



WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN MARKETING IN NUTRITION-SENSITIVE VALUE CHAINS – A QUALITATIVE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

It has been suggested that in order to achieve nutrition security through agriculture, 'nutrition-sensitive' approaches to agriculture are required. Literature indicates that within agriculture value chains, considering the structure and functioning of markets, and gender norms can have a positive influence on household nutrition. The opportunities for women to earn income is considered an important element in gendered approaches.

This study titled 'Women's Participation in Marketing in Nutrition-Sensitive Value Chains – A Qualitative Study', thus, focuses on the role of women, their potential of and barriers to enhanced market participation in nutrient-sensitive agriculture value chains. The basis of this study is a comparison between the market participation of women vis-à-vis two traditional crops – Black Nightshade and Climbing beans in Kapchorwa region in Eastern Uganda. The study explores the following question: "How is women's participation in marketing along nutrition-sensitive value chains shaped, what barriers can be identified and how can women's participation be enhanced?"

The findings of the study reveal that due to various factors, women tend to trade in commodities of low value such as vegetables and fruits - and lucrative markets tend to be dominated by men. Women's lack of mobility and perceived lack of marketing acumen are considered some of the main reasons behind this demarcation. Based on the study, the most effective and efficient entry point for enhanced participation of women in marketing is through women's groups to improve their awareness, and better access to services. Targeted interventions to enable a change in values, assumptions and norms regarding women's participation in marketing are also required.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CSO	Civil Society Organisations
EaTSANE	Education and Training for Sustainable Agriculture and Nutrition
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FGD	Focused Group Discussions
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UNHS	Uganda National Household Survey
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Programme

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Agriculture is considered one of the most important sectors that can address nutrition due to the many ways in which it can influence underlying determinants of nutrition (Black et al., 2013). These include food security, income and livelihood, and women's empowerment (Ruel et al., 2018). Since household food security is a critical determinant of nutritional well-being, the agriculture sector and the wider agri-food system is considered central to sustained progress towards improving nutrition. (Gillespie et al., 2015).

Linkages between agriculture and nutrition has been a subject of an extensive body of research. The research has resulted in numerous conceptual frameworks that highlight the complex linkages between agriculture, nutrition and health and describe the pathways through which agriculture has the potential to improve nutrition outcomes (Gillespie et al., 2012; Headey et al., 2012; Herforth and Harris, 2014; Herforth, 2012; Jaenicke and Virchow, 2013; Kadiyala et al., 2014; Rachel et al., 2013; Waage et al., 2013; Webb, 2013).

The proliferation of research on the agriculture-nutrition nexus has also been accompanied by debate. Researchers have pointed to a lack of empirical evidence on the impact of agriculture on nutritional status (Arimod, 2011; Herforth and Ballard, 2016; Masset et al., 2012). Some of the lack of empirical evidence has been attributed to weaknesses in nutrition goals and actions, and methodological deficiencies in the study designs, (Girard et al., 2012; Masset et al., 2012; Ruel and Alderman, 2013; Webb and Kennedy, 2014). Some researchers have also pointed to external factors such as the threat of climate-related events (FAO, 2013), and sanitation and inadequacy of health services (Gillespie et al., 2012; Ruel and Alderman, 2013) as reasons behind the lack of realisation of agriculture's potential to achieve nutrition security.

Researchers and experts have, therefore, suggested that in order to achieve nutrition security through agriculture, "nutrition-sensitive" approaches to agriculture are required. (Swaminathan, 2012). "Nutrition-sensitive agriculture is a concept that expands the scope of the agro-food system to a system encompassing all elements from input delivery, production of food to distribution networks, storage, processing, retail and utilization including consumption with a special view to nutrition" (Jaenicke and Virchow, 2013, p. 680). Nutrition-sensitive agriculture, in that sense, takes a systems approach by linking different sectors and stages from 'farm to plate' and puts a "nutrition lens on agriculture with the aim of sensitizing the agricultural sector to the importance of nutrition and ... better connect agriculture, health and nutrition sectors within the agro-food system" (Jaenicke and Virchow, 2013, p. 680).

The aspect of focusing on the wider agro-food system emphasises the need to have a value chain approach to nutrition and agriculture. The series of processes and actors that are instrumental in taking food from its production to its consumption and disposal stage comprises food supply chains (Ruel and Alderman, 2013). On the other hand, in a value chain, "the emphasis is on the value

(usually economic) accrued (and lost) for chain actors at different steps in the chain, and the value produced through the functioning of the whole chain as an interactive unit” (Gelli et al., 2015, p. 4).

Literature indicates that within the agriculture value chain, if the structure and functioning of markets are considered, food and agriculture policy are likely to yield positive nutritional outcomes (Gelli et al., 2015). “Although marketing – besides processing – may not strictly belong to “agriculture” it is part of the food chain and entails opportunities to foster nutrition-sensitive agriculture” (Jaenicke and Virchow, 2013, p. 687).

Agriculture-Nutrition Pathways

Based on available literature and adapting from the work undertaken by other researchers, Ruel and Alderman, 2013, identified six pathways through which agricultural interventions can impact nutrition: 1) food access from own-production; 2) income from the sale of commodities produced; 3) food prices from changes in supply and demand; 4) women's social status and empowerment through increased access to and control over resources; 5) women's time through participation in agriculture, which can be either positive or negative for their own nutrition and that of their children; and 6) women's health and nutrition through engagement in agriculture (Ruel and Alderman, 2013; Ruel et al., 2018).

It is interesting to note here that among these six pathways, three emphasise the role played by women: the role of women, their social status, empowerment, time allocation and control over resources (Ruel and Alderman, 2013). This need to focus on the role of women is also supported by evidence that show that gender norms do have an influence on household nutrition (Sraboni et al., 2014).

Within the household, who controls the income from farm sales and other means of employment has a bearing on nutrition (Chege et al., 2015; Fischer and Qaim, 2012a; Kawagoe et al., 1994). Research has shown that enhancing women’s control over assets can have positive impacts on child nutrition, food security and women’s own well-being (Quisumbing, 2003; Smith et al., 2003). The opportunities for women to earn income is, therefore, an important element in gendered approaches as such opportunities can directly impact household nutrition through the purchase of high quality food. (Jaenicke and Virchow, 2013).

However, the ability of women to generate income from agriculture has been observed to be constrained by their limited use and ownership of human and physical capital (Sraboni et al., 2014). Women tend to face a number of disadvantages in the form of lower mobility, lack of access to training and extension and less access to market information (IFAD, 2009). Patriarchal norms and tendencies have meant that prime agricultural is reserved for men, and women largely do farming for household consumption in smaller patches of land or backyard gardens (Ngomane and Sebola, 2016).

As a result, women tend to trade in commodities of low value such as vegetables and fruits – which are also characterised by high perishability - and lucrative markets tend to be dominated by men (Ngomane and Sebola, 2016). At the same time, however, it has also been observed that men may take over the production and marketing of such ‘women’s crops’ when it becomes financially rewarding to do so (IFAD, 2009).

State of undernutrition and role of women in agriculture

With 515 million people undernourished, Asia is the region with the highest number of undernourished people in the world. However, the percentage of undernourished people in the total population is much higher in Africa – 20.4% as opposed to 11.4% in Asia. The situation is particularly pressing in Sub-Saharan Africa, with almost 23.2% of the population possibly suffering from chronic food deprivation. Within Sub-Saharan Africa, the worst affected region is East Africa, with a little less than a third of its population undernourished (31.4%)(FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP, WHO., 2018).

In Uganda, about a third of the children (33.4%) under the age of five are chronically malnourished and about 5% are acutely malnourished. A little less than half of the children under five, 31% of pregnant and 22% of non-pregnant women were found to be anaemic (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Further, malnutrition is the leading cause of as much as 45% of childhood deaths in the country (WFP, 2012).

As regards participation in agriculture, according to the Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS) 2012-13, women’s involvement is higher than that of men - 77% of women in Uganda are involved in agriculture as compared to 67% of men (UNHS, 2013). Despite such extensive participation of women in agriculture, women do not have sufficient rights to or control over land they work on or the income they earn from agriculture (Nyanzi et al., 2005) . Women do earn from agricultural work but these are mostly an arrangement of both in-kind and cash payments: women grow food for their families – subsistence crops as mentioned previously – and sell off any remaining produce (Nyanzi et al., 2005).

A study undertaken by FAO revealed that the majority of women farmers in Uganda (65% of the sample of the study) do not have any control over the income earned from their farms (FAO, 2018). The same study also revealed unequal participation of men and women in post-harvest processes. About 75% of the respondents in Eastern Uganda in the same study stated that only men are involved in marketing. These findings make it obvious that there is wide-spread gender gap vis-à-vis market access (FAO, 2018).

Given the high incidence of undernutrition, the role of women in agriculture and marketing of agricultural produce and their status vis-à-vis control over income, basing the research in Uganda enables a well-grounded analysis of the agriculture-marketing-nutrition nexus. Further, to better understand the current and desired role of women in agriculture, marketing and nutrition, this study

is embedded in an on-going action research project – Education and Training for Sustainable Agriculture and Nutrition in East Africa (EaTSANE, 2017), a project taking a value-chain approach to and focusing on making farming practices more sustainable and improving diets of households in Uganda (and Kenya) (University of Hohenheim, 2019). The main research question for the project is ‘What food system innovations in farming practices, value chains and nutrition behaviour lead to improved diets and more sustainable farming in Uganda and Kenya?’ (EaTSANE, 2017)

The basis of this study will be a comparison between the market participation of women vis-à-vis two traditional crops – Black Nightshade and Climbing beans in Kapchorwa region in Eastern Uganda. According to the findings of a qualitative study undertaken by researchers working on the project, there’s significant involvement of women in the production of the two crops. However, while both men and women are involved in the marketing of climbing beans, the marketing of Black Nightshade is almost exclusively dominated by women.

Studying the market participation dynamics of these two crops will help in understanding if and how market participation of women and men change according to the crop produced and traded. Specifically, through an analysis of participation of women in the marketing of the two crops, the study hopes to shed light on the larger aspect of potential of and barriers to market participation of women in nutrition sensitive value chains. Lastly, the study will also suggest possible means to improve such participation.

In line with the above objectives, the study explores the following question: “How is women’s participation in marketing along nutrition-sensitive value chains shaped, what barriers can be identified and how can women’s participation be enhanced?” The sub-questions under this overarching question are:

1. What is the role of women in marketing activities along the value chains for Black Nightshade and Climbing Beans?
2. What are the factors that drive women’s engagement in marketing activities along nutrition-sensitive value chains, including gender relations, intra-household dynamics, the wider community/regional setting?
3. How do gender relations constrain access to marketing activities (and the entailing rewards) along nutrition-sensitive value chains?
4. How can women’s engagement in marketing activities along nutrition-sensitive value chains be enhanced?

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

As mentioned above, the current study aims to understand the role of women in the marketing of the two identified crops in Uganda. In line with the focus of the research, this section will provide an overview of the following:

- Division of labour at the household level
- Agriculture value chains and participation of women in marketing
- Nutrition: Role of women and role of their participation in marketing
- Women in Uganda: agriculture and participation in marketing

Gender division of labour at the household level

In most countries and cultures, women are considered the primary caregivers to children, and are responsible for food preparation for the household (Janoch et al., 2018). At the same time, women also play a major role in the wider agriculture value chain - production, processing and marketing - of agricultural products. For most of the crops, women are responsible for food processing, weeding and hoeing, while men do most of the land clearing (Hill and Vigneri, 2014). Researchers, therefore, state that better understanding of nutrition-sensitive approaches should not only involve considering gender preferences and consumption patterns but also the larger gender and household-level analyses (Maestre and Poole, 2018).

The reproductive and productive roles of women indicate that there are two levels at which gender division of labour operates (Darity Jr, 1995). Firstly, women are seen as solely responsible for social maintenance. Their output in the household primarily involves growing and preparation of food, rearing of children, maintaining the home and caring for sick and elderly family members (Grassi et al., 2015). At this level, generally, men do not participate in household chores and are largely idle (Darity Jr, 1995). On the second level, men and women participate in agricultural activities. However, men's work here comprises mostly land preparation and clearing and women perform other tasks such as transplanting, hoeing, weeding and processing (Darity Jr, 1995; Elson, 1991) (IFAD, 2009).

In most communities in Africa, this mix of reproductive and productive responsibilities manifest as women's obligation to produce and prepare subsistence crops for household consumption and perform household upkeep activities such as fetching water, gathering and chopping of firewood and keeping the household and surrounding areas clean (Quisumbing, 1994) (over and above their responsibilities towards household members such as children and the elderly). "They rise before dawn to fetch water, cook, then walk to the fields for planting, weeding and harvesting. In the peak agricultural seasons, they often spend several hours in labouring, returning home in the evening with a load of wood gathered on the way. Often the women must carry their babies at the same time. Then there is the food processing, and the infants and children must also be looked after and fed.

Beer must be brewed for festive occasions; on market days, goods or excess agricultural produce must be carried to and from the markets-often several kilometres away from home (Lado, 1992, p. 789).

For men in Africa, the traditional obligation is to cultivate and sell cash crops, which provides for the non-subsistence needs of the households. "Men are obligated to provide the land and to be responsible for housing, taxes, ceremonial and religious obligations, and part of the school fees. In most patrilineal societies, men are responsible for surplus accumulation, usually in the form of cattle (Quisumbing, 1994, p. 9).

Agriculture value chains and participation of women in marketing

According to FAO's 2010-11 report "The State of Food and Agriculture – Women in Agriculture – Closing the Gender Gap", about 43% of the agriculture labour force in developing countries comprises women. This figure is 20% in case of Latin American countries and goes up to 50% in Eastern Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (FAO, 2011). In Sub-Saharan Africa, women have the highest rate of agriculture-labour participation in the world. In Uganda, for instance, three out of four agricultural labourers and nine out of 10 food-producing labourers are women, despite the fact that they only own a fraction of the land (Kabahinda, 2017).

Women play a significant role in the wider agriculture value chain - production, processing and marketing - of agricultural products in many African countries. Traditionally, women have been given substantial responsibility for agricultural production. However, their participation in the agricultural sector is often seen as a more traditional responsibility in the household, without according any economic value (Ndanga et al., 2013).

With regard to decision-making regarding production, marketing and the use of income, studies have revealed that women face numerous barriers, especially in the form of lack of access to and control over land, labour and financial services (Mehra, 1995). They also lack access to agricultural inputs and technology, membership to farmer cooperatives and organisations, extension and training, and marketing services (FAO, 1998).

Vis-à-vis participation of women in marketing, it is often suggested that cash crops and export crops are the domain of men – hence men's crops – and food crops or subsistence crops are 'women's crops' (Hill and Vigneri, 2014). However, evidence suggests that when the so called 'women's crops' become financially lucrative, men may take over the production and marketing (World Bank, 2009). In Uganda, for instance, rising demand for leafy vegetables (traditionally a woman's crop) in Kampala markets has led to men taking over their cultivation. (World Bank, 2009).

