1984). However, male dominance can indeed be challenged, and subordination is thus experienced according to a specific situation that is not only determined by patriarchy. Like Whitehead, this study uses subordination to refer to a situation where the character of gender relations is that of male dominance and female subordination (Whitehead 1979). The study addresses this by analyzing the various forms that show subordination in work done, as well as in the relations formed.

As indicated earlier, these multiple forms of subordination can be investigated and their causes understood through analyzing the forms of power that manifest in work and relations that women and men engage in as they perform various tasks in export production and trade.

iv) Decision making

Decision-making is a concept used to explain gender differentials in decision-making, resource control and autonomy of the actors in the marketing process. Decision-making is a social process of ability or capability to make decisions from available choices (Sen 1990). The extent to which this ability can cause differentiated access and control over market resources within the different institutional sites is examined.

Decision-making in the household as an institutional site has been widely researched, and material subordination has been identified as an issue in the intra-household theory of the new home economics. For example, Sen (1990:123-49) views decision-making as “an act of bargaining”. He notes that household members may co-operate or conflict when making decisions regarding what action they want to take. In this study, decision-making within the different sites is examined through identifying and analyzing the characteristics of those actors who are included and excluded. Attention is given to those who are included in order to find out how they have been able to influence decision-making.

Further more; the study examines what enables specific women or men to influence decisions. Interests of the female and male actors are analysed in order to find out whose interests are served, whose are included, and how this occurs. Decision-making actions are considered to be part of the power relations that provide opportunities for access to and control over resources. In examining power relations in access to and control over market-related resources, focus is put on the means by which resources are accessed. Consideration is given to the way women and men exercise the different forms of power that enable or hinder their access to and control over trade-related resources. The questions asked include: Who makes decisions? Whose interests are served, and how? The study further examines how female and male farmers, collectors and exporters use individual or group power to resist and challenge those actions that are detrimental to their activities. This analysis includes examination of situations where collective power is used to influence decisions of other actors in other sites. Examples are given of what these actors do and how they mobilize and enable collective power to be exercised.

3.4 The research approach and methods used in this study

This section describes the research approach and methods applied to obtain the data. The different approaches and methods that were used during data collection are explained as well as the limitations that these methods posed. In gender-focused research, as in other fields of study, the term methodology needs to be defined. Borrowing from the perspective provided by Mbilinyi, methodology can be described as a set of ideas that explain the study (in relation to the theory applied), and analysis of the types of methods (1994:32). According to her, methods are the techniques for collecting the data. She further notes that feminists generally use three types of methods: questioning and listening; observing and reading or examining different kinds of documents (ibid).

3.4.1 The research approach: Actors and the sites as units of analysis

Undertaking a study that investigated women and men rather than women only was considered to be strange by respondents. At times, some even intervened to point out to me the fact that export trade is a male-dominated activity. They therefore could not see why a woman (like me¹⁹) would undertake research on both men and women participating in this activity. Just as other researchers have pointed out, there is a perception in various communities that female researchers are only interested in studying female respondents (see Kiguli 2001:30).

The justification for focusing on both women and men is that this study requires an understanding of the relationships between these two categories, as well as among members of the same sex (women and women, men and men). It is through such relationships that analysis of their activities and the power relations they engage in to gain access to and control over resources can be undertaken.

The key respondents for this study were the women and men who produce okra and hot pepper, as well as those who participate in the collection and export of these crops. These farmers, collectors and exporters (together called actors) formed the initial unit of analysis. Other actors in this export trade include policy-makers in government ministries and private-sector companies that provide the market resources, which exporters need to transfer to the farmers and collectors. The types of respondents therefore included:

- Policy-makers, planning ministries and parastatals.

- Female and male farmers of okra and hot pepper.

¹⁹ I introduced myself to the respondents as a lecturer from the Department of Women and Gender Studies where I taught rural development, technology plus policy planning, the fields that got me interested in researching gender and export trade. Therefore I was located not only as a woman but also an educated one, and one who taught about "gender" (which to them meant "women"). As such, most of the respondents interpreted my research as dealing only with women. Indeed, decisions about what research approach to take are not only framed by the "theoretical frameworks" applied, but also the "ideology, personal identity and social location of the researcher" (see Mbilinyi 1994:35). These in turn shape the position one is placed in by the respondents.

- Market intermediaries, referred to as collectors. These were purchasing collectors who made purchases on behalf of the exporters, and negotiated on behalf of the farmers to gain higher prices from the exporters.
- There were few cases where NGOs were helping exporters and collectors in the collection and provision of market resources. These NGOs were included in the study to show their contribution and how actors use them in accessing market resources.²⁰
- Female and male exporters who bought the produce through collectors and linked with the international buyers.

Farmers, collectors and exporters operate from the household, collection and exportation sites, and these make up the most frequently used marketing channels for fresh horticulture produce. These sites formed the second units of analysis, as these are where activities of producing, selling, collecting and exporting are undertaken. This study examines these sites as processes of export-oriented production and marketing. Research in here involved examining gender division of labour in the activities undertaken, and the manifestation of power relations in acquisition of market resources. Actions of decision-making in households, collection and exportation sites were examined in terms of access to and control over market resources. In addition to these, the social and economic rules that govern the day-to-day activities in the different sites were identified and examined, while assessing the ways in which these could be used as part of the decision-making process.

In order to analyse the power relations in export-oriented tasks and access to resources, and how these construct control and subordination, the field activities were divided into the study of the following actors and the sites where they operate:

- Activities undertaken by the farmers and their interaction with collectors (and sometimes exporters) at the household sites

²⁰ In Luwero, an NGO called Volunteer Effort for Development Concern (VEDCO) worked as a facilitating intermediary, and helped the collectors and exporters to operate more efficiently. Assistance was provided through giving collectors and exporters quick and reliable information channels for communicating to the farmers; provision of transport and storage facilities that could enable the farmers to harvest and keep fresh produce in appropriate cooling facilities.

- Activities undertaken by collectors and their interaction with farmers and exporters at the collection sites
- Activities undertaken by exporters and their interaction with collectors and actors from export support institutions at the exportation sites.

This approach is in line with one of the ways of investigating the marketing process that was proposed by Bakker (1994). She classified the marketing activities according to functions and actors. In this study therefore, the actors and actions they undertake within the marketing channel formed the major selection criteria for the respondents.

3.4.2 The research process: choice of the area of study and respondents

i) Literature search and government institutions

I began this study by finding out about Uganda's horticulture industry. This was done through secondary data search that enabled review of existing literature. The information from the government ministries and export support institutions was documented. I started the sampling process for respondents by identifying institutions that were working on horticulture export, in particular those that worked as service and market resource providers to exporters or farmers.

As figure 3.2, below indicates, the government ministries and export support institutions were the first to be included in the field study because they are in charge of trade policy formulation and implementation processes in Uganda. These interviews focused on issues concerning trade policy formulation and lack of integration of gender concerns in the policy content at national and international levels. Key informants from government ministries were identified and interviewed.

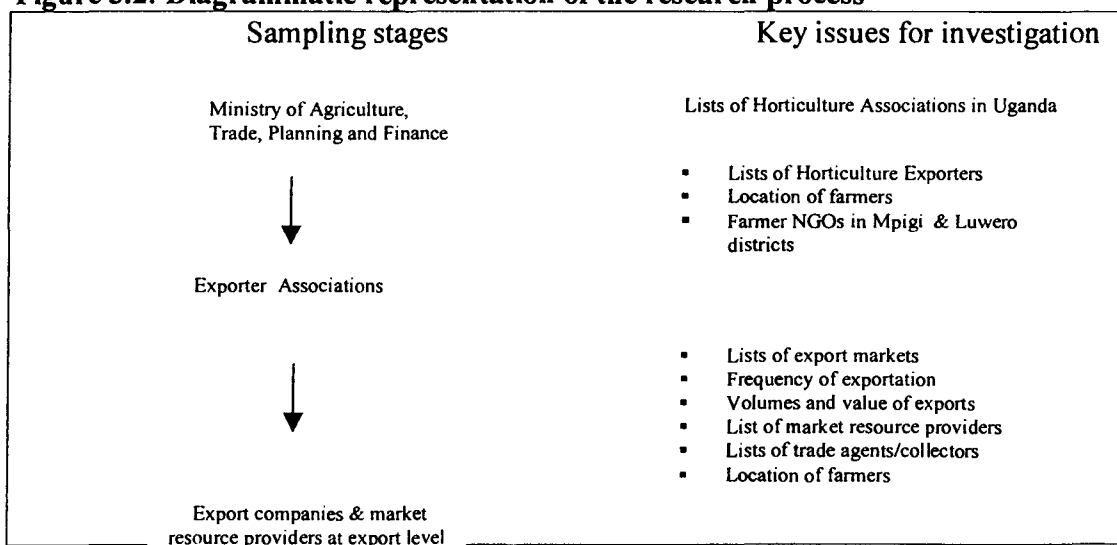
The Ministry of Tourism, Trade & Industry (MTTI), was the first to be consulted because it is the one that is mandated to handle all trade-related matters. The key informants included the trade policy officer, the officer in charge of WTO and the one in charge of the Joint Integrated Technical Assistance Programme (JITAP). Other ministries and government departments that have aspects of trade policy-making and

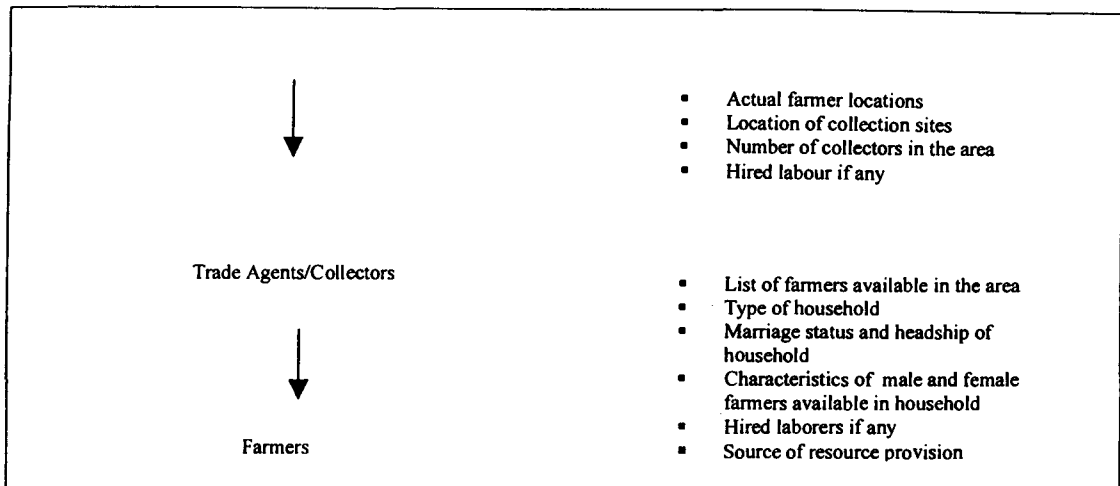
advocacy in their mandates were also included, with the officers in charge of the trade desks being interviewed. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Regional Co-operation (MFARC) was also included due to its role in providing the technical in-put required by governments in the negotiations at international trade level together with the MTI. This ministry also has residing trade officers in the Uganda mission in Geneva and Brussels who participate in WTO and ACP/EU trade negotiations, and have opportunities to influence decisions.

Next was the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF), which is the main government ministry in charge of horticulture production. This was followed by the Ministry of Finance, Planning & Economic Development (MFPED), which arm of government that authorizes funds allocated to trade-related technical support, as well as co-ordinating trade and investment aspects of the Uganda's different trade partnerships. The Uganda Investment Authority (UIA) and Uganda Export Promotion Board (UEPB) were included because they are the institutions that deal with information gathering and dissemination to exporters, as well as trade policy advocacy. Lists of organized groups of exporters were requested from each of the export support institutions visited.

The research process was carried out as indicated in the diagram below:

Figure 3.2: Diagrammatic representation of the research process





Source: drawn by researcher during preparations for field work

ii) Selection of districts, counties, sub counties and villages

During the 1970's when hot-pepper and okra had been introduced to Uganda, production of these crops was concentrated in Gombe and Buyege in Mpigi, district (FAUEX 2001). As more people learnt about this income-earning opportunity, they started seeking to know about ways of obtaining the seeds and producing the crops. At present, the crop is grown in seven districts in Uganda. These include Mpigi, Luwero, Mukono, Wakiso, Mubende, Kasese and Bushenyi. Two districts were selected out of these: Luwero and Mpigi districts. These were the districts where most of the hot pepper and okra was being produced for export.

The officers at district level together with the NGOs working at community and household level helped me to purposely select one county²¹ per district. From these, one sub-county per county was purposely selected. Further selection was done at sub-county level by purposely choosing one parish out of each sub-county. This was followed by use of random sampling to select two villages from each parish. Four villages were

²¹ The districts are divided into administrative units known as counties (*Amasaza*), which are further, sub-divided into sub-counties (*Amagombolola*), and these are sub-divided into parishes (*Emiruka*) which are subdivided into villages (*ebyalo*).

therefore selected. These were the villages where the exporters and collectors used to obtain produce from within these districts. The table below indicates the villages, and a map showing the geographic location of these sites is provided at the beginning of this thesis.

Table 3.1: Villages selected for the study

Crops	District	County	Sub County	Village
Okra, hot pepper	Luwero	Katikamu South	Nyimbwa	Nyimbwa Bajjo
	Mpigi	Gomba	Butambala	Nyanama Bujege

Source: field preparation for this study

iii) Selection of the crops




The crops that this study focused on included okra and hot pepper. These particular vegetables were chosen because, just like Vanilla, they have increasingly become one of Uganda's main exports to Europe and the Middle East (World Bank, 1993). They take second and third position after fish, which is the highest income-earner for Uganda at present (UEPB 2002). In terms of description of the crops, the okra plant varies in height, length and color of their pods. Pods of same varieties have distinct length wise ridges, while some are smooth, others are rough or with spike-like ridges. The most recommended varieties for export from Uganda are "clemish spineless" and "pusa sawacci". The Agribusiness Development Centre (ADC) (2001) reports that the European market (EU) offers the most potential for the Ugandan product and that most okra produced in Uganda is exported to the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, the two target markets with the EU. Although there are other markets (in Germany, Spain, France and Belgium), these are smaller. In other areas where most demand is realized, particularly from the "ethnic" communities of Asians, Caribbeans and Africans, the prices are lower. ADC further indicates that the quality is still a problem with Ugandan okra and needs to be improved to successfully expand market share. An example is the blackening of ridges and dry stalks (ADC, 2001). There are many varieties of hot pepper, each with its own shape, size and colour. Red, orange and yellow pepper is the

most common variety in Uganda. The type grown is called Scotch Bonnet, mainly referred to as the “Caribbean” type (UEPB 2002). Farmers have to pay particular attention to the type and quality of hot pepper they select for seed. Hot pepper seed is not easily available commercially thus most of the farmers re-cycle the rejects after sorting. The ADC (1999) reports that fresh hot pepper has been increasingly exported to Europe over the last five years although the market is still small and mainly consists of consumers from ethnic communities. It is further reported that Uganda exports Scotch Bonnet pepper mostly to the United Kingdom and Holland. Imports from Uganda are highest during the winter season because hot peppers are produced in Dutch Greenhouses and to a lesser extent in Mediterranean countries during the summer months.

Below is a map showing some of the districts where these crops are grown and the area where the study was undertaken is provided on the next page.

Map of Uganda Showing Luwero, Mpigi and Mukono Districts



- Key**
-  Growing Subcounties
 -  Districts
 -  District Boundary
 -  County
 -  Subcounty
 -  Parish



3.4.3 Selection of respondents

The study aimed at obtaining specific information from an identified population. This was done through dealing with a specific case study of horticulture farmers and traders within specified sites of operation. The study did not therefore intend to provide representative sample for the entire population in Uganda. Different selection techniques were used as explained for each category of respondent. The study provided an opportunity for learning and knowing from the farmers, collectors and exporters themselves about their activities, and the interactions they engage in, both between women and men and among same sex. Information was also collected on how they influence other individuals' decisions and choices in access to market resources, or how they fail to do so. The respondents were selected in the following way:

i) Policy planners and market resource providers

Non-probability sampling was used in cases where categories of women and men had to be involved. Key informants were selected using snowball-sampling method where one person would name others who were considered to play a vital role in policy planning and market resource provision. Twenty (20) key informants were interviewed at least one from each organization. The different levels of key informants included the government ministries, in particular the ministries of Agriculture and Fisheries, Trade and Industry, Finance, Economic Planning; parastatal organization and private sector organizations, especially Uganda Investment Authority, Uganda bureau of Statistics, Uganda Bureau of Standards, Revenue Authority; Agricultural Policy Unit, Bank of Uganda, Export promotion Board; trade networks in particular Horticultural Exporters Association (HOTEXA) and Federation of Associations of exporters in Uganda; NGOs, in particular Volunteer Efforts for Development Concern (VEDCO); District administration and technical officers; and donor support organizations and those who had funded programs on increased agricultural production of non-traditional crops, including Agricultural Development Center / IDEA project (USAID), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO).

ii) Identification and selection of collectors and exporters²²

The lists of exporters obtained from the ministries, the Uganda Export Promotion Board and market resource providers, were used to select the exporters for this study. The selection criteria included: those who specifically purchased products from Luwero and Mpigi districts or used to in the last one year; those who exported produce at least three times a month in the last one year; those who worked with collectors as well as those who used to reach the farmers directly. Twenty-five (25) exporters were selected from a list of forty-five (45) exporters. This included the only two women who owned export companies and twenty-three men who were also owners. The exporters were interviewed at their offices, operation areas at purchase or during the process of working on airfreight arrangement and transportation at Entebbe airport.

Multi-stage sampling was used to select horticultural traders, who comprised of exporters and their agents (who are called collectors in this study). In addition to information from the farmers, the district level officers who tracked and recorded marketable produce were interviewed. They gave guidance to the researcher that helped in identifying marketing channels to be dealt with in the study. It was important to distinguish between horticultural products marketed locally and what was exported either fresh or processed. Traders were categorized according to what tasks they undertook (their function in the marketing channel), as already outlined above. The categories are repeated below:

- ◆ Female and male exporters who buy produce from their agents, called collectors. Sometimes exports travel to rural areas to check on collectors; quality of farmers' produce and to provide the production and market resources that are needed
- ◆ Female and male collectors who are agents of exporters, purchase produce on behalf of the exporter and negotiate prices with farmers on behalf of the exporters

²² The timing of production, harvest and climax periods for purchase and exchange of fruit and vegetable produce determined when particular traders could be available as respondents for the research.

In addition to the exporters and collectors, the study inquired about the role of NGOs in export-oriented production and trade. Exporter, collectors and farmers were therefore requested to identify NGOs that were assisting them and what roles they were playing. From the roles identified, NGOs were categorized as resource providers and at the same time they were playing a significant role in mobilizing and assisting farmers to negotiate for better terms with exporters and collectors.

Female and male collectors who were working in the four villages under study were included. This was because there were few collectors, so including all of those who served the four villages would enable appropriate coverage of the study area. Twenty collectors (fourteen men and six women) were included in the study. They were targeted at collection sites, and their interaction with farmers within the household sites was scrutinized. Collectors' interaction with exporters was also examined within the collection sites.

(iii) Female and male farmers of okra and hot pepper at household level

A list of the farmers for specific crop products was obtained from the exporters and NGOs working on production and trade of the selected crops. During the selection process, efforts were made to include female-and male- headed households by ensuring that they were recorded in the sampling frame²³. Farmers who were selling Okra/Hot paper at least once a week during the harvesting season were drawn into the sample. Though initially the research set out to capture information from 100 farmers, there were 98 farmers in the sampling frame who were selling once a week. Of the 98 farmers who were selected, 52 were females, 46 were males and belonged to 70 households. In effort to include both men and women, care was taken to involve both female and male farmers in cases where they shared the household. Headship of household was also considered as a factor during selection of farmers in order to ensure that both female-and male-headed households were included.

²³ A list containing all the farmers growing Okra/Hot-paper in the area of study

The farmers were divided into two groups: those who had been involved in growing hot-pepper and okra for the past two production cycles of 1999 and 2000 or longer; and those who had just started. This distinction helped me to get information on differences in marketing experience. Another distinction was made within the group of long-time farmers. They were divided up according to volume of produce sold over time within the two production cycles. The characteristics of farmers were taken into consideration, especially in terms of age, marital status, education level, social-economic status and size of production. Children were only considered in cases where they were mentioned as part of the labour providers, but they were not specifically included as respondents. The majority of the male farmers (80%) in all the four villages had been retrenched from civil service or from commercial farms, and had taken up crop production as a form of employment. Their families depended on both the production of food crops for food sustenance and the growing of hot pepper, okra and other non-traditional cash crops, for income-earning purposes. As such, the production and sale of hot pepper and okra had a significant role in the income of their families.

3.4.4 Data collection

(i) Organizational level key informant interviews and secondary data review

This included collecting and analysing already existing data on horticulture production and trade, paying particular attention to okra and hot pepper. Historical analysis of agricultural commodity marketing trends was undertaken as well, and what implications these have had for female and male farmers and traders in the context of Uganda, was undertaken. The implications of policy reforms, and macro-economic trends on production and trading of agricultural produce were also examined.

Trend analysis method was used to analyse the trends and variations in production and trade of fruit and vegetable for both local and export markets. These were compiled and analysed from available quantitative data from Uganda Export Promotion Board; Uganda Bureau of Statistics; monitoring surveys of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning; and the Agricultural Policy Secretariat. Further, quantitative data

was also obtained from questionnaires used in the household level research as well as checklists used at collection and exportation sites. Data collection was undertaken at the sites where production, selling, collection, packaging and preparation for export. These were important research sites as they enabled interaction between farmers, collectors and exporters.

(ii) Research at household sites

A questionnaire was designed and used for interviews at household sites. The questions addressed production related work and decision-making as well as activities undertaken in preparation for selling. The variables were based on market resource acquisition and the factors that enabled farmers to participate in production and preparation for selling of produce within the household sites. Individual interviews were followed by focus group discussions in cases where there was need for further explanation of the issues.

Case studies were documented where there was a need to analyze specific examples. In-depth interviews were used where detailed discussions were necessary. In addition to these methods, participant observation was undertaken at household sites where exchange transactions were undertaken. Questions included issues of access to market resources needed for production and preparation for marketing at household sites, division of labour and decisions on what and when to sell.

(iii) Research at collection sites

Interviews with collectors were undertaken at the collection sites where exchange transactions and resource provision of packaging materials and price information, take place. A collector interview guide was used to identify and analyze the activities undertaken, the division of labour, and gendered power relations in access to market resources. Questions on division of labour included the areas of collection, packaging and sorting, as well as purchasing of the produce. Participant observation was a very

important method here, as provision of packaging materials and price information, which were the key market resources within these sites, involved extremely hidden manipulative ways of resource provision.

3.4.5 Data collection methods

i) The Case study as a research strategy and method

▪ Definition of the case study strategy and method

Case studies were used both as a research strategy and a method. As such, it could be defined as a practical and observable ‘inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomena within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident’ (Yin 1994:13). Here, the case studies therefore dealt with describing and explaining the situation and facts that were observed as export-oriented activities were being undertaken. This allowed comparison of experiences across different circumstances.

▪ Type of case study used

According to Yin (1994) there are three types of case studies: the explanatory, the descriptive and the exploratory. This study used the first two types.²⁴ The explanatory type of case study can be described as an inquiry that deals with ‘how and why’ questions that require linkage of different concepts or actions to be traced over time ‘rather than mere frequencies or incidences’ (Yin 1994:7). The descriptive nature of the case studies enabled this study also to provide explanations for ‘what’ and ‘who’ questions. Such questions were mainly used to probe the characteristics of the actors, the sites, and the division of labour within the production and marketing of horticulture produce.

▪ Reasons for selecting the case study strategy and method

The case study was used as a research strategy because of the following advantages. Firstly, it was the most flexible and articulate strategy compared to other research

²⁴ The exploratory type of case study is an inquiry that aims at ‘developing hypothesis and propositions for further inquiry’ (Yin 1994: 5).

strategies such as surveys, histories, experiments which do not enable the researcher to get into in-depth discussions that can cover questions of 'how' and 'why'. It best accommodated the research questions, which mostly asked 'to what extent', 'in what way' or 'by what means', or 'for what reasons'. This is in line with Yin's advice that the case study is the preferred research strategy in instances where questions on 'how' and 'why' are being asked about a 'contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control over behaviour of events' (1994:1,9). Secondly, I had little control over either the process of production and trade of the produce or the behaviour of the respondents. Using the case study enabled the application of various methods (described in the next section) that enabled the respondents themselves to reveal what, how and why they were undertaking certain actions. Thirdly, this strategy helped me to access the real-life experiences of female and male farmers and traders, as well as what happens in production and trade of horticulture produce.

Despite these advantages, there are also disadvantages attached to relying on case studies as a strategy and method. Firstly, research could not be rigorously undertaken, as the specific group of respondents would sometimes be unable to provide the facts that were needed. The horticulture export trade within two specific districts in Uganda offered just a small sample of the many experiences, which farmers and traders. Secondly, it was therefore difficult to use this strategy for purposes 'scientific generalization', as Yin had also observed (1994). Thirdly, this strategy is time-consuming as a great deal of analysis is necessary to pull out the relevant information that provides answers to the 'how' and 'why' questions. Although I faced such challenges case studies supplied a useful strategy for this study, which required a specific sample and use of gender analysis to investigate power relations in export trade.

ii) Stakeholder or actor analysis method

▪ Description and use of the stakeholder/actor analysis method

This study began by using the stakeholder analysis method, (hereafter referred to as actor analysis), at the level of ministries and trade-related organizations, in particular the Uganda Export Promotion Board. According to Burgoyne, (1994:187)

stakeholder/actor analysis is a research method that takes into consideration the fact that 'there are a number of stakeholders/*actors* or interested parties who affect, are affected by and experience and conceptualize the phenomenon *being researched on*'(my emphasis). It was used in this study to identify all the actors at the policy planning level and at the different sites. This method enabled the collection of descriptive, qualitative data about the actions and interests of the policy-makers, farmers, collectors and exporters, their behaviour and interactions, as well as their experiences in export-oriented activities.

▪ **Reasons for selecting stakeholder analysis method and its limitations**

In terms of advantages, the actor analysis enabled the study to document the different roles each stakeholder or actor group played in export trade as a basis for realizing their importance in the operation of export trade. Policy-makers, farmers, collectors and exporters have different roles policy level or within the different sites. This method helped to show how each actor depends on the other, and how this dependency creates possibilities of exercising dominating power. However, the method also had a negative side in that at times it tended to categorize actors as 'static' individuals who could not change their roles. Yet there were some collectors who were farmers and exporters who were also farmers. Those female and male actors who had double roles presented a challenge in terms of the analysis, but they helped to illustrate the characteristics that enabled them to exercise different forms of power in accessing resources across sites and at more than one site. It also helped to show the importance of mobility within the marketing channel, and how this enables actors to gain access to market resources they would miss if they only participated in one site. They also gain skills as they participate in the different sites.

iii) **Interviewing method**

I used the interview method as a form of interaction that enabled the respondents to discuss issues of export production and trade. Guiding questions were formed into semi-structured interviews that were used in all sites as the first means to obtaining

information on respondents' demographic characteristics, as well as their production, collection and exportation tasks. Questionnaires and interview guides (or checklists) were used as tools in the interviews. Each site had a separate tool, so the study used one questionnaire (at household sites) and two interview guides (at collection and exportation sites).

The interview method enabled me to obtain specific information was needed as pointers to the key concepts of the research. It also made it possible to have structured responses, where codes could be applied and used in descriptive statistics analysis. However, although these were positive attributes, I realized that my respondents were extremely familiar with the process because other researchers in other topics of study had used a similar method. This meant that they did not always think through my questions, an action that made me apply other methods to cross check the findings.

iv) Participant observation

Participant observation is a method in which the researcher and informants interact so that the former can 'observe day-to-day experience and behaviour of subjects' (Waddington 1994:108). This method was mainly used after the interviews with farmers, collectors and exporters within the household, collection and exportation sites. It involved developing relationships with farmers, collectors and exporters, at their respective sites, through interacting with them as a participant observer. This enabled me to participate practically in harvesting and preparation for selling within the household sites; sorting, grading and packing within the collection sites; and re-packing and labeling within the exportation sites. Within these sites, I was also able to observe how the different tasks were done, and the interaction that the different actors engaged in within their trade relationships as well as how they accessed market resources. It was therefore possible to scrutinize the actions of manipulation, conflict and resistance through this method.

Although this was an appropriate method for participating and observing how export-oriented activities were undertaken and market resources accessed, the first few days

spent on each site involved significant investment of time and energy in interpersonal skills and team work. I had to be just like the respondents I was researching in terms of being able to fit into their routine work, knowledge of how that work was done, what sort of quality standards were required, and how much time each activity took. This tested my patience, but also enabled me to realize how much knowledge my respondents had, which they had gained through participating in export-oriented activities. I learnt to value the knowledge they had.

3.4.6 Data analysis

The findings are presented through description and analysis of the results of the research. Data analysis has been done through drawing on information provided by the farmers, collectors and exporters with the different sites. I specifically give attention to the ways in which these actors describe the production and marketing relations they engage in while performing work in these sites, as well as the social reproduction relations as women and men. The analysis also highlights the experiences the actors have of the way some individuals control and manipulate market access acquisition, and the way others are subordinated in production, selling and buying, and resource acquisition. In ensuring that I explain the nature of relations within work and market resource acquisition, I supplement the respondents' explanations with my own observation, and the information and documents provided by key informants, in ministries and parastatal organizations. However, prominence is given to actors' explanations, stories and communication to me. This is because I consider the actors the primary source of knowledge of the sort of power relations they experience; what they do and how they perform those tasks; who they work with; and who influences their decision and how. They provided honest answers to my questions, which I was also able to crosscheck through the participant observations that I did. Participant observation also enabled me to develop a close relationship with the farmers, collectors and exporters that enabled free expression of thoughts about issues. I became one of them and was later informally trained by the exporters on how to look for markets abroad, showed how to make use of agents/collectors to obtain produce from the farmers in villages, and invited to join the Exporters Association as a member. Most of the exporters had gone through the same process to and this form of initiation into the

'exporter family' helped me to work very closely with them. However, nobody could tell me how they learnt to manipulate prices and control resources. To them, these skills were learned within the process; there was no formula for them.

3.4.7 Successes and challenges of the methodology

i) Researching on women and men's experiences

Most of the time I found myself engrossed in the feelings of struggle as I got concerned about the way of life and the problems which my respondents were experiencing. But I kept on feeling encouraged every time I put a pen on paper so that I could describe what I heard, observed, and the interviews I did. Within the analysis, I tried as much as possible to ensure that the voices of my respondents were heard, despite the fact that they had to be framed within my conceptual framework.

Researching on relations in work and resources acquired posed challenges. The process of the field research meant finding ways of dealing with people's attitudes, their feelings about the problem I was addressing, and the time it took them to answer my questions. They were busy people and the cost to them in terms of time was an issue I had to be very careful about. Although the farmers at household level tried as much as possible not to show their feelings about the amount of time spent in particular in the research, the collectors and exporters resorted to actions that showed their anxiety about the impact of the research on their time. They preferred appointments to be made so that they could use specifically scheduled time, they requested that the timing of the research be within periods when they had less export 'traffic' due to changes in the seasons for the produce, and they preferred working with me over weekends. I abided by most of their suggestions, although I had to be cautious about my own time as the research had to fit in with my academic programme.

Sometimes I would be questioned on how the respondents would benefit from this 'Makerere elite piece' (or 'University academic piece', as they referred to it). I used various strategies to handle the situation.

- **Use of high level management to help in mobilizing the respondents (Government ministries, companies, parastatols)**

At first I had reservations about working through managers, directors and chairpersons to mobilize the respondents. However, it was the only way I could get to the exporters who did not know me, and suspected that I was a revenue or tax collector. I was afraid that managerial intervention would hinder the way the respondents perceived me and the way they would answer. To my surprise, the exporters were not intimidated and were willing to talk even in cases where managers, chairpersons or directors were present. I later realized that this activity of getting into focus groups and discussing a problem gave them an opportunity to air what they had long wanted to talk about, but no chances to do so had been presented to them. Their usual meetings were for 'business,' with no time for discussing what they felt were 'political' issues (they considered power relations as a form of political maneuver). They felt this was a chance to 'tell off' those organization and individuals who provide them with market resources. They were angry about the lack of streamlined resource access measures, but were not hostile and were open to talking about their feelings. They also felt sad about the way they were manipulating prices and market resource provision to collectors and farmers, but blamed the liberalization policy and lack of government support. To them, these were the causes of the situation that led to manipulation. They wondered whether this sort of discussion could be formalized, and take place more often. Unfortunately, I could not offer to make this a continuous forum. The only way I could help was to include their thoughts in the recommendations I have provided in the concluding chapter of this study.