Women also generally face more constraints than men in acquiring and owning rights to some assets (Lastarria-Cornhiel, 1997). In many communities in Africa, due to customary systems relying heavily on family structures, inheritance and marriage norms, women only have indirect access to land and

its produce through their male relatives (Kevane and Gray, 1999; Lastarria-Cornhiel, 1997). Also, given the range of responsibilities in agriculture and the household, and as low or unpaid workers, women do not have sufficient incentives to invest their time or energy into other activities such as improving production and processing (World Bank, 2009) or for that matter, marketing.

Such inequalities result in differences between men and women with respect to levels of participation, access to productive resources, methods of production and modes of marketing (Hill and Vigneri, 2014; Zakaria, 2017). For example, researchers say that women farmers are at a disadvantage while negotiating with powerful buyers because of their limited experience (those who do not take active part in marketing) and restricted mobility (Mehra and Rojas, 2008).

Restricted mobility could be seen as tied to women's lack of experience, which in turn can lead to lack of access to more lucrative markets that men have access to (Mehra and Rojas, 2008). When markets are situated far from the villages and necessarily involve time-consuming commutes, the movement of women tends to get controlled by men (Ngomane and Sebola, 2016). Specifically, men tend to use household responsibilities of women as means to control women's movement unless women have sufficient bargaining powers in the household (Baden, 1998; Hill and Vigneri, 2014; UNIDO, 2013).

It is for these reasons that in sub-Saharan Africa, women have been found to market traditional crops - sorghum, cassava, maize, and leafy vegetables – largely in local markets (Mehra and Rojas, 2008). “Since local markets are closer to home, they make it easier for women to balance business activities with household activities such as fetching water, firewood and attending to funerals and other community activities” (Ngomane and Sebola, 2016, p. 57).

It is also said that women do not often diversify their products (Ngomane and Sebola, 2016). The lack of diversification and being restricted to local markets lead to women sellers congregating in common areas, which in turn lead to high competition and lowering of prices. While men typically trade in cash crops and other commodities with high returns – such as livestock and processed goods – women sell their produce at lower prices due to stiff competition and lose out on the opportunities to earn competitive profits (Ngomane and Sebola, 2016). Invariably, while women often have control over the small income they generate through local sale of food stuffs and other microenterprises, the larger sums of money remain under the control of men (Quisumbing et al., 2014).

According to Barrett, 2008, “those with access to adequate assets, infrastructure, and with appropriate incentives engage actively in markets, while those who lack one or more of those three essential ingredients largely do not” (Barrett, 2008, p. 300). If we extend these requirements to women – cash crop or otherwise – it becomes obvious that women smallholder farmers are lacking in all three of the ‘essential ingredients.

Role of women in improving nutritional status

Researchers have consistently stated that one of the most important aspects of enhancing the impacts of agriculture on nutrition is improving women's status and empowerment - as indicated by the emphasis on women among the pathways to nutrition through agriculture (Ruel and Alderman, 2013; Ruel et al., 2018). For example, a research study conducted in 2003 in 39 countries identified that women's social and household status are key determinants of children's nutritional status. The study also estimated that equalising men's and women's status within the household in South Asia alone could reduce the number of malnourished children in the world by 13.4 million (Smith et al., 2003).

This need to focus on the role of women is also supported by evidence that show that gender norms are a critical determinant in household nutrition. In a study by Malapit et al. in Nepal, it was observed that women's empowerment played a significant role in mitigating the negative effects of low production diversity on maternal and child dietary diversity (Malapit et al., 2015). In another study by Malapit & Quisumbing, 2014, investigating the linkages between women empowerment and nutritional status of women and children in Ghana, it was found that "in households where women make credit decisions, there may be more scope for smoothing consumption, which could minimize the incidence of acute food shortages or severe disease" (Malapit and Quisumbing, 2015, p. 61). Studies have also shown that increasing women's share of cash income and assets has the potential to increase the budget allocation for food (Doss, 2006; Duflo and Udry, 2004; Hoddinott and Haddad, 1995).

In a study that sought to better understand the enabling environment necessary to impact nutrition through the food and agriculture sector in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda, participating government officials from the three countries said that gender was an important bridge between agriculture and nutrition (Hodge et al., 2015). "The common perception across government, donor agencies, and NGOs was that when women control the resources.. they are more likely to use them for household consumption thereby improving nutritional outcomes" (Hodge et al., 2015, p. 507).

Even though the evidence is not very strong, some studies have shown a positive relationship between higher earnings of women of the household and child nutrition status. The same was not observed to be the case in case of men (Birkenberg, 2013; World Bank, 2009). This positive link is perhaps because compared to men, women are more likely to spend their income on more nutritious foods, school fees for children and health care (King and Hill, 1993; Mehra and Rojas, 2008).

Women in Uganda: Agriculture and market participation

As mentioned previously, 77% of women in Uganda are involved in agriculture (UNHS, 2013). Some older estimates suggest that while women produce nearly all of the food crops and about 60% of the country's cash crops, they only sell 30% and 6% of food and cash crops, respectively (White, 1999).

In a study undertaken by FAO, 75% of the respondents in Eastern Uganda stated that only men are involved in marketing.

The role of women in Ugandan society and by extension, the role they play in agriculture, is characterised by the values and notions that form part of the country's traditionalist cultures and religions. "Traditionalist culture and religion remain strongholds of patriarchal values and practices, in both rural and urban Uganda and they both remain strongly guarded in fear of the recent tide of women's rights and equality." (FAO, 2018, p. 23). Numerous practices that maybe considered regressive in Western and developed societies continue to pose a threat to women's voice, security and empowerment. These include female genital mutilation, polygamy, early marriage, widow inheritance, and domestic violence and they affect approximately 40–45 percent of the families in Uganda (FAO, 2018).

Women's lack of ownership of land and decision- making power stems from the way a society views a woman and sees her place in the domestic setting. As Kabahinda, 2017 succinctly puts it "A rural village woman is generally supposed to obey and consult their husband in matters of household and land management. Thus, the culture at the household level influences the position of women in the village setting and society in general. A woman is culturally and socially subordinate and her power to make decisions at the household level and generally in society are limited and reduced to her domestic roles and responsibilities. She has been kept away from strategic activities of power and influence" (Kabahinda, 2017, p. 834).

Apart from societal norms and values, researchers suggest that the onset of colonialism and the subsequent changes in land ownership systems have also played a critical role in the way women access land and the income earned from it (Kabahinda, 2017). The emphasis on cash crop production over women's subsistence production heightened the gender discrepancies in the division of labour and access to land (Cain and Davidson, 1988). Women do "not own land that would have permitted them to accumulate capital with which to purchase land. They generally did not control the additional labour to work the fields, nor animals and farm tools, nor did they control the income from the sale of crops" (Kabahinda, 2017, p. 831).

CHAPTER 3: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Laven et al., the value chains and gender discourse has identified women empowerment as a critical issue (Laven et al., 2009). However, review of relevant literature reveals that there's a lack of consensus on the conceptualisation of the term 'empowerment'. Researchers have presented a range of terms and concepts that can be considered relevant for assessing empowerment (Malhotra et al., 2002). Some studies have focused on assessing women's autonomy (Basu and Basu, 1991; Dyson and Moore, 1983; Jejeebhoy, 1995); some on status and power (including domestic, economic and bargaining power) (Beegle et al., 2001; Gage, 1995; Hoddinott and Haddad, 1995; Mason and Smith, 2000; Pulerwitz et al., 2000; Quisumbing and De La Brière, 2000; Tzannatos, 1999) and some on patriarchy, gender equality and gender discrimination (Malhotra et al., 2002; Malhotra et al., 1995; Mason and King, 2001).

These differences in what constitutes and determines empowerment highlights the multi-dimensional character of the concept. What also comes to the fore is the understanding that although empowerment is applicable to both men and women, it is more relevant to the latter. Cutting across class and social distinctions and complicated by traditional norms and household relationships and structures, women's disempowerment is far more pervasive as compared to men's (Malhotra et al., 2002; Sharaunga et al., 2016). Therefore, "unlike gender parity and gender equality indices that wish to compare women's position relative to that of men, empowerment is more about how women's relationships with men influence their access and control of resources as well as their agency" (Sharaunga et al., 2016, p. 224).

For the purpose of this study, the analytical framework is informed by literature review on empowerment and is rooted in Naila Kabeer's theory of women empowerment, as proposed in *Reflections on the Measurement of Women Empowerment* (Kabeer, 1999). In the paper, Naila Kabeer states that the *ability to make choices* is associated with power and that "to be disempowered, therefore, implies to be denied choice" (Kabeer, 1999, p. 436).

According to Kabeer, empowerment is "the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such an ability" (Kabeer, 1999, p. 1). This ability to exercise choice, according to Kabeer, can be thought of in terms of three dimensions: resources, agency and achievements. The first of these dimensions features prominently in the literature on empowerment. As summarised by (Malhotra et al., 2002), Chen (1992) sees resources, perceptions, relationships and power as the essential components of empowerment (Chen, 1992); (Batliwala, 1994) defines empowerment as control over ideology and resources, and according to World Bank's report 'Engendering Development' (Mason and King, 2001), rights, voice and resources are three critical constituents of gender equality (Malhotra et al., 2002).

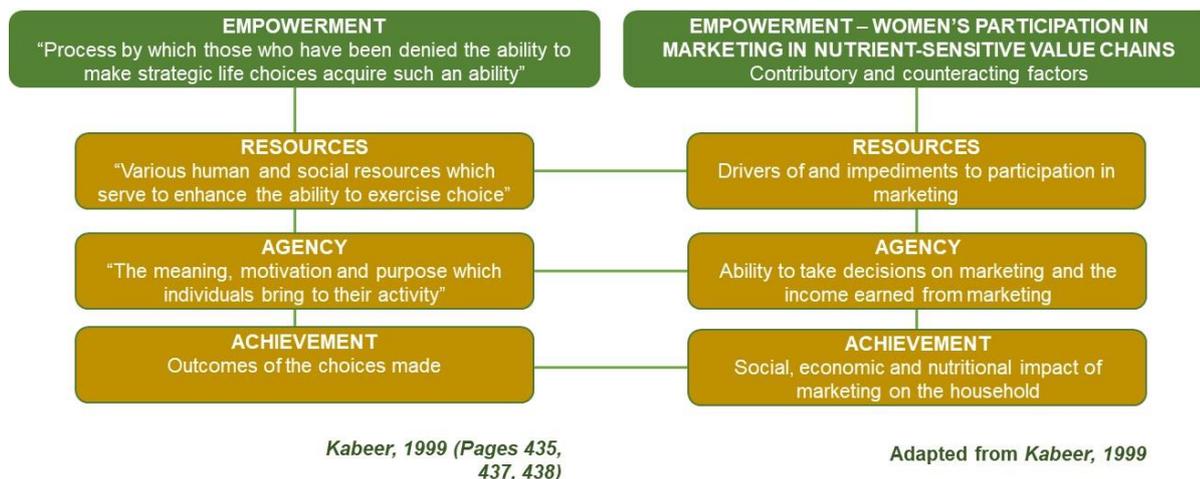


Figure 1: Visual representation of analytical framework (adapted from Kabeer, 1999)

Kabeer, 1999 states that resources are not to be seen only in a conventional, economic sense; resources also include "various human and social resources which serve to enhance the ability to exercise choice" (Kabeer, 1999, p. 437). These resources are distributed across various relationships and institutions in the society, which explains why certain actors have a privileged position over others. This privilege is also based on how societal norms, rules and conventions are interpreted and adopted. Essentially, the ability to exercise choice and define priorities is dependent on how the resources are distributed (Kabeer, 2005). It can also be said that this dependency is self-perpetuating as the ability to exercise choice also impacts the access to resources.

Agency, according to Kabeer, is not just the act of decision making or any other observable action; agency "encompasses the meaning, motivation and purpose which individuals bring to their activity" (Kabeer, 1999, p. 438). The term has both positive and negative connotations. In the positive sense, it refers to people's ability to exercise choice, even in the face of opposition. In the negative sense, it can be seen as the capacity of some actors to override people's ability to make choices (Kabeer, 2005). This power to override someone's agency is influenced by institutional structures and the biases within, and cultural and ideological norms that create power inequalities. These norms and biases are likely to impact subordinate groups into accepting the existing power dynamics, particularly if challenging them carries personal and social costs (Kabeer, 2005).

It is important to state here that considering agency as one of the dimensions of empowerment does not mean that it is women themselves responsible for improving their position (Malhotra et al., 2002). Citing examples of cases in literature where enabling better access to resources did not change women's control over them, Malhotra (2002) says "Thus while resources- economic, social and political--are often critical in ensuring that women are empowered, they are not always sufficient. Without women's individual or collective ability to recognize and utilize resources in their own interests, resources cannot bring about empowerment" (Malhotra et al., 2002, p. 9).

The third dimension, achievements, are the outcomes of the choices made (Kabeer, 1999). Resources and agency make up people's capabilities. These capabilities influence the ability to exercise choice and achieve the intended outcomes. In relation to empowerment, therefore, achievement can be seen from two perspectives. First, achievement is the ability to prioritise life choices and exercise one's agency. Second, it can refer to the extent to which this potential is realised; that is, the consequences of exercising agency (Kabeer, 1999).

It is important to note here that a woman's empowerment is subject to factors such as her class, ethnicity, caste, age, wealth and family position. Further, "women are not just one group amongst several disempowered subsets of society (the poor, ethnic minorities, etc.); they are a cross-cutting category of individuals that overlaps with all these other groups" (Malhotra et al., 2002, p. 5). For these reasons, *resource* in one context could be *agency* in another and can even be seen as indicating *achievements* in other contexts (Malhotra et al., 2002). As an example, "microcredit programs and employment opportunities are often seen as resources for women's empowerment. But if a woman seeks to gain access to microcredit, or to get a job, then getting the job or joining the credit program might be best characterized as a manifestation of women's agency, and the benefits she draws as a result—income, discretionary spending, healthcare, etc--as achievements" (Malhotra et al., 2002, p. 10).

In this study, the role of women in the market of nutrition-sensitive value chains is analysed from the point of view of inter-play of the three dimensions of empowerment, as explained above. In the context of the current study, and based on what Kabeer, 1999 has proposed, empowerment can be seen as the ability of women to take part in the markets unencumbered by any restrictions imposed by societal norms and perceptions, and the limitations that women impose on themselves. In essence, empowerment for the purpose of this study is simply the freedom for women to choose the manner and form in which they wish to participate in the market.

For each of the determinants of empowerment, several factors have been considered. With respect to resources, the study has tried to understand what the existing conditions and resources are – which comprise values, assumptions and norms – that determine *how* women participate in the market in the value chain for climbing beans and black nightshade. The main areas of focus here are the drivers of women's participation in marketing and how this participation is influenced by factors such as a) intra-household responsibilities such as who in the family sells what crops b) nature of access to economic resources, and c) perceptions regarding women's capacities to participate in the market and the perceptions of the larger community regarding women who earn an income from marketing.

With respect to agency, the ability of women to participate in the marketing can be seen as determined by their ability to make decisions, which is significantly influenced by intra-household relationship dynamics. Another aspect of agency, for the purpose of this study, is the extent of control

over income earned from marketing activities. Lastly, achievement, for the purpose of the study, is enhanced participation of women in the market and the ability to make informed choices for better nutritional status of the household.

For each of these three aspects, the findings of the study have been analysed in the context of what are the contributory and counteracting factors. For example, with respect to resources, the findings have been analysed from the point of view of what are the contributory factors that drive women's participation in the market and what are the counteracting factors that limit their participation. With respect to agency, what are the factors that contribute to improved agency among women and what are the factors that negatively impact this ability to take decisions. And finally, what are the factors that have contributed to enhanced market participation and through such participation, the impact on the nutritional status of the household and what are the factors that impede the intended achievements.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Research Approach

The methodology for the study is to some extent rooted in the phenomenological approach to research. The study has focused on understanding, through qualitative methods, how the phenomenon of participation of women in marketing in nutrition-sensitive value chain is experienced by women themselves, and perceived by other women, men and the larger community. The findings have then been analysed based on the analytical framework described in the previous section. According to Denscombe (2010), “in contrast to other approaches to research that rely on processes of categorizing things, abstracting them, quantifying them and theorizing about them, phenomenology prefers to concentrate its efforts on getting a clear picture of the ‘things in themselves’ – the things as directly experienced by people” (Denscombe, 2014, pp. 94-95).

The aims of the study – to describe how women participate in marketing, the opportunities and barriers thereof, along with the mapping of the marketing activities for the two crops - correspond to a key characteristic of the approach: describing authentic experiences. In line with the expectations from phenomenological research, this researcher has tried their best to not “act as editor for the way people explain their experiences” (Denscombe, 2014, p. 98). Denscombe (2014) also states that the phenomenological approach is best suited for small-scale research, which is also the nature of the current study.

Site Selection

The location of the field work was Kapchorwa district in Eastern Uganda, where the EaTSANE project is being undertaken. Located at the slopes of Mt Elgon in Eastern Uganda, Kapchorwa district occupies an area of 1731.7 Km². Regarded as one of the most productive areas in Uganda, the district is divided into three agro-ecological zones: Mt. Elgon High farmlands (altitude 1466 metres), Kapchorwa Farm Forest (altitude 1455 metres) and North East short grass plains (altitude 1093 metres) with clay soils (NEMA, 2004/05). The district is occupied mostly by people of Sebei ethnicity and the population as per the national population census in 2014 was 104,580 (Kapchorwa District Local Government, 2019). The district is divided into 11 sub counties; Kaptanya, Kachorwa town council, Kapchesombe, Kapteret, Tegeres, Chema, Sipi, Chepterech, Kawowo, Amukol and Kaserem (Kapchorwa District Local Government, 2019).

Subsistence agriculture is the main economy activity of the district with maize, banana, millet, potatoes, beans, sunflower, cotton and coffee being the main crops. The farmers also engage in alternative activities such as livestock production, petty trade, sale of firewood and timber, honey etc. (Oduol et al., 2016).

According to a study conducted by Oduol et al. (2016), most of the produce, except for coffee, is sold without any value addition. This is so mostly because of lack of storage and post-harvest handling equipment. The preferred mode of sale is traders coming to the farm gate as this allows the farmer to pass on the risks and costs related to transport to the traders.

Farmers and other value chain actors typically rely on interactions with other farmers and traders for market-related information. The farmers could also go to the sub-county offices and refer to the information gathered by extension officers but only a few do so (Oduol et al., 2016). Clearly, the market for most commodities is unstructured and there is a high likelihood that farmers face exploitation at the hand of the traders, especially since the former in Kapchorwa sell individually and not collectively (Oduol et al., 2016).

Secondary Data

Maastricht University's online library was the primary source of literature on the subject. At times when the online library function was not available or accessible, Google Scholar was also used but the use of the latter was rather limited. Since there are multiple dimensions that are to be looked at for the purpose of this study, a range of search terms were used in different combinations. The search terms corresponded to the different topics mentioned in the literature review section.

Prior to the empirical data collection process, an analysis of the existing project-related documents was also conducted. These documents included the proposal document that described the project that is going to be undertaken in the two regions in Uganda and Kenya and the gender strategy documents that provides guidance on how gender could be integrated throughout the life cycle of the project.

Further, qualitative data collected by the EaTSANE research team in Uganda and Kenya was studied to obtain a preliminary understanding of the market dynamics for climbing beans and black nightshade. The team had undertaken field work in Uganda and Kenya in the month of March, 2019, where they conducted focused group discussions with men, women and youth and key informant interviews with farmers, traders, consumers, extension workers and researchers. Specifically, the information from the group discussions with men and women who produce and/or nutritious crops – in case of Uganda, nightshade, climbing beans, bush beans, field peas and cow peas – were studied in detail. Based on the nature of participation of women and men in marketing of these crops, two crops – black nightshade and climbing beans - were chosen for a comparative analysis.

The literature review and the analyses of the data collected by the EaTSANE research team were key to creating the tools that were used to conduct discussions and interviews for the study. The analysis of data was additionally useful in ensuring that the current study fits into the overall objectives of the EaTSANE project. The idea is to ensure that the findings of the study can be considered by the project team while designing and implementing the planned project interventions.

Primary Data Collection

Denscombe (2010) suggests that data collection under a phenomenological approach typically tends to rely on tape-recorded interviews. Relative unstructured interviews are considered to be valuable because they allow in-depth exploration of the subject(s), the possibility of raising important issues the interviewee thinks are important, and the opportunity to provide an account of the experiences (Denscombe, 2014). In case of this study, semi-structured interview schedules were used for interviews.

Before each of the interview, the researcher explicitly conveyed to the interviewee about the nature of the research and the commitment to keep the information shared by them completely confidential. In return, the interviewees were requested to sign a consent form that stated the same. If a potential interviewee declined to sign the consent form, their sentiments were acknowledged, and the interview was not conducted.

The focused group discussions (FGDs) involved use of participatory tools in order to ensure that all participants get the opportunity to contribute to the discussions and so that a visual map of the marketing activities for the two crops could be created collectively.

The choice of the participants for interviews was based on the findings of the aforementioned analyses of secondary data and on the relevance of their role in the socio-economic milieu of the region. The participants of the study included the following:

- a. Women and men farmers who grow and sell black nightshade in Kapchorwa: Nine women farmers who grow and sell black nightshade were interviewed
- b. Women and men farmers who grow and sell climbing beans in Kapchorwa: 11 women farmers and seven men farmers who grow and sell climbing beans were interviewed
- c. Local retailers/wholesalers traders who source from farmers that grow the two crops: Three women retailers who sell black nightshade; one woman trader involved in trading of black nightshade; two restaurant owners who source black nightshade from farmers and traders; six women retailers who sell fresh climbing beans and three store owners who source climbing beans from farmers and sell at their stores were interviewed
- d. One expert from Makerere University in Kampala was interviewed
- e. Other stakeholders – three influential community members, representatives of two schools in the region, one local government official, one extension worker, one representative of a local NGO and three women farmer-group representatives were interviewed

It is to be noted here that some women and men farmers grow and sell both climbing beans and black nightshade. Also, few of the interviewees falling in the category of 'other stakeholders' were

also interviewed in their capacity as farmers and hence are also part of the first two categories of interviewees specified above.

Snowball sampling was used for the selection of participants and interviews were conducted until the researcher arrived at the point of ‘theoretical saturation’ – where no new information could be generated by conducting more interviews (Denscombe, 2014).

The following table shows the tools and activities that were part of the research process.

Table 1: Tools used for the study

Sr. No.	Tools/Method	Description
1.	Key Informants interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured interview schedules were used to conduct interviews with farmers, local traders, academic experts, influential community members and local government officials. The interviews were useful in collecting in-depth information on the specific dimensions of the research topic.
2.	Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured schedules were used for focused group discussions with women and men farmers and traders. • The FGDs enabled a comprehensive insight to the understand the different dimensions of the research question and the sub questions. They also helped the participants to speak freely and express openly.
3.	Mapping of marketing activities and the role of women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The FGDs also involved participatory mapping of marketing activities related to the value chain of the two crops • This activity enabled not only to understand the marketing activities involved in the value chain of the two crops but also wider discussions on respective marketing abilities of men and women, socio-cultural aspects that influence marketing decisions, barriers faced by women in the market and opportunities to enhance women’s market participation, if any.

A total of five FGDs were conducted among women and men in as many villages. Three of the five FGDs were conducted among women and a total of 36 women participated. A total of 12 women

farmers, seven men farmers, ten women traders and five men traders/entrepreneurs were interviewed. Further, an official with a local NGO, a community development officer with the East Division of Kapchorwa Municipality, an elder at a local church, an agriculture extension worker with the municipality, two school officials at two different schools (one head teacher and one deputy head teacher) in Kapchorwa and a gender and agriculture expert from Makerere University were interviewed.

Broadly, there were four categories of interviewees for this study: women farmers, men farmers, women traders and men traders/entrepreneurs. The categories of men and women farmers included those who cultivate and sell climbing beans and black nightshade. The category of women traders comprised those who a) procure crops from farmers and sell them further to other sellers and b) those who buy from traders or farmers and sell to end consumers. The category of men traders/entrepreneurs comprised three shop-owners in Kapchorwa and two restaurant owners.

Data Analysis

The discussions and interviews were recorded using an iOS software, with due permission from the participants. Each of these interviews and discussions were transcribed post the interview. These transcriptions were checked for any glaring mistakes or critical missing information and wherever possible, this missing information was collected from the interviewees. Post the field work, these transcriptions were coded and analysed using the qualitative data analyses software, Atlas.ti.

The codes used to analyse the field data corresponded to the themes that came up during the literature review and the questions and sub-questions that this study seeks to answer. For each of these codes, reports were generated that were then used for describing the findings of the study. The transcriptions and coding also helped in highlighting individual quotes of interviewees to back this researcher's description of the findings.

Study limitations

Although June-July are the months when climbing beans are harvested and are available in the market, erratic rainfall in the region meant that the beans were not readily available in the market. While this did not pose a challenge while interviewing farmers who grow and sell climbing beans, it did prove challenging to find traders –those who sell on the street-side, in Kapchorwa town and local trading centres – who sold climbing beans. It required individually enquiring with the traders whether they sell climbing beans when it is available to find potential interviewees.

Owing to unfavourable weather conditions, the researcher also faced some logistical difficulties while undertaking interviews and discussions. Some of the interviews and discussions had to be concluded before all the questions and discussion points could be covered. Also, some interviews with farmers, traders, store owners and hotel owners had to be shortened – focusing only on what this researcher considered to be the critical aspects - because of other engagements that they had to attend. The

researcher tried, as much as possible, to get these missing bits of information over the phone or by arranging additional meetings, wherever the respondents were open to interacting again.

The interviews were conducted with the help of a translator, who also helped in arranging meetings with the potential interviewees and FGD participants. While orienting the translator with the tools that this research has deployed, this researcher explicitly explained to the translator that they should relate whatever the interviewees say, *as is*. The researcher, and this study, therefore, has relied extensively on the translation done by the translator. It is, thus, a possibility that some of the essence of what the interviewees stated could be lost in translation.

Lastly, since the research delved into somewhat sensitive topics – especially questions relating to women's autonomy – there were times when interviewees hesitated to answer the question(s). In a few cases, a social desirability bias was also observed. In most cases, subtle probing helped in obtaining more detailed and unbiased information from the interviewees. But in cases where the interviews were concluded quickly, sufficient probing was not possible.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

About the participants

Nearly all the farmers reported that they grow a mix of Irish potatoes, maize, bush beans, climbing beans, tomatoes, kale, black nightshade, bananas, and avocados. Three of the farmers stated coffee and cassava as the other crops they grow. While some of the women farmers stated that agriculture was their only source of income, four stated that they have additional sources of income which included teaching, brewing local beverages and running a petty shop. Two of the women farmers interviewed were also the elected representatives of their village (Local Council – 1). Two out of eleven women farmers interviewed were the head of their households.

Among the 10 women traders who were interviewed, eight of these traders sold a mix of produce such as vegetables such as potatoes, onions, tomatoes, aubergines; greens such as black nightshade, spider-plant, cow pea leaves and amaranth, and fresh climbing beans (when in season) directly to the consumer. They either sold in local trading centres (cluster of shops and vendors close to villages) or in the main Kapchorwa town. One trader stated that she only trades in nightshade; procuring from farmers and then selling to other sellers and one trader runs a store in Kapchorwa town that sells items such as maize flour, wheat flour, rice, ground nut, field peas and climbing beans (when in season) and vegetables such as onion and garlic. Four of these 10 women traders were head of their households.

Among the seven men farmers interviewed, crops that they grow were reported to be similar to the ones reported by women. They reported an annual average income between 1 million and 15 million Ugandan shillings and all of them stated that they were the head of their households. Among the five men traders/entrepreneurs interviewed, three owned stores that sold general provisions such as rice, maize flour, groundnuts, oil, soap, beans and vegetables. Two were hotel owners who bought climbing beans (when in season) and nightshade from different sellers. Since the market for nightshade and fresh climbing beans is dominated by women, no men traders who sold these items could be found.

Profile of market participants – Climbing beans and Nightshade

According to the FGD participants and the interviewees, the cultivation and the sale of nightshade is completely dominated by women. It is not common for men to sell nightshade or any other type of leafy vegetables that are commonly sold and consumed in the region such as cow pea leaves, kale, amaranth leaves and spider plant. “It is part of the culture that women grow and sell nightshade” was an oft-heard comment from both women and men. Some women participants also stated that men are reluctant to be involved in selling a crop that is considered a woman’s crop and one which is grown on a small scale.

Nightshade is usually grown on a small scale, and as reported by many participants, usually on a small patch of land very close to their homes – homestead gardens. Unlike cash crops such as maize, Irish potatoes and bananas, nightshade is typically not grown on a big scale or on large pieces of land. In some ways, therefore, growing nightshade is considered part of the housework, which is a woman's domain. It was also stated that nightshade is usually grown for home consumption and that whatever is deemed extra is sold. "Because women are always at home and are responsible for cooking for the household, growing and selling nightshade is a woman's work," said one male interviewee (Male Farmer 4, 2019). A female farmer stated that nightshade needs regular tending and that someone with a "regular job" (a salaried job that involves fixed working hours and being away from home) does not grow the crop. "I am at home all the time, so it is best suited for women like me" (Female Farmer 2, 2019).

Women who grow nightshade either sell their produce to their neighbours, restaurants and other end consumers directly or sell them to traders who in turn sell it to other sellers and/or traders. Across this chain of sellers and traders, all participants, according to the respondents, are women. Some male respondents were of the opinion that they 'do not need to know' the quantities grown and sold, and the amount earned from the sale of nightshade.

One female farmer was of the opinion that men have very little information about how to grow and sell nightshade. According to her, "nightshade is sold in bundles. Women have smaller hands, so their bundles are small in size. But men have bigger hands and the bundles they make with their hands are also big. In effect, they will sell bigger bundles at the same price as we women sell the smaller ones, which is not profitable" (Female Farmer, 3).