Although exporters felt free to talk about what they did and how they did it, the questions that were political in nature (concerning forms of organizing and struggle to acquire resources, access to resources, tricks used to ensure profit, class), were more easily answered as individuals than when they were gathered into focus group

discussions. Differences then were easy to observe. In most cases, it was clear that women (who were a minority) needed their own space and a different approach. This enabled them to feel the freedom and the relief of discussing those issues that were putting them in subordinate positions. What I did was then to follow up those cases where I saw individual discrepancies and make further appointments to talk to them.

- **Use of regular meetings in cases where respondents had organized ways of carrying on their work**

This was done in cases where the respondents had organized ways of operating. I worked with the HOTEWA to gain access to those exporters who were members. I also requested part of their time during their regular meetings, which I would attend as an observer. I would then carry out further discussions and interviews at the end of the meeting. I did the same with VEDCO, which had organized meeting with farmers, collectors and exporters who operated in Luwero district.

The exporters shared with me their knowledge of the situation in which they were working, the relationships they developed, and the activities they carried out. They provided me with material that I would not otherwise been able to find, as such writings were neither published nor disseminated. These were mainly writings detailing their struggles to obtain support from government ministries, the Uganda Export Promotion Board, and airline companies, especially concerning cargo space, airfreight costs and cooling facilities. They were willing to show me information that I would not have been able to obtain from any other source.

- ii) **Researching on gender and other social relations**

Using gender analysis to research on power relations in work and access to resources is a challenging task for both political and ethical reasons. As explained earlier, the sites of the marketing channel were considered to be sites of power within which activities had to be done at specified locations, as well as at particular times. Within these sites, disputes formed part of the actors' work experiences and the relations they engaged in. These disputes were revealed the stories the respondents provided. The different respondents (women and men, farmers and collectors, collectors and exporters,

exporters and service providers) recounted experiences that showed conflicts of interest as well as differences in value norms.

Whereas farmers were aiming at selling their produce and gaining an income, collectors and exporters were trying to manipulate the prices and the distribution of market resources so that they could profit from their deals. In analyzing the field findings, I have tried to reflect the diversity of the views given. Within the study, readers will notice that I bend towards the farmers, collectors and exporters and pay less attention to other actors and market resource providers within the marketing channel, such as extension workers at production level, exportation certifiers, cold storage, cargo and airfreight providers (however, I mention where they should be significant in resource provision to avoid manipulation of resource access). Although this focus is not only of my own making (it reflects the restructuring that is taking place in Uganda as the private sector takes over resource provision), it also reflects my ideological position. As I am dedicated to gender equality and advancement of small-scale farmers, collectors and exporters, I place more emphasis on these. My writing offers them a chance to voice their concerns, and that is why I pay more attention to the stories that reveal the divergent values they attach to what they do and how they do it.

This was done in various ways. I succeeded in making farmers, collectors and exporters visible by having them as the majority of my respondents. I talked to other actors and market resource providers within the marketing channel only in cases where I had to check what they did in relation to export trade, and the policies, rules and laws that govern trade and production of export crops. It was in this regard that I approached the district level agricultural officers and planners, government ministries, the Uganda Export Promotion Board, Fresh Handling and Entebbe Airport Handling Services (ENHAS).

It was clear to me that within the marketing channel process, the primary actors (who produce, distribute and work on exportation), were the least powerful. The policy-makers, regulators of trade requirements (such as quality standards), and providers of airfreight, cargo space and cold facilities, were more powerful because trade in

developing countries (unfortunately) depends on the availability of these services and resources.

Although such resource providers also face constraints created both by the external resource providers in the importing countries, and the hierarchical process of acquiring these resources, at least they have means and ways of getting into dialogue and making voices heard. These hierarchical tendencies could also be seen in the relations between actors (between women and men, farmers and collectors, collectors and exporters). Although farmers, collectors and exporters all work within a situation where they have lessening influence within the liberalized economy, there are more chances for exporters to push their views and gain the attention of higher authorities than farmers. This is because exporters are organized into associations and are being strengthened by private sector initiatives. On the other hand, farmers' associations, though longer established than those of exporters, are very thin at the village level. Their participation in decision-making at district level and in policy-making is very limited. These categories in the way that trade, relations and structures of power operate show both hierarchies and the way contemporary capitalist economies function.

Another reason for choosing farmers, collectors and exporters is their importance to the development of the export trade sector. Although they are key actors in the organization of the marketing channel, little consideration is given to their views by policy-makers. Most contemporary research into export trade in Uganda has focused either based on interviews with farmers in households or on marketing from a commodity and resource point of view, but not on the process of marketing that emphasizes the different sites (For example see Bibangamba 1996, Manyire 1996, Kampampala 1998). It is not often that research is done from a process perspective, and based on the relations that female and male actors engage in, as this study has done.

The use of the marketing channel sites as units of analysis establishes a process within which gender relations are constructed and power relations observed. Earlier researches might have avoided the collection and exportation sites because of difficulties with access to the respondents. In the case of respondents in these sites, the

cost of their time was a major issue. Due to the informal networks they develop, collectors and exporters are also very conscious of what is being said and by whom. As such, they tend to be loyal to each other. This meant that getting information on the power politics was tricky and required tact.

Apart from all these considerations, I was also guided by the methodological and theoretical shift in current research in which social sciences have shifted from simply using interviews to more informal and oral communications explanations and story-telling. Research has moved in the direction of studying 'texts and discourses', focusing on the 'words' people say rather than focusing on 'things' (Bradely 1999). Feminist research methodology has noted this change there is 'a tendency in recent years to move away from talking *to* listening' (Skeggs 1997: p2). It is through listening that we can capture the voices of the powerless and reveal differences in power relations between and within actors.

iii) Researching on a process

The volume of work was heavy, especially in cases where the exporters preferred to be interviewed during days that I had already scheduled to meet collectors or farmers. Most of the methods I used required me to be present and could not delegate even if I had a research assistant. Participant observation method for example, required my presence and participation. Although it was an arduous process, respondents helped to inform me about the collection days in the week, which meant that I could observe the interactions and participate in harvesting, collection and sorting activities at the various sites.

iv) Changes in methodological design

At times, the methodological design had to change. I had planned to work on one site, complete my work and then move to another site. I started with the exporters, who would then lead me to where they purchased produce within the geographical locations I had selected. By chance, the areas I had selected were the ones where most of the

exporters of hot-pepper and okra used to get their produce from. This meant that the delays in discussion with some exporters did not prevent me from moving to another site. Due to the time constraints of the exporters, I found out that I had to rely on their availability when scheduling my time for other sites.

There were times when I would have made appointments with farmers, and sometimes I would even be deep in the rural villages, when exporters would call me on my mobile phone to inform me that they would be available within the next two days. Otherwise I would have to wait for a month until they returned from abroad! This would not only incur transport and time costs but would also inconvenience the people I would have made prior arrangements to meet.

Another change to data collection was the process related to research in the collection sites. Although I had prepared to observe just a few cases so that I could trace the control and manipulation of selling and buying decisions and provision of market resources at this level, I ended up making participant observation the main method I used within these sites. This became necessary in order to research on power relations.

It took me more time than I had planned, because I had to join the collectors in distributing the boxes where the farmers would pack the produce; be with women and men in sorting, packing, labeling and transferring the boxes to the trucks; and then observe the actions and tricks the collectors engaged in while making payment to the farmers. Although there was no uniformity in such actions, the majority followed the same trend of first getting the produce onto the truck and paying the farmer. In some cases, the collectors would bring the money after a certain period, which could even get to several months. This meant that I had to look for cases where I could observe negotiations taking place, as these provided real life-experiences of the power relations that women and men engage in as they strive to participate in export trade.

3.4.8 Concluding remarks

This study benefited from the use of women and men's experiences in export-oriented production and trade as they explained and undertook the different tasks. The methodological and theoretical orientation that presently exists in ways that enable use of informal and oral communications, that include story-telling, provided wealth of knowledge and enabled understanding of the conflictual and manipulative actions that are undertaken by powerful women and men while others are rendered powerless.

The gendered nature of power relations are so hidden that unveiling them required full involvement in the actual work the respondents do, as well as following their day-to-day life experiences, which are so much part of who they are, how they relate to each other, and how they structure their days' work to participate in production tasks, while others have even to include collection and exportation tasks in their day's activities.

The methods used as well as the application of gender analysis, provided opportunity to search for cases that could show evidence of what was happening in the marketing channel. It was also possible to observe different forms of winning and loosing as some women were able to make decisions and negotiate in the same way as men. However, most of women could not. These were opportune moments to observe power relations in action.

CHAPTER FOUR

DESCRIPTION OF FINDINGS ABOUT FARMERS, COLLECTORS AND EXPORTERS IN THE DIFFERENT SITES

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents description of the findings about the tasks and access to and control over resources for female and male farmers, collectors and exporters. The findings are from the research undertaken in the three sites of the marketing channel, namely: the household (section 4.1), collection (section 4.2) and exportation sites (section 4.3). The chapter is therefore divided up in three sections, one for each site. The chapter deals with the three research questions for this study.

The first research question requires a description of the sites and characteristics of the farmers, collectors and exporters. Each section begins with such a description. The second research question deals with examining the manifestation of power relations in the patterns of gender division of labor and this is undertaken in each section that represents a site. The third question examines the patterns of access to and control over production and market resources. The description of findings for each of these questions, illustrates how power relations manifest through the tasks undertaken by women and men, as well as the way they access production and market resources within the different sites. The implications that these power relations have for the gender division of labour and access to resources is then analyzed in the chapter that follows (chapter five).

4.1 Power Relations in Export-Oriented Tasks and Access to Resources at the Household Sites

This section presents research findings from the household sites where farmers deal with production and sale of their produce. Here, the female and male farmers form the primary unit of analysis. These farmers perform different tasks, interact and link with resource providers who are mainly collectors and exporters (from the other two types of sites). These farmers operate within households that have different types of organization

in terms of headship of household (as will be explained below). It is through such organization of the household that farmers handle decision-making on production and marketing. These different types of households therefore form the secondary unit of analysis.

4.1.1 Description of the household site and characteristics of farmers

i) Description of the household site

This section describes the institutional nature of the household site, as well as the characteristics of the farmers. It therefore deals with two of the sub-questions that require such description. The explanation of the function of the household site within the marketing channel is given as well as the tasks that female and male farmers undertake. I consider households to be worksites. Within these households, farmers, as the main actors, undertake production and preparation for sale of produce. Attention was paid to the female and male farmers within these households.

The study defined the household as a group of females and males living together and contributing individually or as a team to the production related needs of this site. This study dealt with 98 farmers who grow hot pepper and okra and they were from 70 households. Out of the 98 farmers, 52 (53%) were women and 46 (47%) were men. The household sites were considered in terms of not only being a farming site with farmers, but also the arrangements made concerning decision-making about the provision of labour, information on prices and other resources needed for the horticulture business. This focus on individuals within the household enabled the study to consider women and men as separate actors when collecting data, even if they were a married couple (husband and wife) from the same household.

The major activities in the household sites include production of export-related crops as well as food crops. In addition to this, female farmers devote some of their time undertaking domestic related activities. This site also provides human labour that sustains the production process. It was discovered that members of the household might work as individuals in making decisions about production (depending on the headship of household as discussed below). They also interact with other members of other

households in order to combine efforts in accessing production and market resources. This may sometimes be done by forming groups to organize their produce for the collector or exporter as a means of accessing the market. Intra-household relations therefore exist. The characteristics of the horticultural farmers who were included in the study, was undertaken. Such factors were considered to be key to the understanding of the gender differences that could reveal the basis of the manifestation of power relations in gender division of labour and access to resources.

ii) Characteristics of the farmers

a) Age of farmers

Female farmers were mostly within their late 30's and early 40s. Seventy percent of the male farmers were between the ages of 24 to 45. There were only three men and one woman within the age bracket of 18-25. There were also only two women and two men within the age bracket of 65 to 70. The average age of the farmers in the sample used was 40 years old (having that of male as 39.6 years while that of females was 37.6 years). Children of ages 6 to 17 mainly participate in production related activities during out-of-school periods, especially the holidays. However during peak periods when there are many activities, some of families withdraw their children from school in order to enable them to contribute labour that would yield income for their school fees.

b) Marital status of the farmers

Married and unmarried farmers were included in the study. Seventy-five percent of female and ninety seven percent of male farmers were married. However, twenty per cent (20%) of the married female farmers had absentee husbands²⁵ who did not reside in the same house permanently and either sent remittances or visited once in while. These female farmers indicated that they did not own their horticultural farms; instead, the farms belonged to both the husband and wife. Twenty-five per cent of the female farmers were unmarried, and were defined (by farmers) as those without a resident

²⁵ The focus group discussions with single female farmers indicated that for some of the female-headed households, the spouses who were younger than others, moved to town (Kampala), where they worked. Such women therefore engage into horticulture production and selling to support the family.

spouse. Ten per cent of this category was widowed or divorced and the rest (15%) had never married.

The community held strong patriarchal values that considered marriage to be normative. Women who had never got married (15%) were considered 'outcasts' and they were labeled "*nakyeyombekede*"²⁶ to depict that they did not conform to the patriarchal norms of the society.

c) Household headship and decision-making

Household headship was considered as one of the factors that influences decision making in the household. Marital status was also considered as one of the influencing factors. Men headed 75% of the households included in the study.²⁷ For 50% of these households, men made the decisions about production and selling. Although men were the main income-earners in 30% of the male-headed households, they were not decision-makers. Instead, the women made independent decisions on the production and sale of produce. It was realised that in such cases, women were either more educated than the men, or had been more involved in producing crops than the men. Forty three percent of such households had polygamous marriages, where women made decisions as a team without involving their spouses.²⁸ In most of these cases, men were more involved in the production of crops other than hot pepper and okra, or they were not involved in production at all. According to this study, the widowed, divorced and those who had never married, comprised those households (twenty-five per cent), which were considered to be female-headed or managed households. Although women apparently headed such households, it was found out that most of them had a male counterpart (either a friend or a son). In most cases these male counterparts did not live in the household, but would either send remittances or visit occasionally and sometimes were engaged in household decision-making. For example: Two widowed female farmers reported that they had two sons who were the decision makers on what to produce,

²⁶ Lit. Luganda word used for single, self-maintained women.

²⁷ Male-headed households were those where the male spouse was the main income-earner and meeting household needs.

²⁸ Seven of the male farmers had two wives staying in the same house, but in different rooms. This was found in Gomba sub-county where polygamous men had built houses with different rooms for different wives. Women in such marriages co-operated with each other. Focus group discussions indicated that such practices relied on religious beliefs (especially Islam) in respecting and working together. However, dialogue with these women indicated that it was their preference to co-operate; it did not necessarily mean that all women in polygamous marriages belonged to the same religion.

when and what to sell. Four of the unmarried women mentioned that their absent male 'friends' would in one way or another offer support in making decisions on production activities or even offer capital to enable production. Thus, 46% of the female-headed households, men made the decisions concerning production and selling of products.

In order to understand the power dynamics within the household sites, the study examined the relationship of the female/male farmer to the head of the household. Questions therefore addressed the issue of whether the farmer resided in a household headed by herself/himself or her/his spouse, child or other relative. Marriage was found out to be the main relationship, followed by being a child in the household. There were some households that had labourers among the members. Although most of the unmarried women were able to earn an income from horticulture to support their families, others could not. The focus group discussions with women on their own revealed that the number of women who were the main income-earners for the family was higher than the number of widows and single unmarried women. Forty-four percent (44%) of the married women indicated that their husbands were neither working on the farm with them nor else where, due to either drunkenness or sickness ²⁹. Two women also reported that their husbands could not work with them because they were too elderly to manage farm work. Although these two women were also over the age of 65 themselves, they were still taking part in production-related activities that supported their families, unlike men of the same age. The study therefore found that 48% of the female respondents relied on their spouses' income earning abilities and the rest (52%) were the main income earners and had to work to support their families.

d) Education level attained

The low socio-economic status of the farmers, especially women, was mostly revealed through gathering data about their educational qualifications. Male farmers were better educated when compared to female farmers. While forty-one per cent (41%) of the female farmers had achieved senior secondary four as their highest education level³⁰,

²⁹ Nine of the 11 men who were not working had HIV/AIDS-related illnesses.

³⁰ The education system in Uganda involves seven years in primary level, followed by four years in lower senior secondary level (commonly known as "O" level. Higher school ("A" level) can then be undertaken for two years and there is also an option of joining technical colleges after the four years of "O" level.

58% of the male farmers had attained the same level of education. Twenty per cent of the female farmers and twelve percent of the male farmers had been withdrawn from school by their parents before primary five due to lack of funds for school fees. Unlike men, twelve (23%) of the female farmers had never gone to school, and were illiterate. Half of the illiterate women were married and half were unmarried. For women who had some secondary education, their qualifications were not of much help, as most of them felt that they were not listened to when there was need to make decisions or suggestions for improvement in production. Hands-on knowledge and experience acquired over time, as a farmer, was more valued in terms of status and likelihood of being listened to. Even when a female farmer tried to use her educational skills to guide others, she would not be taken as seriously as a woman who had more production experience, even if she had no formal education. However, it was not the same with male farmers. To them, education conveyed status. Extension workers would easily relate to male farmers who had a certain level of education, especially if this was secondary level. The reasons for this were mainly attached to the capability to read, write and transfer the information given, as more men than women reported using the services of extension workers for purposes of transfer of knowledge and skills.

ii) Status of female and male farmers

Questions on two issues formed the basis for discussions about status with farmers. These were: (i) the main source of income and the main occupation of the income-earner (whether male or female); the relations the household members had to the resources for production (especially land). Most of the married female farmers (65%) had husbands whose only occupation was that of being farmers. Thirty-two per cent (32%) of the married women had husbands who were both farmers and collectors and only one married female farmer had a husband who was an exporter of horticulture produce and an extension worker in the agriculture department at district level. In terms of source of income, 80% of the unmarried female farmers had their own income from horticulture production and selling. Twenty per cent of these women were also running retail shops, as well as producing and selling horticulture products. Focus group

More male farmers than female had attained lower secondary education. Most of the female farmers had dropped out in primary level.

discussions indicated that there have been changes in the distribution of land over the past two years. This has mainly taken the form of male landowners selling off land to other people. Even those who had less than two acres have sold part of their land. This has led to decreasing sizes of land under cultivation of horticulture crops, as farmers have to decide whether to retain land for production, or to sell some of it and invest that money in off-farm activities.

The respondents in this study were mostly from the class of small-scale poor farmers, with only a few of them belonging to the medium scale farmer class. It is worth reporting that horticulture farming was introduced as a poverty reduction strategy by the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) that was initiated in 1999 and this was evident in the discussions with farmers. Most of them indicated that they had started producing hot-peppers and okra instead of other crops, because these crops were being promoted by the PMA programme as part of the export drive to boost income generating activities.

4.1.2 Farmers' size of production

The study found out that the farmers of hot pepper and okra were generally small-scale farmers. Although some of the farmers had large amounts of land, most of them (80%) were cultivating hot-pepper and okra on small plots of land measuring up to quarter of an acre. Only 20% of all farmers had land of up to one acre and above under crop. They could not easily expand on their production plots because most of them had user rights over land, but not ownership of land. On average, farmers owned 6.7 acres of land, with only 16.4% of these acres devoted to horticultural production. A few, men in particular, owned slightly bigger plots of land under cultivation for hot pepper and okra. Such male farmers were among those who had leadership roles in the community: they were zone leaders (in the case of Luwero study area), collectors and/or exporters. The small-scale nature of their activities was mainly a result insufficient resources (in terms of both hard and soft infrastructural resources, especially capital, information, land, storage and transport facilities) to maintain plantation agriculture. It was found out that uncertainty about the markets for the agricultural produce limited expansion of the farms.

4.1.3 Participation and gender division of labor in the production and sale of hot pepper and okra

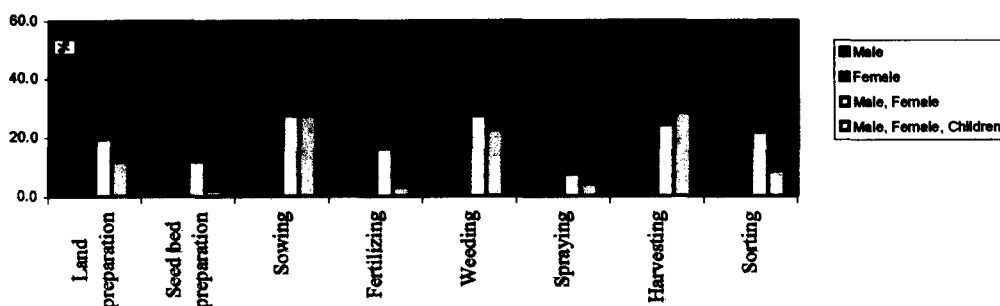
i) Participation and gender division of labour

This section examines participation and patterns of gender division of labour within the production and preparation for sale of hot pepper and okra. Some of the interviewed farmers were growing both hot-pepper and okra, while others dealt with only one of these crops. A similar proportion (26%) of females and males were okra or hot-pepper farmers. Further distinction showed that while 50% of the male and 11.5% of female farmers were hot-pepper farmers only, more women (27%) than men (19%) participated in the growing of okra only. About fifteen per cent 15.4% of the women and 31% of the men dealt with two crops, okra and hot pepper. More women had five years experience than men (most of whom had three years of experience). Both female and male farmers indicated that the longer a farmer stays in production, the more he/she gains skill and knowledge of how to access resources and how to negotiate for better prices. Experience in production was therefore considered as one form of gaining expertise, which could then be used to influence decisions on accessing market resources.

The following questions were asked at household level to obtain information on the gender division of labour, time use and decision-making. (a) Who does what tasks? (b) How long does the activity take in terms of time? (c) Who makes the decisions about production- related activities and those concerning sale of produce? Three methods were used in this case as no single method could ensure provision of a straightforward answer. As such, the data collection for these specific issues was done in the following way: Interviews using a questionnaire, followed by a one-to-one dialogue with the female or male farmer; narrations from female and male farmers helped to explain on how decision-making on the production and sale of produce is undertaken; Participant observation enabled the observation of what exactly goes on in the process of making decisions, and where power is rooted. The type of crop grown was found to influence the pattern of activities and division of labour undertaken by either women alone or men

alone, or joint activities with children. Figure 4.1 below illustrates the gender division of labour.³¹

Figure 4.1: Gender division of labour



Source: field results

The figure above shows that in all the activities, more male than farmers are involved. However, it should be noted that the proportion of males engaged in land (54%) and seedbed (55%) preparation more than triples the proportion of females carrying on the same activities (14%, 13% respectively). Combined labour of women, men and children is used mostly during sowing, weeding and harvesting. Fertilization of the soil and spraying is mainly undertaken by males with help from women and children as family members. On the surface of analysis, Figure 4.1 (gender division of labour) and 4.2 (time –use) can easily be taken to illustrate a different picture from what macro-economists depict in agricultural related studies where they show that women undertake most of the activities. However, this is not the case. Although diagrammatically, the bars for men show that they provide labour in more activities than the women do, this happens because male farmers use male hired labour in addition to their own labour provision. On the other hand, female farmers mostly use their own labour and lack funds to hire labour. This situation could only be clarified after focus group discussions with female-only groups where they had opportunity to provide in-depth explanations of their labour experiences.

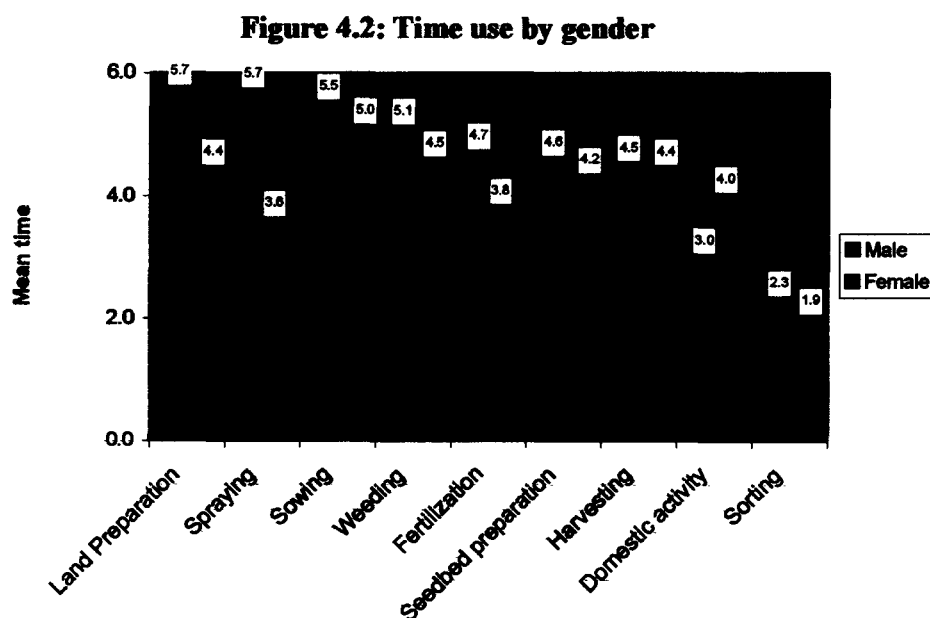
³¹ The data used to construct this diagram is provided in the appendix.

Individual interviews and focus group discussions indicated that without in-depth questioning, the answers to the question “who does what”, appeared obvious to both female and male farmers. The differences that led to few women undertaking an activity are integrated into the gender ideologies the farmers hold concerning the distinction between feminine and masculine tasks in agricultural production. To them, horticultural production is no different to production of other crops. Although both female and male farmers knew of, and could provide examples of the gender division of labour, they assumed that these divisions were allocated through cultural rules that placed women and men in different activities. However, through in-depth interviews, both female and male farmers were able to realize that the production of hot-pepper and okra had brought new twists into the gender division of labour. Farmers noted various differences that had been created in this respect and included:

- Although women and children had more opportunities to participate in export-oriented production than before, they were still kept in those tasks that required slow and repetitive forms of work, such as sowing, weeding, harvesting and sorting. On the other hand, more men participated in production than before, but were mostly engaged in tasks that required skills training and those which had to be done at specific time periods within the production cycle. Men were mostly engaged in land preparation, seed preparation, spraying and soil fertilizing. They had received special training in these tasks (unlike the women) and they claimed that such skills enhancement was necessary as these were the major tasks that determined the quality of the produce for sale. They insisted that exporters who trained them had told them that incorrect methods of land preparation, seed preparation, spraying and harvesting would tarnish the quality of the produce. However, the women kept complaining about their lack of opportunities for skills training, even though the tasks they were mostly involved in also had implications for the quality of produce. This remained a burning question for the women.
- As horticulture production was basically for export, the tasks had increased and tended to be more technical than in other food crops, because farmers now had to consider quality and quantity issues
- Apart from that, the production of hot-pepper and okra required that specific time schedules be known to all farmers who were marketing their products to collectors and exporters. This would help them to plan for production and harvesting periods that corresponded to the amount of produce that each collection centre had to provide for the organisation of marketing in that area.

ii) Time use

Farmers plotted the activities they undertook in various weeks over a period of a month, followed by calculation of the total time throughout the annual cycle of the production and sale of hot pepper and okra. Men spent nearly an average time of six hours per week on land preparation or spraying and women spent nearly four hours carrying on the same activities. Though men had spent more hours on sowing, weeding and harvesting than women, the mean difference of the time spent was less than one hour (Figure 4.2). It should further be noted that women only spent more hours than men in domestic activities – an indicator that domestic work was still regarded as a ‘woman’s duty’. This finding is different from the usual understanding of women being far more burdened with domestic work than men. In this case, domestic work burden carried by women is not one of the major factors that sustain gender inequality within horticulture production and marketing. Rather, other gender dynamics that bear power practices, as well as factors in production, collection and export process, hinder women’s effective participation.



Source: field results

The findings from the focus group discussions showed that activities were done through weekly distribution of work, depending on the season. Farmers explained the length of time an activity took when women did the task or men only, or children. Joint activities were mainly those that required physical strength, were repetitive or required swift action, thus demanding combined labour by all family members. Combined labour was mostly used in sowing, weeding, harvesting and sorting, as indicated in figure 4.1. The difference in work done and time allocated to these tasks depended on the changes in seasonality. Female farmers used the time they saved during low levels of production for group activities and domestic work.

4.1.4 Access to and control of production and market resources

The needs, which the farmers had in terms of access to resources, were related to the tasks they undertook. Whereas the needs of women were mostly for labour and capital for production, men were more concerned about market information and where to sell the produce. Male farmers wanted to know about the international markets for hot-pepper and okra and how to get better prices. During planting periods, both women and men required access to seeds, credit and information about the type of hot-pepper or okra³² that will be needed for the market.

i) The demand and access for resources by farmers

During the field observations, it became evident that the needs of the farmers shaped what production and market resources they demanded access to and control over. The main production and market resources used and needed for the production of hot-pepper and okra for export are: land, tools, seeds, information, transport, credit and storage facilities. During the focus group discussions, the participants reported that these resources were scarce and hard to obtain. However, it should be noted that the few resources that were available were always distributed in favor of men, which put the

³² The farmers are informed by exporters about which type of species to plant for the different seasons (whether to plant yellow or red hot-pepper or different species of okra). As farmers rely on the exporters for information, this puts exporters in higher position (compared to farmers), which they then use to dominate decision-making in production.

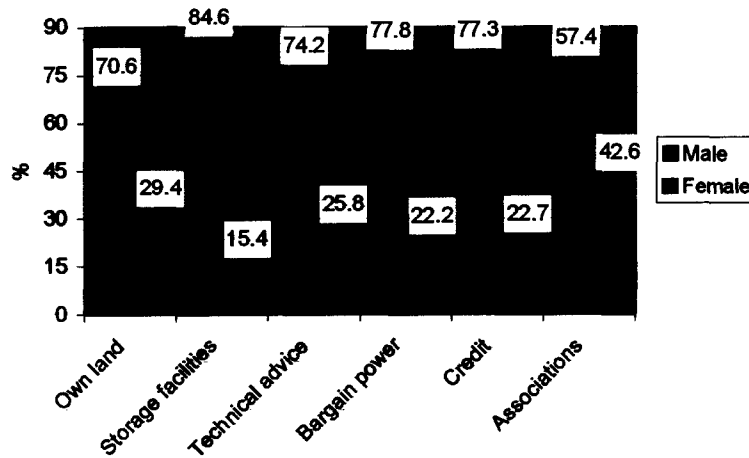
women at a disadvantageous position. One explanation for the inequality in distribution of these resources was the extra domestic duties which women had to undertake and even in some instances, some women would not be available at the time when the packaging boxes were being distributed as narrated in by one of the female Focus Group Discussion participants:

“I was home busy preparing food for my family and my husband was listening to news on the radio at 9 PM. When the collector called my husband, he could not hear yet I could not leave food on the cook stove. By the time I finished cooking, the collector had left, I tried to rush and get him in the neighborhood, he was no were to be seen. I had missed the boxes!!!.”

Further more, figure 4.3 shows that the proportion of men who had access to land, storage facilities, credit institutions and technical advice, doubled more than the proportion of women who had access to the same resources. This pattern used to hinder women from making their own independent production decisions. Poor access to technical advice especially on the market prices of okra and hot paper normally left women exposed to exploitation by ‘selfish’ men.

As a coping mechanism, women joined associations such as VEDCO and HOTEXA or organized themselves into small associations so as to increase on their bargaining power for market prices and reduce on the exploitation they were incurring not only from men but also fellow women who were engaged in distribution of resources such as packaging boxes and seeds. This explains why there is a higher proportion of women who had access to associations as compared to other resources (figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: Access and control to resources by gender



Source: field results

Participants in the focus group discussions, indicated that the most reliable source of the necessary market resources were the collectors and exporters. The reason given was that the collectors and exporters go straight to the households and therefore enable easier access to resources. This system was preferred by those women who had children to care for, and rarely got the opportunity to leave their homes. The farmers explained that they considered the collectors and exporters as “*Babinojo*”³³ (literally: people who have *resources*). The collectors and exporters were considered (by farmers) to control decision of those they did or did not give resources because they had the responsibility of resource provision. They gained power over the farmers as they had greater access to resources from the international suppliers, and were then in a position to decide who to share these with. They were seen to be superior to the farmers, even in cases where the collectors were themselves farmers.