The women who grow and sell nightshade, the women who procure from farmers and sell it to other sellers or the end consumers, and the sellers who sell it to end consumers were stated to be above the age of 21 and married, with most of the women being in the age group 30 to 50 years. Women younger than 21, according to the respondents, are pursuing their education or helping the older women in their households with cultivating nightshade and other crops. But they do not take part in marketing. The traders and sellers typically belong to poor households with annual income of less than 10 million Ugandan Shillings. The richer, more prosperous households, according to the participants, focused on growing cash crops and preferred to buy nightshade instead of cultivating it.

The age and economic profile of market participants in case of climbing beans was similar to that of nightshade. The gender profile, however, differed significantly. According to the participants of the FGDs and also corroborated by interviewees, typically, women sold climbing beans if they are sold fresh or if they are produced and sold in small quantities. Large quantities of climbing beans, on the other hand, was said to be typically sold by men. (*What is meant by small and large quantities varied widely among the participants and depended on how much they grew, the nature of harvest, the size*

of the land that is under cultivation, the prevailing market price of the produce and the income that they earned from agriculture.)

It was further mentioned that in Kapchorwa, climbing beans are typically grown on a small scale and on small plots of land. The traders who procure climbing beans from farmers also stated the same. Shop-owners in Kapchorwa who sell dried beans, among other daily-use general items, said that their stores usually had more of bush beans than climbing beans. Although climbing beans provides a better harvest than bush beans for the same size of land under cultivation, as indicated by several respondents, growing the former is considered more labour intensive because of the staking required for the plant to grow. In effect, climbing beans, according to the majority of participants, are grown on a smaller scale than bush beans. And because it is usually grown on a small scale, at least in the area of the current study, the selling is also done mostly by women.

In effect, when it comes to women's participation in marketing, there are three broad categories: 1) women farmers who grow climbing beans and nightshade and sell their produce to traders and directly to consumers, 2) women traders who source climbing beans and nightshade from farmers and sell it to retailers and/or directly to consumers 3) women retailers who procure from farmers and traders and sell *from designated spots* directly to consumers.

Mapping the market – Climbing beans and Nightshade and the role of women

Climbing beans:

According to the FGD participants, the most important modes of sale for climbing beans were selling the produce to traders coming to the farmgate; to shops close to their village or farmgate; to schools as school fees; to big stores in main Kapchorwa town and to neighbours. These different modes of sale are explained briefly below:

1. Traders at the farmgate: These are the individuals – both men and women - who go to the farmgate or the residence of the farmers – wherever they store their produce – and buy directly from them. Either they procure the produce themselves or send a *boda-boda* (local term for a motor-cycle taxi). Some FGD participants said that such traders are aware of who is planting what and when the harvest is due. “If they see beans laid out to dry, they will come to buy in the next few days,” stated one participant (Male FGD Participant, 2019). Others stated that the traders call them and check on the availability of beans and fix a time to meet. If the trader happens to live close by, the farmers could also take their produce to the trader.

These traders, according to the participants, usually sell the beans to other stores (mostly the big stores in the main town of Kapchorwa) or take it to bigger markets in adjoining Kamus, Mbale and Serotti districts or sell directly to the end consumer. In case of fresh beans, the traders also sell to street vendors or sellers at local market or trading centres. It was mentioned that the traders were easy to contact and would themselves initiate contact if the

demand for beans is high. When the demand is low, however, it is the other way around: farmers have to search for prospective buyers. It is to be noted here that according to the participants, traders usually focused on large quantities – more than 20-30 kilograms – and were not keen on trading in smaller quantities.



Figure 2: Modes of sale for climbing beans and which mode is deemed suitable and dominated by women

2. **Big stores:** These establishments are general stores located in Kapchorwa town that typically sell daily-use items such as cereals, grains, oil, soap, spices and other fast-moving consumer goods. These stores keep dry items and therefore, prefer to store and sell dried beans. Usually, the farmers take their produce to these stores in order to sell them but depending on the demand, distance to the farmgate, the quantity available and the relationship with the farmer, the store owners could go to the farmer themselves or send a *boda-boda* to transport the produce to the store. The stores, according to the participants, sell to the end consumers, schools, prisons, police, hotels and companies located in the region.
3. **Local shops:** These are establishments that operate within a small, usually walkable, distance from the village where the farmers reside. Similar to big stores, they stock cereals, grains, soap and other consumer goods but on a much smaller scale. Participants reported that a significant portion of the transactions at the local shops are barter in nature: farmers sell their produce to the local shops and in return buy small household items such as oil, soap, paraffin, rice, maize flour and other day-to-day household requirements. The quantities sold by farmers at these local shops are usually small.
4. **Schools:** According to the head teacher of a prominent secondary school in Kapchorwa region, which also has boarding facilities, they need regular supply of maize flour, dried beans, greens, vegetables, rice and meat to feed the students of the school. Although they

have to source the majority of their requirements from formal suppliers, as mandated by the government, they can source a small portion of the requirements locally – micro-procurements. The process is as follows: the farmers bring their produce to the school, measure the quantities, and estimate the value according to prevailing market prices. Based on the price of the produce, they make requisitions to the accounts department at the school and receive cash payments. This cash is then paid as school fees by the parents of children studying in the school. Similar processes are followed in other schools as well, as corroborated by the deputy head teacher of another school in the region.

5. Neighbours: Farmers also sell their produce to their neighbours for consumption and as seeds during the planting season. Some participants stated that neighbours were not a priority category because of the informal relationship that exists, as a result of which they are sometimes not able to quote a profitable price and/or are compelled to sell at a lower price. Some women participants stated that they prefer to sell their produce to their neighbours in return for produce that they do not grow themselves.
6. Other modes: The other modes of sale for climbing beans mentioned by the participants included large-size markets such as the one in the nearby district of Kamus, selling on the streets or at the local trading center and selling to hotels in the region. But these modes were not mentioned in all the FGDs and were considered relatively less important by the farmers for climbing beans.

Nightshade:

1. Trader at the farmgate: Similar to climbing beans, traders – all of them women - coming to the farmgate and collecting the produce was considered one of the most important modes of sale for black nightshade. The participants stated that the trader came to the farmgate and not to the farmers' residence because nightshade is sold as soon as it is harvested, owing to its perishability, and is not stored in or close to their homes, as is the case with climbing beans. The traders would subsequently sell their stock themselves at the market in Kapchorwa, or at the local trading centre to the end consumers or take the stock to bigger markets in the neighbouring districts if the quantity was significant or sell the stock to retailers at the local trading centres or in Kapchorwa.

One of the women traders interviewed stated that she usually sells to other sellers. However, while carrying the stock from the farmgate to her buyers, she sometimes encounters people who enquire about the quality and price of the stock she is carrying and sells to them directly.

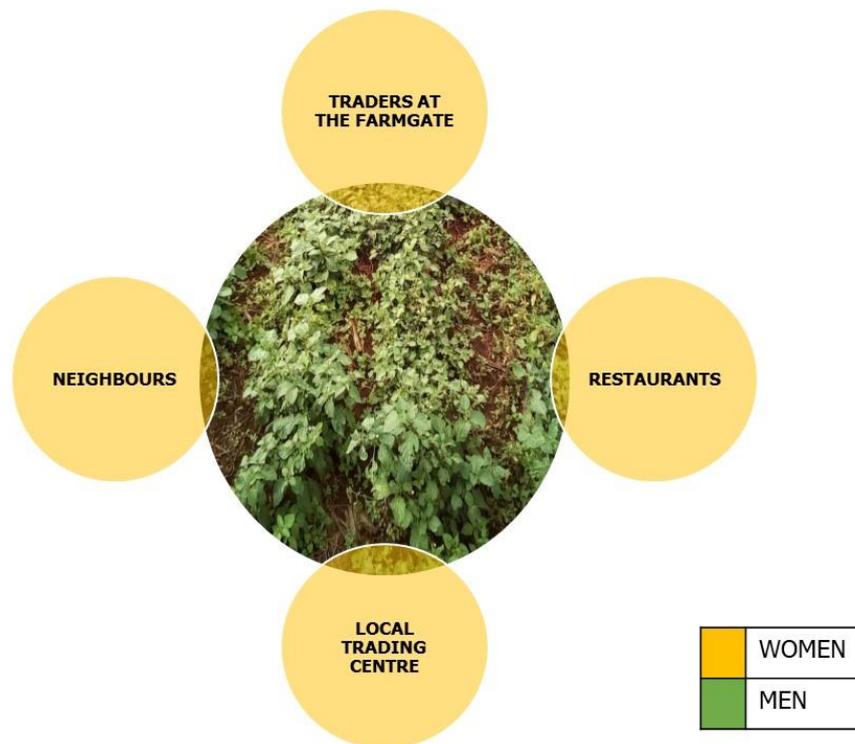


Figure 3: Modes of sale for black nightshade

2. Restaurants: Unlike what was observed for climbing beans, hotels were stated to be an important category of buyers for black nightshade. According to one of the restaurant owners in Kapchorwa, he sources black nightshade from farmers or traders who bring their produce or stock to the establishment, mostly around the time the restaurant opens for the day. Another restaurant operator stated the same and added that he has multiple suppliers so as to ensure that if one supplier does not have enough black nightshade, the other one can ensure that the daily requirement is met.
3. Local trading centre: Some women stated that they sell their produce themselves at the local trading centre. This was usually the case when the women were left with some produce after selling to the traders and/or hotels or if their produce is too small to be sold to traders.
4. Schools: The procedure for sale of black nightshade to the schools is similar to what has been described above for climbing beans. Additionally, some women participants stated that they were aware of women who sold cooked black nightshade to children and the teachers in schools close to their homes during lunch time.

Farmers' marketing preferences: Climbing Beans

During the FGDs, participants were asked to rank the different modes of sale on the basis of the value they get for their produce and the quantities sold. The majority of participants stated that traders coming to the farmgate/home offered the best value for their produce. If there are multiple traders procuring from the same village, they tend to compete among themselves and try to offer a better price for the produce than the other traders. This way, farmers benefit from the competition

among traders. Some participants stated that the big stores may offer a better price but selling to them has costs involved: hiring a vehicle to transport and personal expenses when they are in the town. The next best option was stated to be schools, especially for those whose children were enrolled in the schools where they sold their produce. According to some FGD participants, the schools may not offer the same prices as the traders coming to the farmgate or big stores in the town but selling to the schools directly helps them to fulfil one of the most critical household responsibilities quickly and efficiently.

Selling to the local shops (within or close to the villages) and to neighbours were considered to be the least profitable modes of sale. As mentioned above, the quantities sold to the local shops were small and usually in return for household items that the shops sell. According to the participants, selling to neighbours was more out of the necessity to maintain friendly relations with them, than making a profit. The participants were seen complaining, in a rather light-hearted manner, that the neighbours do not give the fair market price for their produce, buy on credit and even coax them to sell free of cost.

With respect to the quantity sold, some participants stated that they sold the majority of their produce to big shops in the town, while other stated traders coming to the farmgate as their biggest buyers. Some participants with children of school-going age stated that they sold a large portion of their produce to the schools.

The participants were also asked to rank the options on the basis of suitability for women's participation: which of the modes of sale was best suited for women and therefore saw significant participation of women. Both women and men participants largely concurred that traders coming to the farmgate was best suited for women farmers who grow climbing beans and wish to sell them. This mode, according to them, did not put any burden on women's time or require them to travel long distances. They also largely agreed on selling to local shops and neighbours as the next best options for women involved in marketing. Selling to big shops requires traveling to the town and negotiating with shop-owners and selling to schools was stated to be a long and complicated process. For these reasons, these two modes of sale were considered less suitable for women.

Farmers' marketing preferences: Black nightshade

Similar to the process followed for climbing beans, participants were asked to rate the different modes of sale for black nightshade on the basis of the value offered and the quantity sold. As black nightshade is sold exclusively by women, the third aspect of 'suitability for women' was not considered.

According to the participants – women and men largely concurred on the ranking – the best mode of sale with respect to both the value offered and the quantity of black nightshade sold was traders coming to the farmgate. The next best option was selling the produce to the restaurants, followed by

selling directly in the market – local trading centre, Kapchorwa town or regional markets. Selling to neighbours was considered unprofitable and selling to the schools was considered a complex process, similar to what was stated for climbing beans.

Responsibilities within the household

Nearly all participants of the FGDs and interviewees were unanimous in their opinion of what constitutes women's and men's responsibilities in the household. "Men provide for the family and women run the household" was the common sentiment. The men in a household were said to be primarily responsible for earning an income, which would pay for the essential requirements: food, clothing, education and healthcare. Further, they were also responsible for taking the household livestock out for grazing and shepherding them back. Women, on the other hand, were responsible for taking care of children, cooking - including deciding what is to be cooked - keeping the home and the surrounding areas clean, milking the cows and taking care of the livestock. One male interviewee tried to summarise the division of responsibilities as follows: "All the heavy and outdoor activities are done by men and the less strenuous and indoor activities are done by women" (Male Farmer 5, 2019).

The responsibilities of men and women in agriculture varied depending on the crops that are cultivated. Broadly, cash crops – Irish potatoes, maize, coffee, rice, beans (grown on a large scale) etc - were seen as men's responsibilities and all the other crops, women. Wherever the main source of income for the household was said to be cultivation of cash crops and the head of the households were men, ensuring that the farms are well managed was the responsibility of men. Where the male head of the household had any other primary source of income and the household grew crops other than cash crops, the majority of responsibilities relating to cultivation became women's domain. This does not mean that when agriculture was the primary source of livelihood, women did not have responsibilities on the farm.

In case of cultivation of cash crops, men were responsible for clearing the field, ploughing, planting and spraying of pesticides and herbicides, and harvesting. Here, women were primarily responsible for weeding and for helping the men with planting and harvesting. In case of cultivation of subsistence crops or those grown on a small scale and where the men in the household had a non-agricultural activity as the primary source of livelihood, women were considered responsible for almost all activities except clearing, ploughing, staking (in case of climbing beans) and spraying.

In case of climbing beans, women were stated to be responsible for planting, and weeding and men for clearing the field, ploughing, searching for and planting the stakes, and spraying. Harvesting was stated to be a shared responsibility. In case of black nightshade, however, the entire 'ploughing to harvesting' chain of responsibilities – except for spraying - was women's domain. "You will not see men in the farm, bending down and taking care of and picking *sojet* [black nightshade]," said a community development officer with the municipality (CDO, 2019).

It was observed that the level of participation of women in marketing (the three broad categories explained previously) did not influence the responsibilities of women in the households. Women farmers selling their produce from the farmgate, women traders procuring from farmers and selling to retailers or consumers, and women retailers all similar set of household responsibilities. Women traders and retailers who spent a significant portion of their day away from their household stated that it was at times difficult to manage the multiple responsibilities but each of them had devised their own ways to manage their time. “My older children take care of the young ones when I am away,” said one female trader (Female Trader 7, 2019). “I wake up very early in the morning and ensure that the house is clean, and food is ready for my husband and children. Sometimes, I go back home for lunch and come back to resume selling,” (Female Trader 9, 2019).

Drivers for market participation of women

According Dr Margaret Mangheni, Associate Professor, Department of Extension and Innovation Studies, Makerere University, because of the demarcation between cash and food crops becoming fuzzy, there has been a significant shift in the responsibilities of men and women in agriculture in Uganda. According to her, earlier the difference between food crops and cash crops was pronounced and visible – at the household, community, national and the policy level. “Now that food crops are being sold, you see more men involved in them,” she said (Dr Mangheni, 2019). And since food crops are generating an income, women are increasingly getting involved in taking care of the cash needs of the households. “Women now have the desire to send their children to school and have sufficient household amenities, so there’s increased market participation”, she added (Dr Mangheni, 2019).

Women who were the head of their households stated that they had to start engaging in the market to earn money when they separated from their husbands or when their husbands died or became incapacitated, as the case maybe. Women who were not head of their households and with husbands or other male members earning an income – either from agriculture or other sources – stated that what drove them to earn and income included a) the need to ensure that their children go to school; b) that the family members get to wear good clothes and have essential non-food items at home; c) that the household gets to eat a wider variety of food; and d) that they are able to contribute to the household income that can be used to buy assets or meet any emergencies in the future.

Further, many women emphatically stated beyond the aforementioned reasons, they did not want to depend on their husband’s income and permission for small expenses. “You want some money that you own. You want to buy a handkerchief, you have to ask the husband. I was tired of doing that,” said one female interviewee (Female Farmer 8, 2019).

When probed further, interviewees and FGD participants – both men and women - stated that a single person earning an income was not sufficient to meet the needs of their families. The male

participants mentioned that rising prices of every-day items and the rapid changes in lifestyles – such as owning and operating a mobile phone and the desire to send their children to private schools – meant that men’s income is not enough.

Some women stated that the men of their households refused to give them money when it was required or that the men spent their income recklessly, leaving very little for the women and for meeting the daily needs of the household. Two women participants mentioned that their husbands were alcoholics and as a result, most of the money earned by them was spent on alcohol. Although the exact rate of prevalence was difficult to ascertain, alcoholism was cited as a wide-spread phenomenon by some interviewees, municipality officials and influential members of the communities.

Values, assumptions and norms

Who sells what - small scale versus big scale: As mentioned previously, cash crops such as maize, Irish potatoes, rice, beans (grown on a large scale), and coffee are considered men’s crops. Other crops such as banana, vegetables and greens are deemed women’s crops. When asked for the reasons why cash crops are managed by men and other crops by women, the primary reason for this demarcation was stated to be the scale on which crops are grown. Other reasons included the perceived inability of women to manage household responsibilities and the responsibilities that come along with cultivation and selling of cash crops; the perceived inability of women to use heavy equipment that are necessary for large-scale farming of cash crops, and traditional norms. Since the cash crops are grown on a large scale, men were considered to be in a better position to manage the crops. “The big crops require a lot of effort and time. We men are in a better position to manage them as compared to women. Women have a lot of other responsibilities,” said one male interviewee (Male Farmer 3, 2019).

Other crops were usually grown on relatively smaller patches of land (compared to cash crops), which were either part of the homestead garden or located close to the homes. “Since I am the one at home, it is easier for me to take care of vegetables and greens,” said one female interviewee (Female Farmer, 4). In effect, anything that is grown on a large scale was considered men’s domain and anything grown on a smaller scale, was women’s domain. Therefore, marketing of climbing beans was entrusted to women when it was grown on a small scale and when it is on a large scale, men are considered responsible.

Marketing of black nightshade was a woman’s job, as it is usually grown on a small scale. The same was evident from the fact that the local vegetable markets and the local trading centres were dominated by women. And most of the stores that stocked dried climbing beans were found to be run by men.

The relationship between the scale of production and who does marketing was also observed to be tied to the perception of the marketing abilities and capacities of women. Men were nearly unanimous in their opinion that women are not in a position to undertake marketing of big quantities for three major reasons 1) women have numerous household responsibilities, 2) it is not easy for women to move around, and 3) women are not as good at negotiating as men. Critically, some women farmers and traders seemed to agree with the men.

According to men respondents, marketing of big produce requires interacting with a range of potential buyers; some may come to the farmgate and in other cases, there's a need to go and seek out buyers. Since women are taking care of the household, it is difficult for them to carve out time and look for potential buyers. Then there's the factor of mobility: men either had their own mode of transport – usually a motor-cycle – or were able to hire a boda-boda and meet potential buyers. The same was not true for women owing primarily to the lack of access to a personal mode of transport and also how women who are outdoors for extended periods of time are perceived by the community (discussed in detail later).

These two factors were observed to be influenced the third main reason for women's perceived lack of marketing abilities. According to most male interviewees and some female interviewees, the pressure of household responsibilities and lack of mobility make it difficult for women to interact with a range of buyers and sellers. As a result, they do not know what the different prices on offer. This lack of knowledge of different prices offered by different buyers and sellers affect the women's ability to negotiate – they are unable to quote a profitable price for the produce they wish to sell or buy. Some men respondents stated that once a deal is struck with a buyer – the quantity and the price at which to be sold - women can do the selling, but only if the trader comes to the farmgate.

“Women do not have the capacity to negotiate and tend to easily adjust to the price offered by the traders. They can be easily undermined by traders,” said one male farmer (Male Farmer 6, 2019). Some women farmers echoed this line of thought. “Men are better at marketing because they can move. They can talk to different buyers and other farmers and as a result, know where and whom to sell and at what price”, said a woman farmer (Female Farmer 2, 2019).

Some men farmers and traders also alluded to women's “rigidity” when it came to the prices of their produce as a sign of poor negotiation skills. “Women are very rigid. They stick to their prices and do not adjust. Men are more understanding,” said a trader who runs a store in Kapchorwa (Male Trader 2, 2019). Interestingly, this rigidity was also mentioned by some female traders who stated that they preferred buying from men than women. “Men talk easily and finish the transaction. Women are very rigid in negotiating, especially with other women,” said a woman trader who sells vegetables in Kapchorwa town (Female Trader 4, 2019).

Interestingly, despite their unfavourable perception of women's marketing abilities, many male respondents believed that women “naturally attract respect” because of their “sweet voice and

behaviour” and thus are able to function well in the marketplace. Women respondents, on the other hand, believed there were more reasons than just their demeanour that made them perform well in the market place. They were nearly unanimous in stating that because they are more sensitive, dedicated to well-being of their households and better than men in managing finances. “Women care more about their families and they extend that emotion to their customers as well,” said a female trader (Female Trader 1, 2019).

Some women, however, were of the opinion that given the right kind of support from within the household and the government, women can indeed do the marketing and selling of cash crops and other crops grown on a large scale. Some were of the opinion that they can undertake marketing even without such support but what stopped them was the need to respect the status of men in the household. “Women can definitely sell the big crops. But they also need to ensure that they respect the position of the man in the household,” said a female trader (Female Trader 5, 2019).

Community (and self) perception of women who do marketing

While the majority of men and women participants of the study stated that there were hardly any negative perceptions surrounding women who undertake marketing, there were some who stated that perception of the community members could be an impediment to market participation of women. It was observed that the negative perceptions were largely associated with women farmers and traders who as part of their marketing activities step out of the house. Women farmers who sold their produce only at the farmgate or from their residence usually did not invite reactions.

Some women farmers and traders stated that some men are not comfortable with the women in their families going out of the house. “But those are primitive people,” said a woman farmer. One woman trader stated she has personally suffered through harassment from her fellow villagers. “They accuse me of making money from marketing. I believe they are envious,” she said (Woman Farmer 10, 2019).

It is to be noted that more men than women held a negative perception of women who participate in the market – specifically those who go out of the house. They said that women who stay out of the house late are seen as indulging in “immoral activities” by the community members. “In villages, they are seen as adulteresses. Women who do not do business say such things about other women who do,” said a male trader (Store Owner 2, 2019). One male interviewee attributed such perceptions to the traditional status of women in the households. “Traditionally, women were considered property of the men. When you marry a woman, you pay the family and it is like you have bought her. If you have bought something, you assume ownership. Women were expected to bear children and take care of the family. And when women go out of the house for work, people say that woman is ignoring her husband and the household,” he said (Male Farmer 6, 2019).

Few men interviewees also brought up safety issues as an important reason behind why women are discouraged to travel. They stated that it is not safe for women to be out alone, especially when it starts to get dark. “There could be delays in the market, so they reach home late. That could be a problem. There are rough people out there. They can rape the women and younger girls can be defiled,” said a male FGD participant (Male FGD Participant, 2019).

It is interesting to note here that even if there were not any negative perceptions surrounding women stepping out of the house to undertake marketing activities, there is a high likelihood that women’s mobility will continue to remain curtailed. Conversations with the participants and the translator engaged by the researcher revealed that women in the region do not ride motor-bikes – the most common and suitable (for the hilly terrain) form of transport in the area. (Indeed, this research did not see a single woman riding a motor-bike in Kapchorwa.) The main reason cited was the difference between men and women’s attire. “Generally, in our culture, men usually wear shirts, t-shirts, trousers and shorts. It is easy to ride a motor-bike for a man. But women wear dresses, skirts or traditional gowns, which are not suitable for riding a motor-bike,” (Translator, 2019).

Decisions on income earned through marketing

All the farmers and traders interviewed, except for women who were the head of the households, started with saying that the husband and the wife together take decisions on the money earned by the husband or the men of the household. Men’s income was said to be spent on buying agricultural inputs, children’s education, buying assets such as livestock or land, repair-work for the house and other such substantial outlays. (Women who were the head of their households stated similar expenditure heads.) However, although the decision-making was said to be shared, the final say, according to the interviewees, rested with the men.

The income earned by women (except those who were the head of their households), according to the respondents, was mostly kept with the women themselves. They were not expected to consult their husbands on how to spend that money, except in case of big expenditures. The income earned by women was said to be mostly spent on buying oil, paraffin, vegetables, soap, salt and sugar and other such daily-use household items. When asked if the women wished to buy an asset – such as a cow or a goat – with their money, the majority of women stated that they would have to consult their husbands before they did so.

According to the men participants of the study, women were free to spend the money that they earn from selling vegetables and greens. “The men usually do not take money from the women. They know that women are doing a lot of work in the house. Also, when she sells vegetable, there is food on table. He knows that the money is being spent on something,” said an extension worker with the municipality of Kapchorwa (Extension Worker, 2019).

Interestingly, interviewees – both men and women – stated that women are much better at handling finances and ensuring their income is spent wisely. “Women are honest with their money. A man can go sell the produce and hide the money from the household, but not women,” said the deputy-head teachers of a school in the region (Teacher 2, 2019). According to a woman trader, “When women develop their business, they really do it. They spend the income on their family, on their children’s education. They do not drink. The money is spent on the right things,” (Female Trader 1, 2019).

The same was not true for men. Nearly all respondents, including men themselves, agreed that men were not good with handling money. “During the harvest season, they spend money without thinking. They buy food they would not eat. Men also try to please the men around them. Someone may not drink but will insist on buying for others,” said the extension worker (Extension Worker, 2019). The situation was said to be particularly tough for women whose husbands are suffering from alcoholism. One female trader who revealed that her husband is an alcoholic said that she mostly does not know where the income earned by husband is spent. Her household is run primarily through her income. According to her, alcoholism is a lot more common and hence, a pressing issue, than what is commonly understood or discussed.

Bank account: While most of the men interviewed said that they had a bank account, only four women interviewed had a bank account in their name. Some of those who did not have an account said that their husbands had a bank account and others stated that they found the banking processes tedious and time consuming. While the men said that they save their money in the banks or more importantly, by buying assets such as land, property or livestock, nearly all the women mentioned that they saved money by being part of “merry-go-rounds”. These are usually groups of women, ranging from 10 to 30 members, who meet at periodic intervals – usually a week – and contribute a fixed amount to the common pool of funds. Each week, one person is entitled to take a portion of this pooled money for any domestic or external expenditure. The rest of the pooled money is kept safe for any exigencies.

Impact of market participation on women

All the women traders and farmers stated numerous positive changes in their lives ever since they started participating in the market and earning an income. They are able to contribute to paying their children’s school fees; buy household items without asking their husbands; buy clothes for themselves and their children and even give pocket money to their children. “I can afford things I could not previously. Now, I do not need to ask my husband for anything,” said a woman trader (Female Trader 9, 2019).

The impact was observed to be particularly strong for women who are the head of their households. The income from marketing was the only way to ensure that they and their children have a stable future, according to them. “After I got divorced, the income helped a lot. I was able to buy this plot of land where I live now,” said a woman farmer (Female Farmer 2, 2019). Another woman farmer said

that she is building a house with the money she earned from marketing, while adding that she is unable to keep track of where her husband's money was being spent. Citing examples of how women spend their income on the right things, one female trader expressed that participation of women in the markets can only yield positive impacts. According to her, women are better at resource management and if there are more women, there will be more progress.

Men respondents also expressed that the impact of participation of women from their households in the market has been largely positive. Similar to what the women respondents said, the men respondents felt that the pressure on the men has reduced because the women are helping them out with taking care of the household expenditure. At the same time, however, men respondents expressed some concerns about how increased market participation, more than what it is currently, could lead to women ignoring their household responsibilities. "If the women are out for a long time, the children suffer because there is no one to take care of them. If women listen to their husbands and understand them, there is no problem," said one male farmer (Male Farmer 3, 2019).

According to the community development officer at Kapchorwa Municipality, an empowered woman is able to stand up for herself. "I have seen even the frequent beatings (domestic violence) stop. Because many times the beatings happen because the women ask for money to buy basic household items," she said. According to Dr Margaret Mangheni, however, it is too soon to say whether there is a possibility of a wider impact of market participation of women on intra-household dynamics. "It is certainly a positive trend. Women are no longer waiting for handouts from men. They are able to buy for household needs and contribute to nutrition. The larger changes in the household dynamics, however, is difficult to establish," she said.

Impact of market participation on nutritional status of the household

All the respondents for the study stated that having women in the household participate in the market has positive impacts on the nutritional status of the household. Many interviewees were of the opinion that since men are not involved in cooking food for the household, they do not think of nutritional impact or even the food security of the household when spending their income. Women, on the other hand, are responsible for cooking for the household and thus, have a better control over how her income should be spent and what should be bought for the household.

Nearly all women farmers and traders stated that they do not sell all of their produce – for the purpose of this study, climbing beans and black nightshade: they keep some of it for household consumption. Some women farmers even said that they keep a portion of their land where they grow black nightshade and climbing beans exclusively for household consumption: only the produce from the remaining portion of land is sold. The respondents were also of the opinion that with women having an income and the power to spend it without asking their husbands, they are in a position to spend more on nutritious food.