³³ The Luganda word “*Binojo*” is usually used to describe a very rich person who has greater resources than others in the community. The farmers used the word in a much broader context. It showed that the collectors and exporters were perceived as being different from the farmers in the communities. This was not necessarily because they had material wealth, but because they were rich in terms of being able to access and have control over the distribution of their resources. To distinguish women from men in this category of collectors and exporters, both female and male farmers used to give a feminine name of *Nabinojo* to the women resource providers and *Binojo* to the males.

ii) Access to training and skills acquisition

Further investigation showed all farmers required training and information on the tasks to be undertaken in production of the crops in order to ensure the quality required at international level. Once they had this knowledge, then anybody could undertake any activity. Some quality standards could only be assured through the use of pesticides, which required specialist knowledge and time for spraying. Gaining knowledge of sanitary and phytosanitary conditions required for hot-pepper and okra was also time-consuming, as this mostly involved formal training away from the household. In most cases, such training excluded female farmers, because the exporters and Non Governmental Organisations providing this service assumed that women did not require training in these tasks. In one of the training sessions that I attended, a male exporter explained that his exporter association was of the view that women would find it difficult to combine household maintenance tasks and the production of export crops. It would therefore be difficult to take time off from home in order to participate in the training. One wonders why such an inaccurate assumption remained unchallenged for so long without asking women to explain how they combined domestic work with the production of hot-pepper and okra. The few women who had been fortunate enough to be selected to participate in this particular training explained how they combined the two, and were able to be present. To them, the problem was an issue of male domination, which was being used to exclude women from skills acquisition that would improve performance in the production and sale of export-oriented produce.

iii) Access to market information

Access to information about the desired varieties crop was therefore a key advantage that better-informed female and male farmers used as a trick to compete with other farmers of the same sex who lacked such information. This also reflects the problem of exclusion from access to information for women. As mentioned above, farmers are scattered throughout their operational areas and not confined to a common location. This complicates the tasks of exporters, collectors and Non Governmental Organisations responsible for delivering information and other market resources to farmers. Those who buy their produce at the farm-gate level are even worse off as they

have to travel long distances before accessing even a single farmer. In the process, several farmers never get access to market resources, especially information on prices and market sources. Yet these are key in enabling the farmers to negotiate better prices from the exporters and collectors. Lack of access to production information was also shown to be a major cause of crop losses among farmers.

iv) Access to and control over land

This section explains how user rights for land on which women farm, constrains their participation in the production of hot-pepper and okra. This is because of the time taken to seek consensus from their male partners on whether they may grow these types of crops.

Figure 4.3 shows that the proportion of men (70.6%) who had access and control over their own land more than doubled the proportion of women (29.4%) who had access and control to the same facility. Since women have limited access to and control over land, they have to seek permission either from their husbands or sons and sometimes landlord for those who are tenants, to allow them grow okra or hot paper. Sometimes the permission is not granted or granted when the sowing season is almost mid-way. This normally leads to female farmers not harvesting on time as reported by one married female FGD participant farmer in Bujjege, Mpigi district:

"I wish I could decide where to grow and when to grow, but I can't. So how can I be within the time when the buyers require the produce? I have to wait for my husband to tell me where I can plant."

Male farmers owned the largest proportion of land for production (they owned 49% of the household land included in the study). Nearly three fifth (57%) of the female farmer respondents reported that land belonged to their husbands and only 19% reported to be owning their own land. Though slightly more than 60% of all the respondents reported to be having user rights over land, only 33% of the women held such rights. Further more, female and male farmers had different types of land ownership for different reasons: for 47%, it was through marriage relations, 15% because she/he was a family

member, 13% relative to the family, and 13% hired land. Since it was the men who possessed the largest proportion of family land and user/control rights, they used to have meetings to decide on how to lend out land to other farmers.

For the male farmers who had control rights over land, this was an advantage in that they could plan for production in terms of growing any crops they wanted at any time. On the other hand, the user rights held by women constrained their production planning, which in turn led to their late entry into the marketing of their produce. Borrowed pieces of land were usually small and the owners had a right to refuse the growing of certain crops (hot-pepper in particular) that they thought might drain the soil of nutrients. Hot-pepper is also a perennial crop, and land owners prefer those who use the land for only short time (3-6 months).

Although each household can set up its own rules for property allocation and transfer, customary rules were pointed to by both female and male farmers as major reference points by many families. Land is still dominantly allocated through either inheritance or marriage (mostly marriage in the case of women). The formal rules that were set up in the Land Act of 1998³⁴ had not yet been implemented in the area of study. Yet, during the formulation of this Act, rural women's groups like *Kyosimba onannya*, which is mostly made up of female farmers of hot-pepper and okra in Luwero district, joined the women's movement around the country to voice their concerns about the need for women to own land. Just like other women mentioned in the literature review, women in Luwero and Mpigi districts were of the view that ownership rights of women would be strengthened by joint ownership of land. However, most of them showed disappointment at the lack of parliament's approval of this proposal and the one on the need to link ownership rights to output of agricultural labour, which is mostly contributed by women. This discrimination against women through lack of land ownership is linked to the types of land ownership in Buganda region³⁵. Land ownership within the area of study is mainly composed of *mailo*, *Kibanja*³⁶ or borrowed

³⁴ Women's concerns from different part of the country during the formulation of the Land Act are discussed earlier in the literature review, chapter two.

³⁵ Land ownership in Buganda region is explained in chapter two.

³⁶ Luganda word for plot of land that is leased by the landlord to the tenant

land. The rules for acquiring land are either through inheritance, purchase or borrowing. Most of the male farmers who had mailo land had inherited it. No woman had mailo land, and only two out of the thirty six (36) had inherited land. Others used land that belonged to a member of their extended family. Concerning the relations which women and men had to the resources for production, different social and economic values were placed on the resources required for production. Both female and male farmers indicated that land was the major resource and those who owned land had a higher status than those who leased land and had bought land from landlords in the form of 'Bibanja'.³⁷

Female respondents indicated that the men in households mostly held ownership of land for production, which amounted to 59% of the land for all the households included in the study. Fifty-seven percent of the married female farmers reported that the land belonged to their husbands; for 12% the entire family co shared the land; another 12% had hired the land; and 19% owned land in their own capacity (Figure 5.4)

Figure 4.4: Land ownership as reported by married women



Source: field results

In terms of rights over land, control rights were held by 61% of the male respondents. Thirty-three per cent (33%) of married women held user rights to land through their marital relationships with their husbands. Most of the unmarried female farmers (80%) had user rights on land that belonged to their brothers or male partners. Ninety percent (90%) of the widows had control over the land they were using and staying on. Out of

³⁷ A Luganda word for land ownership in form of lease hold ownership.

the 59% men who were landowners, 40% owned less than two acres of land and had purchased this land. About a fifth (19%) of these men owned land in the form of 'mailo land', most of it extending from 5 acres to 3 miles, and had inherited it. No woman had mailo land, and only two women who owned land had inherited it. Others had bought it.

v) Coping mechanisms for accessing land

Female hot pepper and okra farmers reported that they have learnt to survive with these land challenges. The actions they undertake include growing okra in their compounds, forming women groups/associations so as to attract collectors and encouraging husband-wife discussions over land usage as in Mrs. Sekiyanja case study (Box 1), a female farmer who has progressed from growing okra in her compound to a large scale okra farmer and a collector by the time of the study.

As a coping mechanism, the female farmers have resorted to inter-cropping okra or hot paper with food crops like cassava, beans and maize. They have moved a step further from farmer

Box 1: Mrs. Sekiyanja's success story

"I prefer growing okra to coffee and beans which used to fetch us money in this home. The advantage with okra is that I can even grow it within the compound, with no need to discuss with my husband about where to grow. In this case, the crop is mine, I decide when to sell, I obtain the money in cases where the collector or the exporter pays us there and then. I have recently started to grow on a bigger scale, however, so this of course had to be discussed with my husband on issues of the specific areas of our land where to grow okra. What I noticed with such a discussion, it may delay the planting and I would then miss out to be in the same period of harvesting with my neighbors...yet we have to combine produce when selling at our collection centre in order to ensure that we have a force attracting the collector and the exporter to come this way to buy our produce. Great, this is my crop and my money".

manipulation to encouraging their male partners to produce the same crops on the adjacent areas of land. The benefits from sale of crops from both plots of land is an indicator to the men that it is worthwhile for a woman to engage in production. In cases where the crop and output are shared between male and female farmers, and where women manage to have separate plots for these crops where they can control the income, household expenditure is shared out between the spouses and is no longer the sole responsibility of the male head of household. While some of the female farmers felt that this sharing of household expenditure as well as contribution of women to the income of household was in fact bringing more burdens, others were glad about the change. They felt they were being empowered to become decision makers in the

household in the same way men have been, and can therefore plan well together. This shows that women have dynamic ways of manipulating male control over land and other resources and as well play their roles as wives or sisters or daughters to the men.

As a benefit brought by the copying mechanisms to the women, they have been able to control their small plots of land and sales. A phenomenon that has brought joy and happiness to the female farmers as expressed by Mrs.Kibuka (an FGD participant and hot paper farmer in Mpigi district) in the following extract:

"I am glad to realise that 20% out of 50 boxes of hot-pepper boxes that we usually sold once a week these days, are mine" (emphasis on mine).

vii) Tools and techniques

Female farmers mostly use simple tools, especially the hoe (photo B) compared to male who have a choice of either using the hoe or the hand driven soil mixer which operates like the spade part of the tractor. Even in cases where such a soil mixer was available in the household, female farmers were discouraged by male farmers from using it³⁸. One wonders whether this is a protective measure or a form of exclusion. Since no female farmers were practicing use of the soil mixer, it was not possible to assess if women could be able to utilize the technology. Figure 5.3 shows that the proportion of men (74.2%) who access technical advice/information almost triples the proportion of women (25.8%) access this type of information/advice. Men were involved in heavier tasks, mainly land preparation, fertilization and spraying (Figure 5.1). Therefore, according to both female and male farmers, there was no specific difference in activities undertaken by the two sexes. However in-depth interviews on the division of labour indicated that men were more involved in activities that require physical power, specialist knowledge and education level, or capital. Female farmers were less likely to have. Spraying is mainly done by male farmers (photo A) or hired (mainly male) labourers. Even though women were capable of spraying, they were not included in the training on spraying³⁹. Although this study did not investigate this issue, it was evident from observing the technologies used for spraying that women would be able

³⁸ The communities around the villages where the study was undertaken, all claimed that such discouragement is a form of defending women against using heavy load equipment that can strain them.

³⁹ This was due to the assumption by the organization that carried out the training, that women of reproductive age would have adverse health responses to chemicals in the pesticides.

to take part in spraying if the technology used is lightweight and easy to use (see photo A).

PHOTO A



Source: field photo

Men were the ones trained in the use of such technology. As such, women were being displaced by men from an activity that they could have performed if the design of the technology was appropriate for them. Yet, this was being considered as an activity that could be paid for since some of the male farmers were being hired by other farmers to spray their crops. Women therefore undertook activities that used simple tools such as the hoe for cultivating and sowing (see photo B).

PHOTO B



Source: field photo

viii. Access to and control of information on production and marketing of produce

In terms of information as a resource, the source of information reflected the exposure farmers had and the sources available to them. Fifty percent of the male farmers learnt about the crops from fellow farmers, particularly those who had been working on large farms where they gained knowledge of production. Friends and collectors were sources of knowledge for 27% of the male farmers but most of the knowledge was picked up from other farmers. Men in fact gave this source of knowledge as the most important factor in influencing their decision to engage in production. On the other hand, female farmers mostly learnt about crops from friends, collectors (50%) and NGOs that were

targeting women for growing these crops for purposes of poverty alleviation. These organizations were also disseminating information about the crops. Thirty-five per cent (35%) of female and 19% of male farmers obtained information about production and how to access markets from an NGO in Luwero, Volunteer Efforts for Development Concern (VEDCO). This was due to VEDCO's implementation of its "utilize"tional level gender policy, which specifies that the differences in the needs of resources for female and male farmers be taken into consideration, depending on the division of labour for specific crops. All sources of information assisted 65% of the male farmers and 62% of female to obtain production and marketing information.

Productivity and profitability information was the second type of information package given by NGOs, exporters and collectors. More female (38%) than male (31%) farmers sought this type of information. Four per cent (4%) of the male farmers sought and received agronomic-related information.

Within the scope of their production and selling activities, more male (77%) than female (39%) farmers had information on commodity prices. Only 4% of both male and female farmers had accessed the necessary information on quality and quantity standards, as well as modern technologies for spraying plants. This was due to female farmers' involvement in groups where they could share skills and combine efforts to request information from various organizations.

Although female and male farmers had faced constraints in accessing information, it was found out that female farmers who did not belong to associations or groups, were worse off in this situation. About forty-two per cent (42.3%) of female farmers reported that they had problems in accessing information compared to 27% males who had not accessed. The rest had accessed information through their membership to farmers' groups or women's associations. The collective efforts of groups helped them to obtain the information they needed. Eight percent (8%) of female farmers felt they would have been able to access information if only certain farmers had been willing to share the necessary information. However, a further 8% of both female and male farmers maintained that it was an issue of affordability. The means through which information

was acquired were too expensive for them. Further more, 8% of the female farmers were constrained by household domestic responsibilities, which made it impossible for them to attend information service meetings.

There was a wide gap between the male and female farmer's knowledge about the commodity prices. Where as 76.9% of the male farmers had information about these prices, only 38.5% of the female farmers were knowledgeable of the price at which their commodities were sold. It was important to note that though female farmers were less knowledgeable about the commodity prices, a greater proportion (46.2%) than their male counter parts (15.4%) had accessed 'all' information concerning production of the commodities. Despite being aware of the information concerning amount that should be paid on purchase of produce, there were still complaints about unfair treatment of farmers by exporters and collectors. In addition to this, farmers were planting more than was required for purchase by collectors and exporters. This led to massive losses, which in most cases affected female farmers more than male farmers because of the intensive labour provided mostly by female farmers. There were various reasons for low use or lacking utilization of acquired information. The major one was that lack of sufficient capital to implement their plans, a problem that was experienced by 28% female and 20% male farmers. They all reported that access to loans could enable them to utilize the acquired information.

ix. The power to influence decisions in production and preparation for sale of produce

Within the marketing channel of horticultural production, several decisions need to be made. The decision-making process begins when farmers plan to produce the horticultural crop, and continues until the product is marketed. The decision-makers according to the study are mainly the female and male farmers. The characteristics of the farmers that were described and analysed earlier are therefore important factors in understanding "who" is able to influence decisions on production and marketing. The study found out that mostly men make decisions in male-headed households. However, in cases where women within such households have higher education than their spouses, they then manage the household expenditure and influence decisions on

production and marketing. Although most of the women in female-headed households make decisions, it was found out that in some cases they rely on a male partner or the eldest son.

Table 4.2 below summarizes the positions from which male and female farmers were able to be decision-makers on household production activities.

Table 4.1: Person who makes production decisions and why

Activity	Household head (%)		Farm owner (%)		Has skills (%)		Physical abilities (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Land preparation	20.9	9.9	23.1	12.1	12.1	3.3	36.3	16.5
Seed bed preparation	8.8	3.3	17.6	9.9	27.5	9.9	14.3	6.6
Sowing	15.4	7.7	24.2	13.2	20.9	13.2	27.5	13.2
Fertilizing	9.9	3.3	19.8	12.1	18.7	8.8	13.2	5.5
Weeding	14.3	4.4	29.7	18.7	16.5	8.8	35.2	9.9
Spraying	6.6	3.3	12.1	8.8	6.6	6.6	20.9	6.6
Harvesting	15.4	3.3	26.4	15.4	27.5	9.9	27.5	13.2
Sorting	11.0	1.1	15.4	6.6	23.1	12.1	13.2	3.3

Source: field results

The table indicates that 20.9% of male farmers influence decisions on land preparation because they are household heads while only 9.9% of the female household heads can do this. While the highest percentage of the male farm owners influence decisions on harvesting (26.4%), (see photo C) the highest proportion of the female farm owners can do so for weeding (18.7%). During focus group discussions, farmers pointed out that even the few women who own farmlands, feel inferior to make decisions on activities described as ‘men’s activities’ in society.

PHOTO C



Source: field photo

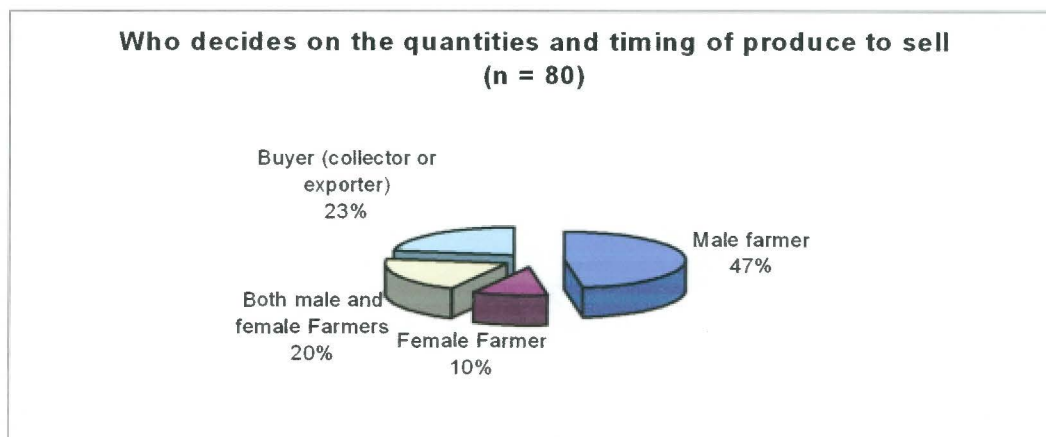
Further more, 27.5 % of the male farmers who had been trained in production and marketing skills, reported that they were able to influence decisions because they had accessed skills in harvesting, seed bed preparation and spraying. On the other hand, 13.3% of female farmers were able to make decisions on sowing because they had been able to have access to skills training in such activity. The study found out that male farmers mostly accessed skills in seedbed preparation, spraying and harvesting through properly planned training offered by collectors, exporters or qualified extension workers. Yet, female farmers mostly engage in decision making for those production activities where skills were passed on to them through socialization, especially from parent to child. Such channels of acquisition of skills limit opportunities for female farmers to influence decisions.

However, when it comes to marketing the produce, another body of decision-makers gets involved: these are the collectors and exporters. Farmers need the collectors and exporters who purchase their produce. As such the collectors and exporters hold a

strategic position in the marketing channel. In enquiring about the collectors' and exporters' involvement, the study also addressed the extent to which they influence decisions in production and preparation for sale.

Apart from production-related activities, decisions are undertaken on when and how to sell the produce at the farm-gate level. The study found out that in a relatively successful season, many farmers (43.6%) sell their produce twice a week, with 39.7% selling once a week. The rests sell their produce three times a week. Figure 4.5 below provides the frequency of the females and males who make decisions on what amount and when to sell.

Figure: 4.5: Farm-gate level decision over the quantities to be sold



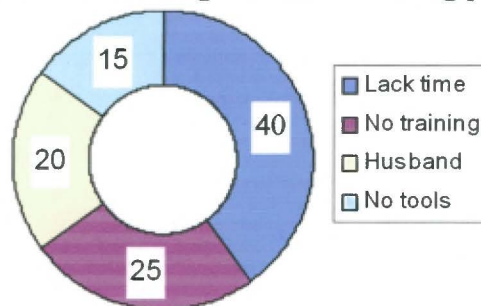
Source: field data

The figure shows that during the process of selling, male farmers (47%), especially from male-headed households make decisions about how much (quantities) and when (time) to sell. What to sell; whom to sell to; when to sell; how to sell; how much to sell, and at what prices to sell. It was found out that collectors and exporters (as buyers) had made a significant percentage (23%) of these decisions, even though they were not involved directly in production. The study thus revealed that collectors and exporters use their positions to make decisions on what should be sold as well as the time it should be done. Through such influence, collectors and exporters had prevented 23% of both female and male farmers from making decisions regarding the marketing of their crops. It was found out that collectors had the power to negotiate and dialogue

with the exporters directly. They could therefore set agendas for discussion about limited markets, possession of better transport facilities, and other issues. It is through such opportunities that they could easily influence decisions about which farmers' produce to purchase; from which farmers; how many kilograms to purchase; and how much to pay per kilogram.

Furthermore, 26.3% of all farmers who claimed to be restrained from making decisions regarding the marketing of their produce reported that collectors imposed such restraints on them. It was noted that 10.5% of female farmers indicated that their spouses imposed such restraints on them. Further enquiries revealed that female farmers could not at times make decisions regarding produce-marketing procedures due to lack of the time to do so since most of the time, they are caught up in domestic activities. Figure 4.6 shows the diagrammatic representation of these findings.

Figure 4.6: Factors hindering women in making produce-market decision (%)



Source: field data

Another restraining factor was lack of the appropriate training since male farmers attended most of the scheduled seminars, unlike the female farmers. There were also cases where married women were restrained from making decisions on production and marketing due to husband-wife mistrust. Another constraint was realized to be lack of the appropriate tools/skills for bargaining with the buyers (collectors/trade agents).

4.2 Description Of Findings From The Collection Site

This section presents the research findings from the collection sites where collectors, who are agents of exporters, purchase and prepare produce for export. They are also the resource providers for the farmers by obtaining production and market resources from the exporters and distributing them. The three research questions for this study are used, first by describing the collection site and examine the patterns of gender division of labour. Secondly, the patterns of access to and control over market resources are described and analysed. This is followed by examination of how power relations manifest through the tasks undertaken by female and male collectors and those who work as labourers in these sites. Further more, analysis is made on the manifestation of power relations in the way collectors and their labourers acquire and gain control over resources and in the way collectors distribute these resources to the farmers. The implications that these power relations have on participation of female and male collectors and their labourers in export trade are then analyzed.

Female and male collectors form the primary unit of analysis in these sites. The collection sites where they are found form the secondary unit of analysis. Attention is paid on the way these female and male collectors (who also employ labourers), interact with farmers to purchase their produce as well as provide them with resources. The way collectors interact with exporters is also explained and the power relations they engage in during resource provision and exchange of produce is also assessed.

4.2.1 Description of the collection sites and the characteristics of the collectors

This section describes the institutional nature of the collection site and includes the characteristics of the collectors. It therefore deals with two of the sub-questions that require such description.

Collection sites form the intermediary stage of the marketing channel, which is between the household and exportation sites. Collection sites are formed of different locations in rural areas where activities of collection, purchasing and preparation for export of produce are undertaken. In terms of spatial structure, the collection sites are either tree

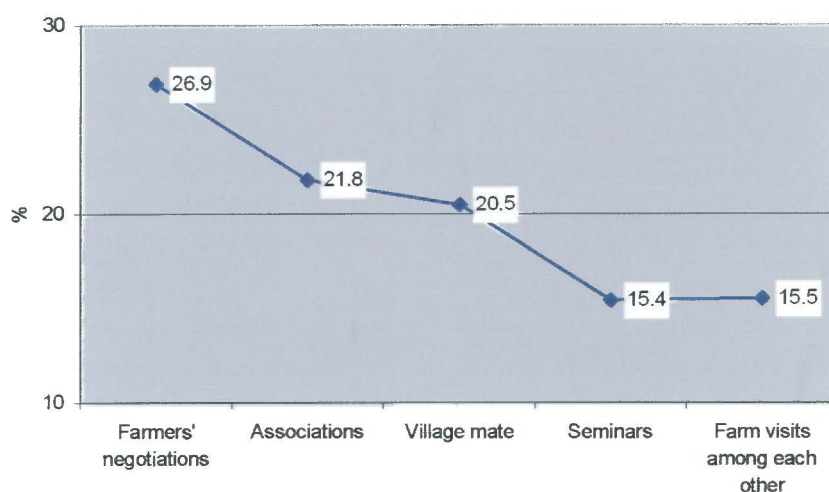
shades, compound of a village shopping centre, or unused garage in some ones house. The sites are selected through informal discussions, which the collector⁴⁰ (defined in the next paragraph), makes with a few farmers and exporters. The physical location of the collection sites depends on the proximity of the site to most of the farmers. In the areas where the research was undertaken, the physical location of the collection site varied from half a mile away from the main farmers (in the case of Nyanama) to three miles away (in the case of Luwero). Male and female farmers take their produce for sell to the collection sites in order to obtain their payments. However, sometimes the collector collects produce at household level, assembles it at the collection site and pays the farmers.

Collectors therefore provide the link between the farmer and the exporter. Apart from these individual collectors, there is also a second category of actors at the collection sites, and these are Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Due to liberalization of trade's initiative to encourage private sector to get involved in the marketing channel, NGOs and private sector organisations have introduced programmes in production and trade of various products. The study focused on one of the NGOs, VEDCO, as a case study of the way NGOs can get involved in collection of produce from the farmers and distributing it to exporters. The farmers reported that they link with the collectors/trade agents they were dealing with through associations, seminars, and village-mates, as well as through farm visits (traders come in villages looking for horticultural growers).

Nearly twenty seven percent of the farmers reported that the collectors who provided them with farm resources and services were either fellow farmer, members of associations (21.8%) such as those who belonged to VEDCO and village mates but not farmers (20.5%). The same proportion of farmers reported that they had accessed farm resources/services through seminars were distribution/purchase was made or the farm visits made by the collectors (Figure 4.7).

⁴⁰ The respondents defined a collector as a male or female trader who is an agent of the exporter and deals with collection of the produce from the production level making it ready for export.

Figure 4.7: Linkages which farmers use to influence decisions of collectors and exporters



Source : Field findings

There were more male than female collectors in the study area and all the eighteen (18) collectors in the area under study (twelve men and six women) were included in the research. This was a result of the criteria that exporters use to select collectors. It was found out that the criteria that exporters use to select collectors, favor men more than women to become collectors. The criteria includes the following:

- a. Ability to negotiate and manipulate prices when buying produce, and
- b. Ability to use and understand an international language such as English in order to read and write information concerning quality and quantity required by the importing buyer. One of the collectors explained that these are skills which they could only obtain through formal education of up to primary six
- c. Ability to learn trade skills and ensure quality and quantity requirements.

Differences in education level, skills and capacity to negotiate for lower prices while buying at the farm-gate level, placed more disadvantages to female compared to male collectors. This was a result of earlier discriminative societal norms, which placed more economic and social value on educating a boy rather than a girl child within the household. As such there were more literate men in the area of study than women.

4.2.2 Patterns of gender division of labour at the collection sites

In order to examine the implications of power relations on the participation of women and men in the collection sites, as required by the research questions for this study, the research investigated the patterns of gender division of labour and access to and control of market resources paying attention to the manifestation of power relations within these.

Whether the collection is done by individuals or by an organization, the collectors' tasks involve ensuring that quality and quantity measures are taken into consideration while purchasing products from the production stage in order to provide the desired standard of produce at the export level. Collectors undertake tasks that include: buying produce from the farm gate level, packing (see photo D), transporting (see photo E on next page) and sometimes shipping products on behalf of the exporter.

PHOTO D



Source: field photo

Collectors also identify farmers who have appropriate products for export, in terms of quantity, and advise them about such products as well as quality required by the exporters. In addition to these tasks, the collectors source for potential exporters of various products and advise the exporter about availability of various products and where they are grown. It was also realized that collectors also make changes in the prices offered by the exporters since they are the ones who are given the authority to deal with the process of purchasing the produce. In general collectors are very well informed about the levels of supply, where various products are grown, what price can be used to purchase produce during a particular period and where good quality products can be obtained at a specific period. Due to awareness of the seasonality of exportable products, collectors are able to speculate and price the products accordingly. Such roles undertaken by the collectors are considered to be resources in terms of services provided to both farmers and exporters.

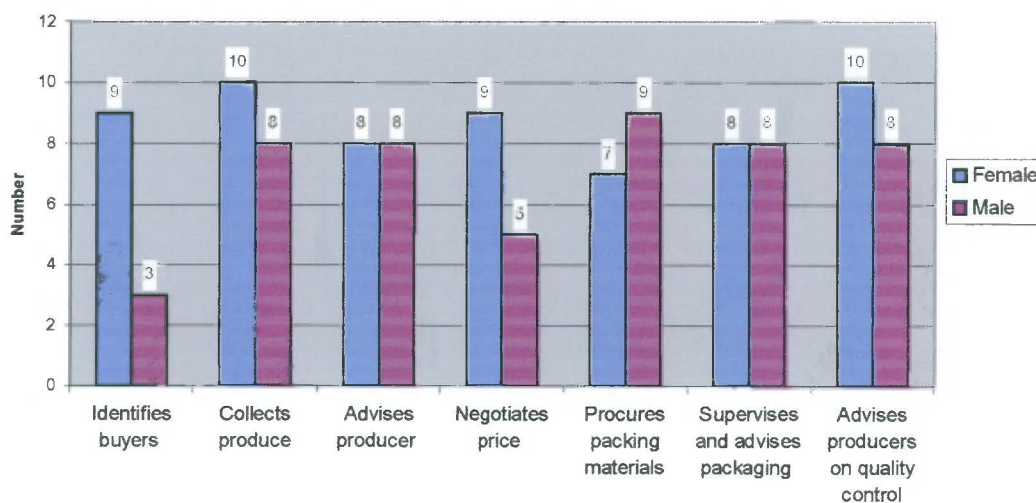
PHOTO E



Source: field photo

Ten female and male collectors were interviewed about the tasks they perform and how they use them to influence decisions. All female and three of the male collectors reported that they collect the produce at farm gate level and provide farmers with advice about quality control of their produce (Figure 4.8). Nine male collectors reported that they were providing farmers with packaging materials. Other resources and services reported to be provided by the collectors included identifying potential buyers, advising the farmer on what products to produce and time when to produce, negotiating a fair price with the exporters and supervising the packaging process. Figure 4.8 further reveals that although all resources and services were beneficial to both male and female farmers, female farmers valued services, which relate to provision that, can be made at the household level. This explains why the highest priority by women was given to collecting produce from farm get level and being able to access information about commodity quality control.

Figure 4.8: Tasks collectors perform and use to influence decisions of farmers



The interviews further revealed that some of the female collectors seek support and help from their family members by delegating the some of the collection duties. However, the male interview respondents reported that they relied on links with other fellow male colleagues engaged in the collection process.

Female collectors mentioned additional tasks, mainly their involvement in tasks that relate to solving conflicts in families about ownership of the crops to be sold and access

to the income earned from the marketed produce. Male collectors had not taken those issues as part of their concern. According to the male collectors, those were domestic issues that were part of the usual complaints women bring up as they struggle to control income from the produce. To them, domestic related differences should be solved by the people concerned and should not be a problem in marketing.

As indicated above, collection sites indicate elements of gender division of labour. The collectors, who base their labour division on the rules and requirements for good quality produce, determine the allocation of tasks. These rules for quality control assurance determine and sometimes constrain the choice that male and female collectors make about who can do what. Women labourers are mainly allocated tasks of sorting of produce and are preferred by collectors due to cultural norms⁴¹ and their ability to be careful. Although this is related to their caring role, it is also an opportunity for women to gain employment through such service provision. Both female and male therefore undertake the tasks of distributing packing boxes and grading as well as transporting the produce to either the exporters' warehouses or directly to the exit point for export. The difference in division of labour occurs in cases where the work is strenuous or takes long hours. As such it would eliminate women due to the choice they have to make in terms of the demands on time, choosing between spending time on the collector activities as compared to domestic chores and participation in production.

4.2.3 Power relations in access to and control over market resources

As mentioned earlier, exporters select collectors in an informal way with criteria that does not take into consideration the disadvantaged position which most of the female members of the producing communities face. Exporters then engage into informal contracts that are mainly "word of mouth instructions" with collectors. Individual collectors then use such informal contracts to have access to and make use of money and packing materials provided to them by the exporters. Due to the informality of the contracts and lack of discussion and making decisions together with exporters, both female and male collectors are not able to have full control of products purchased.