It is important to note here that some respondents pointed out that empowerment and a source of income is not necessarily connected to better nutritional status. “Some men and women tend to sell all their good quality beans in the market and eat the bad quality ones. Others spend all their income on other needs. Because paying school fees is more important than nutrition. Maybe they do not even know that the food is nutritious,” said a male trader (Male Trader 1, 2019). Another trader stated the same, adding that he has seen the tendency among farmers to sell all of their produce. According to him, some do not even store the beans as seeds for the next planting season. The traders’ assessment is likely not off the mark. While interacting with women traders and farmers, most of them stated that the income from marketing was spent on daily need household items. Not all of them stated nutritious food as an expenditure head and those who did seemed to prioritise other needs over nutrition.

“It depends on how they are participating in the market,” said Dr Margaret Mangheni (Dr Mangheni, 2019). According to her, market participation means they are able to earn money which in turn means they can purchase food stuff that are not produced by the household. The challenge is when they are selling. “It could be that they produce but don’t produce enough and because of their need for cash, they sell it all. And that leads to a negative relationship between nutrition and women’s participation in the market,” she said (Dr Mangheni, 2019).

Ways to improve market participation

When asked about the means to improve participation of women in the marketplace in general and the markets for climbing beans and black nightshade in particular, the most effective and important means, based on the responses, was observed to be access to capital. This was observed to be the case with respect to all three categories of women who undertake marketing activities. According to women respondents, men largely control the financial resources of the households and therefore can use the money they earn to improve their marketing prospects. On the other hand, women’s income is almost entirely spent on household needs. “Capital is the key. That is what the men and women do not have,” said a female trader (Female Trader 2, 2019).

Another important means to encourage participation and one that also addresses the issue of capital was stated to be formation of women’s groups that can encourage collective production and marketing. Most of the women farmers and traders stated that they were not part of any farmer or trading groups – only informal savings groups. Some men respondents stated that there are collectives for cash crops, especially for coffee and Irish potatoes, that they are part of, but no such groups were mentioned for climbing beans and black nightshade.

According to the community development officer at Kapchorwa municipality, “Groups allow women to save, especially those women whose household environment is hostile” (CDO, 2019). She provided details of a government initiative – Uganda Women Entrepreneur Programme – which aims to women’s access to financial services and opportunities for skills development for

entrepreneurship, value addition and marketing of products and services. She mentioned success stories of women who formed groups in Kapchorwa got loans from the government under the said scheme and are now successfully producing and marketing agricultural produce (among other products and services). According to the figures she provided, about 19 such groups with 230 women, which received a total of 108 million Ugandan Shillings in loan disbursements are active in Kapchorwa currently.

Some women farmers and traders were of the opinion that the only way to improve market participation of women was to engage with men and sensitise them about the need to encourage women to have their own source of income and complete control over it. "Talking to the husband is the only way to have any changes. If you don't listen to your husband, he can abandon you," said one female farmer (Female Farmer 4, 2019). Some men respondents were of the opinion that sensitising, and training of women could lead to better participation. "There is a negative self-perception among women that needs to be addressed. Trainings on how women's participation is necessary and on how to conduct a business could help," said a male store owner (Store Owner 2, 2019).

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

As is evident from the findings of this empirical study, there are numerous interconnected factors that directly and indirectly impact the market participation of women in nutrition sensitive value chain. The aim of this study, as mentioned previously, is to understand women's participation in marketing along nutrition-sensitive value chains from the perspective resources, agency and achievements: the three dimensions to women empowerment as proposed by Naela Kabeer (Kabeer, 1999).

In order to better understand the barriers to and opportunities for enhanced market participation of women in nutrition-sensitive value chains, the findings of the study have been analysed on the basis of what are the contributory and counteracting factors vis-à-vis resources, agency and achievements. It is to be noted here that these findings are on a general level, not specific to climbing beans or black nightshade. The idea is to present an overall analysis of the factors that positively and negatively impact women's participation in marketing. Needless to say, the incidence and impact of these factors would vary among the three categories of women who engage in marketing.

Further, recommendations on the way forward based on the analysis of these factors; the recommendations from the respondents, government officials and experts interviewed for this study, and the experiences of researchers who have worked on similar subjects (based on literature review) have also been presented.

Table 2: Contributing and counteracting factors for market participation of women - Based on Kabeer, 1999

EMPOWERMENT CRITERIA	CONTRIBUTING FACTORS	COUNTERACTING FACTORS
RESOURCES	Few barriers to entry in the marketing space for vegetables and greens as women already dominate the value chain	Difficulty in stepping beyond selling vegetables and greens as cash crops and those produce on a big scale seen as men's domain
	Earning an income from selling crops produced on a small scale means less effort in cultivation and harvesting and better management of various responsibilities	Selling cash crops or 'subsistence' crops produced on a large scale requires time and effort, making it difficult to women to manage household responsibilities
	Women's demeanour suited for marketing	Women's lack of mobility and perceived lack of marketing acumen

AGENCY	Numerous drivers for market participation of women	Negative self and community perception (specifically of women who step out of the house for marketing)
	Freedom to take decisions on the income earned from marketing	Men exercise the final say on big financial decisions in households
	Willingness to sell cash crops and food crops grown on a big scale	Need to respect the status of men in the households
	Women are better at managing finances than men	Women lack access to capital and credit
ACHIEVEMENT	Women are able to fulfil basic household and personal needs through market participation	Concerns regarding women's participation leading to disregarding of household responsibilities
	Direct impact on nutrition possible because women are responsible for cooking for the household	Lack of awareness on how to improve the nutritional status of households

As shown in the table above, there are several contributing factors when it comes to resources that encourage women's participation in the market. It is the women who constitute the majority of sellers – farmers, traders and retailers - for climbing beans and black nightshade in particular and vegetables and greens in general. Specifically, the marketing of black nightshade is completely dominated by women, irrespective of the scale on which it is grown. For climbing beans, however, scale is an important consideration. Climbing beans grown on a small scale and fresh (instead of dried) is dominated by women but if it is grown on a large scale, it is men who tend to undertake the marketing activities (unless a woman is a head of the household). Therefore, based on the findings, women's participation does not seem to go beyond small-scale produce.

The restriction on producing and selling crops that are grown on a small scale is driven by the need to manage reproductive and productive responsibilities. Men consider women responsible for the majority of household responsibilities and thus, prefer women to undertake marketing activities on a small scale. Women, driven by their need to contribute to household income and other drivers, engage in marketing activities of crops that are seen as their domain, and are unable or unwilling to cash crops or crops grown owing to range of factors – as explained in the table above and the findings section.

Characteristics such as empathy, kindness and the ability to manage finances well are considered to make women fit for market participation. At the same time, however their lack of access to capital contributes to their lack of access to mobility, which together lead to the perceived lack of marketing acumen that men are said to possess. Most importantly, while there are numerous factors that drive participation of women in the market – such as the desire to contribute to family income, get children educated, not ask money from husbands and take independent household decisions – there are negative perceptions regarding women who do marketing and selling, largely imposed and perpetuated by traditional structures and opinions of community members.

These observations are corroborated by various studies and documents that although there are assumptions regarding who can grow what – cash crops by men and food crops by women – the fact remains that the men tend to control the means to and expenditure of large sums of money (Quisumbing et al., 2015; World Bank, 2009). Further, studies focusing on women's mobility have found that rural women's mobility is restricted by monetary constraints (inability to pay for transport if means are available), labour and household obligations and contentious and widespread association of women's mobility to possible sexual misdemeanour (Hapke, 2001; Porter, 2011; Silvey, 2000).

With respect to agency, although women have the freedom to spend the income they earn the way they wish to, there are still limitations on decision making as the final say on big financial decisions continue to rest with the men. Interestingly, women were reported to be better with money matters, while men were said to be reckless with their income. This view is also corroborated by research that have focused on the identity of persons earning an income and how it is spent. Broadly, these studies have shown that while women spend the majority of their income on supplements to household food supply, the men tend to spend a greater proportion of their income on status consumer goods, alcohol, cigarettes and 'female companionship' (Blumberg, 1984; Guyer, 1988; Haddad et al., 1994). Further, the findings of the study also show that the need to respect the status of men as the head of the households largely overrides the willingness and desire to participate in the marketplace in the value chains of cash crops or crops grown on a large scale.

Vis-à-vis achievement, women respondents in the study testified that market participation and the income from it has resulted the ability to fulfil basic household needs. They reported improvement in self-esteem and a sense of independence since they do not feel the need to rely on men's income to meet household needs. At the same time, however, some women and men respondents were of the opinion that increased market participation could be detrimental to the household as women would likely start ignoring their household responsibilities.

Women also stated that market participation has improved their ability to buy more and nutritious food for the household. However, the impact on the nutritional status hinges on the awareness regarding nutrition, which could be deficient. Assessment of a project focusing on the promotion of

indigenous leafy vegetables and legumes in Eastern and Southern Africa has shown that awareness creation on the production and nutritional value of nutrient-rich vegetables and their impacts on health resulted in an increase in demand (Ojiewo et al., 2015). Indeed, improving women's status within the household, enhancing women's control over assets and income (Jaenicke and Virchow, 2013; Quisumbing, 2003; Smith et al., 2003) have the potential to improve the nutritional status of a household. But these measures need to be accompanied with "evidence-based awareness creation and a strong multi-stakeholder advocacy for consumption of nutrient-dense vegetables and legumes"(Ojiewo et al., 2015, p. 205) to create a strong impact.

Entry-points to improve women's market participation

Initiatives aiming for enhancing market participation of women have to be multi-faceted, according to Dr Mangheni (Dr Mangheni, 2009). From the government's side, agricultural extension services should be tailored to meet the needs of the women – focusing both on skills enhancement and making the women aware of the possibilities. She says that provision of capital should be considered with caution as women usually are not comfortable with loans. Concurring with respondents and the CDO at Kapchorwa municipality, Dr Mangheni stated that mobilising women in groups is critical as targeting them as individuals may not be successful. She also stated the importance of utilising existing institutions and networks. Apart from the savings groups that are active, "religious institutions can also play a positive role. They have social capital in their institutions and it really is a social network," she said (Dr Mangheni, 2019).

Capacity building to encourage stepping beyond small-scale and subsistence crops: As mentioned previously, women tend to face difficulties in accessing training and extension services and market information (IFAD, 2009). Research suggests that even though women farmers indicate a strong demand, the extension services often do not reach them; specifically, to women who are the head of their households (Doss and Morris, 2000; Quisumbing, 1994; Saito et al., 1994). It is, thus, imperative that better access to training and extension facilities and programmes organised by government as well non-government entities be enabled for women.

One approach to improve access to extension services could be engage female extension agents, especially in an area like Kapchorwa, Uganda where there are strict norms regarding women venturing out and on women-men interactions. Studies have suggested positive gains from female extension agents interacting with female farmers (Quisumbing and Pandolfelli, 2010). Further, innovative means such as use of media and phones and farmer volunteers could also be explored to fill the void created by the lack of access to extension services (Oduol et al., 2016) It is to be noted here that in the context of this study, better access to extension services are likely to positively impact women farmers more than women traders and retailers.

Encouraging participation in groups (collectivisation): In a study conducted to assess the impact of farmer collective action on small-holder farmers growing bananas in Kenya, researchers found

that farmers part of a group were able to fetch a better price for their produce compared to farmers acting individually. The study also found that group members also led to an increase in the total annual income of group members. (Fischer and Qaim, 2012b). “The formation of women’s groups to improve rights and access to services is a well-established means of social and economic empowerment in which members increase productivity and incomes collectively. Village women can organize sizeable networks and federations of networks capable of effectively demanding improved services and asserting land and water use rights” (Ashby et al., 2009, p. 4). Specifically, in context of the current study, unlike extension services, encouraging participation in groups and farmer collectivisation is likely to benefit all three categories of women who engage in marketing.

Engaging with existing institutions and structures, as conveyed by Dr Mangheni, can play a critical role here. As reported in the findings section, nearly all women respondents reported being part of savings groups called ‘merry-go-rounds’. According to an NGO official working in Kapchorwa, many merry-go-rounds in the region have gone on to become village savings and lending associations (VSLA).

VSLA is a savings-led microfinance model that has been standardised by the international civil society organisation CARE and promoted by numerous others as a means to encourage savings and improvement of financial skills among women (Ksoll et al., 2016). Similar to the informal merry-go-rounds, a VSLA is a “self-managed group of 20-30 individuals that meets on a regular basis to provide its members a safe place to save their money, to access loans, and to obtain emergency insurance” (CARE, 2017, p. 1). Results have shown that taking a VSLA approach such as can be used for vulnerability reduction and improving community development (Lowicki-Zucca et al., 2014).

Engaging with these ‘merry-go-rounds’ in an informal way or by formalising them into VSLAs is a promising proposition. Women respondents in the study have also emphasised the importance of engaging with women through groups. By including a behaviour change and awareness element focused on nutrition and production and marketing of nutrient-dense crops such as climbing beans and black nightshade, these groups can not only provide financial security to women and a platform to exchange knowledge and skills on marketing, they can also play a critical role in improving the nutritional status of households.

Enabling a change in mindsets: Findings of this study indicate that values, assumptions and norms and men’s perceptions of women’s marketing capacities are big determinants of women’s participation in marketing. Enhancing women’s participation in marketing would require means and ways to change these traditional and long-held perceptions. Further, although the economic roles played by men and women have changed, the reproductive roles are witnessing a very slow rate of transformation. As Dr Mangheni stated, “Men are beginning to slowly participate in nurturing and other reproductive (caring and nurturing) roles but that change is slow. So while the women take on the cash earning burden, they continue to hold on to their reproductive roles” (Dr Mangheni, 2019).

Engaging with women through groups and collectives could be one way of dissemination of relevant information and knowledge. However, engaging only with women is not likely to yield the necessary results: men need to be a part of such interventions. Involving men as partners of women who are beneficiaries of groups such as VSLAs has shown positive results. According to an evaluation study of a pilot project undertaken as part of CARE Rwanda's Village Savings and Loan (VSL) programme, there was a positive impact of group training programmes involving couples and men on not just household level poverty but also family dynamics and partner relations. A similar initiative could be undertaken in Kapchorwa as well, given the fact that there are organisations already present in the region which engage with women through VSLAs.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This study set out to explore women's participation in marketing along nutrition-sensitive value chains is shaped and to identify the barriers to such participation. The starting point of this exploration, which also corresponds to the first sub-question under the overarching research question, was to identify the role of women in marketing of the two crops under study.

As per the findings, women dominate the cultivation and the sale of black nightshade. This chain – growing, harvesting and selling – comprised almost only women. The only role of men here was land clearing, ploughing and spraying. Men were not known to sell nightshade or any other type of leafy vegetables. In fact, there was a sense of reluctance observed among to be associated with 'woman's crop', especially one which is usually grown on a small scale. In essence, growing and selling nightshade was a considered part of household responsibilities. Women who grew and sold black nightshade sold mostly to neighbours, restaurants and other end consumers directly. Women who traded in black nightshade bought them farmers and sold it to retailers.

In contrast, market participation was determined by whether climbing beans was sold fresh or dried and the scale at which it is grown. Typically, women sold climbing beans if they are sold fresh and if they are produced and sold in small quantities. Men took over the sale of climbing beans if they are grown in large quantities. The most important modes of sale for farmers growing climbing beans was stated to be selling to traders at the farmgate, to local shops, to schools as school fees and to big stores (dried) and to neighbours. Among these modes of sale, women farmers were mostly involved in the first two modes of sale mentioned. The remaining were stated to be complicated processes, involving negotiation and travel, that was considered not suitable for women in general. The situation was similar for women who trader in climbing beans. Most of the women traders and retailers that were part of the study said that they sold climbing beans in fresh form and in small quantities. Those who were found to trade in larger quantities were men.

Based on the above findings, three broad categories of market participation among women were observed. 1) women farmers who grow climbing beans and nightshade and sell their produce to traders and directly to consumers, 2) women traders who source climbing beans and nightshade from farmers and sell it to retailers and/or directly to consumers 3) women retailers who procure from farmers and traders and sell from designated spots directly to consumers.

Once the general pattern of market participation was understood, the study sought to understand the various factors that drive women's participation in the marketing of these two crops. This corresponds to the second sub-question that this study focuses on. Broadly, the following reasons were cited by women farmers and traders for their participation in the marketing of the two crops: a) the need to ensure that their children go to school; b) that the family members get to wear good clothes and have essential non-food items at home; c) that the household gets to eat a wider variety

of food; d) that they are able to contribute to the household income that can be used to buy assets or meet any emergencies in the future and e) that they do not have to depend on their husband's permission and income to undertake small expenditures. The men also seemed to appreciate women's participation in marketing insofar as they contribute to the household family income.

As numerous the drivers were, so were the barriers to women's participation. As mentioned earlier, women were found to be marketing small-scale, low value produce such as vegetables and fresh beans. This relationship between the scale of production and who does marketing was observed to be tied to the perception of the marketing abilities and capacities of women. Women's lack of mobility and perceived lack of marketing acumen were stated by men and some women as the reason behind women being unable or unwilling to sell cash crops or those grown on a large scale. It was also found that men (and some women) consider women responsible for the majority of household responsibilities and thus, prefer that women undertake marketing activities on a small scale. There were references to the possibility of women ignoring their household responsibilities if they spend too much time on marketing. There was also allusions to the possibility of women indulging in "immoral activities" if they stay out of the house too late or for too long. Clearly gender relations and perceptions posed critical constraints on women's ability to participate in marketing.

While women stated that they have the freedom to spend the income they earn, the final say on big financial decisions rested with the men. Women spent their income mostly on household needs such as foodstuff, oil, paraffin, soap and other such items. On the other hand, men were considered responsible for farming and related expenses, educating the children, investing in property and buying other assets such as livestock. While women were considered careful and conscientious with the income they earn from marketing, men were considered reckless spenders (even by men themselves).

Based on the empirical study and literature review, the entry points for enhanced participation of women in marketing suggested include: enabling better access to training and extension services, formation of women's groups to improve rights and access to services, and targeted interventions to enable a change values, assumptions and norms regarding women's participation in marketing. Since most of the women respondents in the study reported being part of informal savings groups called 'merry-go-rounds', engaging with them through these groups was assessed to be the most effective and efficient opportunity. Lastly, the impact on the nutritional status hinges on the awareness regarding nutrition, which could also be addressed by incorporating a behaviour change communication element while engaging with women groups.

Based on the comparison of the marketing practices relating to the crops and the role of women therein, it can be said that scale is the primary determinant of who gets to sell what. Traditional norms dictate that men are the head of the households and responsible for the important, especially finance-related, decisions in the household, as also informed by literature. As a result, they are

responsible for cash crops and crops grown on a large scale as they are the primary source of income for households in rural areas of sub-Saharan Africa. Women are responsible for taking care of the household, rearing children and taking care of the sick and the elderly. Therefore, they are expected to be within or in close proximity of the household. Or sell crops that are largely grown in backyard gardens or on a small scale, which do not require 'ignoring' household responsibilities.

These norms affect the mobility and in turn, the marketing capacities of women. And ultimately, this becomes a vicious circle. Because women are responsible for household responsibilities, they cannot venture out and engage effectively in marketing. As their mobility is restricted, they are unable to gain experience in marketing, because of which their marketing capacities are not at par with the men. Since this perceived capacity for marketing among women is observed to be low, they continue to remain restricted to growing and marketing of low value produce.

While there is plenty of literature analysing in detail the status and scope of market participation of women in Uganda and sub-Saharan Africa, this researcher believes that a comparative study of two crops enables a more nuanced understanding of the barriers that women face. This study brings to light how the various contributory and counteracting factors – as presented in the discussion section – impact the market participation of women and sometimes even reinforce the norms and stereotypes that pose as barriers to such participation.

In the future, this broad research field of nutrition-sensitive value chains would get to benefit from a detailed analysis of how exactly women spend the income that they earn from marketing. Such an analysis would be of immense value in understanding the spending habits of women and how any intervention in that area could possibly impact the socio-economic status of households. More importantly, such an analysis will be useful in measuring how women spend on nutrition and the scale and scope of impact of women's participation in marketing on the nutritional status of the household.

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APPENDIX

A.1 Participants of Focused Group Discussions

Date (2019)	Village	Name	Age	Gender	Occupation
4th June	Chemuron	Cherop Justine	30	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Chebet Monica	36	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Chebet Lilina	45	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Wenenizi Esther	33	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Chebet Doreen	31	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Kokop Betty	87	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Kokop Musau	90	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Chemusto Sylvia	33	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Chemusto Annet	18	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Chelimo Juliet	38	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Chepkurul Stella	48	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Chemutai Justine	31	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Mama Kusuro	66	Female	Farming
4th June	Chemuron	Mama Toboswa	60	Female	Farming
5th June	Chepchabai	Kubet Michael	43	Male	Farming
5th June	Chepchabai	Chesang Moses	40	Male	Farming
5th June	Chepchabai	Chebet Stephen	20	Male	Farming
5th June	Chepchabai	Arapbukose Morris	64	Male	Farming
5th June	Chepchabai	Kiplanget Aggrey	31	Male	Farming
5th June	Chepchabai	Somikwo Sam	50	Male	Farming
5th June	Chepchabai	Mrugusho Wilfred	38	Male	Farming
5th June	Chepchabai	Limo Titus	30	Male	Farming
5th June	Chepchabai	Solimo Joseph	31	Male	Farming
5th June	Chepchabai	Ayeko Jabeth	22	Male	Farming

5th June	Chepchabai	Sanae Elijah	26	Male	Farming
6th June	Seron	Chelangat Faith	21	Female	Student
6th June	Seron	Chebet Abigail	23	Female	Farmer
6th June	Seron	Chebet Juliet	23	Female	Farmer
6th June	Seron	Justine Nahtari	30	Female	Farmer
6th June	Seron	Chebet Ann	40	Female	Farmer
6th June	Seron	Chebet Caro	27	Female	Farmer
6th June	Seron	Chekwemboi Susan	24	Female	Shopkeeper
6th June	Seron	Sophie Chesang	44	Female	Farmer
6th June	Seron	Precila Chelangat	42	Female	Farmer
6th June	Seron	Chebet Philis	26	Female	Farmer
6th June	Seron	Gladys Musanga	54	Female	Farmer
6th June	Seron	Spaica Labu	46	Female	Farmer
6th June	Seron	Chelimo Iren	32	Female	Farmer
7th June	Kringet	Ayeigo David	33	Male	Farmer
7th June	Kringet	Musoba Satya David	72	Male	Peasant farmer
7th June	Kringet	Mwenge Mark	27	Male	Farmer
7th June	Kringet	Wandera Isaac	32	Male	Farmer
7th June	Kringet	Tutu Sam	40	Male	Farmer
7th June	Kringet	Kapsanchui Norman	28	Male	Farmer
7th June	Kringet	Chelimo Isaac	34	Male	Farmer
9th June	Malok	Chemutai Rashida	20	Female	House-wife
9th June	Malok	Asina Sakudon	59	Female	farmer
9th June	Malok	Chekwech Maureen	25	Female	House-wife
9th June	Malok	Chebet Suwena	25	Female	House-wife
9th June	Malok	Chelangat Suwena	38	Female	House-wife

9th June	Malok	Chebet Saniya	40	Female	House-wife
9th June	Malok	Kanifa Shaibu	44	Female	House-wife
9th June	Malok	Chebet Shamura	27	Female	House-wife
9th June	Malok	Nuriya Bashir	50	Female	House-wife

A.2 List of interviewees

Category / Occupation	Name	Age	Name of village /Area of work
Women Trader	Chekwemboi Rachel	23	Kapchorwa Town
Women Trader	Chebet Philis	30	Kabarotwo
Women Trader	Chelimo Justin	33	Kapchorwa
Women Trader	Chemonges Vanice	36	Chebukat
Women Trader	Cherotich Juliet	37	Reperon
Women Trader	Chelangat Benna	40	Kymalil
Women Trader	Chebet Ann	43	Chemonges square
Women Trader	Kissa Viviah	43	Kamus
Women Trader	Chebet Everlyne	54	Tongwo
Women Trader	Chelangat Synabu	55	Chelangat Square
Women Farmer	Chebbet Annet	31	Tukokur
Women Farmer	Chemushak Hellen	32	Tukokur
Women Farmer	Chemusto Skovia	32	Chepchabai
Women Farmer	Chelangat Jantrice	34	Tulwo
Women Farmer	Chebet Anne	40	Seron
Women Farmer	Chelangat Justine	45	Tulwo
Women Farmer	Cherop Philis	45	Tulwo
Women Farmer	Mary Chesane	48	Chepchebai
Women Farmer	Cherotich Sylvia	48	
Women Farmer	Stella Chepkwurui	48	Chemuron

Women Farmer	Hellen Chemayek	53	Chepchabai
Women Farmer	Betty Laiback	56	Namurungu
Store owner	Muvanga Fred	32	Kapchorwa
Store owner	Chelibai Isaac	50	Seron
Store owner	Chemonges Geoffrey	29	Kapchorwa
School Principal	Chesang Frederick Sindet	45	Head Teacher, Seibei College, Tegeres
School Accountant	Cheptoyek Lorna	28	Kepteret Primary School
NGO worker	Satya Samuel Milton	-	Kapchorwa
Men Farmer	Ayeigo David	33	Kringet
Men Farmer	Chemusto Tom	33	Chepchabai
Men Farmer	Arapta David	56	Tukokur
Men Farmer	Achiti Moses	58	Tukokur
Men Farmer	Lubu Yusufu	61	Seron
Men Farmer	Yesho Augustine	65	Seron
Men Farmer	Twala Satya Edward	66	Tukokur
Restaurant owner	Cherotich Michael	46	Kapchorwa
Restaurant owner	Salim Moin	24	Kapchorwa
Extension Worker	Chelimo Manasseh	-	Kapchorwa Municipality
Elder, Church / Nursing Officer	Chesang Dennis	35	Perfection, Church and Ministry, Kutung /
Deputy head teacher – Kaptaret Primary School	Chesuro Muzengyo	38	Deputy head teacher – Kaptaret Primary School
Community Development Officer – Kapchorwa Municipality	Chelangat Carolyn	-	Kapchorwa East Division Municipality
Expert	Margaret Magheni	55	Makerere University

A.3 Interview Schedule – Women Farmer

Name of the interviewee	
Age	
Name of village	
Crops grown	
Size of farm land	
Other sources of income	
Average annual income	
Details of family members	No. of men, women, children
Date of the interview	
Name of the interviewer	

Division of responsibilities in the household

1. In your household, what are the responsibilities of the male members in a household?
 - a. Children
 - b. Youth
 - c. Adults (18 - __ productive age)
 - d. Elderly
2. What are the responsibilities of the female members of the household (including girls and adolescent and unmarried)?
 - a. Children
 - b. Youth
 - c. Adults (18 - __ productive age)
 - d. Elderly
3. Please state which responsibilities are shared between men and women.
4. Who decides what is to be cooked and eaten by the household? Men, women or youth/children or shared?
5. Do you have a bank account?
 - a. Do you use it yourself?
6. What kind of control do you have on income and spending?
 - a. Do you have your own income and savings?
 - b. Do you have to ask the male members for money to be spent on household expenditure?
 - c. Any other arrangement?
7. Who has the final say on major financial decisions in the household?

Division of responsibilities related to farming (responses will be sought with respect to Nightshade and/or Climbing beans, if either or both are produced by the household, wherever suitable and appropriate)

1. What are the responsibilities of males in agriculture?
 - a. Children
 - b. Youth
 - c. Adults (18 - ___ productive age)
 - d. Elderly
2. What are the responsibilities of females in agriculture?
 - a. Children
 - b. Youth
 - c. Adults (18 - ___ productive age)
 - d. Elderly
3. Do you employ hired labour for work on your farmland?
 - a. If yes, for what kind of work?
 - b. Please state whether men or women or both
4. Please state which responsibilities are shared between men and women.
5. Who is the key decision maker when it comes to agricultural inputs?
 - a. Allocation of labour
 - b. Procurement of seeds, fertiliser etc
 - c. (Probe the role of women in decision making)
6. Who has control over the income generated from agriculture?

Women and marketing (responses will be sought with respect to Nightshade and/or Climbing beans, if either or both are produced by the household, wherever suitable and appropriate)

1. Do women in your household participate in marketing activities?
 - a. If yes, please describe
 - i. Nature of participation
 1. Selling the harvest
 2. Trading further along
 - a. Wholesale/retail
 3. Any other
 - ii. Reasons behind participation
 - b. If no, please state why
2. Do you participate in marketing activities?

- a. If yes, please describe the nature of your participation
 - b. If no, please state why
3. (IF THEY PARTICIPATE) Please describe your experience of participation in the market?
 - a. What is your average day like?
 - b. What do you like about the work?
 - c. What are the things you don't like?
 4. What was your experience in the beginning, when you started doing marketing related activities?
 5. How has it changed for you over the years?
 6. What kind of changes have you observed in yourself since you started participating in the market?
 - a. Positive
 - b. Negative
 7. Do you face any difficulties in managing your responsibilities, within and outside the household?
 - a. How do you overcome these difficulties?
 8. What happens with the money you earn from marketing?
 - a. Goes into the household pool of income
 - b. Some is contributed, some is saved
 - c. All of it is saved
 9. Do you see any changes in the way the members of the household treat you ever since you started participating in marketing activities?
 10. Do you see women from other households participate in marketing activities?
 - a. If yes, according to you, what are the reasons behind their participation?
 11. What type of women are engaged in marketing of the crop(s)?
 - b. Younger or older women
 - c. Married or single
 - d. Heads of the household
 12. What type of men are engaged in marketing of the crop(s)?
 - e. Younger or older women
 - f. Married or single
 - g. Heads of the household
 13. How would you differentiate, based on your experience and observation, how men engage in marketing activities and how women engage in marketing activities?
 14. According to you, how are women involved in marketing activities perceived by the community in general?