⁴¹ In society, sorting is regarded as a female duty

Collectors purchase on behalf of the exporters. As such they work according to the rules set up by the exporters but do not have ways of changing the rules for purchase especially in terms of quantity and quality.

i) Access to and control of training opportunities

Male collectors were in most cases the ones who guided female collectors on what to do, when. They were also the ones who had passed on skills to female collectors since they are the ones selected for training by exporters. In such cases, although female and male collectors in neighboring collection sites could work together in order to obtain the required quantity, the exporters would first purchase the hot-pepper and okra from the male collectors. This enabled male collectors to gain more in terms of experience and income than their female counterparts. Such experience also enables the male collectors to make quick decision to ensure that the produce is available in the quantities and qualities required. On the other hand, half of the number of female collectors had to consult either the exporters or male collectors in order to make any change in the procurement process.

ii) Exclusion of women in the distribution of packaging boxes

Through undertaking the tasks of collection, both female and male agents gain recognition, respect and authority from horticulture farmers. They then use this position power to determine who can obtain market resources, especially those that deal with packaging, quality assurance information and export prices. Due to such placement in different positions of power, female and male collectors can determine the price to buy the produce from the farm gate level as well as select which farmers can obtain more packaging boxes than the other. The male collectors' decisions of the number of boxes a farmer can get differ from those of their female collector. On the side of male collectors, the most striking is the way they use collegial relationships. One of the male collectors in Mpigi district explained that:

Luganda: “obusanduko buno bwe tutekamu ebibala nendyoka mbitunza abasubuzi. Abalimi mbagabira obusanduko nga bwemba ndabye. Siyinja kuleka abasaja ababera nange (tunywa nabo akawungezi, ate bayanguya okukungula ebibala), nempa abo abakazi.

English: “these boxes are the ones where we pack the produce which I sell to exporters. I give out the boxes to farmers as I wish. I can,t omit the fellow men (who we share alcohol with in the evening, and are fast at ensuring that they harvest the vegetables in the time they are needed), and give boxes to women”.

Male collectors use their position power to exclude and exploit both female and male farmers. In such cases, female farmers are more disadvantaged than male farmers, who engage in dialogue with the male collectors and share local brew in a brotherly manner. This exposes information to male than female farmers who cannot be in such places at that time. On the other hand, female collectors distribute packaging materials according to ability of the farmer to provide the required quantity and quality. They provide boxes to both female and male farmers. Female collectors lack opportunities and space where they can expose fellow women to the tricks of trade and being able to obtain packaging materials as well as information about quality control. Women loose out this way, another example of the manifestation of power relations in access to resources.

In addition to the above, the study found out that female collectors use the opportunity of access to money and packing materials to target fellow women farmers first when they are distributing the boxes. Unlike the female collectors, male collectors are after speed, and accuracy in harvesting of the products as well as those farmers who would provide the required amount in time. To the male collectors therefore, efficiency and effectiveness of the harvesting and collection activities including sorting and grading are the key elements that govern the criteria they use to access money and packing materials to the farmers. Unfortunately such cases of efficient and effective farmers at the harvesting and collection stages are mostly male farmers with large acres of land under crop. In this way, therefore male collectors end up discriminating female farmers

who have small plots of land under crop and who may lack labour to speed up the harvesting process when requested at short notice.

iii) Access to formalized contracts with exporters: NGO assistance to female collectors

NGOs that work as intermediaries enable collectors to have formalized contracts with exporters although these are really extended to the farmers who provide the produce. Such contracts, enable women to have increased access that they would have otherwise missed, unlike the male collectors who can travel a lot to and from the city (Kampala) in order to look for market resources from exporters. VEDCO is an example of an NGO that has helped collectors in Luwero, especially women, to access market resources, in particular, packaging materials, money for purchase of produce, money for hire of labourers at the collection sites, and skills acquisition. This system of resource provision also enhances participation of female collectors who would have otherwise been left out due to lack of skills, opportunities for training, and informal contracts. However, such arrangements also have problems within the collection and distribution activities as indicated in the VEDCO case study below.

Case study:

Access to a formal marketing system by female and male collectors through mobilisation made by NGOs: a case study of VEDCO

Volunteer Efforts for Development Concern (VEDCO) is a Non Governmental Organisation working in rural areas of Luwero and Wakiso districts in Uganda. The aim of VEDCO's agricultural trade programme is to promote high value crops as a strategy to alleviate poverty among female and male farmers in rural areas. The activities of the programme include provision of:

- Improved seeds and extension services required in production
- Market information (price and markets)
- Linking farmers and collectors to exporters

VEDCO enhances production potential of horticultural farmers by assisting them in identifying different ways of accessing markets. At the production level, VEDCO works through Rural Development *Extension* workers who are trained to disseminate information about quality assurance methods. At the collection level, VEDCO trains collectors⁴² to assist farmers to ensure that appropriate quality measures are undertaken during harvesting and preparation for export. They then assemble the packaged produce in a place agreed upon as the collection site and wait for transportation to be done by VEDCO vehicles. The difference between the participation of female and male as

⁴² Within VEDCO, collectors are also found to be the leaders of the various centres or zones where the organization operates. Centre leaders deal with even other agricultural leadership activities other than working as a collector.

collectors was minimal compared to the individual collectors in other places of the study. This was reflected in available figures, which showed that female collectors comprise 45% of the total, while 55% is made up of male. This participation of female and male collectors was possible due to availability of VEDCO's gender policy, which was provided to exporters when they were selecting the collectors. This gender policy of VEDCO indicates a provision that all activities undertaken in VEDCO programmes should ensure that 30% of the actors and beneficiaries are women. Although this percentage is part of the Constitutional provision and Local Government Act (Uganda Constitution 1995, Local Government Act 1997), VEDCO provides an example of an organization that implemented such a provision through making it one of its key principles of operation, even in cases where the organization had to work in partnership with the exporters. In addition to this, female collectors were provided with additional skills of managing collection activities, (such as book keeping, reading and writing of English), in cases where they were lacking such skills which male collectors already had from other sources.

The marketing system that was set up by VEDCO for enabling collection of produce included the following steps:

- The collectors would collect produce from the farmers and supervise the preliminary sorting process and the farmers would be recorded according to amount of produce given in for selling
- The collectors would work on transport requirements and deliver produce to the collection sites where the VEDCO vehicle would collect produce from
- The produce would be delivered at the VEDCO offices where the second sorting will be done, grading and packing in boxes for export
- the packed boxes would then be distributed to exporters according to the number of boxes provided by a specific exporter. The exporters would collect the packed boxes from the VEDCO offices or any other collection site where VEDCO would have supervised sorting, grading and packing.
- The exporters would then pay VEDCO, which would then take back the money to the farmers and pay according to amount that was provided for sell.
- VEDCO would charge Uganda shillings 500 (US\$0.4)⁴³ per box taken from the farmers. This money would facilitate the services given and resources provided in terms of labour for sorting, grading and packing as well as export linkage achieved.

The aim of VEDCO's establishment of a marketing system was that in the long run, farmers' capacity would be built to be able to sale the products on their own. VEDCO used to enable collectors to participate in the final sorting, grading and packing so that they would learn in the process and also be able to interact with exporters. This was also done to enable collectors to have access to information about quality and quantity requirements for export markets. The exporters would have discussions and dialogue with both the collectors and VEDCO staff and it was the task of collectors to disseminate the information and mobilize farmers on behalf of VEDCO.

However, the VEDCO marketing system faced some challenges, which were:

- Dependence on a few exporters: VEDCO was dealing with just a few exporters (Mustak, Jacksons and one other) which meant that if the exporters stopped buying the produce for any reason, the system would breakdown.
 - The funds were not usually paid in time. This stems from an overall weakness that most exporters of fresh produce in Uganda are facing. They lack operating capital and as such, the farmers have to wait till the exporters obtain payments from the importers abroad. This does not only take along time, it lead to loss of trust and confidence in the VEDCO marketing system.

⁴³ Figures quoted for the year 2001

- There was no steady flow of information from the exporters to the farmer. The farmer would wait to be informed by VEDCO to harvest a few hours before the produce was required. This would affect delivery of produce in time for export, since the farmers are geographically widely dispersed and therefore difficult to organize quickly through the collectors. The whole process of, harvesting, grading, sorting and transporting the produce to the collecting centers would be rushed. The resulting produce would be below the required standard thus would need re-sorting and re-grading. The exporter would incur losses and the farmer would end up with lower amounts of produce sold, and therefore less more that would not even cover the production costs.

This case study helps to show that although the processes were gender responsive through ensuring the participation and needs of female as well as male collectors and farmers, there were problems in the system, especially due to lack of payment by exporters. This created lack of trust towards collectors by the farmers who lost money and the marketing system broke up. This demonstrates that gender responsive guidelines and policies that do not take into consideration the differences in power between and among the female and male actors of various levels (such as exporters, collectors and farmers) will still not work. It is only when power relations within the patterns of work and resource acquisition are considered, that subordination, exclusion and exploitation that actors face, can actually be addressed.

The changes that were made in VEDCO to address the problems in the marketing system included efforts to obtain a variety of exporters who could take the produce on different days. Unfortunately, production was still low and as such it was difficult to satisfy more than one exporter. This did not only lessen the efforts of the old-time exporters but the situation was also discouraging the new exporters in the area. Efforts to revive the market system were therefore slow and required a lot of effort from VEDCO. Four of the collectors, especially in Nyimbwa sub county organized themselves and started dealing with the exporters they were used to. Although this is done on their own, performance of the collectors has not increased more than when they had access to the VEDCO marketing system. The collectors indicated that VEDCO was enabling them to obtain formal contracts with exporters, which they now miss and are exposed to exploitation by the exports.

iv) Access to income

A gender pattern was visible in terms of access to income as a resource and benefit. Women who were working as casual labourers for the collectors received less pay than men of the same category. This was happening even in cases where the casual labourers were working for, and being paid by a female collector. On the other hand, female collectors were earning more money than the female casual labourers, but still male collectors earned more than the female collectors. This situation resulted from various

ways: Exporters (who are the 'employers' of the collectors) paid collectors amount of two hundred shillings (200/-) per box purchased and prepared for export. This amount takes into consideration the amount, which collectors have to pay the casual labourers and for his/her remuneration for work done. Although this amount used to be paid to both

Box 2: Ways through which male collectors earn their income

Mr. Collector¹ travels 30 km (location of production area) in a taxi from to Kampala, where the exporters are located. The purpose for his travel is to get to the exporter's office to obtain boxes. The minimum number of boxes he has ever received is 400. He travels three times a month. During the peak season (when there is high demand for the product from the international level buyers), the exporter gives the collector Shs. 1,500 per box as the price he should buy the produce from the farmer. The exporter then promises to pay collector Shs. 200/- per box collected (collector would therefore receive 80,000/- when the products are delivered to the exporter).

The collector then uses 1% of the amount of money given, to transport the boxes from Kampala to the production site. In order to distribute the boxes, he then uses 2% of the money given to enable him hire a "bodaboda" (Luganda word for motor bike). The distribution time would also be used by the collector to inform farmers about how much to harvest, what type (in terms of hot-pepper, whether yellow or red color), what time the boxes would be collected. In case where the farmers have to transfer produce from one location to a central collection site, then the collector would inform them about the time for receiving the packed boxes. In some case, he can supervise harvesting, sorting and packing in some of the households, which may have much produce to deal with. He then ensures proper sorting and packing done and arrangements for transport of the produce to the exporter. Having realised such services offered to the farmers and exporters, the collector then charges a fee of 100/- per box in order to remunerate himself for the services offered. Unfortunately, the farmer would never know because there is no information about the current price or how much should be provided during buying of the produce from the farm gate level. In the end, the collector pays 500/- to 800/- per box to the farmer.

female and male collectors in the same way, male collectors cover longer distances and purchase produce that fill more boxes than the female collectors can manage. In doing so, male collectors are paid more because they provide more boxes than the female collectors. Female collectors reported that they have the potential to perform just like the men, but are disadvantaged by the time they have to undertake domestic activities. It

is difficult to divide up the time between domestic tasks and that required to purchase, collect and supervise the casual labourers in sorting, grading, labeling and packaging. Male collectors also gain higher incomes than female collectors, through being more tactful in negotiations with farmers and persuading them to take lower prices than what the exporters would have paid the collectors as the price for purchasing the produce. Although female collectors also undertake similar tricks, they cut off low amounts out of the price for the farmers, unlike the male collectors. In addition to this, female collectors reported that they inform the farmers about the amount of money reduced from the payments made for the produce purchased. It is this form of accountability to the farmers that enables the female collectors to be preferred to male collectors, yet they also play their tricks in order to maximize their profits. Box 2 presents a case study that illustrates the way male collectors earn their income.

Both female and male collectors can obtain such earnings. However, differences exist in cases where the amount of boxes distributed is limited by the difficulties in movement which female collector face. The distribution of boxes is usually an activity done at night due to the time it takes to travel from Kampala to the production sites. The female collectors reported that although they would not necessarily find it difficult to travel at night, there are rules within families and communities, which prohibit a woman from moving at night. Apart from that, the evenings are busy periods in terms of the time use chart, which women drew. Such tasks like distribution of boxes, and arranging for sorting, collection and packing would coincide with the domestic chores in which women are engaged in at that time. Apart from loosing out in the process of participating in the collection activity and as such not being able to earn the same amount of money as male collectors, domestic tasks hinder the progress, which female collectors can make at this level. Through such a process, the collectors act as price takers (vis a vis the exporters) and they use their position as well as the control they have over prices, to cater for their livelihood through squeezing income from another actor in the marketing channel, in this case, the farmer. These findings provide examples showing that there is unequal distribution of income at the collection sites.

v). Access to information on quality standards by male and female collectors

Information on quality standards, prices and quantity is provided to both female and male collectors through the exporters. The collectors must conform to the quality standards. One of the ways through which this can be done, is to ensure proper sorting and packaging. Male collectors use societal norms for masculine authority to ensure that farmers adhere and conform to rules of quality standards. Poor quality is handled through withdrawal of a chance to obtain boxes at all times unless there is scarcity of produce. On the other hand, female collectors use rewards (such as increasing on number of boxes provided or sharing seeds pesticides with the farmer) and words of appreciation in order to encourage quality standards of the products. They apply training and exposure to “role models” of good practices of quality standards and only apply withdrawal as a last resort.

4.3 Description Of Findings From Exportation Sites

This section presents research findings from the exportation sites. The exportation sites, which this study addresses, are the horticultural export companies and those companies, which deal with preparation of produce for air transport at Entebbe airport. The exporters deal with purchasing of produce from the collectors and making the final preparations for export. Such preparation involves dealing with documentation that is required to check on quality, quantity as well as ensuring appropriate storage and transportation to the buyers who are abroad. Female and male exporters as well as the casual labourers they employ, form the primary unit of analysis in these sites. The exportation sites where they are found form the secondary unit of analysis. Attention is paid to the way these female and male exporters interact with collectors (and sometimes farmers) as well as the companies that facilitate export at Entebbe airport and within Kampala city. Exporters are also the resource providers for market resources to the collectors and sometimes they assist even the farmers with these as well as production resources. However, even exporters require market resources from those companies that facilitate export trade. It is through such a link that companies that facilitate export trade at Entebbe airport as well as in Kampala city were dealt with.

This chapter begins by addressing the first research question through describing the exportation sites and examining the patterns of gender division of labor. The second research question is then addressed through describing and analyzing the patterns of access to and control over market resources. In dealing with both research questions, attention is paid to the examination of how power relations manifest through these tasks and how resources are accessed and controlled by female and male exporters as well as those who work as labourers in these sites.

4.3.1 Description of the exportation sites and the characteristics of the exporters

ii) Description of the export sites

The export sites that this study looked at included the different companies that deal with horticulture export and the institutions that facilitate export trade at Entebbe airport as well as those located in Kampala.

Exporters use these sites to prepare produce for export. Box 3 presents an extract that illustrates what normally takes place at Entebbe airport during rush hours as narrated by one male respondent from the handling services department. Rush hours are those when the plane is coming in to airlift the packed boxes.

Box 3: Accessing resources at Entebbe airport

“Here we deal with exporting processes out of Uganda to overseas countries. We engage into providing export documents, airfreight details and hiring of cooling facilities among other things. Female and male exporters struggle with the processes for accessing these resources. We are dealing with perishables so everything has to be done very fast. I don’t know why women find it a problem to be involved at this level more than men. They are very few in this exporting business. They may be facing some problems since they rarely engage themselves in actual acquisition of resources, especially the documents required at this level. Most of the time they send their spouses or male colleagues to assist them or come with them”.

So many people move up and down looking for different types of receipts, stamps and authorisation. This characterises the Entebbe airport.

On the other hand, sorting, packing, grading, weighing, labelling and searching for different documents that authorise export, are typical examples of the busy sites of the company premises of the exporter. The companies are small-scale⁴⁴ enterprises.

⁴⁴ There is no specific and accurate information about the definition of small scale enterprises in Uganda because there is no formalised registration for them. The main characteristics of the small scale enterprises I dealt with were those with a sole owner or a family business, employing less than 10 employees and had capital of between \$2,700 (Shs.5 million) to \$ 5,000 (approximately shs.10 million).

The information presented here, is based on the interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation and case study writing, which included discussions with exporters. The respondents included 25 exporters of which 5 were women. A total of forty (40) employees of the export companies were included in the study in order to show the different tasks undertaken at these sites and the participation of the different actors. Out of these, fifteen (37.5%) were women and twenty-five (62.5%) were men.

ii) Characteristics of female and male exporters

a) Gender differences by age

Apart from sex differences and activities done, gender differences were realised through age differences of the exporters. Although the age distribution did not differ much among the male exporters, there were marked differences concerning the female exporters. For both female and male exporters, the lowest age was 25 years. The oldest age was 55 for women and 60 for men. The majority of the women were between 30 and 50 years of age while for the men, the majority were between 25 and 55. The significance of age was mainly related to the extent to which the woman or man could command authority over his/her workers in the export company. Where as men above 40 years were more respected than those below that age, women between the age of 30 and 40 were considered to be able to win respect from the workers. Although this was attributed partly to culture, especially in the Baganda tribe, it also had much to do with skills acquired over years. Most of the exporters, both female and male started exporting after the age of 25. Most of them indicated that it was during those years that they started putting into practice the knowledge they had gained from else where, whether in education institutions or having learnt on the job. Such findings correspond with the age distribution of the country, in that the active working age is between 20 and 50. It also relates to the age under employment in Uganda, which is between 20 and 60 (Census 2002).

b) Difference by marital status

The findings on the marital status of exporters showed that twenty-three of the male exporters were married and two were widowers. Of the female exporters, two were

single parents and three were married. It was however noted that for those women who mentioned that they were married, some were second wives and their husbands stayed elsewhere. Although this did not necessarily have implications on their daily work activities as workers or owners of the export companies, those women with less capital to invest in providing services in the company (like money for transport, feeding), had to wait to consult their husbands on what money to use and on what activities within the export tasks. There were two of the female exporters who were staying on their own and their answers to the questions of decision-making within their households and businesses indicated that they were heading their households and were sole decision makers⁴⁵.

4.3.2 Patterns of gender division of labour

Just like the collection sites, fewer women than men are found in office premises as well as in the working spaces where sorting, packaging and labelling is done. As one male exporter explained,

“Women are brought in because of their so called soft arms in handling delicate perishable products, otherwise export related activities have for long been involving male workers and owners”.

In the same way I realised that the export sites occupy physical space, which is not necessarily intended to exclude women from the activities undertaken but has specialised tasks that require training. Unfortunately very few women were included in the training that was required not only for export company level tasks, but also in clearing and export related documentation that is used to authorise export of products from Uganda.

One of the ways through which gender differences were demonstrated in these sites, was therefore reflected in the differences in tasks undertaken by women compared to what men do within the export sites. Out of twenty-five exporters of hot pepper and okra, twenty were men and these were the owners and managers of the company. It was

⁴⁵ these included both female-headed households and female managed households as explained in chapter 4.

realised that out of the five women who were considered to be exporters, only two owned export companies⁴⁶. Although such women were undertaking the same tasks and had the role of managing the business enterprise, they did not take the same status as the men. Male exporters had labelled them as '*bakazibasaja*' (lit: powerful women with masculine characteristics), just as women of similar character had been called in the collection sites. Although the HOTEWA register had shown more names of female exporters, the reality was that other women, apart from these two, did not own or get involved in actual transactions for international export directly. They were either managing the business of their husbands (as spouse) or were employed as managers for the export firms. Among the exporters themselves, all the fifteen men included in the study were in charge of the overall running of the company as well as supervising the casual labourers. Three (of the five) women were working as company accountants but they referred to themselves as exporters. This was due to the fact that the company depended on them to carry out the business. These were also dealing with, transactions including preparing the freight details, recording the volumes to be exported and working on the necessary documentation. Exporters also employed casual labourers. Table 4.2 below shows the distribution of tasks.

Table 4.2: Division of tasks between women and men at the exportation sites

Tasks	Exporters		Casual labourers		Number who participate
	Male (n=20)	Female (n=20)	Male (n=25)	Female (n=25)	
Company managers	20	2			22
Company accountants	20 ⁴⁷	3			23
Securing cargo space	20	5			25
Accessing cooling facilities at Entebbe	20	5			25
Accessing the necessary documentation	20	5			25
Testing the quality	20	5	15	3	25
Sorting			25	15	40
Weighing			25	2	27
Packing the boxes			25	15	40
Labelling the boxes			15	10	35
Recording the volumes	20	5			25
Sending off the packed boxes	20	5			25

Source: field data

⁴⁶ One of the companies owned by a woman was called Free-Chem and was since 1998.

⁴⁷ Male exporters are the managers of their companies as well as being the accountants

The table above shows that the fifteen women, who were among the forty labourers included in the study, were mostly allocated tasks that did not enable them to have opportunities for training. They were mostly in sorting and packing of the produce in boxes. Some of the exporters, who were asked about this trend of allocation of tasks, indicated that they preferred women to be in those tasks that required a lot of care because they are used to such tasks in their day-to-day activities in the household. Tasks like that of testing the quality of produce required regular training and access to information about the requirements from the importing countries and the buyers. It was found out that the men who were undertaking this particular task, for example, had gone for training three times more than the women.

Men and women held different views on the reasons why there are few female exporters. Male exporters just ‘laughed it off’ and felt that it was not a woman’s job due to the negotiating capacity one needs to have. They felt that women couldn’t manage the intensity of the work involved due to lack of autonomy in making decisions on use of their time as well as lack of skills in negotiation. Men narrated incidences when they also felt they had to compromise on their time for other activities in order to fulfill the demands of their importers. Such instructions used to be provided at very short notice. One of the male exporters wondered how a woman would manage to ensure that such a consignment is delivered in time if she has to care for the children, do various domestic activities in addition to organizing and collecting produce from agents or collectors, transporting and airlifting or shipping the consignment in time. One of the female exporters explained reasons why she had managed to own an export company as narrated in Box 4.

Box 4: A testimony by a female exporter who owns one of the export companies

“You have to perform much better than the men to prove your ability. You need to be exposed. I was at first working as a manager for an export company. I got to know what they do, when and how to schedule the time for quick response to the importers abroad. I got information about how to access two of the markets for okra, hot pepper and apple bananas. I tried once to combine with a male colleague and that gave me the confidence. After that, I started working on my own. I joined the organization where we meet as exporters to continuously have access to market information, know what to do and learn more from others. However, I still feel, men are performing better than the few female exporters like me. We need more courageous women to join us, so that we can show our potential and attract some assistance from donors and government, especially in terms of increasing our capital which is low compared to what men invest in export.”

Explanation given by the female exporter in Box 4 and those provided by male exporters, all show that women who manage to become exporters are exceptional. They have to strive through various ways of gaining skills that are required for participation in export, which they have most of the time to obtain through building relationships with men, either as workers or as fellow exporters. It is also important to note that those women who had managed to become and continuously fulfilled their export market obligations, had also managed to control their income. They felt this did not only give them autonomy in terms of deciding what to do with the money. They have also been able to get more exposure including being able to access market information that has led them to be involved in those activities which used to be undertaken by men only. The major factors that create this difference were found to be cultural norms, especially those that classify the woman as a 'second class' category compared to men.

As such, female exporters gave their observations basing the challenge on male perception of women as weak and cannot learn the skills required for negotiation and trading. One of the female managers in an export company angrily commented that:

"Women are mostly given roles of "counting money" because they are "careful and trustworthy" but not those of negotiating with airlines on freight charges or dealing with the importer in Britain or Holland. It is the direct export where you can get more money than just the office activities. Yet men are the ones mostly in direct export. You need to learn how to do those but we are never given the chance by men even if it is your husband".

The female exporters who owned the businesses had started business as a response to government's encouragement to develop the horticulture sector. This was during the period when trade liberalization had started to be implemented. Within the government strategy, there was encouragement for women to engage into production and export in order to be in line with the provisions of the National gender policy as well as the Constitution. These emphasize inclusion of women in all income earning opportunities, especially export oriented activities.

4.3.3 Patterns of access to and control over resources at the exportation sites

i) Gender differences in access to and control over market resources

Exporters of hot pepper and okra had two specific categories: differences by sex and ability to acquire market resources. There were those exporters who had thorough knowledge of ways of acquiring the market resources needed at the export level while another category was composed of those exporters who were learning from experienced exporters. The first category was composed of mostly male (only one woman), while the second category is where a few more women were found although they could not outweigh the number of men. Women were more in this category than in the first one because most of them were not necessarily engaged in actual export but were being used by the export companies as administrators for the business.

ii) Exporters' position and access to consignment documents

There was a case of failure of customs officials of Uganda revenue Authority to provide consignment forms in time for airfreight. Exporters reported of instances when the private sector institutions used their position as key investors in the horticulture sector to influence decisions of the state with reference to issues related to horticulture exports. In the year 2000, a male exporter lost a consignment of US \$ 2000 due to failure of customs officials of Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) to process his documents in time. Such a problem was beyond the individual exporter and required combined effort to find ways of addressing it. It had happened to many exporters but most of them had kept silent about it since they had felt powerless and could not do any thing about it. Through in-depth interviews it was realized that previous loss of consignment due to lack of access to the necessary documents in time, had happened to two female exporters. Their failure to report the incidence in time, led them to loose even the reimbursements on the lost consignment, which they would have got.

Male exporters had informal links with each other and would hold discussions with each other in order to find a solution unlike women. This male exporter reported to his fellow exporters in the Horticultural Exporters Association (HOTEXA) who usually meet for group discussions about the problems they have and seek solutions from higher authorities. This Association then wrote a letter seeking assistance from Uganda Export

Promotion Board (UEPB) to intervene and address the problems of loss for such amount of consignment. Using the authority they have to ensure compliance with the regulations of the export business in Uganda that caters for exporters' rights in enhancing their businesses, UEPB called for a meeting of all exporters and URA. The discussions ironed out causes of the delay that led to loss of consignment and money and authorities apologized for the mistakes that were made. This led to changes with URA operations while at the airport. From that time onwards, there is an official from URA who handles exports at the station for 24 hours.

iii) Access to storage facilities and information on air freight

Male exporters requested female exporters to join them in order to lobby Entebbe airport officials to provide them with storage facilities and information on airfreights. Although female horticultural exporters were more disadvantaged in terms of having less negotiating power to influence decisions of airlines, men too had a problem with this. The negotiation took a lot of time, required going back to the airline office many times in a day and week. Women were finding this difficult to cope with since most of them had also to take care of the export business themselves including supervision of the collection and packing sites. On the other hand, most of the male exporters had well established companies which had streamlined jobs and it did not necessarily require them to be responsible for the collection and packing sites as well as looking for freight details and cargo space. In terms of negotiations for improved access to freight charges and cargo space, female and male horticultural exporters, made links with flower exporters since this group had similar problems like those dealing with horticulture. Through this link, a company called Fresh Handling Ltd. (FHL) was formed in 2000. This Company has enabled direct negotiations with airlines resulted in further freight rate reductions in 2002. The company helped in reducing freight charges through chartering cargo planes for freight of produce and assist exporters consolidate their cargo. This consolidation has allowed favorable contracts to be negotiated for the whole season with airline and clearing agents in Europe. Rates have gone down and, capacity has gone up. This has also led to increased competition in that the freight of fruits and

vegetables has reduced from US \$ 1.65 per kg⁴⁸ to US \$ 1.35 per kg. According to Fresh Handling, this increase is partly a result of increased competition at Entebbe Airport in the handling and chartering of aircraft for perishables.

iv) Access to cold storage facilities

Due to the demand for cold storage facilities at the airport, USAID funded the construction of a cold room at the airport in 1998. This enabled exporters to have increased access to cooling facilities required for hot-pepper and okra as one of the perishables that need to be kept in such places until the time for shipping. Although there is no discrimination of female or male exporters in accessing this facility, women found it more advantageous than men to have this facility. Female exporters found it easier to assemble their export produce a few days before the flight and it would enable them to deal with other processes which have to be undertaken before export (as pointed out above). On the other hand, male exporters had various options other than ensuring that the produce was ready a few days before the flight. This was possible for them, because they had more organized business skills and a workforce that could deal with specified tasks. They had more workers assigned to deal with checking on the produce to find out if it required keeping in the cooling room. They also had easy transport means to the cooling facilities within their company premises as well as at the airport. Such facilities become even more necessary in cases where the flights are unreliable or during periods of cancellation of flight. Fresh Handling Ltd. (FHL) manages this facility. The new Roka Bonds/Anova cold store at Entebbe airport with 200 Mt. capacities allows ample room for expansion. Together with Entebbe Handling Services' (ENHAS) cold store at Entebbe, there are currently three cold stores at Entebbe airport, and the increased competition has meant levels of service have improved.

v) Female and male exporters organize for access to cargo handling services

Female exporters joined with male exporters to campaign for reduction in cargo handling charges. Before 2001, handling charges at Entebbe airport were 0.7cts per kilogram (kg), which was high compared to other rates in the region. IDEA and

⁴⁸ Fifteenth semi-Annual Progress Report (January 1- June 30, 2002) by Agribusiness Development Centre (ADC)

HOTEXA, together with other associations of exporters, campaigned for the reduction of these rates. In 2001, the rates were reduced to 0.5cts per kg, and the handling services at Entebbe airport were liberalised, thus removing the monopoly of ENHAS. The respondents from the exporters' associations indicated that such action could not have been possible if they had not mobilised themselves as female and male exporters. This process involved formulating advocacy materials, putting their ideas into convincing language and using data that could clearly explain the problem they were addressing. The male exporters, who had advocacy skills, helped other male and female exporters to articulate their issues and write up their demands. This effort resulted in provision of lower handling charges by cargo-handling companies at the airport.

CHAPTER FIVE DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS ABOUT FARMERS, COLLECTORS AND EXPORTERS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the discussion and analysis of findings from the household, collection and exportation sites. The chapter addresses the fourth research question that assesses the implications of the manifestations of power relations on gender division of labor and access to resources in ways that provide an understanding of the construction and perpetuation of unequal power relations.

Each site is first dealt with in a separate section (5.1, 5.2 and 5.3) after which further analysis is done across the three sites (5.4). Such further analysis helps to draw out salient points from the findings that illustrate how gender analysis of power relations in export-oriented tasks and access to resources, provides an understanding of the construction, and perpetuation of unequal power relations across the sites. The analysis is also used to illustrate the strategies that women use to challenge and resist control and subordination in ways that show actions of autonomy. The salient issues guide the formulation of conclusions that are presented in the seventh chapter.

5.1 Discussion and analysis of findings about farmers in the household sites

5.1.1 Power relations and the gender division of labour

The findings showed that women interacted with men as they engaged in production and preparation for sale of the produce within the household sites. It was found out that women's labour was not only exploited by collectors and exporters but also their own husbands and the men associated with female-headed households. As pointed out earlier, farmers, collectors and exporters belonged to different status categories. This meant that the issue of male farmers exploiting female farmers was hidden and became evident only after rigorous dialogue and in-depth interviews with female farmers. Despite their power differences, all men shared one practice: they used production, selling and buying activities to exploit women's labour, regardless of whether these women were their wives or female farmers.

Investigating further, it was noted that patriarchal tendencies were enabling men to place women in subordinate positions by denying them the right to fully participate in expenditure decisions on how the income from the sale of the crops could be used. It was further noted from the findings that men used to give women only part of the income earned; yet it was mostly women's labour that was used in production. Even in cases where men used to sell produce collectively with women, the collectors would pay money to the men. Respondents pointed out that this was due to existence of cultural beliefs among all actors that men were the decision makers in households, and should be the ones to handle money. Worse still, women used to be the ones to deal with the variety of needs in the household, including paying school fees and feeding the children. Yet men dominated decision making on how much they could give to women in return for their labour.