15. Do you see any changes in the way the community members treat you ever since you started participating in marketing activities?
16. What according to you are the biggest barriers against women's participation in the markets?
 - a. Responsibilities in the household
 - b. Education
 - c. Financial literacy/understanding
 - d. Logistics related issues
 - e. Societal expectations and pressures
17. What kind of differences have you observed between how men and women participate in the market?
18. Whom do you think are better at marketing activities? Men or women?
 - h. Please state why
19. What kind of impact does women participating in marketing activities have on households?
20. According to you, if women participate more in the market for nutritious commodities, what will the impact be on the nutrition status of the household?
21. Do you think women should participate more in marketing activities? Why?
22. If the answer to the above question is yes, in what ways can women's participation in the market be enhanced?

A.4 Interview Schedule – Men Farmers

Name of the interviewee	
Age	
Name of village	
Crops grown	
Size of farm land	
Other sources of income	
Average annual income	
Details of family members	No. of men, women, children
Date of the interview	
Name of the interviewer	

Division of responsibilities in the household

1. In your household, what are the responsibilities of the male members in a household?

- a. Children
 - b. Youth
 - c. Adults (18 - __ productive age)
 - d. Elderly
2. What are the responsibilities of the female members of the household (including girls and adolescent and unmarried)?
- a. Children
 - b. Youth
 - c. Adults (18 - __ productive age)
 - d. Elderly
3. Please state which responsibilities are shared between men and women.
4. Who decides what is to be cooked and eaten by the household? Men, women or youth/children or shared?
5. Who all in the household have a bank account?
- a. Do women have a bank account?
 - b. Do they operate it themselves?
6. Who has the final say on major financial decisions in the household?
7. What kind of control do women have on income and spending?
- a. Do they have their own income and savings?
 - b. Do they have to ask the male members for money to be spent on household expenditure?
 - c. Any other arrangement?

Division of responsibilities related to farming (responses will be sought with respect to Nightshade and/or Climbing beans, if either or both are produced by the household, wherever suitable and appropriate)

7. What are the responsibilities of males in agriculture?
- a. Children
 - b. Youth
 - c. Adults (18 - __ productive age)
 - d. Elderly
8. What are the responsibilities of females in agriculture?
- a. Children
 - b. Youth
 - c. Adults (18 - __ productive age)
 - d. Elderly

9. Do you employ hired labour for work on your farmland?
 - a. If yes, for what kind of work?
 - b. Please state whether men or women or both
10. Please state which responsibilities are shared between men and women.
11. Who is the key decision maker when it comes to agricultural inputs?
 - a. Allocation of labour
 - b. Procurement of seeds, fertiliser etc
 - c. (Probe the role of women in decision making)
12. Who has control over the income generated from agriculture?

Women and marketing: (responses will be sought with respect to Nightshade and/or Climbing beans, if either or both are produced by the household, wherever appropriate)

23. Do women in your household participate in marketing activities?
 - a. If yes, please describe
 - i. Nature of participation
 1. Selling the harvest
 2. Trading further along
 - a. Wholesale/retail
 3. Any other
 - ii. Reasons behind participation
 - b. If no, please state why
24. What happens with the money that the women earn from marketing?
 - a. Goes into the household pool of income
 - b. Some is contributed, some is saved by the women
 - c. All of it is saved by the women
25. Do you see women from other households participate in marketing activities?
 - a. If yes, according to you, what are the reasons behind their participation?
26. What type of women are engaged in marketing of the crop(s)?
 - a. Younger or older women
 - b. Married or single
 - c. Heads of the household
27. What type of men are engaged in marketing of the crop(s)?
 - a. Younger or older women

- b. Married or single
 - c. Heads of the household
28. How would you differentiate, based on your experience and observation, how men engage in marketing activities and how women engage in marketing activities?
29. What kind of impact does women participating in marketing activities have on households?
- a. Positive
 - b. Negative
30. According to you, how are women involved in marketing activities perceived by the community in general?
31. What according to you are the biggest barriers against women's participation in the markets?
- a. Responsibilities in the household
 - b. Education
 - c. Financial literacy/understanding
 - d. Logistics related issues
 - e. Societal expectations and pressures
32. Do you think women should participate more in marketing activities? Why?
- a. If yes, in what ways can women's participation in the market be enhanced?
33. According to you, what will be the impact on the nutritional status of the household if women are more involved in the selling/marketing of nutritious products?
34. According to you, if women participate more in the market for nutritious commodities, what will the impact be on the nutrition status of the household?

A.5 Interview Schedule – Traders (Women and Men)

Name of the interviewee

Age

Gender

Name of village

Name of the area where the trader conducts business

Commodities traded

Date of the interview

Name of the interviewer

1. How long have you been involved in trading?
 - a. Generally
 - b. In this location
2. Can you give us details about activities involved as part of your job?
 - a. Retailer, wholesaler, processor etc
 - b. Preferably along the calendar
3. Whom all do you source your commodities from?
4. Please tell us what kind of people are involved (in CB and NS)?
 - a. Age
 - b. Gender
 - c. Marital status
 - d. Financial status
5. Among the various people you interact with, what percentage are men and women?
6. (Depending on the level of participation of women) According to you, why is the level of participation of women high or low?
7. Does the level of participation change depending on the commodity? How?
8. How do you interact with women?
 - a. How do you interact with men?
 - b. How is it different?
 - i. Negotiation
 - ii. Quality of produce
 - iii. Logistics
9. Whom do you think are better at marketing activities? Men or women?
 - a. Please state why
10. According to you, how are women involved in marketing activities perceived by the community in general?
11. Based on your experience and observation, what kind of control do women have on the income they earn from marketing activities?
 - a. Do they get to keep it?
 - b. Or do they give it to their husband
12. According to you, is the environment in the marketplace suitable for women?
 - a. If yes, how?
 - b. If no, why?

13. What according to you are the biggest barriers against women's participation in the markets?
 - a. Responsibilities in the household
 - b. Education
 - c. Financial literacy/understanding
 - d. Logistics related issues
 - e. Societal expectations and pressures`
14. According to you, is there scope for better participation of women in the markets?
15. How do you think the market dynamics will change if there are more women participating?
16. According to you, if women participate more in the market for nutritious commodities, what will the impact be on the nutrition status of the household?
17. What kind of changes do you think are required for making markets more conducive/suitable to women?

A.6: Interview Schedule –Experts

Name of the interviewee

Age

Gender

University/Organisation

Area of expertise

Years of experience in the field

Date of the interview

Name of the interviewer

1. In a traditional family set up in Uganda, how are the household responsibilities divided between men and women?
2. Over the years, what kind of changes have you observed in the family structure and the respective responsibilities of men and women?
3. According to you, what are the reasons behind the said changes?
4. What is the role of women in agriculture value chains in Uganda?
 - a. From the land clearance and sowing part to marketing
 - b. Does the nature of work depend on women's
 - i. Age

- ii. Marital status
 - iii. Status of the woman in the household (for eg. head of the household)
 - iv. Financial status
 - v. Any other consideration
 - c. What kind of roles to women take up as part of the work in agriculture
5. What is the nature of division of labour between men and women in agriculture value chains?
 - a. Does this division of labour change depending on the crops produced?
 - b. Has this division of labour stayed the same or has it changed over the past few years? Please describe the nature and pace of change?
 - c. According to you, what are the reasons behind the said changes?
 6. What is the nature of participation of women specifically in the markets for agricultural products?
 - a. If not involved, what are the reasons? What are the barriers?
 - b. What are the determinants of women's involvement?
 - i. Intra-household dynamics
 - ii. Nature of crop
 - iii. Societal rules or expectations
 - iv. Circumstances in marketing (transport, labour, engaging with men)
 7. Have you observed any changes in the participation of women in the markets agriculture value chains over the past few years?
 - a. According to you, what are the reasons behind the said changes?
 8. Do women have access and control over resources if they are engaged in marketing? For eg.
 - a. Control over the income generated from marketing
 - b. How this income is spent
 - c. Who has the control/say over how the income is spent
 - d. Scope for saving
 - e. Scope for investing
 9. Based on the above question, do women have sufficient incentives to engage in marketing?
 - a. Financial incentive
 - b. Power incentive, for eg.
 - i. being in a powerful position
 - ii. contribution to family income
 - iii. being seen as a role-model in the community

10. What has been the changes in the status of women in the household and within the community in general as a result of increased participation of women in markets?
11. What kind of changes occur within the household – intra-household dynamics – when women participate more in the markets, based on your research and experience?
12. According to you, what is going to be the progression of participation in the future?
13. How different is the participation of women in nutrient-sensitive value chains as compared to traditional value chains? (Define NSVs if respondent not aware)
 - a. Along the entire value chain
 - b. Specifically in the market
 - c. *Consider the points raised by the expert in response to previous questions*
14. Does enhanced participation of women in nutrient-sensitive value chain have a bearing on the nutritional status of the household?
 - a. If yes, how?
 - b. If no, why?
15. According to you, how can the participation of women in markets in nutrient-sensitive value chain be enhanced?

A.7: Participatory tools for focused group discussions with women and men

Estimated Time: 2 Hours

Items required: 4-5 Chart paper/Flip Chart, markers, post-its, double-sided tape

Description: Two participatory activities followed by a discussion and closing activity

Objective:

- To map the existing channels and actors in the marketing of nightshade and climbing beans
- To map the importance of different modes of sale/marketing and understand the ease of access to them for men and women
- To analyse the similarities and difference between men’s and women’s perspectives on the various aspects relating to marketing

Date

Place

Name of the facilitator

Participant details:

Name	Age	Occupation (farming, trading, labour, service etc etc)
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TASK 1: MAPPING THE EXISTING CHANNELS AND ACTORS FOR NIGHTSHADE AND CLIMBING BEANS

Participatory Tool: Flow Chart of existing channels

Steps:

1. Introduce the purpose of the activity: Understanding of the market for each of the two crops.
2. Spread a large chart paper on the ground and draw a circle in the middle of the paper. Inside, draw/write the product being focused on. This is the centre of the wheel.
3. Draw spokes originating from the circle drawn showing the market processes. The key is to identify who (men or women or youth of the household) sells to whom until it reaches the end consumer. Keep adding spokes till the exchange ends with the final consumer
4. Each spoke shows different modes of selling such as directly to the end consumer, to the trader, to the processor, selling in the market etc. The location of the sale (at the farm gate, in the local shop, in the market etc) also needs to be differentiated.
5. ***Ask the participants to state the proportion of men and women participating in different modes of sale:***
 - a. ***If there are ten people involved, how many are men and how many women?***

Discussion and Reflection

1. What are the different modes of sale? Outline the typical processes involved for each of the modes identified. (Refer to the chart prepared)
2. In each of the mode of sale, probe about the participation of men and women
 - a. If dominated by men, why?
 - b. If dominated by women, why?
3. What type of women are engaged in marketing of the crop?
 - a. Younger or older women
 - b. Married or single
 - c. Heads of the household
4. What type of men are engaged in marketing of the crop?
 - a. Younger or older women
 - b. Married or single
 - c. Heads of the household

TASK 2: MAPPING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DIFFERENT MODES OF MARKETING AND EASE OF ACCESS**Participatory tool: Ranking and reviewing existing modes and actors****Steps:**

1. Introduce the purpose of the activity: ranking and reviewing the modes involved in the marketing side of the value chain.
2. Write the different modes of selling identified in the previous activity on separate post-its. Ideally, only have 4 or 5 of the most relevant and important modes of selling. Every mode should be written on 4 separate post-its; a maximum of 20 post-its in total.

3. Spread a large chart paper on the ground and draw **four** parallel lines. (Could be two chart papers as well). There should be sufficient distance between them so that it is easy to place post-its.
4. **The first line:** shows the importance of the different modes of selling in the current scheme of things. Moving from left to right, least important to most important.
 - Ask the participants to place the different post-its along this line. Let the participants come to consensus by themselves.
 - Guide the discussion among participants by asking them to consider the following:
 - i. Location
 - ii. Availability of transport options
 - iii. Costs of marketing in each mode of sale
 - iv. Profitability
 - The participants need to consider all these aspects together to rank the different options in the order of importance.
 - It is to be noted that different participants will have different opinions and consider the importance differently. The idea is to enable a consensus and gain an overall understanding.
 - In case the discussion appears inconclusive, ask the participant to present a general view. The advantages and disadvantages of each of the modes will be discussed in detail later.
5. **The second line:** Shows which mode of selling is the easiest or most comfortable for women. The factors determining ease or comfort could be location, nature of interaction with the actors involved, availability of transport options, safety etc
 - Ask the participants to place the different post-its along this line. Let the participants come to consensus by themselves.
6. **The third line:** Similar to the third line, the fourth line Shows which mode of selling is the easiest or most comfortable for men.
 - Ask the participants to place the different post-its along this line. Let the participants come to consensus by themselves.

Discussion and reflection:

1. Discuss why the participants chose to place the different modes along the “importance” line (Task 2).
 - a. What are the relative advantages and disadvantages
2. Which of the different modes of sale are suitable to men?
 - a. Why?
3. Which of the different modes of sale are most suitable to women?
 - a. Why?

4. Do women have access to the money they earn from marketing?
 - a. If yes, to what extent?
5. How is the money earned by women from marketing spent?
 - a. Household expenditure?
 - b. Saved for the household?
 - c. Saved by women?
 - d. Probe on the proportion of spending and saving
6. Do you think women should participate more in marketing related activities?
7. If no, why not?
8. If yes, why?
9. What are the current barriers to women's better participation in markets?
 - a. Within the household
 - b. Outside the household
10. How can women's participation be enhanced in marketing activities? Suggest measures and steps

TASK 3: CLOSING THE DISCUSSION BY MAPPING THE PREFERENCE POST DISCUSSION AND REFLECTION

Steps:

11. Go back to the fourth line drawn on the chart made in Task 2
12. Ask the participants to place the post-its with the different modes of sale/marketing on the basis of their preference.
 - a. The preference is different from importance. Importance refers to the current state of affairs
 - b. Preference indicates what they would choose, in an ideal scenario

The intent is to see if the preference for the modes of sale changes post the discussion. The primary motive, however, is to observe the differences between what men and women perceive as the preferred modes of sale.

A.8: Interview consent form



Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview.

The interview forms part of the EaTSANE research project on sustainable farming practices and diverse diets in Kapchorwa (Uganda) and Teso South (Kenya). EaTSANE stands for 'Education and Training for Sustainable Agriculture and Nutrition in East Africa' and is a collaboration between Makerere University (Uganda), Egerton University (Kenya), Mango Tree (Uganda), the University of Hohenheim (Germany), Justus Liebig University Giessen (Germany) and KIT Royal Tropical Institute (the Netherlands). EaTSANE aims to co-create knowledge on sustainable production of nutrient-rich and diverse food, improved soil fertility, on obstacles and opportunities for farmers to engage in diversified production, and improvement of households' food culture.

Participation in the interview is voluntary. Respondents may withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. Respondents are free to decline to answer any particular question.

The interview will be recorded. All the information shared during the interview will be treated as strictly confidential. This means that:

- Access to the interview transcript will be limited to researchers in the EaTSANE project;
- Findings from the interview will be published in an anonymized form only.

Respondent name	Signature	Date
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Investigator:

Location:

Respondent #:

Willing to participate in future EaTSANE activities (y/n):

Contact details:

For questions or comments, please contact the principal investigators:

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