The findings about the gender division of labour in the production and preparation for sale of hot-pepper and okra showed that the differentiation of tasks was mainly based on the extent to which women or men could have access to skills training in the tasks. Due to exclusion of women from training opportunities, they mostly engaged in those tasks where they had skills that were passed on to them through the socialization process for production activities. Men, who had accessed skills through training, managed to perform tasks such as spraying, which required modern techniques. However, these aspects of control over access to skills training by men were so hidden within patriarchal beliefs, especially in cases where the trainers felt that women could not manage to get time for training. Yet, in cases where women were invited, they managed to participate in skills training and after such exposure; they could perform the same tasks as men.

In-depth interviews with women revealed further that power relations in the division of labour were not only an issue of differences between the tasks that women and men do. There was a question of how the women and men defined the division of labour between themselves, and how power was rooted in the differentiation of labour involved in export-oriented production and selling. The study found out that all female

farmers (irrespective of status, education difference and marital status) were socially defined as female farmers (*abakazi abalimi* in Luganda). The tasks that they were mostly involved in kept them within their own households. Although male farmers were described with the same terminology, using a masculine noun, male farmers (*abasaja abalimi* in Luganda), their roles and labour consisted of tasks that could be hired by other household sites. These were therefore considered to be income-earning tasks, while those of women were understood to be just services that were necessary to assist men and the whole household in undertaking production. It was therefore considered as women's duty to provide such labour. This showed that although both female and male farmers undertook tasks within household sites, the social definition of men as income-earners gave them a superior position, which they would then use to influence the decisions about division of labour. This would then lead to categorization of women's labour as just a service to the household. Attitudes of male farmers towards female farmers were thus characterized by exploitative actions that excluded women from labour that would require skills enhancement or payment of income. Therefore, in reality, export-oriented production and sale within the household sites could enable male farmers to extend their labour into income earning opportunities, such as hiring their labour. On the other hand, the tasks and labour time of female farmers was invisible to the male farmers, as well as to collectors and exporters who used to purchase the crops from the household sites. Female farmers therefore remained in a subordinate position.

5.1.2 Power relations in having access to and control over resources

The study found out that farmers operated within a network of production and market relationships and these showed manifestations of power. The findings illustrated that there were two main types of relationships that farmers engaged in as they tried to have access to and control over resources within the production site. These included: farmer with fellow farmer (male and female); farmers with collectors or exporters (male and female).

a) Farmer-to-farmer relationships

The findings showed that farmers were using groups in order to strengthen their position as they demanded to have access to resources from collectors and exporters. They required production and market resources that would enable them to produce for the market. The most demanded resources included information about the latest production and storage techniques, the latest market and price information, collection processes, transport of their produce to collection sites, and packaging materials. Such groups were also a source of information through which farmers could consult each other about the resources they required. There were more organised groups in the areas studied in Luwero than in Mpigi. The groups in Luwero were organized according to zones, with both male and female leaders. These were mobilised and trained by the NGO, VEDCO. In most cases, these leaders were also the collectors. Farmer leaders assisted fellow farmers in taking their demands to exporters. It was found out that the support provided by NGOs as resource providers had strengthened farmer relationships. In Nyanama and Buyege villages, farmers had been working individually until Horticultural Exporters Association (HOTEXA) trained them on how to work through groups, especially in searching for markets. The majority of farmers (59.3%) were found to belong to one or more farmers' associations, where they could share ideas and receive training on effective horticultural production and searching for markets.

b) Farmers relationships with collectors and exporters

The dominant relationship within household production sites was mainly the one between female and male producers and female and male exporters. The farmers considered this relationship as key to the success of their production efforts, because the exporters were viewed as the link to markets. The exporters provided internal controls that dictated what should be produced and when it should be harvested. They also provided information about appropriate quality and quantity measures to ensure that the products were acceptable to the international markets. This meant that exporters were capable of influencing the production decisions of the farmers. The producers needed the exporters, and the exporters and collectors were relying on the farmers for the production of the horticulture crops. However, conflict and tension were embedded in

these relationships. If the collectors did not distribute the packaging boxes to the farmers, then there would be no way the produce could be sold from the household. In such cases, the exporters and collectors would also lose money due to lack of supply of hot-pepper and okra at the appropriate time, and quality and quantity. The collectors and exporters capitalized on this conflictual relationship and were using their positions to influence the decisions of farmers when selling their produce. They would also influence decisions of farmers concerning the period for selling as well as the quantities that could be sold. It was found out that collectors and exporters had control over capital, since they provided most of the necessary production and market resources to the farmers. They provided most of the resources through training and on farm visits. The findings showed that in most cases, men had more access to the resources than women and more men than women were able to participate in training. In addition to this, the exporters and collectors purchased horticultural products at prices that were too low to cover the farmers' production costs. Unfortunately, most of the farmers were not aware of the degree of control that exporters and collectors had over the farmers' capital, because of their lack of skills in production and marketing management. For example, most of the farmers had no skills in record keeping that they could use to track their production costs. Most of them had records only on what had been sold and the payments made. Although this situation meant that all farmers were exploited, women were worse off since their labour was minimally rewarded despite being relied on in the production process. Unfortunately the farmers had no knowledge about the amount of money that the exporters paid the collectors, and how much they should be paid for their produce. The amount provided by the exporter to the collector was not exposed to the farmers. This invisibility of the depth of the relationships between actors was found to be a mechanism for exploitation of both the female and male farmers.

Exporters also used their position to influence the decisions of farmers through denying them access to knowledge and information about export destination. Most of the farmers (80%) had never known who the exporters were, or where their produce was being exported. Exporters were considered superior in the eyes of the farmers because they had full knowledge of current prices. In the chain of information, exporters used to provide export orders to only the collectors, who would then know how many boxes of

produce were needed. The farmers in turn would receive instructions from collectors about the quality and quantity of produce required.

In most cases, the collectors and exporters were not revealing the importing countries or the companies involved in purchasing the farmers' produce; yet farmers were interested in having such information, as the quality and quantity demands and measures, as well as sanitary and phytosanitary regulations, differ among the importing companies. Worse still, farmers could not tell how the cost of their produce at the international market. The few who knew the price of their produce at international level (30% men and 10% women) were those who were both farmers and collectors, or those women whose husbands were friends with the exporters. In such cases, men would use their networks to have access to the information they needed. Unfortunately, very few female farmers (10%) had such contacts. Their networks mostly dealt with handcraft, motherhood and parenting, and were not linked to entrepreneurial skills and information dissemination that characterized male networks. Overall, farmers could not negotiate for higher prices, and did not have bargaining power over exporters.

One would wonder about the factors that enabled maintenance of this hidden control and subordination and why it persisted over time. Although there were some forms of resistance, these were practiced in a very hidden way. This was because the farmers did not have a formal voice. The production and marketing relations outlined above showed the hidden forms of control and subordination, which were maintained in various ways. Whereas it was easy for farmers to identify the monopolistic tendencies of exporters who would purchase produce as one of the controlling factors, it was only after thorough probing that they could realize how the process of marketing also created specific divisions of labour. Such divisions limited farmers to production-related activities, and excluded them from the tasks performed by collectors and exporters, which could enable them to have control over resources.

Lack of proper entrepreneurial skills and low levels of education were noted as hindering factors to female more than male farmers. This was mainly due to the fact that women were in most cases not included in skills training. Furthermore, collectors and

exporters did not consider farming as a job. Yet the tasks involved labour, time and capital. Although women provided most of the labour, the value of their time and energy was not considered as an important element of production. As such, the prices of hot-pepper and okra at the farm gate level were determined by international market prices, and the decisions influenced by collectors and exporters. Such decisions on price were not taking into consideration the cost of labour and time, but were tagged only to the quality of output and the extent to which this quality could meet the criteria for demand and regulations at the international level.

5.1.3 The power to influence decisions in production and preparation for sale

The findings have shown variations in the way female and male farmers could influence decisions. By considering decision making arrangements in the household by the different individual, the findings have illustrated that it can be possible to focus not only on questions about the presence of adult males or females as heads, but also to find out who makes decisions and the status this person has within the household. The household head can therefore be defined in terms of labour provision rather than income only, in addition to explaining such headship in terms of the presence or absence of an adult female or male. This has enabled the findings to show diversity in the categories of household headship. It has also enabled the study to identify the fact that in cases where women within male-headed households contribute labour (which forms a major part of producing the crop that is sold), they are not able to make decisions unless they have an additional quality (such as higher level of skills), which the husband / male relative would seek during production or sale of produce.

In most of the cases where male farmers were married and were the main income earners, they used their position as decision-makers to control the production and market resources that had been obtained in the household. Although the findings make it clear that women provided most of the labour, it was noted that married men used their positions in the family to decide on where and when to sell produce. This contributed to the subordination of women who supplied most of the labour.

Ownership of land as a resource was noted to be a form of authority that men practiced, using it to decide on what part of the land could be allocated to the wife for cultivation of produce. This aggravated gender inequalities, since even after allocating the land to their wives, men in both study areas in Luwero and Mpigi would then make decisions on what and when to sell.

It was also found out that exporters and collectors who were the resource providers excluded different categories of female and male farmers. Skills acquisition and seminars on market information tended to exclude women. Women therefore continued to lag behind due to lack of access to skills training in modern production techniques and lack of market information. There was a lack of involvement of farmers in soliciting for market resources, and having meetings with exporters and collectors. Farmers were not usually given a chance to participate in setting the agenda or plans for trade in their areas, especially concerning what type of specie to plant and the price for selling their produce. Exporters and collectors had more influence on setting such agenda than the farmers who owned the produce. In cases where there were opportunities to engage in dialogue (such as those provided by the NGO, VEDCO), women were given opportunity to express their views and make requests for market resources. This was one of the ways through which women could challenge the subordination and exclusion they experienced. They were able to use VEDCO to pass on letters demanding higher prices from the exporters.

The study found out that although decision-making within the households was dominated by men, in cases of female-managed and female-headed households, women were directly involved in decision-making. Some of the decisions made by married men included deciding what land to allocate to hot-pepper or okra growing, even though it was women who dealt with the planting. Most of the married women in Luwero grew okra, while their husbands grew hot pepper. This was a result of land allocation decisions within the household, which were partly determined by the marital status of the members in the household. Whereas with okra, even a small plot of land (*omusiri* in Luganda) could generate the quantity needed, several small plots of land were needed to grow hot-pepper in order to harvest the amount the men were interested in as a profit-

making business. The women could therefore grow okra mainly in their compounds, a space where they had full control, as these were usually part of the kitchen gardens cared for by women.

Education level and participation in decision-making was another factor, which the study focused on. It was found out that the education level of the farmers had implications for their ability to have access to and how to utilize written market information. In most cases, such information was written in English, which was a language mostly learnt from mid-level school onwards. Women who had attended secondary school indicated that they could easily access market resources that required reading and writing, and had benefited from accessing information about markets abroad and prices.

5.1.4 Farmers' acts of resistance

The findings showed that there was informality of the relationships and work done between farmers, collectors and exporters. As such, one would think that in such situations of selling, exporters would influence all the decisions that farmers have to make towards production of okra and hot-pepper. However, in some cases, farmers presented resistance. One might assume that the farmers would be desperate to sell due to having limited quantities and as such he or she could not risk resisting any price given. As such whatever could be sold would be a relief to the poor small-scale farmer. However, this was not the case. Women and men resisted control and subordination by collectors and exporters in a number of ways including following.

- ***Resistance through hiding produce and selecting among collectors***

Women farmers in particular used to hold produce and would not sell to those collectors who had a tendency of not paying cash. They would then wait for other collectors, even if it took them another two days before their produce was sold. However, these women would lose a lot of produce as they waited. But they would rather lose produce than not being able to get any money. Others would only harvest the produce when they were sure of the arrival of trustworthy collectors in the area. Although male farmers would

sometimes do the same, they were sometimes able to transport produce directly to exporters rather than selling to collectors only.

- ***Resistance through organising networks and groups to challenge price setting***

Farmers used to organise themselves into horticulture groups to consolidate their produce and to combine forces and voices in challenging the decision-making power of collectors and exporters on prices. Such co-operation increased their countervailing power. Focus group discussions with women revealed that even within such forms of organising and networking, women's needs and interests were in most cases marginalized. In-depth interviews with the leaders of the horticultural groups indicated that even in cases where some women represented others on the management team, they were not able to clearly articulate women's needs. As such women's needs used not to be included on the agenda for negotiation with exporters. As a result of this, representation of women in horticultural groups became a challenge in cases where women refused to elect fellow women on the management board and preferred to support individual men who had been considerate to the needs of women. Fifteen (15) male board members in Luwero's VEDCO groups were elected through the support of women. However, in some cases, affirmative action rules were used to ensure that women were elected on the board. Although such rules helped to a certain extent, focus group discussions indicated that there was need for a lot of training and capacity-building among women, so that they would know the needs of fellow women and youth, and to participate in negotiations with exporters during the group meetings. Such trainings were provided by VEDCO in Luwero. In Mpigi district, women decided to form women specific subcommittees within the horticultural groups. These had the task of working with the women members on the management board to identify those needs of women that required attention from the collectors and exporters. Explaining and presenting such issues to the male members of the management board (as well as female and male collectors and exporters), remained the task of women's representatives on the board. Therefore the ability of such women to negotiate and bargain for better prices and trade relations governed the extent to which their resistance strategies could be successfully applied.

- *Resisting through opposing and preventing acts of control over produce by exporters*

In Bajo, Luwero district, women organised themselves through the NGO, VEDCO and refused to supply produce to collectors and exporters who were not paying cash. Collectors and exporters had cheated such women through non-payment. These female farmers asked VEDCO to help them to find other exporters who would pay cash. Although these farmers lost a lot of produce during the process, they were determined to start afresh with trustworthy exporters and collectors. Meanwhile, male farmers in the Luwero production area (where VEDCO was operating) used other strategies to counter non-payment by exporters. They would send their male representatives to the city, Kampala, to search for exporters who would be willing to pay cash when purchasing products.

Most of the male farmers interviewed had benefited from such contacts through direct payment. They had managed to find new exporters, expand their production, and some of them had become key agents for their exporters. However, female farmers were still at the mercy of the exporters, as they had no signed agreements with the exporters. VEDCO helped some female farmers to obtain written contracts from exporters, to ensure that farmers supplied the appropriate quality and quantity of produce and to ensure payment within the time agreed upon by the two parties.

5.1.5 Exclusionary position of female farmers

The findings have shown that the gendering of tasks excludes female farmers from those tasks that can be sourced out for an income through hiring of labour. In most cases, female farmers were excluded from decision-making in production and preparation for sale. Such exclusion was brought about due to women's limited access to production and market resources and services, especially access to land, training in production skills, market information and packaging boxes. The findings have shown that female farmers were excluded from decision making on what to sell, when to sell and who to sell to. Although such exclusion illustrates the subordinate position of women in this case compared to men, female farmers were trying out various ways of

manipulating this trend. Women had sustained their production and selling activities through use of collective action to sell, collection of produce and working with the collectors to pick and transport the produce.

The findings have shown that decision-making rules, and how they are used and sustained are constituted through the rules for allocation of resources; the way tasks are divided up between women and men, responsibilities assigned and decisions made. Further more, the findings have illustrated that decisions making potential is based on the position of female and male within the internal organisation of the household according to kinship and marriage relations. These put females and males in different positions of authority. In the case of married female farmers there were cases where they could influence decision-making in production and preparation for sale but this depended on the level of co-operation they had with their spouses.

Further exclusion was observed in cases where farmers were in isolated areas of production. Due to the vulnerability of the farmers in isolated production areas, they welcome any price. Unfortunately, such farmers also lacked networking arrangements with each other and with those farmers outside of their production areas. They therefore only rely on the collectors and exporters who can reach their area. As such, collectors and exporters exploit the farmers. In such a situation however, some male farmers had devised ways of reaching out to even other collectors and exporters who could reach the production area. Unlike female farmers, some male farmers had connections with fellow male farmers far away from the production areas. They could then collectively send messages to those farmers via the mobile telephones or through letters that were sent through the taxi services. Replies could be received in similar ways and as such more and more collectors and exporters got to know since they were being notified about the availability of produce in remote area. Female farmers on the other hand lacked mobile phones and had no links with fellow farmers in other production areas within whom they could link. They relied on the efforts of the male farmers.

5.2 Analysis Of Findings About Collectors

Both female and male collectors were given authority from exporters to purchase produce on their behalf. Such authority enhanced the individual rights of collectors and they were considered superior in position compared to farmers. There were a few cases where there were formal agreements drawn between the exporter and collector but in most cases there were no written agreements or formal contract signed. It was just mutual trust that was used at this level. The tasks which both female and male collectors were performing had enabled them to achieve higher status than the farmers, accessed and improved their income and had acquired knowledge and information.

5.2.1 Power relations in the gender division of labour

The findings have shown that power manifests in various ways at the collection sites and in the links, which collectors made with the laborers they used. There was differentiation in the tasks that female and male laborers performed. It was found out that at the collection sites, the use of time, especially the issue of women working longer hours, was not the main route through which women were subordinated compared to men. This was due to the fact that the tasks at the collection sites had to be undertaken at specified periods of the day and both women and men would be working to finish their specified tasks within the period given to them by the collectors. The problem was realized to be linked to the tasks that female laborers performed compared to those of male laborers in the collection sites. Male collectors used their superior position as a form of power to allocate tasks of low social value and lower pay to be done by women, compared to those tasks that men were engaged in.

Further more, the findings have shown that different categories of women and men undertake different roles in a specified location (the collection site) and at specific time. This consideration of the physical location where tasks are undertaken enabled the study to show that in cases where tasks are performed away from the household, female laborers and collectors could earn an income for the work they do, although it would still be lower than that of men due to the classification used. Collectors also linked with farmers in terms of providing market resources as discussed in the next section.

5.2.2 The manifestations of power through having access to and control over resources

The findings identified various ways through which access to and control over market resource could reveal manifestations of power between and among women and men who were involved in collection of the produce. The first one was linked to the fact that collectors had the responsibility of providing packaging boxes and market information to farmers. Both female and male collectors had full control over such resources and had also to enhance the skills of the farmers in terms of training them in methods of ensuring proper quality for the produce. Secondly, collectors had to pay cash (money) to the farmers in cases where they purchased the produce. Thirdly, collectors had to rely on exporters and get their orders on how much to pay, what quantity to purchase and when to collect and assemble the produce in boxes, ready for transfer to the exporter's ware house. As such, collectors had to obtain money from exporters in order to make payments to the farmers. Collectors also obtained packaging boxes from exporters.

There were cases where the service and resource provision within collection sites were undertaken in ways that were putting female farmers in a subordinate position as they tried to access resources from collectors. Male farmers were also facing a similar problem because they were considered to be of lower status than collectors (both female and male). The findings indicated that access to resources at the collection level was influenced by the sex of the farmer who was being served as well as his or her effectiveness in terms of performance in export-oriented tasks. Female collectors favoured the female farmers and would first take to them the packaging boxes and payments for the produce. On the other hand, male collectors took into consideration speed and accuracy in harvesting, sorting and grading, activities. In such cases, male farmers performed better than the females and male collectors would target male farmers to provide them with packaging boxes. However, for the male collectors, there was also an issue of promoting male farmers who were culturally believed to be the income earners compared to the females and were colleagues in the different gatherings that men had. For male collectors, collegial relationships were important. One of them insisted that:

“Siyinza kuleka abasajja ababeera nange bwetunywa omwenge akawungezi, ng’ate bayanguya okukungula ebibala, nempa abo abakazi”

(lit: I can not omit the fellow men, who we drink alcohol with in the evening, and are fast at ensuring that they harvest the vegetables at the time the produce is needed, and give boxes to women”).

Male collectors were therefore using their position to exclude and exploit both female and male farmers. In these instances, female farmers were more disadvantaged than male farmers, who were able to engage in dialogue with the male collectors, and share the local brew with them in a brotherly manner. This meant that men shared information with fellow men, but not with women who could not be in such places. By contrast, female collectors used to distribute packaging materials according to the ability of the farmer to provide the required quantity and quality. They provided boxes to both female and male farmers. Female collectors however, lacked opportunities and space to educate fellow women about the tricks of the export trade, including quality control. Women used to loose out in this way, another example of how power relations were manifested.

Through such consideration, men preferred dealing with fellow men but would easily shift to work with women in cases where the women showed improvement in performance at harvesting, sorting and grading of the produce for export. It was found out that male collectors did not intentionally exclude providing packaging boxes to those female farmers who could not provide the produce in the time it was required. This was a requirement from the importers and consumers who demanded for specific quality of freshness of the produce and as such the collectors had to be within such specification as instructed by exporters. Such demands had implications on the extent to which the farmers could harvest their produce in the time required by the collectors. Male farmers performed better in this case than the females who used to require additional help especially through hired labour in order to cope with harvesting of produce in cases where it was supposed to be done hurriedly. Neither the collectors nor exporters had a say in the set-up of such export rules and had not negotiated for favorable terms for the farmers’ products.

Male collectors indicated that female collectors could not be given as much skills training in collection tasks as their male colleagues due to the fact that they have demands for time in domestic duties. This would have meant that domestic tasks hinder women's participation in income earning tasks, such as collection and their access to market resources and services such as skills training. However, this was found to be a false assumption from male collectors and a form of subordination of women as one of the prosperous female collectors indicated:

*“batuyisamu amaso naye tusobola okukola okusinga abasaja
bwetufuna emisomo n'ebukukozesa ”*

(lit: they just look down upon us, but we can do better than the male collectors if we get skills training as well as access to other resources).

NGOs formulated policies that enabled female collectors to have access to skills, money and packaging materials in the same way as the male collectors and to perform according to the required rules for assessing quality of the produce. The VEDCO case study in chapter four provides an example of such support. Such NGO policies were applied to ensure selection and participation of female collectors as well as their increased accessibility of resources at the collection level in cases where they had been subordinated. Collectors who were working with NGOs had opportunities to negotiate their terms and alter arrangements of collection activities in cases where the marketing system of the NGO was not working.

5.2.3 Hierarchical position of collectors

Due to their experience in the collection and assembling of produce, the exporters entrusted collectors with the responsibility for handling money for purchase of produce and distribution of packaging boxes and market information. Such authority enabled the collectors to gain recognition and created a higher position for them compared to the farmers. A hierarchical setting between the collectors and farmers was therefore evident and was revealed especially in cases where female collectors influenced the decisions of female farmers during the process of preparation for sale. It was also noted that male collectors were influencing the decisions of male farmers in a similar way. However, the female and male collectors were placed in a lower position compared to female and male exporters. This is explained further in the sections that follow.

5.3 Discussion and analysis of findings about exporters

5.3.1 Power relations within the gender division of labour

Exporters were more concerned about quality standards and quantity. They were less concerned about who performs which tasks within the exportation sites. They had also not taken into consideration “who does what” and whose needs they were serving when distributing production and market resources through collectors to the farmers. Exporters only became concerned about the needs of female and male farmers in cases where losses would occur due to lack of access to information or other resources that could be easily obtained by the exporters and provided to the farmers. Conflicts existed where the needs of the farmers differed from what exporters could provide to the household sites. The findings from the exporters showed that exporters used to neglect the needs of the female and male farmers. It was not clear whether this was due to the limited contact they had with farmers, since exporters used mostly to send collectors to the farmers.

5.3.2 Power relations in access to and control over resources for female and male exporters

In general the findings have shown that in spite of their involvement in export trade, women have not been able to develop their capacities to participate in export trade at the same level as men. On the other hand, men have been able to gain skills and are participating in export trade. However, they have not been able to perform efficiently due to lack of access to up-to-date market resources, especially, market information, credit and skills training. Women are excluded from such export trade activities from two levels: they lack all of the resources just as men do but they also have lower education levels compared to men. This low education level limits their access to written documents especially due to the fact that they are written in English as an international language. They therefore tend to rely on male exporters (who have higher education levels than them), to access information and documentation required in the operation of export trade. Foreign exporters have created an atmosphere that they are the ones who set the agenda onto which the airfreight charges are based since they can

pay any price for the cargo they have. Both female and male exporters are excluded from continuous participation in the export business through not being able to pay for the airfreight charges, cooling facilities that the foreign exporters can. Women are more affected by this exclusion because they lose out even on the access to airfreight, cargo space and documentation for export that they usually share with or obtain through the male exporters.

The findings indicate that the challenge which female and male exporters face is that the export sites are located within a specific institutional culture. There are people who can belong there and others cannot because of the rules of the institution. This does not only create differences within the types of exporters but also hinders provision of these resources in ways that could enable access to all who are in need. The institutions, which provide resources to the exporters, operate in bureaucratic ways of management. Decisions on the documentation required for exporting the products, payments to be made and transportation to be arranged, are all made without involvement of female and male exporters. Authority is embedded in the rules and processes of acquiring export information and other resources that are essential for undertaking export business. The findings have shown that where female and male exporters have made efforts to organize themselves, they have been able to set-up their own means of obtaining the market resources required for export business other than relying on the existing institutions. An example that has been sighted in the findings is the Fresh Handling Company. This creation of new institutions that provide resources has helped small-scale female and male exporters to have access to storage and cooling facilities at the airport. However, exclusion is practiced unconsciously through ensuring compliance with the priorities for operation of the company that are attached to time and frequency of use of the facility. However, most of the time, these small-scale exporters fail to fulfill conditions necessary to satisfy the market demands and make use of the facilities because they are hindered by lack of sufficient capital to export more than once a week.

5.3.3 Hierarchical position of exporters

The exporters are considered to be higher in status compared to collectors and farmers because they provide the resources, which these two groups need. Exporters therefore

used their superior position as a source of power to dictate what is needed for export. This is how they are able to set prices and deny farmers the price information they need. Farmers indicated that if they had access to price information, they would be able to negotiate for higher prices. Lack of knowledge of the international-level buyers also makes it difficult for farmers to seek for higher prices from the actual buyers. Exporters also try to influence decisions of male farmers and collectors by enabling some of the market resources to be provided through their informal networks (such as beer- drinking groups). Price information from collectors is mostly access through such channels. However, women farmers remained at a disadvantage, as they had no forum (by the time of the research) through which they could talk and obtain information from women collectors. Female farmers had limited movement among themselves as well as minimal contact with exporters.

Exporters have provided an example of a powerful group compared to the casual labourers they employ as well as the farmers and collectors, who were addressed earlier. The placing of women in activities that are rated lower than others due to lack of renewed skills and remuneration, excludes such women from gaining opportunities for improvement in skills. However, this is also similar to male casual labourers, compared to both female and male exporters. As such, the tasks undertaken with the export sites can clearly be a stimulant to unequal power relations. It even gets worse when female exporters are recognised as powerful women compared to other women in the marketing channel, yet they are denied the status, which male exporters enjoy, even where they are doing the same tasks. As mentioned by one of the female exporters, this exclusion and labelling given to women, tends to pull them down, and requires extra effort to keep them in the system of export trade.

The power to exercise expertise was realized in cases where exporters had to seek for specialized services that were required in export trade. The regulating rules that transporting companies used when providing freight details, as well as those applied by the government when dealing with trading licenses, were examples given on the way power was used to show expertise in provision of resources to exporters. Although this type of authority does not link to male/female relations in a straightforward way, the

dominance of men over women was found within the institutional set-up of the organisations dealing with export-related procedures and policies, which were mostly employing men in the decision-making positions. However, the managers of these freight companies, who were all men, no idea how it could be possible to take into consideration the differentiated needs of women and men.

Hierarchical settings were visible in these sites and it was interesting to note the way power shifts positions among women and men. Although exporters were considered to be higher in status compared to farmers and collectors, they also suffered exclusion from institutions that facilitate export trade in Kampala as well as Entebbe airport. The effort made by female exporters to join male exporters in order to mobilise for resisting such exclusion, has earned them access to resources. To-date they can access cargo space, airfreight information, export licenses, to mention a few. However, female exporters and small-scale male exporters still find problems with accessing these resources. It is not in the same way as large-scale male and female exporters do.

5.4 Further analysis and summary of findings across the three sites

This section provides further analysis of the findings across the three sites and formulates a summary out of these. This brings together analysis of the findings by identifying both the common and differing issues that occur across the sites. This summary provides a basis for the conclusions and policy implications of the study in the final chapter. It shows how the major findings of each research question have pointed to different ways of solving the research problem. This chapter begins by analyzing the major findings of the first research question (which sought to find out how power relations manifest in the different patterns of the gender division of labour in the different tasks across the sites). This is done by describing how actors are organized within the different sites, and the division of labour they engage in. The second research question is addressed by summarizing the key findings about the patterns of access to or control over market resources and how power relations manifest in these actions. The implications of these manifestations of power relations for the participation of women and men in production and marketing of export produce, is explored in the process of analyzing these patterns.

5.4.1 Gender and organisation of actors in the three sites

The findings and analysis have shown that farmers, collectors and exporters make up the major actors in the marketing channel for the production and marketing of okra and hot-pepper. These actors interact with each other at the different sites of the household, collection and exportation sites. The findings from these sites were presented in chapter five and discussed and analysed in this sixth chapter. One of the indicators of gender as a significant factor in export production and marketing is the participation of women and men in these different sites. The sites vary in terms of the physical space where they are found, and the time periods when they are operational.

The household sites are family units where production is undertaken. The main activities in these sites are the production and preparation for the sale of hot pepper and okra. The household is also a site where domestic tasks are undertaken and are done concurrently with the export-oriented tasks. Women undertake most of the activities in this site, compared to men. Both female and male farmers have the following characteristics: they operate on small-scale production levels characterized by small pieces of land under horticulture production, which they call “*omusiri gwa kamulali oba ogwa okra*” (lit: hot-pepper or okra garden). However, few female farmers own these gardens or plots. Most of them are operating the gardens together with a husband or brother. Female farmers who are not married require monetary resources in order to hire labor for production. Lack of capital for investment into hired labour, hinders their ability to produce. Both female and male farmers seek to gain access to market resources that can enable them to participate effectively in export trade; they produce okra and hot pepper for export only, and grow mostly beans, maize, bananas and cassava for food. They operate deep within rural areas where transport and other essential infrastructure are limited. Farmers are scattered within their operational area, which makes organization of marketing difficult.

The collection sites are physical sites, while others are simply arrangements made for meeting and exchanging produce for money at specified time periods within the month or day. Collectors own these individual businesses, are agents of exporters and most of

them are men. This is a result of the criteria used by exporters to select collectors as their agents. The exporters, most of whom are men, hold the perception that women cannot manage the collector's role because they lack the skills required for negotiation and manipulation of prices. The collectors deal with purchasing of the produce, sorting, labeling and assembling produce in boxes, transferring the produce to the exporters' warehouses. Collectors also obtain production and market resources from exporters and are supposed to provide them to farmers either through selling them or just to ensure distribution. Further more, the findings and analysis have illustrated that collectors keep moving to the household sites to purchase produce and to provide market resources to farmers, in particular packaging boxes. However, in most cases the farmers have to take their produce to the collection sites, which is where they interact with collectors. In addition to these actors, exporters link with collectors at the collection sites.

The exportation sites include export companies and the Entebbe airport facilities used for making preparations for export to overseas countries. More men than women own export companies. Chapter four, section 4.3 indicated that out of 25 companies, only women owned two. The other ten women, who were identified as exporters according to the HOTEWA register, were managing their husbands' businesses or were employed as managers by the export companies.

5.4.2 Manifestations of power relations through the gender division of labour

The findings have shown that although the gender division of labour is evident at the collection and exportation sites, the household site provides the most visible divisions. There, women undertake those activities that are not directly paid for, are repetitive and do not necessarily require modern skills training. Yet, male farmers were engaged in those activities that require training and upgrading of skills and their tasks could easily be sold out as hired labour in cases where women needed such support. The tasks at the collection sites include purchasing of produce, which is done by both female and male collectors, sorting, assembling undertaken mostly by female laborers; labeling and weighing undertaken by male laborers; and both female and male collectors make arrangements for transporting of the produce.

Activities at the exportation sites include purchasing from the collectors (and a few farmers who manage to link up directly with exporters), final preparation for export, transporting, storing and making final arrangements with the importers. Activities at these sites include purchasing from the collectors (although a few farmers manage to link up directly with exporters), final preparation for export, transporting, storing and making final arrangements with the importers. Women in the exportation sites are therefore mostly relegated to administrative, clerical and quality assurance-related tasks (sorting, labelling, packing) within the export companies, while the male exporters themselves undertake contracting and negotiating with importers. This enables male exporters to gain more exposure in the business than female exporters and those women who would like to move from administrative tasks to becoming exporters.

The findings have shown that power relations manifest within the process of production, collection and exportation. The following were noted to be forms of power relations manifested in the gender division of labour across all the sites.

First, the findings and analysis have illustrated that women are assigned less valuable, unpaid tasks while men are given tasks that are directly paid for. In male-headed households, men command the allocation of labour, generally give women and girls the tasks that are not directly paid for. Exporters use their status to allocate female collectors those tasks that are repetitive and are not necessarily paid for, while male collectors are given tips on how to use their funds for purchasing produce, so that they can make a profit.

Secondly, collectors and exporters use their positions of power to allocate female casual labourers in these sites those tasks that do not offer any opportunity for improvement of skills. Male casual labourers on the other hand, are allocated tasks that require that they be trained. This study noted that in most of the collection and exportation sites, men had gone off to get training at least three times, while most women had been only once or not at all. This leads to the exclusion of women from gaining skills that would enable them to perform most of the tasks in production, collection and export, including technical ones. This practice was also found in production sites, where men undertake

spraying because they are the ones who are trained to do so, while women are excluded from the acquisition of such skills. In the same way, most of the women are excluded from collection tasks because they are perceived as lacking the negotiation skills.

Thirdly, there are women (who have been labelled by men and fellow women as “powerful”), who have demonstrated that they can perform tasks that are culturally believed to be men’s tasks. Since colonial times, being an agent and dealing with export trade were known to be men’s tasks. As such, those women who have managed to become exporters are considered to be exceptional.

The findings and analysis have illustrated instances that can show unequal power relations shown through the gender division of labour as well as access to and control over resources as summarized in figure 5.1 below.

Table 5.1: Gender inequality in division of labour and access to resources by farmers, collectors and exporters

Sites	Main actors and division of labour in the sites	Rules & decisions made (How are tasks done & resources accessed)	Ideology of gender inequality expressed
<p>Household sites (Made up of family/kinship relationships)</p>	<p>Female and male farmers are the main actors & they undertake activities in production & preparation for sale.</p> <p>Females are mainly assigned those tasks that are not directly remunerated and are learnt through the normal socialization process in the field of production. Male farmers undertake tasks that can be easily remunerated in cases where they can hire out their services and they also have more opportunities than the females to have access to skills training in those tasks that require modern skills of production and preparation for sale of produce.</p>	<p>Family relationships operate as governing principles for allocation of tasks/roles.</p> <p>Decision-making on access to resources governed by headship of household.</p>	<p>Inequality in allocation of tasks in production & preparation for sale.</p> <p>Individuality of female or male farmers neglected by resource providers who mainly consider distribution of resources to heads of households. Yet, there are hidden ways of making decisions on production activities as well as sale of produce, which are undertaken by women and men as individuals, even in cases where such farmers are married.</p>
<p>Collection sites (Made up of collectors who are individual business agents/middle men and women. These collectors hire female and male labourers)</p>	<p>More male than female collectors.</p> <p>No specific difference in tasks done by female and male collectors because they are all given the same authority to purchase the produce. However, differences exist in the effectiveness of the way tasks are done, in that male collectors are more effective in their tasks because they are more favoured by both male and female exporters and are provided with skills training unlike the female collectors.</p> <p>In terms of labourers, female labourers are allocated repetitive tasks that do not require training but men are given those tasks where they are provided with continuous upgrading of the skills.</p>	<p>Trade relationships established between collectors and exporters of both genders. These are then used to manipulate prices and resource provision to female and male farmers who are in a subordinate position compared to collectors and exporters</p>	<p>Manipulation of prices and provision of market resources is undertaken but disguised as a part of market regulation. This is done because collectors want to maximize profits.</p>
<p>Exportation sites (Made up of export companies that are mostly owned by men. Also includes export regulation organizations whose officers are mostly men)</p>	<p>More male than female exporters.</p> <p>More male than female export regulation officers.</p>	<p>State regulations on exports as well as rules set up by export regulation organizations operate adversely towards the needs of both female and male exporters. Female exporters are even worse-off due to lack of networking/group efforts to mobilize for quick interventions to assist exporters. Male exporters have mobilized themselves and have co-opted female exporters as members (especially in the case of HOTEKA).</p>	<p>Male exporters operate at the mercy of male and female officers who work in export regulation. Conflicts arise, as exporters want to maximize profits, but are hindered by lack of easy access to export regulation services and resources, especially in terms of storage facilities, airfreight and cargo space.</p>

Based on Kabeer's notions of construction of gender inequalities in institutional settings (1999:14-15)

In summary therefore, this study indicates that gender division of labour reflects a social cultural context that has economic consequences: many women undertake production-related tasks that are not directly paid for, and many men work in collection and exportation tasks where labour is paid for. The fact that there are fewer women at collection and exportation sites is because men mainly undertake those tasks that require the acquisition of specialized trained skills, while women undertake domestic related tasks and also engage in those tasks where they can earn income, especially those to do with farming. As figure 5.1 has shown, each site has different rules that are used by the actors to achieve the intended goals of farmers, collectors and exporters in terms of production, collection and exportation, respectively.

5.4.3 Manifestation of power relations across the three sites

The power relations that are exercised in accessing and controlling market resources comprise not only the already existing patriarchal tendencies, but also differential positions in status between and among women and men within the sites. The study has identified several practices that demonstrate ways in which female and male farmers, collectors and exporters influence the decisions and choices of other individuals or groups as they seek to have access to and control over market resources. There were different ways through which power was used to influence access to resource. These included the following:

- Women gaining positions of influence in the marketing channel
- Control of resources through use of position
- Creation of a pool of expertise in export trade
- Setting of agendas that omit women's needs and interests
- Influencing decisions through engaging in dialogue and conflict
- Resisting subordination, exploitation and exclusion.

i) Women occupy positions of influence within the marketing channel

Due to the activities they undertake, female collectors and exporters manage to gain positions of influence as a result of being among the collectors and exporters who provide the market resources to the others in the marketing channel. The findings in chapter five indicate that most of the farmers depend on the collectors and exporters to provide the market resources they need to participate in export-oriented production. The

collectors also depend on the exporters to provide the resources needed for purchasing, packaging and transporting the produce. Therefore, women in this category, just like the men, can easily acquire market resources from the exporters and are thus able to control and manipulate the provision of resources to farmers.

ii) Control of resources through status positions

So it is clear that exporters and collectors hold positions of power in controlling resources. The findings in chapters five have shown that farmers were often excluded from accessing production and market resources as a result of the way exporters and collectors used their positions to determine who should get resources and who should not. During the peak season marketing of produce, farmers have no say in the prices of produce, and exporters can decide to pay any amount of money. This is because hot-pepper and okra farmers lack access to information about market prices and demand in the market for their products. The study found that this lack of information resulted from the way market information was provided. Exporters and collectors mostly provide this market information, and show tendency to withhold information to enable to purchase products at lower prices from the less well-informed farmers.

In these situations, neither female nor male farmers can gain bargaining strength. Farmers in Luwero district, for example, pointed out cases where exporters and collectors had failed to pay for their produce, claiming that either there was no space on the flights for the produce, or that the quality was poor. Due to the key position they hold in the marketing activities, exporters and collectors consider themselves to be key actors who are able to influence how and what resources farmers can access.

Unequal distribution of packaging boxes is another example of the way power relations are manifested through exercising position power. The study found that female and male collectors were selected by exporters to assist in collecting the produce and assembling it for export. By undertaking collection, both female and male collectors gain recognition and respect from and authority over the farmers. They then use this position of power to determine who can obtain market resources such as packaging, quality assurance information and export prices. So both female and male collectors are

able to determine farm-gate prices and select which farmers to give packaging boxes to. The male collectors' decisions concerning the number of boxes a farmer can get, differ from those of their female counterparts. For male collectors, collegial relationships were important.

The findings have also shown that female collectors use their access to cash and packing materials to target fellow women farmers first when they are distributing boxes. Male collectors however, were primarily concerned with speed, and accuracy in harvesting of the produce, as well as the capacity to provide the required amount in time. To the male collectors therefore, efficiency and effectiveness of the harvesting and collection activities (including sorting and grading) are the key criteria in distributing money and packing materials to farmers. Unfortunately, those farmers who were efficient and effective at the harvesting and collection stages were mostly male farmers with large acres of land under crop. Therefore male collectors used to end up discriminating against female farmers (especially those in female-headed households), who have small plots of land under crop. Male-headed households that had only small plots of land under cultivation were also neglected. These households generally did not have the labour required to speed up the harvesting process when produce was requested at short notice.

iii) Male influence in decision-making

Male collectors usually guided female collectors on what to do, and when. This meant that the interests of men tended to be served first. They were also the ones who provided informal training to the majority of female collectors. This has meant that, although female and male collectors in neighbouring collection sites can work together in order to obtain the required quantity of produce, the exporters would purchase first from the male collectors. Male collectors tend to have been in business longer than female collectors; they make quicker decisions to make sure that produce is available in the quantities and at the qualities required. At least half of the female collectors have to consult either the exporters or the male collectors in order to make any change in the procurement process.

iv) Acquisition of resources through use of differences in expertise

There were cases when power relations were expressed in the form of expertise. Farmers perceived exporters and collectors as experts, and this created further differences in status between these three categories of actors. Farmers are generally not aware of the prices they could get for their produce and are therefore at the mercy of collectors and exporters. They also lack knowledge of the market requirements, as there has not been adequate training at farm level. Very often, there is no direct contact between exporters and farmers. As a result, most farmers believe that collectors and exporters are more knowledgeable of issues concerning marketing of their crops than they are. Although both female and male farmers expect collectors and exporters to have the information they need (about price, quality and quantity), female farmers rely more heavily on these actors than male farmers. This reliance leads to slow responses to requests for resource acquisition, as female farmers tend to wait for the collectors and exporters, and reject any other resource provider. The male farmers can more easily find other means of obtaining this information, as they are the ones who are invited to the training sessions offered by the district and other market information providers.

Another example showing how power of expertise is exercised, was revealed by the actions taken during the Export Promotion Programs run by the Center for the Promotion of Imports from Developing Countries (CBI). As part of this programme, exporters were requested to show the CBI product consultant the actual farms where production was being undertaken. Five of these exporters showed the consultant farms, which they presented as their own, even though they actually belonged to the farmers. Male farmers considered this to be wrong, as these exporters had no production contracts with them. However, the female farmers did not consider this action as one of marginalisation. They felt that the exporters could do anything they wanted as they represented their only opportunity to sell their produce and get information. However, the exporters, not the farmers, were the ones who benefited from the technical assistance and training offered by the programme, as well as the opportunity to participate in trade fairs. As a result the female farmers came to realize how the exporters had exploited them by making use of their farms. Female farmers thus decided to join their male colleagues to find ways of obtaining alternative market

resource providers so that they need not rely on the collectors and exporters as experts in this resource provision.

v) The power to influence accessibility to price information

One of the questions asked at the production sites was concerned with whether the collectors and exporters coerced the farmers to sell their produce, or whether the farmers expected to be rewarded with fair prices. It was found out that farmers see themselves as price-takers, and perceive the collectors and exporters as the ones setting the price. Farmers have no say in the pricing of their products, and are dependent on what the collectors give them (which varies from time to time, and from one exporter to the other). The study found that since collectors are the ones who have full market information, they coerce farmers into selling their produce at any price. Although male farmers indicated that they were aware that this constituted exploitation, they still felt that the collectors were rewarding their efforts by buying their produce. Female farmers were generally ready to sell their produce at any given price, and did not perceive this as exploitation, as they had no other way of selling. As such, they felt it was a reward to have the collectors to buy their produce.

The findings also indicate that actors in isolated production areas with few exporters are particularly likely to fall into relations characterized by both reward power and coercive power. The farmers, as price-takers, believe they need to be loyal to the collectors and exporters, who then manipulate prices and offer the lowest prices possible. This understanding of collectors and exporters as price-setters sometimes even leads farmers to think that they can be “punished” if they try to look for other buyers. Small-scale farmers are particularly vulnerable, as they have small amounts of fresh produce; they lack market information and have no agreements to sell their produce to collectors and exporters on a routine basis. The collectors and exporters are therefore under no obligation to pay for losses resulting from their failure to collect farmers’ produce, even when they have informed farmers to harvest the crops.

vi) Controlling resources through exclusion

One of the hidden forms of power identified by the study was embedded in the way importers (who buy the produce exported) set the rules for trade. The study identified situations in which reluctant horticulture exporters were forced to do certain things by importers. Male exporters were also found to be influencing the rules for provision of market resources for male and female farmers. This raised a central concern of this study: who should set the agenda for the provision of market resources.

Power relations in this case were reflected in the extent to which men and women from developing countries could influence the rules of quality and quantity usually set by the developed countries, where the importers are found. Both female and male exporters reported that they are never consulted when importers in the developed countries are setting up these rules. The exclusion of small-scale farmers and exporters from participating in setting the rules that govern the quality and quantity standards of the importers is an important issue raised by the study.

One example is the cold chain management system required for the export of fruits and vegetables to the European Union. Whereas large-scale farmers and exporters are able to install the necessary infrastructure to ensure a cold chain from production area to the market, small-scale actors cannot. Although this does not directly exclude women, the rules that restrict participation by small-scale farmers (most of whom are women), mean that this group is left out of negotiations concerning quality and quantity-related information. This shows that power relations can exist not only between and among individuals within the same site of the marketing channel, but that they are often hidden, as in this case of the domination of importers from developed countries.

Efforts have been made to install cold storage facilities at Entebbe airport. However, temperature and quality management are still practically non-existent for most of the smaller vegetable exporters. In general, their packing facilities are still poor, but importers in the European ethnic markets are price-driven, and do not insist on improvement in quality if this results in higher costs. Nevertheless, most of the small-scale male exporters expressed concern over the fact that they are not able to meet the

new regulations. Very few have installed charcoal coolers, and they cannot afford refrigerated trucks to transport the produce to the airport. Unless measures are undertaken to install cold-storage chains, neither female nor male small-scale exporters will be able to export to the European Union in the near future.

Further rules concern trucking and tracking. This is another new requirement for the export of food products to the European Union. Whereas big exporters and farmers are able to trace their products from the garden to the export market, small farmers and exporters do not have that capacity. Small exporters rely on agents to buy and collect produce from their gardens or plots. Boxes are not coded, and it is therefore difficult to identify the source of a particular batch in case of a problem with quality once the produce has reached the market. These are issues exporters noted as hindering access to the European Union market.

Another form of inclusion and exclusion was noted in the process of accessing market information. Female and male farmers, collectors and exporters noted that those who are included when such information is provided are the only ones who are able to participate in export trade, as they are able to make informed decisions. If market information is not provided in time to meet export deadlines, the produce of those excluded from such information will automatically be omitted from export trade. The way market information is provided from one institutional site to another, through different actors, is a process that allows those who have easier access to that information, to use their position of power to exclude others from export business. Limited access to market information by females compared to male farmers and traders (even in cases where they are in the same household), constrains their decision-making on what to grow, when to link it to the different actors who enable collection and distribution of produce, and what quality and quantity are required.

vii) Significance of headship of household in accessing resources

Male dominance was reflected in the distribution of production and market resources. Therefore, a male head of household greatly influences the distribution of market resources. For example, at the household and collection sites, the distribution of

packaging boxes depends on availability of men as heads of household. This criteria for resource provision disadvantages female-headed-households, as well as those with limited labour for harvesting and packaging. Male collectors extend their headship of household norms from the household to the collection activity, and use the authority ascribed through societal beliefs to manipulate the distribution of packaging boxes. Male farmers have better access to packaging boxes than female-headed households and those without quick and reliable labour for harvesting..

5.4.4 Implications of power relations in division of labour, access to and control over production and market resources

Through out the three sites, the findings and analysis have illustrated implications of power relations on the gender division of labour as well as women's access to and control over resources compared to men. The following implications have been realized.

i) Hierarchical positions created

The findings and analysis have shown that there are power differences that create hierarchical positions between the actors, the highest of them being held by export regulators, which include the organizations that set rules for quality and effective delivery of exports to the importing countries. These export regulators who are mostly found within the exportation sites, use rules that govern export trade, to exercise authority over exporters in ways that exclude the needs and interest of women and men with limited capital. The next in hierarchy are the exporters and collectors of both genders and they control and manipulate the decisions of the farmers as they seek to access market resources. The farmers make up the lowest category. The study has shown that power relations are manifested not only in terms of ability to influence decisions of those who want to access resources. They also control the extent to which those in the lower category can acquire skills and knowledge about how to have access to international markets. Within such control and manipulation, female collectors and exporters exploit female farmers but only to the extent of paying less money for the purchased produce than what the actual price should have been. However, in terms of providing resources that ensure quality and effective production and preparation for

sale, women collectors and exporters favor female farmers in ways that exclude male farmers. Yet, male collectors and exporters exploit and exclude both female and male farmers. Whether women or men, provided they work beyond the household, gain ability to make decisions and have power over those who are only undertaking tasks within the household. Stopping at such a conclusion can however erroneously reveal a picture that female collectors and exporters have equality of opportunity in controlling the market resources and making decisions on purchase and exporting. However, this is unfortunately not the case. The societal norms still hold women in lower status compared to their male colleagues. This is why, as noted earlier, female and male farmers as well as male collectors and exporters only consider the powerful women to have masculine identity (*mukazimusaja*) without the accompanying status. The findings in all the sites indicate forms of subordination and domination. Although some of the forms of subordination originate from male perceptions and attitudes towards women, which is a cultural practice, the main cause is based on the capitalist system of the way export-related activities operate.

In terms of value and status of the tasks undertaken, the tasks that exporters perform are considered to be of higher value and status than the collectors, the farmers in turn consider that the collectors' tasks are of higher value than theirs. Within the hierarchy of these actors, it is mostly men who hold the higher positions. This is because more men than women are allocated tasks considered to be of higher value since they are paid for. These are mainly the tasks within the collection and exportation sites. Generally, men who undertake paid tasks are considered to hold higher status than women even if some women undertake similar tasks.

Furthermore, hierarchical positions are created in cases where collectors and exporters, who are considered as having higher status than farmers, use their positions to influence decisions on who should undertake specific tasks in production, as well as the way production and market resources are accessed. These positions are created through differences in the tasks being undertaken. Men are more involved in those tasks that are paid for; they are more able to establish a business relationship with a market resource

provider; able to access production and market resources more easily than women; able to acquire skills for the necessary tasks; more likely to control resources.

On the other hand, there are cases where higher positions are attained through effective performance in export trade. This includes, for example, regularity with which a farmer is able to provide the required amount of produce for the collector or exporter. It can also apply to the frequency with which an exporter sends produce to the importer, and the degree to which this matches the amount demanded at specified periods. In terms of this frequency of provision of produce, it was found out that male exporters exported produce more often during the month than female exporters. Higher status is also attached to those who provide the required quantities timeously and with appropriate quality standards.

ii) Differences in decision-making opportunities established

Secondly, because of these differences in status, there are also differences between women and men in terms of their opportunities to make decisions concerning production and export-related tasks across the sites. Male exporters have more opportunities to make decisions concerning exportation of products than female exporters, male collectors and farmers. This shows that the higher up the ladder actors are in terms of participating in export trade, the higher their status and more the opportunities they have to make decisions.

Women who participate in collection and exportation tasks are labeled as '*bakazibasaja*' (lit: powerful women with masculine characteristics). They participate in decision making and hold power positions that are higher than those of other women. Female collectors and exporters also have power over both fellow women below them, as well as men in lower categories. Unfortunately, such upgrading of women to higher power positions was found not to be in line with the way they were perceived in the community. The work of such "powerful women" was still considered to be secondary in status compared to male collectors and exporters.

iii) Differences in needs and use of time

Thirdly, due to variations in the tasks undertaken in the different sites, the needs for production and market resources differ, including the time at which they are required. This place and time variation affected women and men differently due to the difference in their use of time, which for most women was principally spent on domestic work. Although women in the different sites indicated that they were involved in domestic tasks, they all expressed their dissatisfaction with the assumption men had, that such tasks limited their participation in export-oriented tasks. Women felt it was mainly a form of subordination that men always brought up such excuse that left them behind, especially in skills training. Women had devised ways of allocating time to various tasks through dividing up their time to include production, collection and exportation related activities. In cases where there was need for care of children, the sick (especially those who had victims of HIV/AIDs) and the elderly, they would work as a team and link with one another in order to transfer information.

Both male and female exporters used to receive requests for skills enhancement through male collectors. Yet male collectors used to think that female collectors lack the necessary time to deal with collection tasks due to the demands of their domestic duties. However, according to the female collectors, these perceptions were considered to be simply forms of subordination. As discussed in the findings, one of the prosperous female collectors explained that female collectors could perform in the same way as men if they are given skills training. Yet in most cases female collectors, just like female farmers, were denied access to such skills.

The exporters and collectors who link with the household consider it to be a homogeneous entity. The differences women and men have in terms of their needs, the division of labour in production, the relations they form in order to sustain their exchange transactions, as well as the power relations involved, are neglected.

iv) Exploitation of Women's labour

Fourth, the findings in all the sites indicate forms of subordination that lead to women's exclusion and the exploitation of their labour. Some of these forms of subordination originate from male perceptions and attitudes towards women-that they can only

perform those tasks that require them to be within the household environment. This ties women to the production tasks, and very few are selected by exporters to be collectors. Even where women are collectors, their labour is exploited; they are not given the same remuneration as their male colleagues, and their effective performance in purchasing quality products is misused by exporters who expect them to continue purchasing without paying them promptly.

5.4.5 Resisting unequal power relations

The manifestation of power relations in acquisition of market resources can be misinterpreted as an illustration of power that is never challenged and just accepted by the different categories of farmers, collectors and exporters. However, the findings have shown cases where subordinated women and sometimes men of lower status than collectors and exporters (and even exporters towards resource providers at Entebbe airport) exercise their agency through resistance against unequal power relations.

i) Power relations through group decisions and dialogue

A case study was presented in chapter four, section 4.1 (and even the VECDO example in section 4.2), which illustrated efforts made by a group of female horticulture farmers who mobilized themselves and used their collective bargaining power to influence decisions of exporters to enable them to have direct access to transporting their produce from the farms to the collection sites. In the middle of the negotiations, men joined these women due to the fact that all farmer categories had to be represented in the process of dialogue. In the end the truck was provided by the exporters and similar effort started in Nyanama, Mpigi after farmers learnt about the benefits of dialogue and collective bargaining through mobilized groups. This outcome of dialogue between farmers and exporters enabled the farmers to have access to transport, own a track as well as pre-financing of the products. This was possible because the farmers were organized in a group that enabled them to gain collective bargaining power. In addition to this, the exporters were sure of good quality product, export volumes used to be consistent and products were easily traceable in case of poor quality. In addition, the group could estimate how much produce they could sell to collectors to distribute to the exporters within a given season.

In a similar way, section 4.3 provides an example of group effort of male and female exporters to gain access to Customs documents which they had been denied before. This example enabled the study to show that, having used his position and authority, the male Customs officer denied the male exporter to have access to documents he required for enabling him to send his consignment. Although this happened to an individual male exporter, the two female exporters who had combined their produce with the male exporter felt the effect. It could also have led to conflicts between the exporters and the Customs Department if the issue had not been addressed immediately. The group effort, which was made by the HOTEWA, enabled the Export Promotion board to realize the problem and the help that was needed. Uganda Revenue Authority made provisions for enabling exporters to have access to the necessary documents during the time when they are needed.

ii) Forms of organizing by women to access resources

The findings revealed the tensions and conflicts that exist between farmers and traders experience due to power differences that are created by hierarchical positioning in the export-oriented work. The actions that illustrate power differences include the manipulative ways that those women in higher hierarchy use to provide market resources to women and men in lower work positions. This was mostly revealed within the way distribution of packaging materials, seeds, training for skills and market information was being done. Others include withholding of market information during the time when it is urgently needed, lack of negotiating skills for prices on the part of farmers, and receiving airfreight data late that exporters are not able to negotiate for cheaper prices.

Forms of organizing such as those used by VEDCO (see chapter four, section 4.2), helped women to push for market resource provision that would take into consideration women's differences in use of time and how skills training and acquisition of other resources could be undertaken. Due to variations in the tasks undertaken in the different marketing channel sites, market resources were accessed in different amounts, at different times and by different people. The findings and analysis have shown that this place and time variation affects women and men differently due to the difference in use of time, which for most women is spent on domestic work.

Another example is given in chapter four, section 4.3, where female exporters joined male exporters in demanding better services and lower charges in handling charges. High handling charges at Entebbe airport were campaigned against and the monopoly of ENHAS as a service provider was removed. This example also shows that where there are forms of organising by less privileged people (like these small-scale female and male exporters), they can be helped to gain the power to voice their concerns. The USAID project, ADC/IDEA and the exporters Association, HOTEKA, helped to provide support in terms of using case studies and figures to show the problems exporters had in gaining access to cargo handling services and making suggestions for change. This mobilisation and organising effort influenced the cargo-handling companies to lower their handling charges at the airport from 0.7 cts per kg to 0.5 cts per kg.

iii) Resisting exclusion by establishing alternative sources of provision of resources

The exporters resisted exclusion by establishing alternative means of storage, packaging and provision of airfreight information. Both female and male horticulture exporters used to be denied access to storage facilities at Entebbe airport, even though their fresh produce, required appropriate cooling facilities. They also had difficulties in getting information about airfreight details suitable for fresh produce (which requires speedy delivery to the importing destinations). Moreover, the quantities were too low for airlines to reserve air space for them; most airlines preferred dealing with large-scale exporters who had the capacity to provide huge amounts of tonnage as frequently as possible. So facilities were provided for exporters of coffee, hides and skins (which in any case do not require cold facilities), but not for horticulture exporters, as they dealt in small quantities, infrequently, and required cold storage. Most exporters in this sector tended to be excluded from access to storage and airspace because of practical requirements for dealing with fresh horticulture products at the airport. Chapter seven provides examples of companies formed because of horticultural exporters' resistance to exclusion. The establishment of Fresh Handling Ltd. in 2000 is a result of such efforts. Before this, cargo service providers used to prefer huge quantities, yet large-

scale exporters, who were mostly foreign investors, provided those. This mobilization has given horticulture and flower exporters the ability to negotiate for increased and reliable storage for fresh products, and to solve airfreight problems.

The reduction in the airfreight rate in 2002 is an indication of the power of dialogue, as this was achieved after direct negotiations between Fresh Handling Ltd and the airlines. The company has helped to reduce freight charges by chartering cargo planes for freight of produce, and enabling exporters to consolidate their cargo. This consolidation has enabled the negotiation of favourable contracts for the whole season with airline and clearing agents in Europe. Rates have come down, capacity has gone up, and competition has increased (the cost of freighting of fruits and vegetables has come down from US \$ 1.65 per kg to US \$ 1.35 per kg⁴⁹ as a direct result of increased competition at Entebbe Airport in the handling and chartering of aircraft for perishables). This company has also enabled provision of additional cold storage facilities at the airport, and this has helped exporters of perishables to meet the quality standards required.

In addition to this, further mobilization done by both female and male exporters resulted in obtaining additional provision of resources by Fresh Pack Company, in terms of efficient sorting, packing, pre-cooling and cold storage facilities, as well as quality certification.

5.4.6 Conclusion

In all, chapter five has provided discussion and analysis of findings in a way that exposes the hidden nature of power relations. The last section, section 5.4 has provided further analysis and a summary that shows how gender analysis can illustrate the way power relations are exercised in gender division of labour as well as through forms that provide opportunities and choices for some individuals to have access to and control over market resources. In all the three sites, the discussion and analysis of findings have

⁴⁹ See Fifteenth semi-Annual Progress Report (January 1- June 30, 2002) by Agribusiness Development Centre (ADC)

shown that while some female farmers, collectors and exporters were subordinated, exploited and excluded, others had the opportunity to increase on their access to and control over resources. They were able to make decisions on production and trade of hot-pepper and okra. At the different sites, especially the household, male farmers were also exploited and excluded just like the women. However, their experiences were different from those of women in that male farmers were being marginalized because of being located in the household, which was a site that collectors and exporters considered to be lower and dependant on the other two sites (collection and exportation).

As the problem statement indicated (chapter one), analysis of tasks in terms of division of labour cannot on its own explain the experiences of subordination; exploitation and exclusion that women experience in export trade. This study has shown that power relations embedded in access to and control over resources are key practices that are exercised through trade relationships between and among female and male farmers, collectors and exporters. This study has illustrated that power relations exercised by females and males in the collection and export sites, in contrast to those of the household, are hidden and hard to depict. Consequently, revealing these relations has been possible through not only a thorough gender analysis of the division of labor but also how market resources are accessed and controlled. The analysis has illustrated that the manifestations of power relations are so hidden that the study has only been able to reveal them through gender analysis of the division of labour, access to and control over resources in the three sites.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This last chapter draws conclusions from the study by showing the contribution that gender analysis makes to our understanding of the construction and perpetuation of unequal power relations that have gendered effects in export trade. In order to highlight this, a summary of findings is drawn from the findings and analysis in chapters six and seven. Conclusions are then highlighted in terms of theoretical perspectives as well as comments on the efficacy of the methodology in providing the avenues necessary for uncovering such knowledge. The chapter ends by providing suggestions for further research and analysis.

This study has addressed the problem of lack of consideration of gender as a priority factor in policy planning. It has provided ways of addressing a gap that existed in information about how gender inequality is constructed and perpetuated. The study has exposed the problem of gender neutrality in the planning of economic policies, especially trade liberalisation policy. The primary objective has been to provide analytical explanations of the ways in which unequal power relations are constructed and perpetuated within export-oriented tasks and acquisition of market resources in export trade. This required an appropriate conceptualisation as well as approach for investigation of the problem issue. The study therefore presents contributions to both the theoretical perspectives, as well as the methodology used. A case study of female and male farmers, collectors and exporters who operate in a specified marketing channel of horticultural export produce in Uganda has been used. The marketing channel for hot pepper and okra crops has been used as a reference point to show the different sites where farmers, collectors and exporters interact. The sites and tasks include production and preparation for sale at the household sites, and purchasing and exportation at the collection and export sites respectively.

The three research questions that the study has focused on include the use of gender analysis to examine the patterns of the gender division of labour in the organisation of

work. First, attention has been paid to the differential power relations that manifest across the sites of a specified horticulture export-marketing channel. This has been followed by the second research question, which uses gender analysis to examine the differential patterns of access to and control over production and market resources. Emphasis has been laid on illustrating how power relations within these differential patterns display practices of subordination, exploitation and exclusion that perpetuate gender inequalities. The third research question has dealt with exploring the implications of this analysis for theorization of gender in the area of international trade.

6.2 Summary of major findings

Earlier research done on unequal power relations in development programmes addressed questions of subordination (Whitehead, 1979) and also started investigating the extent to which this could be examined within the process of internationalization of trade (Elson, Pearson, 1984). However the question of the construction and perpetuation of unequal power relations still remained unanswered. This study has made a contribution towards addressing such a gap by using gender analysis to examine power relations in export trade. The following are the key findings that were realized:

The first key finding is that gender is a key organizing principle in production relations and access to resources. In all the sites there are clear gender differences in roles, responsibilities, benefits, power and resources among farmers, collectors and exporters. Indeed household sites display clear gender differences, especially those reflected within male and female headed households. Gender division of labour and access to resources create avenues for setting up status structures that differentiate women and men within work, as well as decision-making concerning the acquisition of resources.

Secondly, labour practices, which are visible across the sites, reflect gendered ideologies and divisions of labour, with women in their capacity as wives contributing unpaid labour in both reproductive and productive activities. On the other hand, men are more likely to be paid for the tasks they engage in as farmers, collectors and exporters. The study has shown that gender division of labour in export-oriented work tends to be

based on performance (which is based on who can do work efficiently and effectively). Unfortunately, women are assigned those tasks that are repetitive and require little or no trained skills, thus being kept within a category of work that is less valued, (and most of the time not paid), compared to men. Performance as a capitalist norm, (in a situation where there are exclusionary practices in access to skills training) subjects women to subordinate positions where their labour is exploited.

The third finding is on the way export trade has further undermined the private-public dichotomy by making work out of the household more valuable. Household labour is pushed into operating within the market economy. This separates the private from the public in ways that make women's domestic and reproductive labour not counted and therefore exploited. Such a process minimizes the benefits that can be obtained from production, which is undertaken within the household. Collectors and exporters are given more status and resources than farmers. Socialist feminists, such as MacIntosh have argued in a similar way that the private is interdependent from the public and the patriarchal ideologies of domesticity of women's work, keeps on separating the two. When these exploitative relations are transferred through extensions of women's roles into the workplace, they do not only make the boundaries visibly porous but also move with the implications of such a shift. Some of the implications include the fact that male dominance is enhanced through being the ones who are targeted for acquisition of skills in the horticultural sector. However, in cases where women have resisted such domination, a few of them have emerged as successful collectors and exporters.

The fourth finding is where the study has illustrated how women and men engage in practices that show construction and perpetuation of unequal power relations through the roles they undertake in production and marketing tasks. They influence one another's decisions during the process of accessing production and market resources. The manifestation of power relations that this study has revealed, corroborate to a certain extent those studies undertaken on trade liberalization in Asia and Latin America where increased participation of women in production became an extended form of subordination in ways that perpetuated gender inequalities instead of lessening them. As such, the principles of trade liberalization, which assume that the market

promotes competition and therefore can be a form of liberation of women, have been found not to operate in the lives of poor women and men. Instead, export trade embodies “hidden” relations of power that are observed through the operation of liberalized rules and regulations that govern the behaviours and choices of farmers, collectors and exporters. This study has therefore revealed that power relations within the sites of the marketing channel are so hidden that defining such practices requires an analysis of relationships between men and women at a given site and at different sites; and between women and women, as well as men and men. It is not possible simply to rely on analysis of social and economic power (as Elson and Pearson, 1984, had suggested) without in-depth assessment of the construction of these power relations and how they are perpetuated. It is only through examining these sites as institutionalized entities that it becomes possible to reveal acts of subordination, exclusion and exploitation hidden in the gender division of labour and access to production and market resources.

Fifth finding is that, gender analysis has enabled illustration of how the marketing channel sites are institutionalized, because these have rules concerning what has to be done in terms of tasks and norms that determine who can be a farmer, collector or exporter. These practices are manifested in their individual forms, as well as in cases where they overlap, thus aggravating gender inequality. As such, export trade and differential access to resources by different actors, results in hierarchies of power among exporters, collectors and farmers. In this case, farmers, especially poorer women and men are at the bottom of the marketing channel followed by collectors, while exporters occupy the highest rank. Such hierarchy works in a disadvantageous way, in that both female and male farmers get less access to information about quality standards, prices and market conditions and are subjected to exploitation by female as well as male collectors and exporters. However, the exporters are also at the mercy of regulatory authorities and government departments. Exporters face further hierarchies with the European buyers who regulate access to export markets through their requirements that include pricing, quality and quantity. Although this study supports Dijkstra’s explanation of power in export trade as ‘ability of a channel member to influence the perceptions, behaviour and/or decision-making of another channel

member' (1997:66), this study realized the need for deeper analysis into how such power is used by some women and men to influence the decisions and choices of others.

The sixth finding is that this study has shown how export trade is a process, which reinforces unequal power relations through the interconnectedness of the sites where work and access to resources take place. Gender inequalities characterized at the household (production level) are reinforced as women and men strive to acquire market resources from other individuals and organizations, especially those who occupy different positions of power and can influence their decisions and choices. The findings have shown forms of organizing that poor people engage in as a way of seeking for a solution to reduce their isolation and exploitation. They form and participate in Non governmental organizations and networks to interact with the exporters. In cases where there are disagreements, farmers engage in different acts of resistance against collectors and use various tactics to maintain some control of their decision-making power. However, there are different capacities to engage in these acts and some solidarities are emerging between women and men to act together to challenge oppressive structures and relations. Above all, there are cases where female exporters form solidarities with collectors and farmers, particularly female farmers. Such female exporters provide 'sisterhood' advice on how to access resources.

All in all, this study has shown that gender inequality is reproduced in any institutional site where gender and other social relations are practiced. This is in agreement with socialist and Marxist feminist theorists who recognize that because of an initial inequality in gender relations, founded largely on household relations and often not seen, the power relations perpetuate these gendered impacts and how these institutions are interconnected. As Kabeer (1998) pointed out, gender inequalities are indeed manifested and have implications within the household, as well as through a range of institutions that create, reinforce and reproduce social differences that eventually result in gender inequality. The collection and exportation sites are clearly examples of these kinds of institutions. The major addition that this study has made is to demonstrate the reality of power relations as exercised by females and males within the household,

collection and export sites; which is characteristic of the horticulture-marketing channel.

These key findings have affirmed the claims that were made through gender critiques of macro-economic theorists as reflected in the literature review and theoretical chapters of this thesis. Generally, the study has affirmed that trade liberalisation does not take into consideration gender as a significant factor in the operation of export trade, and as such the resulting impacts indicate increased gender inequality, especially the subordination of women (see Elson 1995a, b, DAWN 1999, Williams 1999, GERA 2000). This has been possible through examining the manifestation of power relations in forms that show practices of subordination, exploitation and exclusion. Such practices also include differences in opportunities for women and men to make decisions about matters that affect the export trade activities. The study has further affirmed that gender inequality can be reinforced and reproduced in two ways, through:

- Gender division of labour (as indicated by Whitehead, 1979); and
- Forces of social and economic power (as noted by Elson and Pearson, 1984) at play in the way production and market resources are accessed, especially cases where such power is exercised through institutionalised sites (as observed by Rao et al, 1999; and Kabeer, 1999).

6.3. Conclusions that contribute to feminist theory

The conclusions given in this section show various contributions that the findings of this study make in terms of adding to, supporting or challenging the theoretical perspectives identified earlier in chapter three.

The major contribution that this study makes is to provide conceptualization of how gender analysis can be used to make visible the construction and reproduction of unequal power relations manifested in export trade within an African setting. Through using gender analysis, the study has revealed practices of power relations that show a broad picture of myriad relations of inequality that pervade the actual practice of liberalized export markets. Examples of such power relations include the unrewarded work of women farmers in male-headed households; the fact that market resources do

not get to female farmers (in female-managed as well as female-headed households) because they are being ignored by those who provide the resources; and the fact that farmers, collectors and exporters engage in production and marketing practices that, when subjected to gender analysis, reveal hierarchical settings that grant men higher status than women even in cases where women do similar tasks and have access to the same production and marketing resources (see chapters six and seven).

The search for literature on theoretical frameworks (discussed in chapter three), showed that theoretical explanations that combined gender and power within an African setting were not easily available, particularly those that could apply to socio-economic and political aspects of trade. Subordination, exploitation and exclusions were considered by this study as expressions of unequal power relations. Here the theoretical perspectives were based on the arguments of whether the power relations were manifested and premised in one or both of the following: either work, especially the gender division of labour (Whitehead, 1979); or the socio-economic power that is exercised in accessing resources (Elson and Pearson, 1984). This study has provided analytical explanations illustrating that gender division of labour cannot on its own be the premise for subordination, exploitation and exclusion of women. Rather, there is a combination of work together with the power relations that are exercised with respect to access to and control over market resources, and it is this combination, which results in power differences and inequalities. This study has therefore illustrated how gender analysis can be used to investigate power relations in both work and access to resources. The findings have shown that in export trade, differences in levels of decision-making exist due to power differences that have two broad manifestations:

- Patterns of gender division of labour show differences in labour assignments between women and men across the sites of the marketing channel; and
- Power differences exist between women and men as well as members of the same sex, which indicate differences in decision-making levels within the patterns followed while seeking to have access to and control over market resources.

These provide further insight into the theoretical perspective and conclusions obtained from the research questions that guided this study.

6.3.1 Patterns of gender division of labour and manifestations of power relations

The first research question has enabled the study to obtain explanations for the manifestation and premises of power relations in export-oriented tasks across the sites. This can be explained in several ways. To begin with, the study has shown that the sites are organized by gender roles in ways that reflect and perpetuate gender differences. The conclusions drawn from this pattern are provided below.

i) Gender as an organizing factor across the sites

The first conclusion is drawn from the way gender is reflected in the organisation of the sites, as well as the differences between and among farmers, collectors and exporters. Chapter eight has shown that all the three sites are organized by gender. The dominant way in which gender is an organising factor is expressed through relationships between and among women and men, as well as the tasks allocated. At the different sites there are gender differences in roles, responsibilities, control and benefits among farmers, collectors and exporters. Chapter five has shown that there are actors of both genders at each site who undertake different types of tasks and engage in different decision-making processes. In the production site, farmers engage in production necessitating decisions about what to plant, where to plant what, and how to allocate labour. In addition to this, they make arrangements and preparations for selling. Such actions require interaction and decision-making on when and how to sell, as well as finding ways of linking with collectors and exporters.

There are variations in the way gender operates as an organising factor within the sites. Among the sites, the household sites have the most clearly distinguished gender differences as a result of the differences in the way households are organised. As explained in chapter five, there are male and female-headed households. These differences in household-type also indicate differences in decision-making arrangements among women and men, and women on their own. There are male-headed households where all or most of the production decisions (where to plant and land allocation decisions for the enterprise) are made by men. As indicated in chapter five, these households make up the biggest number of farmers of hot pepper and okra.

Some of the women in these households do 'own account' farming, in which they make most of the decisions. The second category comprises the female-headed households, where women are deemed the heads. Some of these include a male friend or relative who actually makes the decisions. The third category consists of the female-managed households. These are entirely female run households, where men are not part of the decision-making. These independent female-headed households form the minority within the area of study.

Although these differences have significant implications on who makes the decisions, the distinction in headship of a household is not always clear just as Dijkstra (1997) also noted. Just as Chant (1997) and Fuwa, (*undated*) advised, this study too researched on household decision making by focusing on women and men as individuals in these sites. Gender analysis was undertaken by referring to both the demographic composition of the household and the decision-making arrangements individuals carry out when seeking to acquire production and market resources. It then became possible to find out the extent to which the head of household makes decisions concerning acquisition of household resources. In male-headed households, female farmers would be consulted during decision making on production or preparation for sale, only if such women had higher education than their spouses. Meanwhile, in some cases, women had to compromise or concede to what men wanted even after they had been accepted into the decision-making arena. This is in order to co-operate and avoid conflict (see Sen, 1990). Here the important issues that the study helps us to understand is that there are intra-household power dynamics, and that these have implications for decision-making concerning production and marketing of the export produce, as well as allocation of labour. Labour practices are therefore the second way in which the patterns of gender division of labour, as well as manifestation of power relations were identified.

ii) Labour practices as a reflection of gender division of labour

The second broad conclusion is drawn from the way labour practices reflect gender division of labour across the sites. Section two of chapter six illustrates how production, collection and exportation activities are characterised by a division of labour, which is differentiated by paid and unpaid tasks. Most of the women undertake domestic and

production tasks within the household, and these are not directly paid for. On the other hand, men dominate the exportation and collection tasks, which are paid for. Where women manage to get entry to tasks that are directly paid for, within collection and exportation, they have to prove that they can conform to the standards of export trade, including the way they budget their time between such tasks. This situation, especially in households, subjects women to subordinate positions, in which men command their labour on the basis that they are wives.

This situation, created by liberalization of markets, also means that men benefit from labour that they do not pay for. As in production, married women who work in the export companies that belong to their husbands do not necessarily get paid for the managerial and accounts clerk tasks they perform. They are simply perceived as participating in a family enterprise, the benefits of which go to the husband, who decides on the expenditures to be undertaken. This perception is normalized and unquestioned, even by the women themselves, despite the realization that their labour is essential to the work, as well as the success of the export enterprise. This lack of recognition of women's work is not only characteristic of men within the households and other sites; as Elson and Evers (1997) point out, it is part of a wider macro-level burden that our economies place on women's labour by not considering it as work, and therefore neglecting its contribution to the economy. Instead, women's labour is assumed to be only housework, which is 'naturally' done by women, a practice which Mies referred to as 'housewifization' of labour (1982). This indicates that acts of patriarchy and capitalism combine with each other in ways that reinforce the exploitation of women. This exploitation through patriarchal power exists hand-in-hand with exploitation of women as workers, which was also noted by Folbre (1982). Their labour, time and skills sustain the production, collection and exportation businesses.

Men are also the majority in those tasks that require acquisition of specialized trained skills in production, collection and exportation. This is because men are usually selected for training in improved skills and technological advancement, (as indicated in chapters five and six). Women are neglected when it comes to opportunities that would help them to improve their skills. The trend that Boserup noted in 1970 still exists:

modernization of technology and involvement in cash-cropping benefits men more than women. However, such a generalization is not absolute, because where women are given the opportunity to gain skills training, such as in cases of becoming collectors and exporters, they perform as well as men. This study has therefore benefited from researching the gender division of labour within different sites, as this has shown the diversity of roles as women and men engage in different activities within the marketing channel. Generalizations concerning gender roles cannot be made; as Tinker (1990) explains, there are variations in gender division of labour according to place and time variations.

Despite this diversity of roles, there is a pattern that characterizes specific tasks. For example planting, weeding and harvesting tasks are mostly female tasks, as are sorting and labeling in collection and exportation tasks. Men are more involved in land-clearing, spraying and packaging. Rogers (1980) had also established that there are tasks that are done commonly by women that cut across different societies. Although there is a common pattern, there is flexibility in the gender division of labour in that some tasks that are done in ways that do not conform to what society prescribes that women or men do. In cases where labour is hired, for example, there is preferential allocation of tasks to either women or men, depending on their skills. The study found out that since men are mostly the ones with skills obtained through training, they end up being hired for those tasks in collection and exportation which are paid for, unlike labour at the production level. At production level, the hired labour is paid minimum fees, and labour is hired only for those tasks that cannot be done by the household members due to lack of time or hardship of the tasks. The gender division of labour in the production and marketing activities presented in the fifth and analysed in the sixth chapter indicates social construction of roles, as well as the influence of capitalism, as the assigning of roles depends on both societal prescription and availability of skills. This is how women end up being allocated tasks that are not directly paid for (and therefore considered to be inferior) compared to tasks undertaken mainly by men. These tasks are directly paid for and considered to be superior.

Related to these points is the status attached to the roles undertaken in the different sites. The superiority and inferiority attached to the unpaid and paid tasks described above are indicators of status. In addition to this, what is constructed as 'female' tasks depends on the gender norms within the sites. Culturally, women are expected to participate in production but not collection and exportation, which are considered to be male tasks. As indicated in chapters five and six, women who participate in collection and exportation tasks are labeled as 'powerful' (*bakazibasaja*). Such women are considered to have masculine characteristics. They therefore hold power positions that are higher than those of other women, and have power over both fellow women below them, as well as men in lower categories. However, even though these women are upgraded to a higher power position, the communities they work in still consider them secondary in status compared to male collectors and exporters. One would think that such women could take on the positions of men when they become collectors and exporters, as they can break away from feminized tasks. They can make decisions, lead others, and acquire skills and knowledge necessary for export trade, thus being able to hold these hegemonic positions. Nevertheless, such powerful women are not necessarily given the status that men have within the same site. Indeed, such hierarchical attachments to the pattern of work and who does it, convey an indication of power as ascertained Scott (1988). The gender discourse within which these powerful women are placed is shaped by people's everyday prescription of what women should do, compared to what men should do. A hierarchy in status attached to the tasks that are considered masculine is thus created.

These powerful women usually survive through manipulation rather than through obvious and visible forms of control. Their exercise of power cannot be straightforward as international-level buyers sometimes prefer to deal with men rather than women. One of the examples from chapter four, section 4.3 described how one of the powerful women had to convince the buyers outside Uganda, that there was a man behind the business, even though she was the owner of the enterprise. This is similar to what Harris found in her study; that such women hide their power, keeping it invisible to outsiders and sometimes even to their husbands (2001: 245). This study notes that women sometimes disguise their power in order to perform tasks or access resources in a way

that is acceptable to societal norms. It was clear that women establish different relationships in ways that tactfully makes use of men (where they are needed).

In addition to this, the work done in collection and exportation sites is considered superior because it is paid for by either the exporter remunerating the labour of the collector, or the importer paying for the services of the exporter through the profits earned by the latter. This is different from the production-related work, which is not directly paid for. The study thus shows that the way labour is valued changes as we move from one site to another in terms of the extent to which monetary benefits are attached to the tasks done. Change in place, away from the household, is therefore accompanied by difference in valuation of labour as well as status. Female farmers are in a worse situation than female collectors and exporters. Those women who are both farmers and collectors are better off, as they can participate in paid labour and gain access to those market resources provided by the exporters. The interaction between society's definitions of what men or women can do is transferred to the export-trade allocation of roles, thus becoming a salient feature of the gender division of labour in this type of work. These labour practices also illustrate links between private and public subordination as explained below.

iii) Perpetuation of gender inequalities through private-public interface of roles

In line with the second conclusion concerning gender division of labour, the third is drawn from the way roles undertaken by women (compared to those of men), show private and public subordination as the main route through which gender inequality is perpetuated. The movement of men's and women's labour within and across the site is significant in sustaining the export-oriented tasks. However, the domestic tasks that are characterized by the private sphere of family rules end up being dominated by the rules of the export market, which falls within the public sphere. This study illustrates that the trade rules made by the World Trade Organisation to regulate and govern the quality of exports affect women indirectly because the gender bias of such rules is hidden within the way export-oriented work should be done, which in most cases requires a shift away from the household environment to a specialized enterprise. In chapter five, the study

has shown how the household operates both as a domestic site and a place for production and preparation for sale of produce. Women therefore strive to link market and domestic tasks within the household itself, because production for export, which is linked to the market, is done within the household. In a similar way, female exporters and collectors have to find a way of balancing their market-oriented tasks while they are also expected to continue meeting their domestic obligations. These are examples of the way the findings help to illustrate that the link between private and public spheres is one of the main routes through which gender inequality is perpetuated. Such dichotomy reflects the imaginary separation of the tasks, as well as the places where these tasks are undertaken. Yet, in reality, there is continuity between and beyond the work-places in that the same female farmer has to get on with both farming and domestic tasks within the household. In the same way, the female collector has to undertake collection tasks outside of the household where she stays, but has to find time to carry out caring and domestic tasks as well. The female collector does not necessarily omit her domestic tasks and concentrate on the paid work of distributing boxes and purchasing of produce. She has to do both. It is up to her to schedule her time and fit in all the tasks she has to do. Yet, the choice for spending more time in either the market or the domestic sphere is not freely determined by the women. The market tasks, which have stated rules that govern quality control for international markets, end up being the dominant tasks. Women's decisions concerning their domestic tasks end up being marginalized, and not recognized as tasks that also require their time. This interrelatedness, form part of the feminist critiques of the private-public interface (see Ramsay, 1998). This is reflected in terms of the public structuring of decisions of the private sphere. This study realizes that in addition to this interrelatedness, there is continuity of this interface across sites. As the examples of female farmers, collectors and exporters have shown, this private-public interface within which the roles are constructed perpetuates gender inequalities. Indeed, within this context, the roles of women compared to those of men are revealed in ways that signify and reinforce subordination of women, a phenomenon also observed by Barker (1978) and Nicholson (1986). Strategies to address unequal power relations should therefore take into consideration women's subordination within the domestic sphere and include the stages of the marketing chain which illustrate how gender roles are extended from the household to the market place.

In this case therefore, this study concludes that the gender division of labour is one of the premises of subordination, exploitation and exclusion. It is through the differentiation of tasks (into paid and unpaid categories), characteristic of the gender division of labour, as well as the creation of new tasks (such as collection and exportation) that power relations perpetuate and reinforce gender inequalities.

6.3.2 Manifestations of power relations in access to production and market resources

The second research question enabled the study to examine the manifestation of power relations in the processes that female and male farmers go through to gain access to production and market resources. Likewise, cases were examined where female and male collectors and exporters seek access to market resources from exporters, and provide these in turn to farmers. These continuous processes of resource acquisition were also examined in the case of exporters, when they seek access to market resources from the export regulation companies, storage owners and transporters who handle their export cargo. Conclusions were drawn from the findings given in chapters five to seven and the summary in chapter eight.

i) Hierarchical positioning of farmers, collectors and exporters

This study has shown that power relations manifest through access to production and market resources in different ways. First of all, power relations indicate hierarchical positioning among and between female and male farmers, collectors and exporters. These positions are used to influence decisions about access to production and market resources. For example, exporters have more control than collectors, and collectors more than farmers. Although in most cases female collectors and exporters use these positions as an opportunity to provide market resources to their fellow women, it is different with the men. Male collectors and exporters generally use these positions to influence the decisions of those men and women in lower positions, in this case, the farmers. This limits the choices farmers have in deciding on the best and cheapest means of accessing market resources, as the collectors and exporters are their nearest and most approachable sources. The study shows that this difference in positions of

influence within the marketing channel empowers those females and males who operate within the collection and exportation sites. However, these positions are used to exploit the farmers' labour and minimize the profits that they can get.

In addition to this, another conclusion can be drawn from the differences in entitlements and the ideologies in society that place women and men in different positions, roles and responsibilities within these sites. According to Young, these are relations established on the basis of a person's involvement in economic, social or political life (1997:51). But there are also positions that depend on kinship relationships and headship of the household. The achieved relationships that define actors as farmers, collectors and exporters therefore interlock with ascribed relations, which men and women are assigned according to their position in the family or through marriage. Export trade-related resource provision has failed to take into consideration these relations and the gender differences portrayed by women and men as they seek to have access to and control over market resources needed for undertaking activities in production, collection and exporting.

Farmers in isolated production areas engage in relationships with the few exporters whose services and market information they can access in ways that indicate that these exporters should be rewarded for reaching the remote place. The exporters in this case use their status coercively to gain control over the produce for export and pay minimum prices. Farmers in such situations feel that the exporters are rewarding their efforts by being 'so nice' as to travel all the way to the villages. One would ask about the actor who really benefits; the farmers or the exporters? As chapter five shows, in most cases, responses from farmers indicated that exporters are the ones who benefit. Such findings corroborate those of Dijkstra (1997), who also found that this isolation of production areas without networking efforts by farmers, leads to dependency and exploitation of farmers by exporters. However, as explained above, male farmers can more easily resort to coping strategies, while women are hindered by cultural prejudices.

A related issue is the fact that dominating positions are realized not only in household sites, where most of the married female farmers reported that their husbands were using

their authority as heads of households to command decisions on how to get access to production and market resources. Both female and male exporters also experience dominating power through the rules of the institutions that regulate export transactions (the government, airlines and licensing organizations). Both female and male officers from these institutions use their positions to ensure that the regulatory rules that govern export trade are followed. The rules for accessing resources that export regulation authorities use to distribute market information, cargo space, airfreight information and export licenses, are actions that involve authority over the exporters. These forms of provision of market resources limit exporters' participation, yet they have no option but to seek to acquire those resources. Although power relations in the form of domination have been mainly related to studies of political and democratic struggles (Mwaipopo 2001), these examples of the influence of the government and other export regulation authorities show that power relations can be applicable to export trade as well. Such power relations are detrimental to the choices exporters can make while trying to access the market resources they need, especially at the exportation level.

The inequality that this study identified is not just the case of men having prejudices against women. The situation was related not only to the way individuals respond to the demands for participating in export-oriented activities, but to the fact that different actors (farmers, collectors and exporters) have different interests. Each category works to their own satisfaction and in that way they exclude and subordinate others. This is similar to a situation in which individuals stand to make gains from co-operating but have different and conflicting interests in the distribution of benefits (Dre'ze and Sen 1989, Elson 1994).

ii) Using position of expertise to influence decisions

The second conclusion regarding manifestation of power relations in access to resources is related to the expertise that female and male collectors and exporters present to farmers. This is once again related to hierarchical positioning, as one category of actors commands market resource provision. Differences in skills and experiences create power associated with expertise as female and male collectors and exporters exercise their position power toward farmers. The decision to sell is usually

taken by men, especially in cases where they are heads of households. On top of this, they gain expertise from training, and are considered to be knowledgeable and skillful. Yet women are the ones who do most of the tasks in producing okra and hot pepper. This is different to the collection sites, where both female and male collectors have control over packaging materials, as they make choices that eliminate access to these resources by women and men of lower social economic status, in particular, farmers. The operations within the collections sites do not necessarily involve kinship ties or other family relationships. These are entirely business-oriented sites. As indicated in chapter four (section 4.3) and chapter five (section 5.3) on issues such as the setting of high airfreight rates by airline companies, small-scale exporters (both women and men) were excluded from these decisions. The well-established female and male exporters consider themselves to have expertise, and therefore end up making decisions for those with lower status. Such power relations create conflicts between those female and male exporters who have expertise, and those who are just learning.

iii) Setting agendas that omit women's needs and interests

Another manifestation of power relations is found in the setting of agendas that omit women's needs and interests in accessing resources. Chapter four, section 4.1, gave examples of cases where market information dissemination sessions or group discussion exclude the participation of female members in the marketing channel, while promoting the interests of men. Although the power to set the agenda can be an opportunity to ensure that issues of concern to the actors in the marketing channel are brought up during interaction and negotiations, some of those involved may not notice that certain issues are oppressive. They consider negative aspects or constraints to be normal, and those who exert such hidden power make sure that others "accept some ideas as normal and [do] not question them" (Rao et al 1999:7). Although there is a need for access to resources that can enable informed selection of choices and actions undertaken, some actors may not have an opportunity to voice their concerns because they are not in positions of power.

Further more, the study found out that at the collection level women were not necessarily subordinated by the collectors or exporters but by export requirements

within which they had no say in negotiating for favorable terms for their products. Elson (1994) earlier noted that within international trade, women are subordinated due to low levels of government negotiations at the international level that are undertaken without the participation of women and other vulnerable groups.

iii) Influencing decisions by engaging in dialogue

Power relations have also been noted in the interactions of women and men who carry out the different roles within the sites. Where there are problems in access to production and market resources, dialogue between farmers, collectors and exporters can enable formulation of solutions. Forms of organizing such as those undertaken with the help of farmers' NGOs like VEDCO (discussed in chapter five) showed that where women or men mobilise themselves in groups and build alliances, farmers are then able to use dialogue to put their needs and interests forward for consideration by the collectors and exporters. In the same way, it was indicated in chapter seven that when exporters used their combined voices through their organization, HOTEKA, they managed to talk to the Export promotion Board about seeking government intervention regarding the hike in airfreight prices. Through such efforts, exporters did not only benefit from reduced airfreight, but also managed to work with the IDEA project in accessing findings from USAID in order to set up Fresh Handling for cold storage of their produce. As Bradley (1999:10) warns about "power-holders", in the same way, this study notes that powerful female collectors and exporters protect their interests so that they remain able to purchase what is demanded by the importers, but neglect the needs of the powerless female and male farmers. Powerful male collectors and exporters operate in the same way, except that their manipulative interests are seen as normal and characteristic of male behaviour in trade. Surprisingly, similar behaviour on the part of powerful women is considered uncultured and abnormal, and such women are labeled as having masculine identity (*mukazimusaja*). Although this practice has been observed within the production and trade of horticultural produce, it can be a universal practice in cases where there are needs for access to and control over resources.

6.3.3 Forms of organizing to resist subordination, exploitation and exclusion

Forms of organizing, such as those mentioned above concerning women mobilizing through NGOs, are examples of strategies that resist subordination, exploitation and exclusion. In addition to these, there are other forms of opposition and resistance to actions of dominance, which subordinated women and low status men use. Examples from the production sites show that some categories of women and men resist subordination by holding back produce and selling only to collectors and exporters who pay them instantly and at a higher price. However, collectors and exporters have little understanding of such actions given that small-scale farmers generally lack options when it comes to selling their produce, and in most cases take the first available chance in selling their low quantities. It also does not make sense (from an economic perspective) to hold back produce even if only a very low price is offered, because it is the farmers who lose out in the end. At the export level, subordinated women have less control as much of the time they do not have easy access to the importers. They tend to withdraw from exporting and limit their transactions to specific importers who buy their products. Unfortunately, in economic terms, it is the exporter who loses out when he or she fails to satisfy the demand for the commodity by the importer. This in turn reduces the incomes of women involved in export. Withdrawal from potential markets accessed was realized to reduce the chances of both female and male exporters remaining in business.

Resistance by subordinated women and disagreements they have with those women and men who dominate the making of decisions on resources (especially export prices, market information, packaging materials and transport), is an indication of the emerging situations of women resisting subordination, exploitation and exclusion and transforming societal rules and norms. One might assume that women seek to have equality of power relations with men by resisting male dominance, as well as the authoritative rules from the government and other export regulating bodies. This study indicates that the issue may not be resistance of male dominance but rather action by women to develop their own defensive and creative ways of pushing forward their own agenda. The findings show that the purpose of resistance to subordination, exploitation

and exclusion is not necessarily to challenge male dominance, but rather to make women's interests known and place them on the agenda. This study has made contributions to feminist theory in ways that demonstrate the effectiveness of gender analysis as a tool in investigating international trade within an African setting. The findings indicate that whereas some categories of women can resist subordination, exploitation and exclusion, other women cannot. The same applies to men with limited capital compared to those, especially exporters, with appropriate capital for the scale of business they undertake. Such findings enabled the study to challenge universalistic interpretations of women's subordination and the way unequal power relations are constructed, by pointing out that these are not just a matter of men dominating and women being subordinated. Rather, women and men's agency operates within the tasks they do and the way resources are accessed and controlled.

Through tracing the interaction of female and male farmers, collectors and exporters at the production, collection and exportation stages, cases were found where these actors themselves challenged and contested various forms of subordination, exploitation and exclusion. In such cases, these actors developed actions of resistance. In the case of women, this resistance did not necessarily involve challenging men, but rather, selecting actions that enabled women to continue participating in production and trade. Men defined such actions as '*obukodyo bwabakazi abakujukuju*' (*lit.*: tactics of women who are empowered) and these were used to influence decisions concerning access to and control over market resources, as well as to resist acts of subordination, exploitation and exclusion. For such women, these actions were also opportunities to challenge gender inequalities that exist in export-related activities. The way men strive to maintain their decision-making roles in cases where they are also kept in a subordinate position shows that power differences can also affect men and not only women.

This study concludes that as women progress in income-earning activities such as production, collection and exportation, they can reject and resist actions of subordination by devising ways of empowering themselves. This is done by finding ways of obtaining knowledge and skills that enable them to gain access to and control over the resources they need. Whereas some women can do this, others cannot.

Education exposure and attainment of skills were found to be essential in enabling women to achieve the above goals. Such findings corroborate with those of Harris, who noted it is essential to take into consideration differences between women in order to avoid researching women as a universally homogeneous group (2000:245). Some women are able to use actions of resistance and empowerment that tend to override the subordination to which they are usually exposed. The findings of this study have demonstrated that women no longer sit back and embrace actions that subordinate them. They engage in actions that challenge subordination. Women who were once subordinated have learnt to perform actions that do not necessarily aim to compete with or dominate men, but to work with them in complementary ways. The findings indicate that through such actions, men find themselves in situations where they need the support of women, while women learn to seek skills from men where necessary. Women and men learn to identify where they need to work as individuals and as groups in order to gain access to the resources they need for export trade.

6.3.4 From analysis of patriarchy to addressing differences in status

The findings of the study have demonstrated that power relations which females and males exercise through their labour assignments and when seeking to have access to and control over market resources within different sites, are so hidden that it is necessary to look beyond the feminist analysis of patriarchy in order to unveil them. There is a need to examine differences in power in ways that reveal hierarchical settings that are reflected through status. It is not just male superiority, dominance, and decision-making that put women at a disadvantage. Power relations are often manifested through gender relations, but in the case of export trade, they also exist between and among women and men of different status and roles. Bazaara (2001) noted that power differences create hierarchical structures that classify people into different status groups. In a similar way, this study has shown that men of higher status (collectors and exporters) dominate those they consider to be of low status (male farmers). Like wise, female collectors and exporters consider themselves to be of higher status and dominate lower status female farmers. These power relations go beyond the issue of considering men as oppressors of women and depicting women as victims of subordination. By analyzing power

relations, it was possible for the study to reveal the tensions and conflictual relations that characterize the way male and female farmers and traders strive to gain access to and control over market resources. The marketing channel sites, namely the household, collection and exportation sites were found to be sites of power. Within these sites, there are gender differences. There are some female and male farmers and traders who are able to utilise these physical and social spaces to engage in decision-making and to undertake actions that enable them to have access to and control over production and market resources. Others cannot, and end up being subordinated and omitted from the acquisition of market resources.

There are power relations between women and men within and among household sites that are embedded in the export-oriented production and selling activities. This study has indicated that women's labour is exploited not only by collectors and exporters, but also by their own husbands and the men who are associated with female-headed households. The issue of male farmers exploiting female farmers was a hidden one that only became evident after rigorous dialogue and in-depth interviews with women. Despite the status differences between farmers, collectors and exporters, all these men shared one practice: they exploited women's labour while pursuing production, selling and buying activities. This is done both where there are family ties (in cases where women are wives to the men) and in the case of general female farmers. Even in cases where men and women sell produce collectively, the collectors pay the money to the men. In such cases, it was found out that men give women only part of the income earned; yet it is mostly women's labour that is used in production. The study also found that unlike men's income from the sale of hot pepper and okra, which is spent on luxuries, women are the ones who have to deal with the variety of monetary needs in the household, including the cost of school fees and feeding the children. Despite the fact that they provide most of the labour and bear the brunt of household obligations, women are left to the mercy of the men to decide how much they can get in return for their labour. Unfortunately, in most cases those who experience such unfair exercise of power do not notice these manipulative actions. This is because such power relations form part of everyday practices. In addition to this, such techniques and tactics are extremely invisible. As such, they can be difficult to challenge. Those women who

reject or resist such manipulation by others have to acquire extra skills and knowledge that can enable them either to work in the same way as men (if they are women) or to perform better than others in production and trade (if they are men).

6.4 The efficacy of the methodology

Mbilinyi's (1994) explanation of the methodology as a set of ideas used to explain the study and the types of methods used, shaped the context within which this study was undertaken. The methodology enabled the study to provide explanations of how research would be undertaken, and this guided the application of a theoretical perspective to investigate of the problem as Harding, (1987) advises. This study makes a contribution to gender-focused methodology by showing how gender analysis can be used in investigating power relations in export trade. The main reference point for this study has been the use of gender as a social category and an organizing factor in export trade. There are several ways in which the study has been able to achieve its intended results, in particular addressing the research questions, by using gender analysis as a methodology. These are explained below, followed by discussion of areas where the methodology has not worked so well. Such assessment is also done on the methods that were applied to enable gender analysis to operate.

Firstly, gender analysis has made it possible to reveal power relations between men and women that in turn largely reinforce gender inequalities of opportunity, which have gendered effects in export trade where profit maximization is assumed to overrule such forces. This has been possible because gender analysis has been used not only in investigating gender relationships, but also the differences women and men hold in terms of status and roles. Power differences were therefore exposed in forms that illustrate gender differences and hierarchical settings within work and the way resources are accessed. When gender analysis is undertaken from a gender- relations perspective that exposes power relations, we are able to take into account the gender differences, which women and men experience within the sites in which they operate. Indeed, as

Facio (1999) has indicated, the reality of women's subordination can mainly be understood by analyzing power between the sexes.

Secondly, gender analysis has also enabled recognition of power relations manifested among members of the same sex; these have been made visible through analyzing differences in status and roles. For example, the study has illustrated that there are women who are considered by society to behave in a masculine way, and who sometimes subordinate fellow women, just as there are men of higher status who subordinate men of low status. The masculine character of these empowered women (*bakazibasaja*) is identified as comprising: working in male-dominated tasks; being able to influence other women's and men's choices and decision-making in accessing market resources; being able to negotiate and manipulate prices in order to purchase for less money, thus enabling acquisition of profit. Gender analysis made it possible to extract these criteria from the respondents as the reasons why powerful women are labeled as masculine. It also enabled examination of how such women use their agency to make their identity visible. Fellow women and men question this identity, in particular, the way they are not given the same status as men.

Thirdly, the power differences that are revealed illustrate differences in decision-making ability. Gender analysis has enabled the study to distinguish between the experiences of women in male-headed households, those in female-headed households and female-managed households. Knowledge of the decision-making arrangements in these different households has enabled the study to assess the subordination, exploitation and exclusion which women in these different social arrangements face when compared to men.

Fourth, power relations were investigated through using the actors as the primary unit of analysis (farmers, collectors and exporters) and the sites as the secondary unit of analysis. By using gender analysis to assess the manifestation of power relation between and among female and male actors and how these operate across the sites, the study has been able to demonstrate that there are power differences within this process, and that these create hierarchical status categories that reinforce differences in decision-making.

It was then possible to investigate power relations across the sites given that one site facilitates the activities of the other. This study has illustrated how gender analysis can be used as a methodology to draw attention to the interconnectedness of the sites (household, collection, exportation) in ways that reveal the origin and manifestation of unequal power relations that aggravate gender inequalities. Apart from this, gender analysis that recognises the differences between and among actors as well as the sites in which they operate, has been useful in examining inter-and-intra-household dynamics. These household power dynamics were found to be important determinants of who could make decisions concerning acquisition of market resources. As Mies (1988) noted, this study has also identified that decisions, which influenced by external factors (such as farmers relying on collectors and exporters to provide market resources) is a feature of dependency that is characteristic of capitalist work processes. By using gender analysis, the study has been able to show that:

- The three sites are sites of power
- The activities and interactions that farmers and traders engage in are undertaken within particular time-and space-bound practices that are characteristic of the functions of the sites within the marketing channel
- Gender division of labour is revealed within these sites

By analyzing both the actors and their sites of operation, the study has been able to show that power relations exist in forms that are not easy to identify, as they are hidden within the differentiated ways in which control and acquisition of market resources is undertaken. The methodology of following the marketing channel process in order to seek information helped the study to illustrate that although the three sites are separate in terms of spatial location, the actors link with each other through interaction as farmers and traders. The study therefore recognized that the actors in production and marketing of horticultural produce cannot be classified according to their spatial location. Rather, actors can best be defined by who they are, what they do, and how and when they interact within the household, the collection and exportation sites.

As with any other methodology, applying gender analysis at the field level presents some challenges. My main challenge was to separate my own identity and feelings as a

woman from the respondents' explanations, especially fellow women. Having grown up in a rural area, I could easily identify with the problems women (as well as men) were experiencing in export trade. It was difficult not only withholding my identity from the subjects of my research (as Wolf 1996: 11; Harris 2000:10 also observed) but also trying to avoid drawing my own conclusions of the situation they were explaining to me. Although some of the methods I used (interviews, focus group discussions) enabled me to associate with the respondents in a professional manner, the use of participant observation and the stories of women and men drew me closer to them, and made me feel sympathetic and moved. Indeed, most of my information came from my 'sisterly' interactions with the women as Facio (1999) describes it. However, I also attribute the willingness of both male and female respondents to answer the many questions I posed to them, to the discussion of gender relations and, differences in roles and status, which gender analysis enabled during the fieldwork. The respondents felt that this style of discussion and interaction differed from other methodologies and research processes. This kept me alert as I noted that the context of the research, as well as the methods used, raised the consciousness of both women and men concerning the demand for change and elimination of unequal power relations that perpetuate gender inequalities.

6.5 Policy implications

6.5.1 Revealing the existence of gender in export trade practices

In terms of policy implications, the study has shown some of the stumbling blocks that undermine the rosy expectations of those who argue for liberalized, free trade. This study provides evidence of the social factors that interlink with economic ones within the marketing process. It critiques the economic development theories on which economic policies such as trade liberalization are based. Trade liberalization assumes that the forces of demand, supply and price are the major determinants that enable farmers and traders access to international markets. It assumes that exchange of products operates in an impersonal way, and that market resources are readily available that there are no personal influencing factors on the supply side that can outweigh what is demanded. In making such assumptions, this policy neglects non-price social factors such as gender and power. This study reveals that trade exchange involves actors who interact at personal levels within the different stages of the marketing channel. It

demonstrates that power relations are embedded in these relationships, which females and males engage in as they market horticultural products. The marketing activities undertaken by women and men as farmers or traders require specific market resources at different sites of the marketing channel. Personal and institutional power dynamics influence access to and control over these market resources.

These findings show that the assumptions of liberalization pointed out in chapter 3 do not work for small-scale female and male farmers, collectors and exporters who deal with hot-pepper and okra production and trade. The implementation of liberalization is meant to facilitate the participation of women and men in accessing international markets. However, this implementation does not take into consideration gender, which interlocks with other social relations as women and men, interacts in the household, collection and export sites. This is due to already existing patriarchal and differential positions in status between and among women and men within these sites, which conflict with the interventions introduced by activities that promote export production and trade. Women and men engage in a variety of activities in order to gain access to international markets. Due to the activities they undertake, women and men have positions of influence depending on whether they are the ones who provide market resources to others in the marketing channel. The lesson learnt from the study is that most farmers depend on the collectors and exporters to provide market resources they need to participate in export-oriented production. The collectors also depend on the exporters for the resources needed for purchasing, packaging and transporting the produce. Women and men, who are among those who can easily acquire market resources, can control and manipulate the way others have access to these resources. Such practices revealed gender differences within opportunities to acquire market resources.

6.5.2 Reinforcement of unequal power relations through trade liberalisation

Another policy implication of these findings concerns the ways in which power relations are manifested in actions of work and access to resources within liberalized trade. This study notes that new ways of asserting power become available as trade liberalization (with its accompanying forms of modernization of production methods,

quality standard measures and export techniques) starts requiring farmers and traders make certain decisions if they are to participate in competitive markets. I have used the horticulture sector as a case study in which trade liberalization and modernized techniques in agriculture have led farmers, collectors and exporters to demand that they be provided with the market resources needed for production, collection and exportation. The findings show that due to lack of effective mechanisms for control of resource provision (which is undertaken by the private sector in liberalized export trade), those collectors and exporters who have means of accessing market resources from within or outside of the country become resource providers between and among themselves. Such informal arrangements do not only create power differences between the resource providers and those who demand to access resources, but also lead to personal decisions that favour some and exclude other actors; in most cases, the latter are women.

This study has also pointed out that although small-scale female and male farmers, collectors and exporters may lack resources they need to participate in export trade, they can use individual and group strategies to counter those conditions that deny them access to resources and keep them subordinate. Such situations diverge from the dominant and universal Women In Development (WID) approach that depicts women as victims of subordination, and trapped in poverty. In addition, Elson (1996) also criticises economic development policies (such as trade liberalisation) that consider women only as “receivers of the benefits of development” rather than as actors.

This study also criticizes the dominant discourse that labels women as disadvantaged, or as able to participate only through their male counterparts. The findings reveal that women are effective actors in development, who are able to participate in export trade. However, this is only possible through struggling with the dominant categories of women and men who make decisions without involving those who lack resources for production and trade. This study shows that there are differences that exist within and between female and male farmers and traders concerning their ability to make decisions. There are also differences between and among the women and men who participate in export trade. There are categories of women who can deal effectively with

those actions that deny them access to the resources they need. Such women can reject actions of subordination; they can influence decisions and even dominate the ideas of men. On the other hand, some men may fail in their efforts to bargain for higher prices, greater amounts of packaging materials or cheaper rates for airfreight, even though some women are successfully in such negotiations.

6.5.3 Challenging gender-neutrality of economic policies

This study has challenged the gender-neutrality of neo-liberal macro-economic theory within which trade liberalization is framed. Trade liberalization policy planning has frequently neglected gender as an organizing factor and one that can help to reveal power relations that perpetuate gender inequality. Although previous studies that focused on export trade from a marketing channel perspective have not emphasized gender concerns (Dijkstra 1997), this study has revealed that gender is not only a significant social relation, but also an important factor in labour allocation, as well as acquisition of market resources required for participation in export trade. As previous studies on markets as social institutions (Pujo, 1997, Harris White, 1998) indicated, this study shows that gender is embedded in the interactions surrounding exchange of products for export.

The incorporation of power relations into the gender analysis of implications of trade policies for female-male relations and organization of work is one of the key contributions that this study makes to the understanding of gender and international trade in Uganda (as an example from Africa). I show that it is only through analyzing the work relationships and access to production and market resources within export trade that we can understand how individual women who are skilled can manipulate and control those resources other women would like to access. Although the same situation arises with men, the issues concerning difference in status are more pronounced in the case of women. Male exporters were considered to be superior to male collectors and farmers. This was different in the case of female exporters, collectors and farmers, who usually shared 'sisterhood' advice on how to access resources. These women were more in making use of their location within the sites, in order to gain access to market resources to distribute to other women. As indicated in the findings, there were very few

cases where skilled and high profile women exploited other women, compared to the standard practice with men.

This study has enabled us to realize that the production and trade of horticultural products operate through institutionalised processes of economic exchange that involve both economic and social institutions. Implementation of exchange is undertaken through: economic institutions, in the form of export firms (such as those dealing with the exportation sites), and production units, in particular, the household; and social institutions, including the laws related to quality and quantity measures and social norms and ideologies that influence economic behaviour. Within this context, using gender as an analytical tool has enabled the study to show how gender influences the behaviour of economic actors who exercise different forms of power as they undertake activities at different sites of the marketing channel.

6.5.4 Conflicts between women and men

The informality of the exchange process creates conflicts that have a bearing on power relations not only between women and men, but also between their specific tasks as farmers, collectors and exporters. The farmers think of themselves as price-takers and feel need to be loyal to the collectors and exporters, who then manipulate prices and offer the lowest price they can as price-setters. Section four of chapter five informs us that while farmers think that collectors are cheating, exporters are also worried that lower payments by collectors (compared to what the collectors are actually paid), strains their relationship with farmers. However, the problem of low prices is not a fault at the micro level. The literature review chapter mentioned that this problem originates from the ideology underlying the WTO, as well as the liberalization of trade at macro level (Randriamaro 2002). The regulations stemming from these two macro-level policy environments keep pushing the prices down, from the consumer level to the importer, to the exporter who in fact wants to pay as little as possible in order to gain profit. So the study has illustrated that economic motives of profit maximization cause exporters to pay low prices to the collectors (as their agents), and the collectors in turn maneuver their prices, to make a profit even if it is small. The stories from the collectors indicated that since prices are low, they can only survive in business by underpaying the farmers.

As this study has shown, there are gender inequalities in the way market resources are accessed and controlled. This indicates that gender and other social relations are key governing factors apart from price, demand and supply. These gender inequalities are constructed, challenged and reproduced in situations where gendered power relations operate in different but connected institutional sites. The marketing channel for horticulture produce therefore offers an appropriate example of a marketing process that involves the household, the collection and exportation sites. The implementers of trade policies should realize that there are differences between and among women and men, and that while some will be able to influence decisions, perceptions and choices that enable access to and control over market resources, others cannot.

The study concludes that while some male and female farmers and traders use different forms of power to acquire market resources, others are excluded and subordinated in ways that create and reproduce unequal power relations. It has been demonstrated that gendered power relations govern the allocation of market resources for those who seek to access resources they need to undertake activities within the different sites of the marketing channel. As such, export trade that operates within a liberalized policy framework, must recognize the social aspects that are embedded in these activities, as well as the way that market resources are acquired and used by female and male farmers and export traders. Policy-makers who believe in the neoliberal theory need to become aware of the social factors, especially power relations. Demand, supply and price, are not the only factors that govern participation and ability to benefit from trade liberalization policy.

6.6 Suggestions for future research

In summary, it is clear that the conclusions have raised questions that require further research. It has been shown that labour allocations and access to resources perpetuate gender inequalities. As gender inequalities persist, there is a need for further research that contributes to developing analytical approaches that can be used to challenge the gender neutrality of neo-liberal, macro-economic theories, such as those applied in trade policies that aim at liberalizing the markets. This study suggests that gender analysis that addresses power differences and hierarchical settings within labour allocation systems,

as well as access to resources is one such approach that needs to be used in other social-economic and political economy studies on international trade.

This study has been completed during a period when negotiations for changes in the rules of the World Trade Organization are underway as a follow-up to the Cancun World Trade Summit in Mexico. Such negotiations included issues of market access for agricultural exports. Researchers should urgently highlight the fact that market access conditions that do not address the means of acquiring resources, as well as differences in decision-making abilities between women and men, violate the human rights of women and men in developing countries. I suggest that it is through considering the perpetuation of gender inequalities as a violation of human rights that the powerful trade policy planners will be forced to take into consideration the needs and interests of farmers, in the developing world most of whom are women. Through such a strategy, research can play a role in illustrating how micro-level issues concerning the implication of trade policies for farmers, collectors and exporters can have effects at macro-level.

The study has illustrated that the expansion of the marketing channel has enabled women to undertake what used to be male dominated tasks in collection and exportation tasks. Such emerging employment opportunities as a result of the liberalization of trade require further research into factors that exclude recognition of women's labour. For it is only through a deeper understanding of such factors that the social construction of roles and status can be further highlighted and used in trade policy analysis. I therefore encourage the promotion of gender-focused research into international trade policies in ways that can enable gender analysis to be used as a strategy for women's economic empowerment. Such efforts can make contributions to the existing research done by African and developing country scholars (such as those by GERA, DAWN and AWEAPON) that work towards strengthening the use of gender analysis to reveal what needs to be done for women's emancipation.

This study has shown power relations in export trade are not immediately noticed, as they are hidden within the liberalized rules and regulations of trade governing the

farmers, collectors and exporters. It has been possible to reveal such power relations by focusing on the actors and the sites where they operate within the marketing channel. This study recommends that researchers should make use of this actor and site analysis as one of the ways of applying gender analysis as a methodology that can be applied to the investigation of power relations even beyond the household.

This study was undertaken during a period when the WTO negotiations were being undertaken. This presented me with opportunities to feed into that process. There were many times when policy-makers wanted to make use of this study (even before it was completed), but they wanted it to be in form of policy briefs rather than an academic work. Undertaking a policy-related study that provides gender-related evidence therefore requires an approach that combines academic and advocacy content. Strategies for addressing unequal power relations need real-life experiences, such as those provided by this study, to feed into policy changes. Case studies such as those used in this study can assist in informing policy-planners about the extent of gender inequalities. Future research should therefore involve collaborative information gathering, analysis and sharing between institutions in academics and those in advocacy activities for purposes of policy changes.

By using gender analysis, this study has been able to find ways of investigating power relations practiced in trade in ways that are often gendered. This study has provided an understanding of the construction and reproduction of unequal power relations by elaborating upon the actions that women and men undertake to influence other individuals' decisions, perceptions and choices regarding access to and control over market resources that are required within export-oriented work. It is evident that power is not bound to one set of persons or to one place, and ownership and control of resources cannot therefore be the only way to explain the existence of unequal power relations. The findings show that by using gender analysis to examine the manifestation and implications of power relations in work and access to market resources, it is possible to reveal gender differences and inequalities in access to and control over

resources that women and men strive for as they seek to effectively participate in export-trade related activities.

In terms of an overall conclusion, the study has demonstrated that the interaction of female and male actors in export-oriented activities involves practical and observable conflictual actions. However, the forms of power, in terms of the way it is acquired and exercised, is so hidden that while some actors may recognize such power, resist and manipulate it to their own interests, others do not. I consider connectivity between the different sites to be a means of rescue from forms of power that hinder participation in export trade. The study has shown that those women and men who undertake activities at more than one site can make choices and influence decisions that would otherwise have adverse effects on their export-oriented activities. This is because they can influence decisions in export trade as a result of their access to market resources, which they can acquire from different sites. In addition to this, they can easily overcome the informality of labour provision and contracts that exist in trade relationships by becoming decision-makers themselves and dealing directly with the international level of trade. However, I also point out that such links can be sources of continuing subordination of women.

Finally, the study has shown that gender analysis of power relations in export-oriented tasks and access to market resources can provide an understanding of the construction and perpetuation of unequal power relations as experienced through the process of internationalization of trade. Therefore, future studies should promote the use of gender analysis that acknowledges existence of power relations. It is this that makes it possible to reveal the hidden power embedded in actions of subordination that result in exploitation and exclusion, and how these contribute to unequal power relations that have gendered effects in export trade.

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APPENDIX A: PRODUCERS AT HOUSEHOLD LEVEL QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire Number

Date interviewed

Interviewer name

Supervisor name

Respondent's consent obtained? 1. Yes

2. No (End interview)

1.0 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

QUESTION	OPTIONS/RESPONSE	COMMENTS
1.1 What is the name of the respondent?		
1.2 What is the sex of the respondent?	1. Male 2. Female	Very important. Please fill
1.3 What is the Location of the respondent?	1. Mpigi district Village 2. Luwero district Village	
1.4 What is the respondent's	1. Single	

QUESTION	OPTIONS/RESPONSE	COMMENTS
marital status?	2. Married 3. Widowed 4. Separated 5. Cohabiting 6. Other (Please Specify)	
1.5 What is the age of the respondent in completed years?		Ask the respondent's age on the past birthday
1.6 What is the respondent's highest level of education?	1. Primary level 2. Secondary level 3. O' level 4. A' level 5. Technical certificate 6. Diploma certificate 7. Bachelor's degree 8. Masters degree	
1.7 What crops does the producer deal in?	1. Okra 2. Pepper	
1.8 How long have you been in production?		Record period in years
1.9 What made you join horticultural production?	1. Simple tasks involved 2. High profit margins 3. Encouraged by association/friends 4. Others grow it 5. Only source of employment 6. Grown on a small piece of land 7. Collected from the farm gate 8. Meet day-to-day expenditure (e.g. Clothing, food, health requirements...)	

2.0 ROLES, POWERS AND TIME USE AT THE FARM GATE LEVEL

For the production activities below, indicate the person who undertakes them, why s/he/they are the ones to undertake it plus the respective time taken while undertaking the activity (Please circle on appropriate option)

Activity	Who undertakes activity	Reason why s/he is the one to undertake activity	Average hours used while undertaking activity per day
	1. Male 2. Female 3. Both 4. Children	1. Household head 2. Farm owner 3. Has skills (was trained) 4. Physical abilities 5. Others (please specify)	

Activity	Who undertakes activity	Reason why s/he is the one to undertake activity	Average hours used while undertaking activity per day
	1. Male 2. Female 3. Both 4. Children	1. Household head 2. Farm owner 3. Has skills (was trained) 4. Physical abilities 5. Others (please specify)	
1. Land preparation			
2. Seed bed preparation			
3. Sowing			
4. Fertilization			
5. Weeding			
6. Spraying			
7. Harvesting			
8. Sorting			

3.0 DECISION MAKING AT FARM GATE LEVEL

Question	Options/Response	Comments
3.1 How often do you sell your produce?	1. Once a month 2. Once in 3 weeks 3. Once in 2 weeks 4. Once a week 5. Twice a week 6. Thrice a week	
3.2 To whom do you sell your produce?	1. Collector 2. Exporter 3. Both Collector and Exporter 4. Zone leader 5. Fellow farmer 6. Other (Please specify)	
3.3 Who makes decisions over how much and when to sell the produce?	1. Male 2. Females 3. Both 4. Other (Please specify)	
3.4 Why is he/she/they the ones to make such decisions?	1. Household head 2. Farm owner 3. Was trained 4. Has contacts 5. Can transport produce 6. Can bargain higher prices 7. Involved in production 8. Producer is single (not married)	

Question	Options/Response	Comments
	9. Others (Please specify)	
3.5 Can anyone stop you from making such decisions?	1. Yes 2. No	
3.6 (If decision maker in 3.2 is male) What hinders female producers from making such similar decisions?	1. Lack training 2. Lack time (lost up in domestic activities) 3. Lack bargaining power	Only ask if 3.2 is Male
3.7 What are some of the problems you find while marketing produce?	1. Price fluctuation 2. Quality requirements (produce never meets standards) 3. Transport problems 4. Thieves 5. Delayed/little payments 6. Faulty scales (cheating) 7. Delayed produce collection 8. Others (please specify)	

4.0 TIME USE ON DOMESTIC RELATED ACTIVITIES

QUESTION	OPTIONS/RESPONSE	COMMENT
4.1 Is there any other activity you undertake apart from horticultural production?	1. Yes 2. No	
4.2 (if yes) What kind of activity is this?	1. Domestic work 2. Productive work (an activity that earns income) 3. Leisure 4. Other (please specify)	Only ask if 4.1 is 1.Yes
4.3 What time do you spend while undertaking this activity?	1. 0 – 3 hrs/day 2. 3 – 6 hrs/day 3. 6 – 9 hrs/day 4. 9 – 12 hrs/day	Only ask if 4.1 is 1.Yes
4.4 Why do you undertake such an activity?	1. Supplement income 2. It is Mandatory 3. Relaxation & leisure 4. Others (Please specify)	“

5.0 ACCESS TO RESOURCES AND INFORMATION ON PRODUCTION AND MARKETING OF PRODUCE

QUESTION	RESPONSE/OPTIONS	COMMENT
5.1 Who owns the land/farm used for production?	1. Male 2. Female 3. Both 4. Other (Specify)	
5.2 Have you ever acquired any production-related information?	1. Yes 2. No	
5.3 (If yes) Which kind of information was this	1. About prices 2. About required Quality 3. About required quantities 4. Where to market produce (place) 5. When to appropriately plant (season timing) 6. How to effectively produce (e.g. Sowing, spraying, weeding, harvesting, grading etc) 7. How to market produce 8. How to pack produce 9. Others (please specify)	Only ask if 5.1 is Yes
5.4 How did you acquire this information?	1. Seminars (Please mention trainer/seminar organizer..... 2. Friends 3. Radios 4. Zone leader 5. Buyer (collector/exporter) 6. Association (Please mention association name..... 7. Other (Please specify)	“
5.5 Has the acquired information been of any help to you?	1. Very helpful 2. Relatively helpful Not yet helpful	“
5.6 Please give reasons for the above ranking		“

QUESTION	RESPONSE/OPTIONS	COMMENT
5.7 Do you find any difficulty while accessing production-related information?	1. Yes 2. No	
5.8 (If yes) Please mention the problems	1. Seminars are scheduled far away 2. Restricted by husbands 3. No sufficient communication about seminars 4. Few seminars arranged 5. Few experts present 6. Home duties/responsibilities 7. Others (Please specify)	Ask only if 5.6 is 1. Yes
5.9 (If no to 5.7) Do you effectively utilize the acquired information?	1. Yes 2. No	Ask only if 5.6 is 2. No
5.10 If No to 5.9) What are the hindrances to the effective use of the acquired information?	1. Less capital 2. Small market 3. Bad weather 4. Lack of resources (Please mention resource)	Ask only if 5.8 is 2. No
5.11 How many boxes of produce did you produce the last harvesting/season		Record response in number of boxes or Kg
5.12 Out of the produced quantity, how many boxes did you market?		"
5.13 What are the major causes of crop losses on your farm?	1. Lack information about required quality 2. Lack information about required quantities 3. Lack information about when to plant 4. Price fluctuations (lack price information) 5. Lack appropriate packaging material 6. Lack storage facility 7. Lack market for produce 8. Thieves 9. Pests and diseases 10. Bad weather 11. Others (Please specify)	Probe and record points concerning market resources in the Others option.

6.0 INSTITUTIONAL SITES AND ARRANGEMENTS

Question	Response/options	Comments
6.1 Do you sell as an individual or as a group?	1. Individual 2. Group 3. Both individual and group	
6.2 What advantages do you derive from such a selling arrangement?		List all mentioned advantages
6.3 What are some of the disadvantages you derive from such a selling arrangement?		List all
6.4 Between an exporter and a collector, whom do you deal with?	1. Exporter 2. Collector 3. Both 4. Other (Please specify)	
6.5 What are some of the advantages that you derive from dealing with an exporter or a collector?	1. Produce picked from farm 2. Updates on quality requirements 3. Provides price information 4. Information on when to produce (timing) 5. Provides packaging material & information 6. Paid immediately & highly 7. Others (please specify)	
6.6 What are some of the disadvantages you derive by dealing with an exporter/collector?	1. Insufficient price information 2. Transportation problems 3. Use faulty scales (cheat farmers) 4. Purchase less produce 5. Take long to collect produce 6. Others (Please mention)	
6.7 How did you come to know the collector/exporter you're dealing with?	1. Village mate (Fellow resident) 2. Fellow farmer 3. Through a seminar 4. Through associations 5. Others (Please specify)	
6.8 What arrangements do you make in order to meet buyer (Collector or exporter)?	1. Wait at home 2. Carry produce to collection center 3. Carry produce to market 4. Others (Please specify)	
6.9 Is there any possibility	1. Yes	

Question	Response/options	Comments
for you to bargain for higher produce prices?	2. No	
6.10 (If Yes to 6.9) What are the factors that enable you to bargain for higher prices?	1. High quality produce 2. Relationship/friendship to the buyer 3. Honesty to the buyer 4. Other (Please mention)	Ask only if 6.9 is 1. Yes
6.11 (If No to 6.9) What can be done to raise prices of your horticultural crop?	1. Exclude intermediaries 2. Get more buyers 3. Deal with different buyers altogether 4. Others (Please mention)	

THANKS VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE 2(a) TRADE SURVEY (FOR INTERMEDIARY ACTORS
AGENTS, BROKERS, LOCAL TRADERS & EXPORTERS)

- 2.1 What Age Bracket do you belong to?
- 20 – 30
 - 31 – 40
 - 41 and above 50
- (Where possible provide the right age)
- 2.2 What Level of Education did you achieve?
- PLE and below
 - O level and below
 - A level and below
 - Diploma/degree
- 2.3 What is your marital status?
- Single
 - Married
 - Widowed
 - Divorced /Separated.
- 2.4 What tasks do you undertake within the Horticulture Industry
- (a) Wholesale
 - (b) Retail
 - (c) Purchase on behalf of the buyers (*Purchasing agents*)
 - (d) Negotiate on behalf of producers (*commission agent*)
 - (e) Any other (specify) (*probably broker*)
 - (f) Combination of the above. (specify)
 - (g) Export.
- 2.5 Why did you decide to undertake this activity and not the others?
- 2.6 What commodities do you deal in?
- 2.7 How do you obtain your commodities?
- 2.8 If you deal with individual producers, who are the producers supplying you with produce? (Please state name and location because these may be selected as respondents in the farm survey)
- *** if you deal with groups of producers, go to question 2.10
- 2.9 If Individuals:
- (a) How many farmers/producers do you deal with?
 - (a) How did/do you contact the farmers/producers.
 - (b) What problems do you encounter with new producers/traders
 - (c) Do all farmers/traders male/female have equal opportunities of meeting with you?
 - (d) Which people male/female do you prefer to work with and why?

- 2.10 Why do you deal with groups other than individual farmers/traders.
- 2.11 Answer the same questions as in 2.9
- 2.12 What problems and support do you have in this activity while dealing with male and female farmers/traders?
- 2.13 What services and resources do you offer to these producers?
- 2.14 Why and when did you start offering this service? *(When gives us a chance to ask about the qualitative trends before and after liberalisation).*
- 2.15 What has been the trend of the volume, quantity and quality you handle since you started? *(Any important factors that one could use to explain trends in increase and decrease).*
- 2.16 What strategies do you use to handle the trade activity ?
- 2.17 As a male/female actor in this industry what problems do you face during exchange transactions that relate to what society expects you to be and to do as male/female
- 2.18 How is the price you pay for the commodity set? (If intermediary sets price, what basis is used to set the price)

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE 2(B) TRADE SURVEY (FOR NGOs: VEDCO, ABC IDEA, HORTEXA AND OTHERS)

Intermediaries' Mission and Motivation to be obtained from these documents. Have they gone overboard by acting as an intermediary in marketing?

- 3.1 Does your organisation deal with any of these products
Okra,
Chilies,
Pineapple,
Mushrooms.
Combination (specify)
What organisation level policies or mission do you base on to make decisions on undertaking activities related to Horticulture marketing?
- 3.2 What role does your organisation play in the horticulture trade industry?
- 3.3 How do you deal with producers/clients refer to the following categories
 - (a) as Individuals
 - (b) as Associations
 - (c) Both
 - (d) Other (please specify)

For the answer given explanation should be given why preferred and how the actors are contacted. If prefers associations then ask whether they influence set-up of the association (in whose favour is this arrangement).

- 3.4 (a) What factors enable you to work as an intermediary. *(Could also be obtained from documentation obtained from the offices).*
- (a) What challenges do you face as an intermediary, which hinder the effectiveness of other actors in the channel?
- (b) How do these challenges affect female and male producers differently
- 3.5 What is the ratio of women to men that you deal with?
- 3.6 (a) What enables female producers to have opportunities to participation in your activities compared to men?
- (b) What actions do you undertake to ensure that female producers can participate in your activities in cases where they have problems (mention the problems)
- 3.7 What services and resources do you provide to
- (a) Producers
- (a) Traders
- 3.8 Of the women /male actors whom do you prefer working with?
- 3.9 What gender related challenges do you encounter at the initial stages and how are they tackled?
- 3.10 What is your role as an intermediary between the Producers/farmers and the Middlemen/women or Exporters?
- 3.11 How has your involvement affected exports? That is before versus after involvement.